“ANOTHER VOICE THAT SINGS”:

TIMBRE, PORTAMENTO AND NATURAL HORN PLAYING IN FRANCE 1810s-1850s

by

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century the horn transitioned from the natural horn, played using the right hand in the bell of the instrument to create non-harmonic notes, to the valve horn. The rate at which the newer instrument was assimilated varied throughout Europe, with the French championing the older instrument for longer than most other regions. This fact has often been accounted for as a result of the high standards of natural horn playing that had been developed in France thanks to practitioners such as Heinrich Domnich (1767–1844), Frédéric Duvernoy (1765–1838), Louis-François Dauprat (1781–1868) and, the central figure in this study, Jacques-François Gallay (1795–1864).

Gallay was to hold a number of prominent positions during his career, with the most important and influential being his role as cor solo (principal horn) at the fashionable Théâtre-Italien in Paris and his professorship at the Conservatoire. His performances are well documented, with many critics and fellow musicians praising him for his vocal style of performance. In Gallay's own words the horn was "another voice that sings".

In this thesis I pose the following question: if a horn player, such as Gallay, was renowned for his vocal approach to horn playing, what were the criteria of such vocality as valued by nineteenth-century practitioners, especially those associated

with the Italian operatic style favoured in France from the 1810s to the 1850s? I argue that pedagogy of the period promoted the idea of first teaching how to play "correctly" (facilitating a literal interpretation of the score) prior to teaching the elements that comprise a "beautiful" performance (style, taste, ornamentation etc.) with students of all musical disciplines often instructed to learn the latter by emulating talented musicians, especially singers. This study further focuses on two essential aspects of vocal technique of the period: timbre and portamento.

The renaissance of the natural horn in the late twentieth century as part of the historically informed performance movement has based much of its scholarship on the horn players mentioned above. However, it has grown out of an aesthetic shaped by concepts of how the modern horn is played and how it should sound, with a priority on the even, homogenous timbre that the modern instrument is designed to achieve, an emphasis rooted in a modern concept of vocality rather than one representative of the nineteenth century.

I will trace Gallay's career through a series of six operatic obligatos associated with him. Through these I explore a number of elements that can help inform interpretation of these solos, including interpretations arising from text, the performance practice of singers (including evidence from early recordings), and musical criticism of the period in order to establish that timbre and portamento were expressive devices common to both singers and horn players such as Gallay and should thus be re-established in our performance practice today.

In memory of

Chris Larkin (1947–2021)

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I have had the great fortune to have performed a lot of French repertoire from the nineteenth century with international HIP (historically informed performance) ensembles but it is very much thanks to my work with three particular ensembles, Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique (under the directorship of Sir John Eliot Gardiner until 2024), ensemble Pygmalion (directer, Raphael Pichön) and Teatro Nuovo (directors, Will Crutchfield, Jakob Lehmann and Elisa Citterio) that I have had the opportunities to investigate so many of the issues that I explore in this thesis in rehearsal and concert. In these adventures I have been joined by many amazing musicians and special thanks must go to the tolerant members of my sections who have included Joseph Walters, Martin Lawrence, Gijs Laceulle, Peter Moutoussis, Simon Poirier, Louis-Pierre Bergeron (with special thanks for his help with French translations!), and others.

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London, May 2025

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15:5: Opening eight bars of "Toi que j'implore" from Gaspare Spontini, *La Vestale.* Original notation (Paris: Mesdemoiselles Erard, 1808) and modern notation.

15:6: The horn obligato and vocal part to "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from François Devienne, *Les Visitandines* (Paris: Cousineau, n.d.), 106–119.

Chapter Sixteen: Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto" (*Otello*, 1821).

16:1: Bars 11–42 and 207–222 from Gioachino Rossini, *Prélude, thème et variations* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1954).

16:2: Horn part, bars 113–123 and 151–167 from Gioachino Rossini, Cara patria!", *Aureliano in Palmira*, (ed. Will Crutchfield, Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 2019), 170–186.

16:3: Horn part, bars 1–21, 66–69 and 83–89 from Gioachino Rossini, "Languir per una Bella", *L'Italiana in Algeri*, ed. Azio Corghi (Milan: Ricordi, 1981), 73–84.

16:4: Horn part, bars 1–24, 33–36 and 82–108 from" Gioachino Rossini, Act 1, Scene 9, "Ah! perché, perché la morte non ascolta i pianti miei", *Matilde di Shabran, ossia Bellezza e cuor di ferro* (Manuscript n.d.,Naples: Biblioteca Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella (I-Nc): 31.5.4-5, 30–36v.

16:5: Overture to Rossini's *Semiramide* (1823).

16:6: Horn parts, bars 57–72 from Georges Bizet, Act 1, Scene 7, No. 6 Duo "Parle-moi de ma mere" (Don José and Micaëla) *Carmen*. Top: incorrect, with horn part incorporating the first trombone part (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 116–119. Bottom: correct version from the Critical Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 147–150.

16:7 Horn parts, bars 22–24, from Georges Bizet, Act 2, No. 17 Finale, "Holá! Carmen! Holá! Holá!" *Carmen*. Right: incorrect, incorporating bassoon parts (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 324. Left: correct version from the Critical

Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 381.

16:8: Horn parts, bars 1–18, from Georges Bizet, Act 4, Scene 1, No. 25 Marche et Chœur "Les voici, les voici!" Carmen. Top: incorrect, first horn incorporating some of the first bassoon part, plus erroneous designation of second horn as horn in E-flat (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 505–6. Bottom: correct version from the Critical Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 566.

16:9: Horn parts, bars 48–94, from Gaetano Donizetti, Act 2, Scene 3, Chorus "Chi può vederla a ciglio asciutto", *Anna Bolena*. Top: incorrect with horn parts switching, (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi n.d. c. 1950) 769–779. Bottom: correct, with horn parts remaining in the right crooks, ed. Paolo Fabbri (Milan: Ricordi, 2017), 698–708.

16:10: Horn obligato, bars 7–30, Gioachino Rossini, Act 1, No. 4, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello*, ed. Michael Collins (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1994), 248–253.

16:11: Three versions of bar 16, from Gioachino Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello*. Top from NA 11a (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples, (I-Nc): 22-3-1), 27. Middle from NA 15 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 22-3-14), 52v. Bottom from NA 12, (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples, (I-Nc): 22-3-12), 78.

16:12: MI 385 variation of bar 29 from Gioachino Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello* (Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan (I-Mc): 385-18-2) 87v.

16:13: Group C (NA 11 and NA 11a) decorated jumps in bars 14 and 15 from Gioachino Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello* (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 22-3-1), NA 11: 128v and NA 11a: 27.

16:14: NA 11a bar 26 (bar 24 when source has bars deleted) from Gioachino Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello*. Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. (I-Nc): 22-3-1.

16:15: Examples of top Cs in Jacques-François Gallay, 20me Prélude, from *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés*, Op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8), 18. No crook specified.

16:16: Bar 14 of Jacques-François Gallay's Caprice No. 9 from Douze grands caprices pour le cor, faisant suite aux études et préludes, Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835), 18. No crook specified.

16:17: First cadenza (unbarred) from Agostino Belloli, Venti-quattro studi per corno di caccia (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi, 1843), 1. No crook specified.

16:18: Line five of Jacques-François Gallay, 23me Prélude (unmeasured), from Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés, Op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8), 20. No crook specified.

16:19: Horn part, bars 41–55, Cipriani Potter, Finale Allegretto, from Sonata di bravura concertante pour Pianoforte e Corno o Fagotto, Op. 13 (Bonn: Simrock, c.1825), 3.

16:20: Horn obligato to "Inutile e quel pianto" from Rossini's *Otello* with options.

Chapter Seventeen: Vaccai, "È questo il loco" (*Giulietta e Romeo*, 1827)

17:1: Horn, vocal and harp parts, bars 1–28, 43–53, Nicola Vaccai, Scena: "È questo il loco"; aria e duetto: "Ah se tu dormi" from *Giulietta e Romeo*. Manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (1–12).

17:2: Comparison of the opening motifs of five solos for horn.

(a) Bars 10–14 of the "È questo il loco" from Act 2, Scene 11, Nicola Vaccai, *Giulietta e Romeo*. Manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page number (3).

(b) Bars 2–6 of Franz Schubert, *Auf dem Strom*, D.943 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895).

(c) Bars 12–16 of Ludwig van Beethoven, Sonata in F for piano and horn, Op. 17 (Vienna: T. Mollo, 1801).

(d) Bars 21–25 of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Concerto in D for horn, KV 412 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).

(e) Bars 1–5 of "Languir per una bella" from Act 1, Scene 3, Gioachino Rossini, *L'Italiana in Algeri* ed. Azio Corghi (Milan: Ricordi, 1981), 73.

17:3: Bar 5, Nicola Vaccai,"Ah se tu dormi" from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by

Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García*, trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 71 (4th line) and manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (16) (5th line).

17:4: Bar 8, Nicola Vaccai, "Ah, se tu dormi svegliati" from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García*, trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 71 (4th line) and manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (16) (5th line).

17:5: Bars 10–12 Nicola Vaccai, "Ah, se tu dormi svegliati" from *Giulietta e Romeo.* As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García*, Hints on Singing by Manuel García*, trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 72 (4th line), Nicola Vaccai, *Scena ultima : nell'Opera Giulietta e Romeo / del M.o Vaccaj ; coll'aggionta degli abbelimenti di M.e Malibran* (Milano: F. Lucca, 1835), Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica "Santa Cecilia", Roma (I-Rsc): B.29.33, 5 (5th line) and manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (17).

17:6: Bars 12–13, Nicola Vaccai, "Ah, se tu dormi svegliati" from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), and manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (17) (4th line).

17:7: Bars 14–18 Nicola Vaccai, "Ah, se tu dormi svegliati" from *Giulietta e Romeo.* As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), and manuscript score, Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España (E-Mn): MC/4621/4, no page numbers (18) (4th line).

17:8: All the options for horn portamenti in bars 11–22, Nicola Vaccai, Scena: "È questo il loco"; aria e duetto, *Giulietta e Romeo.*

Chapter Eighteen: Mercadante, "Se m'abbandoni" (Nitocri, 1835)

18:1: Bars 45–54, Saverio Mercadante, "Se m'abbandoni" from *Nitroci* in ed. Josiah

Pittman*, The Contralto Album: a collection of 50 celebrated songs or mezzo-soprano and contralto voices* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, n.d.). The British Library, London (GB-Lbl): F.635.

18:2: Bars 1–8, Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, Cavatina, *Les Brilliants de Malibran: No. 2. The Admired Aria "Se M'Abbandoni" arranged for the harp* (London: Goulding & D'Alamaine, c.1823), 2. International Harp Archives, Provo, UT (US-PRVhp): M 119 .M244 B63 1823 vol.1.

18:3: Horn part, bars 60–65 and 81–83 from Saverio Mercadante, "Scena e Cavatina de Mercadante" (manuscript, Bibliotheque National de France, (F-Pn): L.18758).

18:4 Bars 45–52 of horn obligato (notated at concert pitch) inserted into "Violino Principal" part in Saverio Mercadante, "Scena e Cavatina de Mercadante" (manuscript, Bibliotheque National de France, (F-Pn): L.18758).

18:5: Bars 45–68 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436.
(Audio example 18_01).

18:6: Bars 81–86 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436.
(Audio example 18_02).

18:7: Bars 116–119 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436.
(Audio example 18_03).

Chapter Nineteen: Mercadante, "Perche non posso" and "Ove a me rivolgi un guardo" (*I Briganti*, 1836) and Gallay's settings of Mercadante

19:1: Horn parts, Étienne Nicolas Méhul, Act 1, Scene 8, "Jules, tu seras mon vengeur", from *Mélidore et Phrosine*. Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration,* Op. 10, tr. Mary Cowden Clarke (London:

Novello, Ewer and Co., 1858), 2nd edition, 138.

19:2: Horn parts, Étienne Nicolas Méhul, Act 1, Scene 8, "Mélidore", from, *Mélidore et Phrosine* (Paris: Cousineau, 1794).

19:3: Horn parts, bars 7–13 and 18–22, from Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Perché non posso a tutti", *I Briganti*. Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 14–15.

19:4: Horn parts, bars 75-87, Hector Berlioz, Act 2, Scene 1, *Les Troyens,* H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 211.

19:5: Horn parts, bars 107–135, Hector Berlioz, Act 2, Scene 1, *Les Troyens,* H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 215–218.

19:6: Horn part, bars 1–21, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Ove a me Rivolgi un guardo", *I Briganti*. Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 17–18.
(Audio example 19_01).

19:7: Horn parts, bars 7–13, 18–22, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Perché non posso a tutti", *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 14–15, with my added portamenti markings. (Audio example 19_02).

19:8: Horn parts, bars 26–27, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Perché non posso a tutti", *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32) 15.

19:9: Bars 76–91 from "La Caccia" (Saverio Mercadante, "L'appel du Chasseur") from Jacques-François Gallay*, Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 4–5. (Audio example 19_03).

19:10 Bars 76–91 from Saverio Mercadante, "La Caccia" from *Serate Italiane* (Novara: F. Artaria e comp, n.d.) 3–4.

19:11: Bars 104–112 from "La Caccia" (Saverio Mercadante, "L'appel du Chasseur") from Jacques-François Gallay, *Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 6. (Audio example 19_04),

Chapter Twenty: Donizetti, Overture to *Don Pasquale* (1843).

20:1: Horn solo bars 6–38 from Gaetano Donizetti, Overture to *Don Pasquale*, eds. Gabriele Dotto and Roger Parker (Milan: Ricordi, 2024). (Audio example 20_01)

20:2: Bars 1–4, i. Adagio molto, Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21, ed. Jonathan Del Mar (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), 3.

20:3: Bars 146–9, Bars 1–4, i. Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso, Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21, ed. Jonathan Del Mar (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), 23.

20:4: Bars 149–151, Robert Schumann, *Manfred* Overture, Op. 115 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1862), 22.

20:5: Middle F from "An Index of Horn Pitch Adjacencies", Robert Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question? Creating a New Repertoire of Idiomatic and Challenging Arrangement for Historical Wind Instruments", Doctoral thesis (Guildhall School of Music and Drama, 2021), 434.

20:6: Bars 250–251 from Carl Maria von Weber, Concertino in E for Horn, Op. 45 (autograph manuscript score, n.d.). Berlin: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz (DB): J 188; WeV N.5b, 26.

20:7: Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor*, Op. 54, Méthode pour le Cor, Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 67 and 69.

20:8: Bars 2–11 from "Marguerite" from Jacques-François Gallay. *Les Chants du Cœur, 6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert*, Op. 51 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842).

20:9 3ème Mélodie from Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor*, Op. 54, (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 94.

20:10: Bars 42–45 from Gaetano Donizetti, Le départ pour la chasse, A 291 (manuscript, n.d.), 1. Naples: Bibloteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella, (I-Nc): IT-NA0059

20:11: Portamento from Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse* (Paris: Zetter, 1824), vol. 1, 54.

20:12: Vocal solo bars 6–15 from "Com'é gentil la notte a mezzo April!", Act 3, Gaetano Donizetti, *Don Pasquale* (Milan: G. Ricordi, n.d. c.1920), 460,

20:13: *Luna, the Moon, and her children,* by Harmen Jansz Muller (?–1617), after

Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574). Rijksmueum (Amsterdam, Holland): RP-P-1891-A-16486.

20:14 "Le portamento ou coulé" and "les sons filés et le portamento" from Joseph Forestier, *Méthode complète pour le cornet à pistons* (Paris: Latte, 1844), 14–15.

Chapter Twenty One: Conclusion.

21:1 Sadie Glass, annotated horn part for Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance*, Op. 36 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874).

21:2 Bars 56–59 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance*, Op. 36 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874). (Audio example 21_01).

21:3 Bars 60–65 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance*, Op. 36 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874). (Audio example 21_03).

List of audio examples

The audio examples can be accessed via the following dropbox link:
https://tinyurl.com/2s4e6zaw

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04_02 Jacques-François Gallay, Onzième Solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 52, bars 55–76 (figure 4:10).

04_03 Jacques-François Gallay, Neuvième solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 39 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1838), figure 4:11).

04_04 Jacques-François Gallay, Fantaisie brillante pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano sur l'opéra *Les martyrs* de Donizetti, Op. 49 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1841), bars 117–191 (figure 4:12).

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Chapter Sixteen: Rossini, “Inutile e quel pianto” (*Otello*, 1821).

16_01 Horn obligato to “Inutile e quel pianto” from Rossini’s *Otello* (figure 16:20).

Chapter Seventeen: Vaccai, “È questo il loco” (*Giulietta e Romeo*, 1827).

17_01 “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” as sung by Fabbri. Guerrina Fabbri, (contralto), Salvatore Cottone (piano). 1903. *Romeo e Giulietta: Cavatina.* 78 rpm record. G&T GC-53318. United Kingdom: Gramophone Concert Record.

17_02 “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” as sung by Parsi-Pettinella. Armida Parsi-Pettinella, (mezzo soprano). 1904. *Giulietta e Romeo (Vaccai). Ah! se tu dormi, svegliati.* 78 rpm record. 39702. Italy: Società italiana di fonotipia (Milan).

17_03 “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” as sung by Petri. Elisa Petri, (mezzo soprano) with “large orchestra”. 1912. *Giulietta e Romeo. Ah, se tu dormi / Vaccai.* 78 rpm record. 92622. Italy: Società italiana di fonotipia (Milan).

17_04 All the options for horn portamenti in bars 11–22, Nicola Vaccai, Scena: “È questo il loco”; aria e duetto, *Giulietta e Romeo* (figure 17:08).

Chapter Eighteen: Mercadante, "Se m'abbandoni" (*Nitocri*, 1835).

18_01 Bars 45–68 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436 (figure 18:5).

18_02 Bars 81–86 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436 (figure 18:6).

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19_01 Horn part, bars 1–21, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Ove a me Rivolgi un guardo", *I Briganti*. Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 17–18 (figure 19:6)

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19_03 Bars 76–91 from "La Caccia" (Saverio Mercadante, "L'appel du Chasseur") from Jacques-François Gallay, Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 4–5 (figure 19:9).

19_04 Bars 104–112 from "La Caccia" (Saverio Mercadante, "L'appel du Chasseur") from Jacques-François Gallay, Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 6 (figure 19:11).

Chapter Twenty: Donizetti, Overture to *Don Pasquale* (1843).

20_01 Horn solo bars 6–38 from Gaetano Donizetti, O*verture to Don Pasquale,* eds. Gabriele Dotto and Roger Parker (Milan: Ricordi, 2024), 2–3 (figure 20:1).

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21_01 Bars 56–59 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance*, Op. 36 (Paris: L Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874) (figure 21:2).

21_02 Édouard Vuillermoz (horn), G. Haas (piano). 1929. *Camille Saint-Saëns, Romance en Fa Op. 36*. LP. L 753, 78 t. France: Voix de son maître.

21_03 Bars 60–64 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance*, Op. 36 (Paris: L Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874) (figure 21:3).

All illustrations recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018) with the following exceptions:

Original Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor d'orchestre* (Paris, post 1820) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009), (05_07, 11_4, and 12_01).

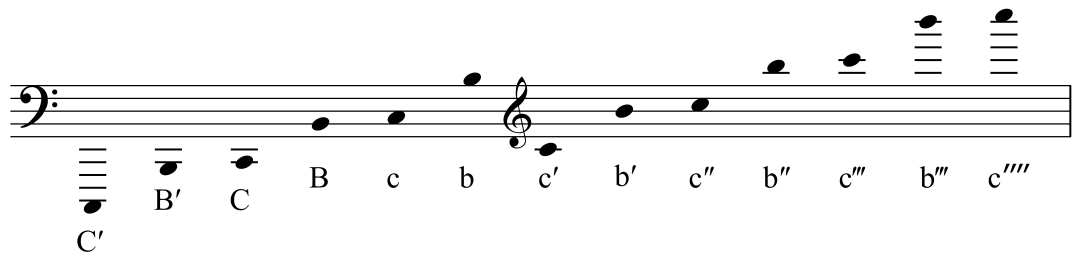
Original Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor d'orchestre* (Paris, c.1862) with later valve block (sauterelle) by Boosey (London, 1918) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009), (05_01).

Original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* (1823) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009). Instrument loaned by The Bate Collection, Oxford (19_03 and 19_04). These two audio illustrations are taken from Anneke Scott (horn), Lucy Crowe (soprano), Steven Devine (piano). 2015. *Songs of Love, War and Melancholy: Operatic Fantasias by Gallay.* CD. RES10153.

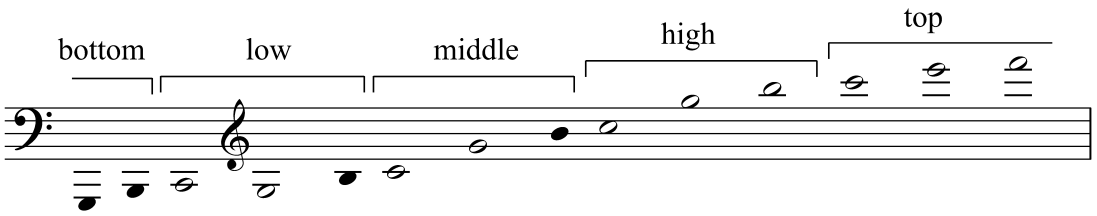
Some definitions

Indications of pitch:

When referring to absolute/concert pitch the following scientific pitch convention will be used:



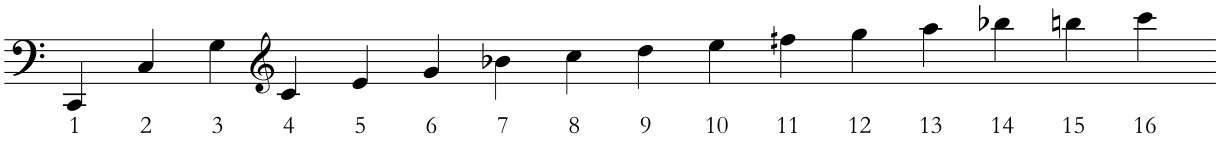
Given that much of this thesis concerns music written for the natural horn, which is a transposing instrument, and given that many aspects of the performance practice as explored in this study revolve around the placement of the notes in the harmonic series, I propose to use a different terminology for indicating pitches on the horn. This will refer to the note as the horn player would typically read.[1] In the figure below black notes indicated stopped notes and white notes indicate open harmonics.



[1] An approach adopted from Robert Percival, “Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question? Creating a New Repertoire of Idiomatic and Challenging Arrangement for Historical Wind Instruments”, Doctoral thesis (Guildhall School of Music and Drama, 2021), xi-xii.

The harmonic series:

Where relevant (for example when discussing the impact of hand stopping/ portamenti etc.) the above indications of pitch may be used in conjunction with use of the relevant number from the harmonic series.



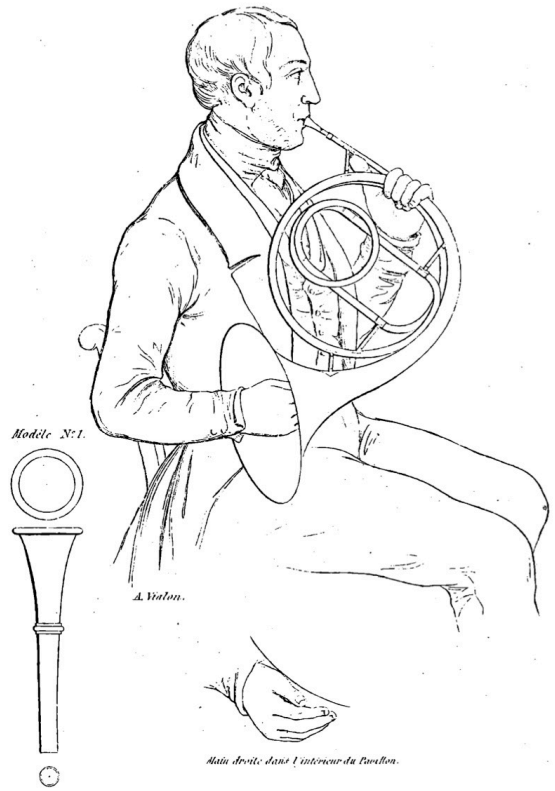
Bass clef notation:

As this thesis focuses on mostly pre-twentieth-century repertoire the convention of "old notation" bass clef will be reproduced in many figures, for example figure 5:6 Jean-Baptiste Victor Mohr "Gammes enharmoniques" from *Méthode de premier et de second Cor*. Here the notated bass clef C with two ledger lines below the stave is the 2nd harmonic C below middle C, rather than the 1st harmonic C two octaves below middle C.

Natural horn? Or hand horn? Or classical natural horn?

The term natural horn encompasses any horn pre the invention of valves. This includes both the horn played without hand technique (most common in the eighteenth century) and the horn played with hand technique (most common in the late eighteenth century and through the nineteenth). Players today often refer to the

instrument played with hand technique as a natural horn or a hand horn, sometimes using the term “classical natural horn” or “classical horn” to differentiate between it and the earlier version. For the purposes of this thesis I will use the term “natural horn” to mean the instrument played with hand technique in early/mid nineteenth century France. For the instrument played without the hand in the bell I shall use the term “baroque horn”.



An illustration of playing position taken from Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour la cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842/3), 5.

How the natural horn works:

The player of the natural horn forms its notes by the manipulation of the right hand in the bell of the instrument. The player has recourse to the 16 or more “open” notes of the harmonic series. The length of the instrument, and therefore the associated pitch of the instrument, can be changed using a series of crooks, either at the beginning of the instrument (“terminal crooks”, see page xxxix) or on the tuning slide.

Stopped and open notes:

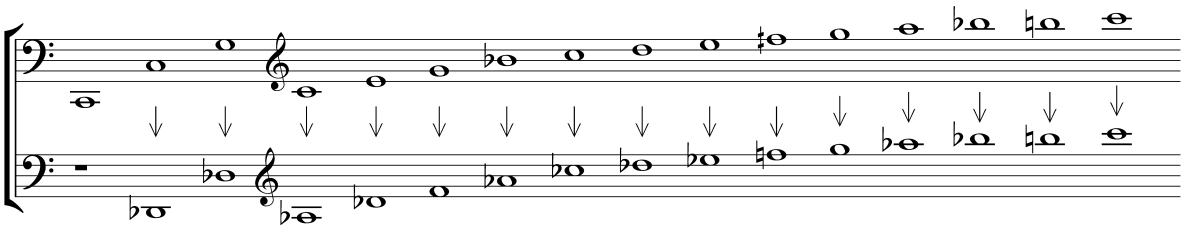
The chromatic notes in between the open harmonics are created by the partial or full closure of the bell to form notes that are referred to as “stopped”. The open notes are characteristically clearer in timbre whilst the stopped notes can range from indistinct and covered to brassy and shrill. Some stopped notes are barely distinguishable from the open notes.



The chromatic range of the natural horn (black note heads = stopped, clear = open).

When the hand fully closes the bell of the horn the open harmonic note descends to the pitch a semitone above the harmonic below. When gradually closing the bell of

the horn with the hand, the pitch of the original harmonic is lowered, but the interval by which each harmonic is lowered is different, dependent on its place in the series.[2]



The harmonic series and the notes that result from fully stopping each harmonic.

Intonation:

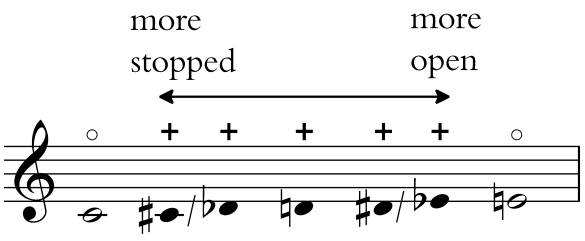
Hand technique is not a binary approach of stopped versus open. In order for the intonation of the individual notes to be refined the right hand moderates exactly how stopped or open the individual notes are.

For example, in the case of the seventh harmonic middle B-flat or the eleventh harmonic top F quarter sharp, the player will further open the bell by removing the hand entirely in order to sharpen these notes sufficiently.

Similarly, when closing the bell of the instrument the player can gradate how sealed the bell of the instrument is in order to sharpen or flatten the stopped note. This is particularly important between the fourth harmonic middle C and the fifth harmonic

[2] Richard Merewether, *The horn, the horn* (London: Paxman Musical Instruments Limited, 1978), 40–41. Murray Campbell and Clive Greated, *The Musician's Guide to Acoustics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 400–403.

middle E. The player needs to create three notes between these two harmonics. The sharpest of the three (D-sharp/E-flat) is more lightly stopped than the flattest of the three (C-sharp/D-flat).



A note on orthography

Over the centuries many languages have undertaken language reforms which has resulted in systematic changes of the spellings of certain words. When reproducing French and other texts I have endevoured to retain the original spellings used by the authors. For example the use of “instrumens” rather than “instruments”, or “agrémens” instead of “agréments”.

Terminology

Alto crooks	Crooks from A alto upwards.
Basso crooks	Crooks from C basso downwards.
Bouché	French term indicating to stop a note on the horn.
Cor alto	French term for a high horn player.
Cor à pistons	French term for valve horn with piston valves.
Cor à cylindres	French term for valve horn with rotary valves.
Cor basse	French term for a low horn player.
Cor chromatique	French term for a valve horn.
Cor d'orchestre	French term for a design of natural horn with a full set (normally B-flat basso to C alto) of terminal crooks (see: Terminal crooks).
Cor solo	French term for either the role of principal horn in an ensemble or a design of natural horn with exchangeable tuning slide crooks in the "solo" keys (see: Solo crooks).
Cor mixte	French term for a genre of horn playing typified by Frédéric Duvernoy in which the player specialises in the middle range of the instrument (normally 4th harmonic middle C to 12th harmonic high G), often playing on the F crook.
Crooks	Removable loops of tubing inserted into the instrument in order to change the length and therefore pitch of the instrument.
Cuivre	French term which can be applied to both open and stopped notes, which indicates to play "brassily", an effect normally

	achieved by forcing the air.
Hand horn	A design of natural horn played by using hand in the bell of the instrument in order to create non-harmonic notes.
Hand technique	Use of the hand in the bell of the instrument in order to alter the harmonic series and create non-harmonic “stopped” notes.
Mute / muted	Indication to use a physical mute to dampen the sound of the instrument (terms also include: *con sordino*). .
Natural horn	Any design of horn without valves.
Solo crooks	Crooks in the keys of D, E-flat, E, F and G.
Terminal crooks	Crooks inserted/removed from the mouthpiece end of the instrument.
Valve horn	Any design of horn with valves.
Ventilhorn	German term for valve horn.
Waldhorn	German term for horn, often, but not exclusively, used to indicate the natural horn.

Introduction: “The horn is another voice which sings”[1]

The French school’s maintenance of the natural horn in the nineteenth century

During the nineteenth century the horn transitioned from the natural horn to the valve horn. Despite an initial fascination with the innovation of the valves, the French school strove to maintain the earlier instrument throughout the century, with many performers, composers and critics believing it to be the superior, more artistic form of the horn.[2] Today this move has often been interpreted as due to French conservatism, or as a reflection of the calibre of the natural horn players graduating from the Paris Conservatoire.[3]

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[1] Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 81. “Le cor c'est une autre voix qui chante.”

[2] “Through the invention and introduction of valves to the brass instruments (horns etc.) much more freedom accrued to composers; the uneven tone of former days is vanished, for the tone, produced now with the aid of the valves instead of the hand, is tolerably similar to that of the natural horn - nevertheless the tone of the valve horn is slightly inferior to that of the other - a fact there is no denying.” Richard Hofmann, *Practical Instrumentation,* trans. Robin Humphrey Legge, vol. 4 (London: Augener, 1897), 2.

[3] Writing more generally about orchestral instruments in the nineteenth century Adam Carse states “Prejudice, conservatism, and blind respect for tradition, all offered a certain amount of opposition during the periods of transition; these factors and that several years must always elapse before a new device can either prove its worth or become known, a not unnatural reluctance on the part of older players to acquire new instruments and possibly a new technique, all these and similar influences easily account for what may seem a certain tardiness in the rate at which parts for the improved instruments found their way into orchestras.” Adam Carse, *The History of Orchestration* (London: Kegan Paul & Co, 1925), 200. “The unique sound of the natural horn was highly valued in France, and the players were exceptional, which explains why the hand horn was played at the Paris Conservatory for 85 years after the first valves were patented.” Christine Passmore, “The Tradition and Training of Orchestral Horn Players at the Paris Conservatory (1795–1903)”, DMA thesis (Indiana University, 2015), 11–12.

By the second half of the nineteenth century most other European countries had shifted conclusively to the valve horn. The horn was the first brass instrument to have valves added as early as 1814 thanks to the independent work of two Prussians; horn player Heinrich Stölzel (1777–1844) and bandsman Friedrich Blühmel (1777–c.1845).[4] Robert Schumann (1810–1856), started his career writing solely for natural horn, for example in his Symphony No.1 in B-flat major, Op. 38, from 1841, and ended it writing for one pair of *ventilhorns* (valve horns) and one pair of *waldhorns* (a somewhat ambiguous Germanic term, normally indicating natural horns, but often used as a generic word for "horn"), for example in his Symphony No. 3 in E-flat major, Op. 97, from 1851. In works combining a pair of each, the first and second players would use valves whilst the third and fourth required natural horns, i.e. the valved pair being the superior pair. For Schumann, 1849 was a critical year in his writing for the horn, with him composing the *Adagio und Allegro,* Op. 70 for solo valve horn and piano, *Conzertstück* in F major, Op. 86 for four solo valve horns, and *Jagdlieder*, Op.137 for male voice quartet plus a quartet of three natural horns and a fourth horn on valve horn.[5]

Richard Wagner (1813–1883) starts with the same combination of two pairs (for example *Tannhäuser*, in various versions including Dresden in 1845 and Paris in

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[4] "Neue Erfindung" in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (May 3 1815), 309–310. There has been great debate as to whether Stölzel or Blühmel were the first to develop the valve, mostly due to complicated petitions for patents. This subject is discussed in Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), 227–236.

[5] Robert Schumann, *Adagio und Allegro,* Op. 70 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887); C*onzertstück* in F major, Op. 86 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887); *Jagdlieder*, Op.137 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887). The logic displayed in the *Jagdlieder* is that the fourth horn part is the one that, due to it's tessiatura, most benefits from the addition of valves as using valves one can fill in the gaps between the wider spaced lowest harmonics.

1861, written for two valved horns and two natural horns in the orchestra and 12 off-stage natural horns) but by mid-century (for example in *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, written between 1848 and 1874) was writing only for valved brass and even extending the family of valved horns by his developments of the Wagner Tuba.[6] The subsequent generation, including composers such as Anton Bruckner (1824–1896), wrote only for valved brass. Johannes Brahms (1833–1897) appears to be an outlier, but whilst his writing for the horn is clearly influenced by his knowledge of the natural horn, it is highly unlikely that, outside of the Trio Op. 40, horn players of his era would have performed his orchestral compositions on anything other than their valved instruments.[7]

In comparison to this, French composers and performers continued to use the natural horn for far longer, and, when used in conjunction with valved horns, the natural horn is placed as the "superior" instrument with the first and second using natural horns and the third and fourth valves (i.e. often the opposite combination to Austro-Germanic compositions). Initially, the French were at the cutting edge in terms of promoting the valve horn, with Joseph Meifred (1791–1867), for example, performing a solo of his own composition for the valve horn in the opening 1828 concert of the

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[6] Richard Wagner, *Tannhäuser* (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, n.d. c. 1920); *Der Ring des Nibelungen* (). For the history of the Wagner Tuba see William Melton, *The Wagner Tuba: A History* (Aachen: Ebenos, 2008).

[7] Anneke Scott, "Brahms and the Orchestral Horn: A Study in Inauthentic Performance?" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 23 (2011), 119–133. Johannes Brahms, Trio for Violin, Horn (Viola or Violoncello) and Piano, Op. 40, ed. Christopher Hogwood (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2012)

Société des concerts du Conservatoire.[8] Fromental Halévy's *La Juive* (1835) marks the first use of valved horns in the orchestra.[9]

An early adopter of the valve horn was the composer Charles Gounod (1818–1893) who, in 1839, wrote what appears to be the earliest published method for the new instrument as well as his *Six Mélodies pour le cor à pistons*, CG 566.[10] It is important to note that both Meifred and Gounod advocated in their *méthodes* an approach to the new instrument that incorporated the hand-technique of the older instrument in conjunction with the use of the valves.[11] Gounod was keen to stress that the valves should not be used all the time, lest the horn "degenerate into a kind of trombone."[12] Gounod believed the natural horn's variety of timbres to be part of "the charm of its power of varied expression" and that if the player only used the valves it would lead

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[8] Jeffrey Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Horn* (London: Routledge, 2021), 95.

[9] Fromental Halévy, *La Juive,* ed. Philip Gossett and Charles Rosen (New York: Garland, 1980), 37–39, 478, 628.

[10] Charles Gounod, *Méthode de cor à pistons*, CG 640 (Paris: Richault, n.d. c. 1839); *Six Mélodies pour le cor à pistons*, CG 566 (Paris: Richault, n.d. c. 1839). It seems strange that Gounod, not a trained horn player, would publish a method for the valve horn. Given that the valve horn was in its infancy it may have been an effort on his part to ensure that more horn players were capable of performing his *Six Mélodies.*

[11] Gounod, *Méthode de cor à pistons.* Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840).

[12] Gounod, *Méthode de cor à pistons*, 10: "Or le cor ordinaire é tant quant à la qualité du son complètement exempt du défaut de monotonie il faut autant que possible, que l'invention des pistons ne vienne pas détruire le charme du cette variété de timbre: c'est à l'adresse, au soin et an goût de l'instrumentiste que nous recommandons de maintenir cette couleur propre au cor et de ne pas le faire dégénérer en une sorte de Trombone alternativement Tenor ou Bariton."

to an “equality of tone which is unnatural in expression, and which might cause the horn, with pistons, to be regarded as a monotonous instrument.”[13]

Unlike his contemporaries in Germany, Gounod’s enthusiasm for the new instrument, even when played incorporating aspects of the natural horn technique, appears short-lived, with the majority of his works being written for the older instrument. These works include the orchestral natural horn parts of his most famous operas *Faust,* CG 4 (1856-59), and *Roméo et Juliette*, CG 9 (1867), as well as chamber works such as the *Petite Symphonie*, CG 560 (1885).[14] Gounod’s choices are in keeping with a general trend in France in which, bar the flurry of enthusiasm for the valve horn in the late 1830s through to the 1840s, as seen in compositions such as Halévy’s *La Juive* (1835) and *Charles VI* (1841), Meyerbeer’s *Le Prophète* (1836-49) (all compositions cited as the most worthy to emulate by the evangelical Meifred in his 1851 *Notice sur la fabrication des instruments de musique en cuivre*), the *status quo* remained as being a section of natural horns or, if a pair of valve horns were required, these instruments being relegated to the third and fourth horns.[15]

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[13] Gounod, *Méthode de cor à pistons*, 10: “Il y a également outre cette différence de ton, une différence de son qui ne contribue pas peu à changer le caractère de la note. Nous recommandons très particulièrement cette étude des nuances. Ce n’est que par un discernement consciencieux de la valeur de chaque note que l’on pourra empêcher les pistons de leur donner dans le chant cette égalité parfaite qui n’est pas d’une expression naturelle, et qui porterait à regarder le cor à pistons comme un instrument monotone.”

[14] Charles Gounod, *Faust* (Paris: Choudens, n.d. c. 1860); *Roméo et Juliette*, CG 9 (Paris: Choudens Père et Fils, n.d. c. 1876); *Petite symphonie* (Paris: Costallat, 1904).

[15] Fromental Halévy *La Juive* (1835) and *Charles VI* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1843). Giacomo Meyerbeer *Le prophête* (Paris: Brandus et Cie, n.d. c.1851). Meifred includes Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots* (1836) in his list of good examples which is confusing as there are no valve horn parts in this work. Giacomo Meyerbeer *Les Huguenots* (Paris: Schlesinger, n.d. c.1836). Joseph Meifred*, Notice sur la fabrication des instruments de musique en cuivre, en général, et sur celle du cor chromatique, en particulier* (Paris: De Soy, 1851), 15.

French criticism was levelled primarily at the timbre of the new valved horn which was deemed substandard to the natural horn, and it was on these grounds that Berlioz initially held reservations regarding the new instrument. Berlioz surmised that "[t]he tone of the piston horn is a little different from that of the usual horn; it would not do to substitute it on any occasion" and that it "should be treated rather as a special instrument whose particular feature is the provision of a good strong, agile bass line though without the force of the tenor trombone's low notes."[16]

Whilst Berlioz was initially dubious of the piston horn his view shifted c.1842 due to his positive experiences of the instrument in Germany.[17] Given that the Germans

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[16] Hector Berlioz, *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration Modernes*, Op. 10 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1843), 186. Translation from Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise: a translation and commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 181. Berlioz's use of the valve horn in this capacity, i.e. providing "a good strong, agile bass line", can be seen in his directions for the fourth horn to use pistons alongside three natural horns in the Part 4, Scene 17, "Récitatif et chasse" in *La damnation de Faust* (1845) in particular bars 54–58, 69–74 and 78–82. Whilst these bars are not impossible on the natural horn, the use of the valve horn here can provide exactly the type of "strong" and "agile bass line" that Berlioz admired in the instrument. Hector Berlioz, *La damnation de Faust*, H111 ed. Julian Rushton (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1979), 395–400. Elsewhere in this work Berlioz's indications suggest a preference for the natural horn in his insistence that middle D's and low B-flats are stopped. For this see the fourth horn part, Part 2, Scene 6, recitative "Vrai dieu! messieurs", bars 235–239 and 24. Berlioz, *La damnation de Faust*, H111 ed. Rushton, 153–154..

[17] Macdonald has also suggested that the horn player "A, Raoux" (Marcel Auguste Raoux 1795–1871) also swayed Berlioz's opinion on this matter citing a letter from Berlioz in reply to Raoux. It appears that Raoux wrote to Berlioz in light of Berlioz's *Revue et Gazette Musicale* no. (9 January 1842) stating that that he had made improvements to the *cor à pistons*. Berlioz's reply invites Raoux to visit him as he wishes to "see the improvements you have made in the fabrication of this instrument". I would suggest that, given the date of this correspondence, the "improvements" would be the addition of the third valve, as this was a much debated development during this period. This change of technology can be seen in the differences between the two-valved horn illustrated in the first edition of Joseph Meifred's *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (1840) and the three-valved instrument in the second edition (1849). Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise*, 180–185. Hector Berlioz "De l'instrumentation" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale* no. 2 (9 January 1842), 9–11. Hector Berlioz, *Correspondance générale,* ed. Pierre Citron (Paris: Flammarion, 1975), vol. 2, 713. "Je vous remercie, Monsieur, des renseignements que vous voulez bien me communiquer sur le cor à pistons*;* je ne négligerai rien pour constater les améliorations que vous avez apportées dans la fabrication de cet instrument, et l'occasion de vous rendre justice se présentera dans peu. Si vous voulez prendre la peine de passer chez moi vendredi prochain à 11 heures du matin, je vous attendrai."Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840). Second edition Paris: Richault, 1849).

used rotary horns and the French used piston horns it is plausible that Berlioz's change of opinion was influenced by the different technology available to the German players.

Berlioz's compositions veer between natural horn and piston horn and can pose problems in determining which was preferred. This is partially due to his revisions of some works post-1843 (for example later versions of *Symphonie fantastique* and *Lélio*) in which his scoring for the horn changes. Berlioz manages aspects of performance in his detailed directions, for example the opening six bars of Part 1, Scene 4, No. 4, *L'enfance du Christ,* H130 (1853–4, figure 0:1), in which he indicates the use of *bouché* (i.e. stopped) notes plus directions to use valves for the written middle G in order for that note to be played with the same effect.[18]



Figure 0:1 Bars 1–6, first horn part, Hector Berlioz, Part 1, Scene 4, No. 4, *L'enfance du Christ,* H 130, ed. David Lloyd-Jones (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1998), 45.

[18] Hector Berlioz, *L'enfance du Christ,* H 130, ed. David Lloyd-Jones (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1998), 45. The term *bouché*, from the French verb *boucher,* refers to the stopping of the bell of the horn. As Macdonald has pointed out this should not be confused with the term *cuivré* or *faites cuivrer le son* (for example bars 90–91, Scene XVII "La course à l'abîme" in *La damnation de Faust*) which refers to a "brassy" sound, something achievable on both open and stopped notes. Berlioz's other directions for timbral alterations include *pavillons en l'air* (bells in the air, for example V. "Songe d'une Nuit du Sabbat" in *Symphonie fantastique*, H48 bars 29–30) and the use of mutes (earlier versions of the "Chœur d'ombres" in *Lélio*, bars 51–57 are scored initially for four muted horns, later rescored for the first horn using hand stopping on a valve horn. Berlioz and Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise,* 179–180. Berlioz, *La damnation de Faust*, ed. Julian Rushton, 412. Hector Berlioz, *Symphonie fantastique, H*48, ed. Nicholas Temperley (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1971), 121–2. Hector Berlioz, *Lélio*, H55 (original manuscript, 1831). Bibliotheque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): MS-1511, 20. Hector Berlioz, *Lélio*, H55, ed. Peter Bloom (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1992), 23.

Given that, on the natural horn, with the exception of a small number of notes (see Chapter Four, figure 4:3, 160) notes are either stopped or open, it would be impossible to play the written middle G as a stopped note on the natural horn. Thus Berlioz could (and in places, does) imply the use of one or the other instrument by his indications as to whether certain notes should be played stopped or open. Had Berlioz merely marked the G in bars 4–5 as *bouché* a player would recognise this passage as requiring valves, in the same way as the recitative "Vrai dieu! messieurs" in *La damnation de Faust* (cited above, footnote 16) implies natural horn.

This also highlights another issue with Berlioz, in that he often omits explicit directions as to whether he was expecting natural horn or valve horn, therefore performers have to look for contextual information, such as his directions to use stopped or open notes, in order to discern what was required. In *L'enfance du Christ*, no direction is given at the outset as to whether the horn parts were for natural horn (often denoted as *cor* or *cor ordinaire*) or valve horn (*cor chromatique*, *cor à pistons* or *cor à cylindres*).[19] This passage (figure 0:1) is the only section requiring valves in a work that otherwise is playable on the natural horn.

In general, Berlioz is more informative as to where to use valves than when to return to the natural horn. This can be seen in numerous places in *Les Troyens,* for example Act 1, No. 1 Chœur, bar 139 in which he directs all four horns to change to

[19] *Cor chromatique* being the general term for a valve horn. *Cor à pistons* is a valve horn utilising piston valves whilst the *cor à cylindres* uses rotary valves. The former emerged as the dominant design in France whilst the latter as the dominant in Germany.

cor à pistons.[20] The following movement (Act 1, No. 2 Récitatif et Air) is written entirely in the natural horn idiom, but Berlioz does not specify to return to this instrument. His direction, in bars 18– 23 of the third horn part and in bars 24–28 of the first horn part (figure 0:2), to play certain notes as *sons bouchés,* complete with the associated O (open) and + (stopped) markings for the notes of the natural horn indicate Berlioz's insistence that this passage be played on the natural horn or on a piston horn played as a natural horn.[21]

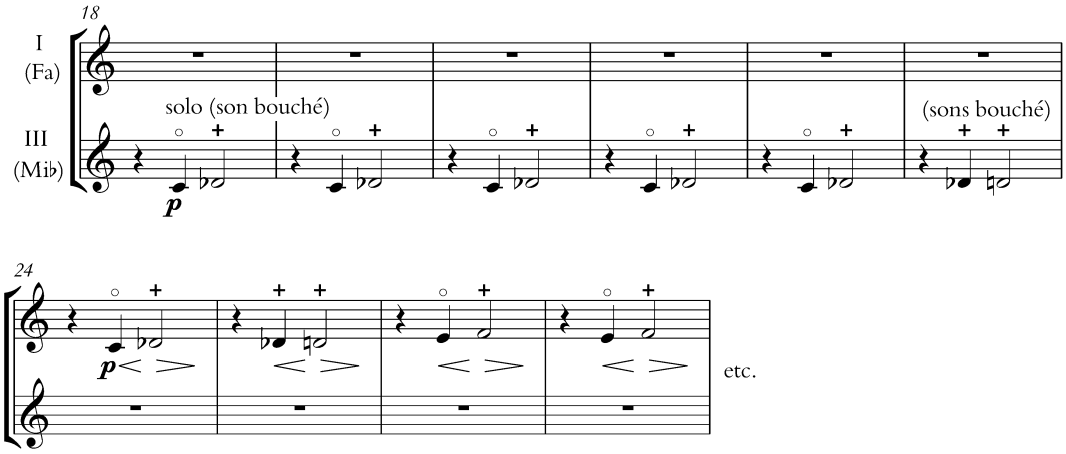


Figure 0:2: Bars 18– 23 of the third horn part and in bars 24–28 of the first horn part, Hector Berlioz, Act 1, No. 2 Récitatif et Air, *Les Troyens,* H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1969), 22.

Whilst Berlioz clearly was less hesitant to use the piston horn post c.1843, he never stopped writing for the natural horn.[22] As the century progressed French composers continued to write for horn sections entirely made up for natural horns, or combined sections of two natural horns and two valved horns. In these combined sections the

[20] Hector Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1969), 22.

[21] Berlioz, *Les Troyens*, ed. Macdonald, 37–38.

[22] For example, his inclusion of two natural horns throughout his last opera *Béatrice et Bénédic*t, H138 (1860–62). Hector Berlioz, *Béatrice et Bénédict,* H138, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1980).

pair of natural horns was still the “superior” pair, for example, in compositions such as Ambroise Thomas (1811–1896) *Hamlet* (1868) which is scored for first and second on natural horn, and third and fourth on *cor à pistons*.[23] The concept of the piston horn being somewhat inferior or even having negative associations is seen in Delibes’s *Lakmé* (1883) which is scored almost exclusively for four natural horns, except the Act 2 dances (No. 8 “Airs de Danse”, “Terâna, and “Coda”), and the military music passages associated with the British characters (i.e., the “bad guys”) which are scored for the third and fourth and a pair of offstage horns (often the same players as the third and fourth parts) on *cor à pistons* (Act 3, No. 19 “Ciel ! ... Alerte ! ... Nos soldats !”).[24]

Whilst such uses of the valve horn allude to the utilitarian use of valved brass in the military, it is not a given that French composers would automatically turn to the instrument for similar passages. Georges Bizet (1838–1875) writes for four natural horns throughout his 1875 opera *Carmen* and in order to double the solo *cornet à pistons* (cornet) in the Act I chorus “Et la garde descendante”, the fanfare-like material needs to be divided between four horns, each in a different key, with the first horn in G, second in F, third in D and fourth in C basso (figure 0:3).[25]

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[23] Ambroise Thomas, *Hamlet* (Paris: Heugel, n.d. c.1869).

[24] Léo Delibes, *Lakmé* (Paris: Heugel, n.d.), 208–248, 431–436.

[25] Georges Bizet, *Carmen*, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Lepizig: Peters, 1999), 82–84.



Figure 0:3: Bars 230–245, Act I “Et la garde descendante”, Georges Bizet, *Carmen*, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Lepizig: Peters, 1999), 82–84.

This is a clear example of a late nineteenth-century French composer writing in a time and place where valved brass technology was available, and yet choosing to write for four natural horns where one valved horn would have sufficed, thus demonstrating the priorities of the French school of the natural horn over the valved instrument.

In the closing two decades of the nineteenth century French composers continued to write for sections including a first pair of natural horns, for example Jules Massenet’s (1842–1912) in *Hérodiade* (1881) and *Manon* (1884) or Camille Saint–Saëns (1835–1921) *Samson et Dalila*, Op.47 (1877) and his Symphony No. 3 in C minor, Op. 78

(1886).[26] However in the same period we finally start to see a shift towards valve horn sections in works by Massenet (*Le Cid* in 1885), César Franck (1822–1890), Ernest Chausson (1855–1899) and Claude Debussy (1862–1918).[27] Whilst a valve horn section had become the standard by the close of the century the instrument continues to appear in early twentieth-century works such as Maurice Ravel's (1875–1937) 1910 orchestration of his *Pavane pour une infante défunte.*[28]

As a result of this history, for many horn players today the French insistence on retaining the natural horn has been seen as an almost pedantic quirk, holding out against a necessary modernisation.[29] Others have argued that the proficiency of the players ensured the survival of the instrument. For instance Birchard Coar, in his 1952 study of "Nineteenth Century Horn Virtuosi in France", concludes that:

> it seems advisable to point out that the use of the hand horn in the orchestras of France until the late date of 1900 was not necessarily a sign that they were

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[26] Jules Massenet, *Hérodiade* (Paris: Heugel & Cie., n.d. c.1892) and Manon (Paris: G. Hartmann, n.d. c.1884). Camille Saint–Saëns, *Samson et Dalila*, Op. 47 (Paris: Durand & Cie. n.d. c.1929) and Symphony No. 3 in C minor, Op. 78 (Paris: Durand & Schoenewerk, n.d. c.1886).

[27] *Le Cid* (Paris: G. Hartmann, n.d. c.1885). The earliest compositions for a section of four valved horns includes Franck, *Les Éolides*, FWV 43 / CFF 127 in 1876, Chausson *Viviane*, Op. 5 in 1882 and Debussy *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* in 1894). César Franck, *Les Éolides*, FWV 43 / CFF 127 (London: Ernst Eulenburg, n.d.). Ernest Chausson, *Viviane,* Op. 5 (Paris: Bornemann, n.d. c.1893). Claude Debussy *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune* (Paris: E. Fromont, n.d. c.1895).

[28] Maurice Ravel *Pavane pour une Infante défunte* M19 (Paris: E. Demets, 1910). Given the element of nostalgia in this work, Ravel's use of the natural horn may well be intentionally evoking a bygone age.

[29] "The fear of losing their place as skilled hand horn players was possibly one of the many driving forces to avoid the valve horn in France… No matter if it was fear of being replaced, or just genuine dislike for change in what they had come to love, the French had good reasons to avoid the valve." Julie Jacobson, "The Persistence of the Natural Horn in 19th-Century France" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 49, no. 2 (February 2019), 88.

> backward. The hand horn was retained because its players were excellent musicians and could produce satisfactory results.[30]

What has not been investigated previously is the idea that during the crucial period in which the newly invented valve-horn was gaining acceptance and establishing itself in a number of places as the principal design of horn and technique of horn playing, the natural horn had inherent characteristics that chimed with the stylistic concerns of the French musical scene. In this thesis I will argue that elements of performance practice that the French especially prized during this period, especially those central to vocal performance, made the natural horn, rather than the early valve horn, the favoured instrument, as is especially demonstrated by the Conservatoire continuing to teaching it throughout the nineteenth century, and French composers writing for it into the twentieth.[31] Furthermore, portamento and timbral shifts, two mainstays of stylistic singing during this period which I will investigate in the course of my thesis, are elements of twentieth/twenty-first century HIP (historically informed performance) horn playing that have been considered undesirable in current performance practice. This is a viewpoint deeply embedded in modern horn schooling, which has prioritised homogenous sound and clean articulation (goals which are common to those of many contemporary instrumentalists and vocalists).

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[30] Birchard Coar, *A Critical Study of the Nineteenth Century Horn Virtuosi in France* (DeKalb, IL: Birchard Coar, 1952), 107.

[31] See John Humphries, *The Early Horn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 19–20.

Jacques-François Gallay and horn teaching at the Paris Conservatoire

> We both sing, only the instrument is different.[32]

The central figure of this study, Jacques-François Gallay (1795–1864), is regarded as a, if not the, leading natural horn player of the first half of the nineteenth century and a performer responsible for the maintained use of this instrument in a time of transition.[33] Thanks to his position as *cor solo* (principal) horn of the Théâtre-Italien, a role he held from 1825 until c.1843, Gallay was part of a number of important and powerful circles that revolved around this institution, making it a crucial element of his relationship with singers, his repertoire and, I would argue, his musical style.

As professor at the Conservatoire from 1842 until his death in 1864, he held a highly influential position which undoubtedly helped promote his approach to playing the instrument. The primacy of the natural horn in France is well demonstrated by the Conservatoire's decision in 1864, when faced with both Gallay's death whilst still employed as professor of natural horn, and the retirement of the valve horn professor Meifred, to replace only Gallay, with his former student, the natural horn player Jean-Baptiste Mohr (1823–1891) and to close the valve horn class.

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[32] Giovanni Battista Rubbini, letter to Gallay (Paris: 18 March 1838). Private collection of Daniel Lienhard (Bern, Switzerland). This letter concerns Rubini's acceptance of Gallay's dedication of a work (most probably his Nocturne concertant op. 36) to him. "Nous chantons tous deux ; l'instrument seul est différent" (see Chapter Four, page 186).

[33] "Gallay was the last major hand-horn figure in France." Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "Jacques-François Gallay" in *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com. [Accessed 21 July 2025].

John Humphries has pointed out that the closure of Meifred's valve horn class on his retirement was not entirely surprising given that in 1858 four of his students had abandoned their piston horn studies in favour of the saxhorn and since then the numbers of his students "had dwindled".[34] Furthermore, two of the remaining piston horn students switched to natural horn with Mohr after Meifred's departure.[35] Humphries suggest that whilst the Conservatoire "might have been guilty of short-sightedness" in closing Meifred's class, that the decision was a "practical response to falling numbers".[36]

Meifred's hybrid approach to the early valve horn further demonstrates the importance of natural horn performance practice during this period in his advocacy of a method that fully encompassed the use of the right hand stopping technique in combination with the valves.[37] The Conservatoire valve horn class was only revived, taking over from the natural horn class, under Mohr's student François Brémond

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[34] John Humphries, "Joseph Meifred – from the "literature section" at the Paris Opéra", the *Sixth Romantic Brass Symposium "Romantic Brass in Context"*, Hochschule der Künste Bern, 20–23 April 2023 (publication forthcoming). Humphries data has been taken from annual exam reports accessible online at the Archives Nationales: "Conservatoire national supérieur de musique. Registres de rapports des professeurs sur leurs élèves pour les examens (1842-1925)", *Archives Nationales*, (publication date unknown), https://www.siv.archives-nationales.culture.gouv.fr/siv/IR/FRAN_IR_054954. [Accessed 25 September 2025]

[35] Humphries, "Joseph Meifred – from the "literature section", (publication forthcoming).

[36] Humphries, "Joseph Meifred – from the "literature section", (publication forthcoming).

[37] Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840), i.

(1844–1925) around the turn of the twentieth century.[38] Even during this transition, the French school's insistence on using the natural horn is visible in the pieces set for the annual *concours,* with competition pieces such as Victorin de Joncières (1839–1903) *Solo pour cor en fa* (set in 1898), Alfred Bruneau's (1857–1934) *Fantaisie pour Cor* (set in 1901) Paul Dukas's (1865-1935) *Villanelle* (set in 1906) and Alfred Bachelet's (1864–1944) *Dans la Montagne* (set in 1907) all incorporating passages specifying hand technique.[39]

I was first introduced to the work of Jacques-François Gallay as a student in France around the turn of the millennium. My teacher, Claude Maury, set me one of the *Douze grands caprices pour le cor,* Op. 32, with, I recall, some direction along the lines of "you're a natural horn player studying in France so you're going to learn about the natural horn school of France."

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[38] Brémond stated in a letter to Reginald Morley-Pegge that the natural horn was taught until 1896, the natural horn and piston horn alongside one another 1897–1902, and the piston horn solely from 1903. See: Reginald Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique* (London: E. Benn, first edition 1960, second edition 1973), 3–4. However, there is good circumstantial evidence, particularly in Brémond's publications for piston horn prior to 1897. that suggests Brémond may have been promoting the valve horn earlier than 1897. See Jeffrey Snedeker, "Late nineteenth-century developments at the Conservatoire" in *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Horn* (London: Routledge, 2021), 159–193.

[39] Victorin de Joncières, *Solo pour cor en fa* (Paris: Millereau, n.d. c,1898), Alfred Bruneau, *Fantaisie pour Cor* (manuscript score c.1900), Bibliotheque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): RES VMA MS-523. Paul Dukas, *Villanelle* (Paris: Durand & Fils, 1906). Alfred Bachelet, *Dans la Montagne* (Paris: Evette & Schaeffer, n.d. c.1907).

Gallay subsequently became a mainstay of my repertoire and I made four CD recordings of a variety of his works, released between 2012 and 2018.[40] At the same time, I was performing with groups such as the Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique (under the directorship of Sir John Eliot Gardiner), ensemble Pygmalion (dir. Raphaël Pichon) and Les Musiciens du Louvre (dir. Marc Minkowski) which gave me frequent opportunities to perform nineteenth-century French music, especially large-scale works and operas.[41] Working with the Italian ensemble Europa Galante (dir. Fabio Biondi) similarly offered many chances to play Italian operatic works.[42]

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[40] Anneke Scott (horn). 2012. *Jacques-François Gallay: Préludes, Caprices & Fantaisies.* CD. RES10114. United Kingdom: Resonus Classics; Les Chevaliers de Saint Hubert (Anneke Scott, Joseph Walters, Jorge Renteria-Campos, Martin Lawrence). 2013. *Jacques-François Gallay: Chamber music for natural horn ensemble.* CD. RES10123. United Kingdom: Resonus Classics; Anneke Scott (horn), Lucy Crowe (soprano), Steven Devine (piano). 2015. *Songs of Love, War and Melancholy: Operatic Fantasias by Gallay.* CD. RES10153. United Kingdom: Resonus Classics; Anneke Scott (horn), Steven Devine (piano). 2018. *Le cor mélodique: Mélodies, Vocalises & Chants by Gounod, Meifred & Gallay.* CD. RES10228. United Kingdom: Resonus Classics.

[41] Projects with Sir John Eliot Gardiner and the Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique included: Hector Berlioz, *Roméo et Juliette* (2016), *La Damnation de Faust* (2017), *Le Corsaire* Overture (2018), *La mort de Cléopâtre* (2018), *Symphonie fantastique* (2018), *Lélio* (2018), *Harold en Italie* (2018), *Benvenuto Cellini* (2019), *Les nuits d'été*, Op. 7 (2021), *L'enfance du Christ*, Op. 25 (2021), *Les Troyens* (2023); Emmanuel Chabrier, *L'Étoile* (2007); Georges Bize,t *Carmen* (2009;, Claude Debussy, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (2010); Carl Maria von Weber/Hector Berlioz, *Le Freischütz* (2011). Projects with Raphaël Pichon and Pygmailon: Léo Delibes, *Lakmé* (2022). Recordings of these projects: Sir John Eliot Gardiner, Monteverdi Choir, Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique. 2021. *Bizet: Carmen*. DVD; Sir John Eliot Gardiner, Monteverdi Choir, Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique. 2021. *Berlioz: Benvenuto Cellini*. DVD. CVS020. France: Château de Versailles Spectacles; Sir John Eliot Gardiner, Lucile Richardot (contralto). Orchestre Révolutionnaire et Romantique. 2019. *Berlioz: Symphonie Fantastique.* DVD. CVS011. France: Château de Versailles Spectacles; 2110685-86. Germany: Naxos; Raphaël Pichon. Pygmalion. 2024. *Delibes: Lakmé*. DVD. NBD0177V. Germany Naxos.

[42] Projects with Fabio Biondi and Europa Galante included Vincenzo Bellini *Norma* (2001 and 2010)*, I Capuletti e I Montecchi* (2014)*;* Gaetano Donizetti *Anna Bolena* (2013)*.* Recordings of these projects: Fabio Biondi. Europa Galante. 2016. *Bellini: Norma.* Blu-ray. 109199. Austria: Arthaus; Fabio Biondi. Europa Galante. 2015. *Bellini: I Capuleti e I Montecchi*. CD. GCD923404. Spain: Glossa; Fabio Biondi. Europa Galante. 2015. *Donizetti: Anna Bolena*. Blu-ray. 57687. Italy: Dynamic.

Questioning the current aesthetic goals of natural horn playing

When I undertook my initial studies on the natural horn as an undergraduate in the late 1990s in London, two of the most important rules of natural horn playing were given to be:

- That one should aim to blend the open and the stopped notes of the instrument so that the differences between them could barely be perceived.

- That one should avoid, at all costs, any smearing of the pitch between the open and stopped notes or vice versa.

The concern about this second rule extended to some espousing the view that the natural horn could not play a true legato, which is formed by the airflow not being interrupted by articulation with the tongue. The disadvantage of this approach on the natural horn is that continuing the airflow will lead to a portamento liaison between open and stopped notes. In order to avoid this it has been advocated to use a form of legato tonguing in which the tongue gently interrupts the air stream, an approach which is similar to that used by the slide trombone.[43]

These two key tenets of contemporary natural horn playing are, I now believe, inaccurate depictions of the French school during the 1810s–1850s. Whilst many

[43] An example of this can be see in Johannes Wojciechowski's edition of Luigi Cherubini's Sonatas in which the original slurs are removed in favour of tenuto marks, a typical way of indicating legato tongue. Luigi Cherubini, *2 Sonaten für Waldhorn (oder Engl. Horn) und Streichorchester,* ed. Johannes Wojciechowksi (Hamburg: Musikverlag Hans Sikorski GmbH & Co. KG, 1954).

modern promoters of this approach have incorporated valid information from the sources of the time, these rules are clearly biased towards a late-twentieth-century concept of the sound of the horn.

Instead, I maintain that by disregarding these rules horn players can engage with two particularly important elements of early-nineteenth-century vocal performance practice: portamento and timbre. Changes in timbre (see Chapter Five) were used by singers to help express characterisation and emotion and the use of portamento (see Chapter Six) was considered "the perfection of vocal music".[44] Although it will not be examined in this study, the use of vibrato by both singers and horn players would, I believe, provide a further, fruitful, course of investigation and one which would benefit from a similar methodology to that used here, i.e. studying reports of performances of the time, pedagogical sources for the horn, the voice and other instruments, and the music written.

The concept of what constitutes a "characteristic" timbre on the modern horn is hard to articulate, many choosing to use words such as "round", "full", "velvety" etc. In the context of discussing the difference between American, English and French "tonal concepts", Gunther Schuller remarked that "[t]he various viewpoints on horn tone are held with a fierce devotion that one encounters otherwise only in religious controversies", thus indicating a variation across the globe.[45] It has been argued that

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[44] Domenico Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor* (London: Chappell & Co., n.d. c.1810), 3.

[45] Gunter Schuller, *Horn Technique,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 14.

the variations in schools of horn playing that Schuller witnessed in the mid-twentieth century are less clear-cut today.[46]

In 1956, Philip Farkas, one of the most influential horn players and teachers of the twentieth century, pointed out that whilst "[t]one quality is a relative thing and differs with each country…we [i.e. horn players] have quite a clear conception of characteristic qualities; and it is these qualities which we strive to produce on the various instruments."[47]

Like a number of other commentators, Farkas prevaricates as to what exactly is the "beautiful, natural, characteristic tone" that one should "strive for", instead warning against being "[t]oo dark, too bright, too open, too closed, too brassy, too smooth".[48] Elsewhere Farkas deems the "characteristic tone of the horn" as being "veiled, smooth, and mysterious."[49]

Heather Graham-Crump, in the typical "short history" that often opens method books for the horn, describes the twentieth-century global trend towards German-designed horns as favouring a "louder and darker" sound in comparison to the "thin, pure tone

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[46] "As a result of the similarity of most players' instruments, there is far less variety today". Robert Evans, "The post-classical horn" in Trevor Herbert and John Wallace, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 215–216. See also Wendell (Pete) Exline, "Two Surveys of European Horn Playing Styles: 1964–65", International Horn Society (2012). https://www.hornsociety.org/multimedia-mainmenu/european-style-surveys [Access date: 13 June 2024].

[47] Philip Farkas, *The Art of French Horn Playing* (Evanston, Illinois: Summy-Birchard Company, 1956), 52.

[48] Farkas, *The Art of French Horn Playing*, 52.

[49] Farkas, *The Art of French Horn Playing*, 12.

of the horn made by the French".[50] Furthermore, when discussing the status quo at the time of publication (1988) she points out that

> designs of the German horns are manufactured all over the world today, but perhaps they cannot compare with the mysterious silvery quality of the old French instruments, which are returning to favour with the renewed interest in performing Classical and Baroque music on instruments of the period.

Many modern players and makers agree that a range of timbres, appropriate to the repertoire and/or occasion, are desirable, as can be seen in a 2019 advert by Yamaha which claims that "[t]he YHR-871D is designed to help players achieve their ultimate goal of expression and artistry" in producing "tonal characteristics that span the entire spectrum of sound - from a rich, centred tone with depth and warmth to a lively, responsive tone that stands out on demand."[51] A recent Dürk Horns advert nebulously promises "the real magic sound that a horn must create."[52]

Hand-in-hand with a "good and appropriate" sound is the desirability of an evenness of such tone across the range of the instrument and unimpaired by the requirements of a variety of dynamics/tempos/articulations. Matthew C. Haislip's exploration of Bordogni's *Vocalises* recommends these works in order for students to master "sound production", a fundamental of good horn playing which he describes as "the

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[50] Heather Graham-Crump, *The Complete Horn Method*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 5.

[51] Yamaha, "The YHR-871D Custom Horn" in *The Horn Call,* vol. 49, no. 2 (February 2019), 9.

[52] Dürk Horns, "D10 Allegrini experience", *The Horn Call,* vol. 54, no. 2 (February 2024), 9.

root of all that we attempt to do on the instrument."[53] Haislip describes the process: "[w]e must first produce a beautiful mid-register sound and then take that sound higher, lower, louder, softer, faster and slower."[54]

Haislip believes that "[m]aintaining a beautiful sound across all ranges of the horn is often what separates the greatest hornists from the rest", going on to repeat the view that it is this factor that constitutes a "vocal" quality. It is this attitude, here expressed by Haislip, that a homogenous, beautiful sound across the whole four-octave-plus range of the horn equates to vocality, that permeates the modern concept of horn sound.[55]

Allied to the goal of a homogenous sound are the clean changes between notes which are feasible with the modern design of valves. Practitioners seek out designs of horns with fast acting valves, and the efficiency of the valves is viewed as critical to performers being able to perform accurately. Horn maker Engelbert Schmid expresses the value ascribed to good valves in saying that "[b]esides the sound as the soul of the horn, the valves are a second kind of soul of the instrument."[56]

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[53] Matthew C. Haislip, "Benefits of the Bordogni *Vocalises* for Horn Study" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 52, no.3 (May 2022), 84. Whilst Haislip refers to the inclusion of a number of Bordogni's *Vocalises* in Meifred's *Méthode* his study considers them more generally, including the transcriptions by other composers and proposing use of the original Bordogni versions.

[54] Haislip, "Benefits of the Bordogni *Vocalises"*, 84.

[55] Haislip, "Benefits of the Bordogni *Vocalises"*, 84.

[56] Ellie Jenkins, "A Profile of Engelbert Schmid" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 49, no. 2 (February 2019), 73.

It is my belief that in order to get a truer picture of the style of horn playing in France circa 1810s-1850s we should reverse the above rules:

- Instead of blending the open and the stopped notes of the instrument we should, if appropriate, actively use the different timbres afforded us.

- Portamento, an effect inherent in, but not restricted to, going from stopped to open notes and vice versa, should be introduced into our playing of the instrument.

In doing so we harness two key expressive devices—timbral variety and portamento—that were common practice for singers and many other instrumentalists during this era.

Research questions and methodology

My hypothesis, that we should harness these expressive devices, came about as a result of my professional performing opportunities and the research I was undertaking as part of my own recording projects. I started to formulate a number of questions: was there more to the assertion that Gallay's prowess as both a player and a teacher led to the French school holding on to the natural horn far longer than

other geographical regions?[57] Could there be something inherent in the capabilities of the natural horn that, allied with the aesthetics and the style and taste in France, led them to value and preserve the instrument?

Additional questions emerged. Horn players do have a significant number of pedagogical sources from the period, yet much subtlety is needed to interpret their picture of performance practice, especially given the model that many musical methods followed of first expounding on the "correct" (right notes, right dynamic, right time…) before turning to the "beautiful" (style, taste, nuance)? Explaining these latter nuances in text is difficult and many musical methods, when reaching the point of discussing these points, reverted to directing the student towards emulating gifted musicians who, more often than not, were singers. The difficulties in conveying such nuances were such that some, for instance García (voice), de Bériot (violin), and Dieppo (trombone), utilised highly annotated and quasi-graphic scores, endeavouring to illuminate the dark arts of style, sharing details that musical scores from the era rarely fully convey.[58]

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[57] Jeffrey L. Snedeker states that the influence of Gallay and his teacher Dauprat, both as teachers and performers "may be viewed as a primary reason why handhom playing remained popular in Paris to the very end of the nineteenth century, well after valved instruments were in general use elsewhere". Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "Fétis and the 'Meifred' Horn" in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, vol. 23 (Autumn 1997), f.n. 2, 121.

[58] Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant*, vol. 2 (Paris: Manuel García, 1847) 82–104. Charles Auguste de Bériot, *Méthode de violon,* vol. 3 (Paris: de Bériot, 1858), 215. Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombonne* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 60.

In terms of discovering more about historical performance practice, modern day HIP relies heavily on organology. This is especially crucial for nineteenth-century HIP wind and brass players whose instruments saw vast changes, with many regional variations, in the design of their instruments. These changes have implications for performance practice and much emphasis has been laid on how interaction with and feedback from these instruments can be used to inform and inspire performances today.

Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell include “surviving instruments” as their first example of the “application of primary sources” in their introduction to historical performance, explaining that these instruments “offer much tangible help in forging historically aware performances, providing the vital apparatus for ‘laboratory’ experiments in matters of technique, interpretation and style.”[59] The evidence from many of these instruments makes it clear that they operated in a different way from their modern-day equivalents, thus encouraging us to explore their potentials. If this is the first “primary source” suggested for instrumentalists, the equivalent situation for singers is very different. With no external, physical equipment to help inform them it has been perhaps more challenging for singers to explore “matters of technique, interpretation and style” which then creates a paradox for instrumentalists being instructed to emulate the singers in order for the instrumentalists to play with style and taste. In effect we have a situation today where HIP instrumentalists are still being directed towards the emulation of singers, and yet HIP singers, partially due the assumption

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[59] Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 18.

that bodies and therefore their “instruments” have not changed, are more rarely engaging with sources pertaining to performance practice.

On the natural horn, the means of creating the notes via breath, oscillation of the lips, and manipulation of the hand hidden in the bell of the instrument are challenging to describe in both writing and in spoken words. The instrument suffers in this way from similar problems to those faced by singers. Instructions for singers, or accounts of their performances, are essentially subjective, since the mechanism of the voice cannot be seen or described in the way that a violinist’s techniques can be. Furthermore, as Roger Freitas has argued, “[c]ommunication of vocal style […] is always forced to rely on verbal imagery, imagery that often suggests different things to different people.”[60]

To open up the possibility of introducing timbral shifts and portamento into natural horn playing, but also to propose a means of doing so, I concur with Clive Brown that it is necessary to look to the more tangibly expressed treatises of other instruments in order to understand both the mechanics and the aesthetics of these expressive devices.[61] Nevertheless, given the strong links and contemporary comparisons that were made specifically between Gallay, and the singers of his period, I have found it beneficial to turn to vocal practitioners, especially concerning the plurality of timbres

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[60] Roger Freitas, “Towards a Verdian Ideal of Singing: Emancipation from Modern Orthodoxy” in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* vol. 127, no. 2 (2002), 227 quoted in Clive Brown, “Singing and String Playing in Comparison: Instructions for the Technical and Artistic Employment of Portamento and Vibrato in Charles de Bériot’s *Méthode de violon”* in *Zwischen schöpferischer Individualität und künstlerischer Selbstverleugnung*, ed. Claudio Bacciagaluppi/Roman Brotbeck/ Anselm Gerhard, (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2009), 85.

[61] Clive Brown, “Singing and String Playing”, 85.

and the concept of using portamento as a way to navigate between two categories of timbres.

In this thesis I will argue that elements of performance practice that the French prized, especially those central to vocal performance, are what made the natural horn, rather than the early valve horn, the favoured instrument. Unfortunately, portamento and timbral shifts, two mainstays of stylistic singing during this period which I will investigate in the course of my thesis, are elements of HIP horn playing that have been considered undesirable in current performance practice. This is a viewpoint deeply embedded in modern horn schooling, which has prioritised homogenous sound and clean articulation.

In approaching these questions I found it necessary to adopt a multi-layered methodology that combined historical, organological, and practical strands. This was not simply a matter of surveying sources and applying them uncritically, but of piecing together fragments of evidence, often oblique, partial, or inconsistent, into a framework that could inform present-day HIP. The very nature of portamento, an expressive device rarely notated and only inconsistently described in text, meant that my method had to be flexible, triangulating between written sources, contemporary reception, organological practice, and the crucial but chronologically distant evidence of early recordings.

A first step was to establish the documentary basis of nineteenth-century attitudes toward portamento. For this I turned to pedagogical writings: the horn methods of Heinrich Domnich, Louis-François Dauprat and Gallay, but also vocal treatises and instrumental methods for strings and winds. These sources not only discuss portamento and timbre but, also raise the broader aesthetic issues of “taste” and “expression”. Dauprat, for example, quotes extensively from the Conservatoire *Méthode de chan*t, thereby aligning horn pedagogy with vocal ideals. Reading these methods alongside treatises by singers and instrumentalists allowed me to discern both consistencies and divergences in how portamento and timbre were conceptualised. It also revealed a recurring emphasis on the human voice as the ultimate model, a reminder that any discussion of portamento or timbre on the horn must reckon with its vocal analogue.

However, I was acutely aware of the limitations of such sources. Methods are prescriptive, not descriptive; they tell us what teachers thought ought to happen, not what performers necessarily actually did. This prompted me to integrate a second strand of evidence: critical reception. A first step in this process was to collate a database of early nineteenth-century reviews and commentaries on Gallay, his playing and teaching. Reviews of such performances provide a window into contemporary listening habits and expectations. While critics rarely singled out portamento and timbre explicitly, their praise (or censure) of “style” or “expression” can be read, cautiously, as commentary on such devices.

A third strand of my methodology was organological. As a performer on the natural horn with many years of experience in the field of early nineteenth-century performance practice, I am well placed not only to explore how written sources demonstrate how performers taught the instrument and how audiences heard it, but also to experiment with the instrument itself. The hand-stopping technique, in particular, generates subtle liaisons between open and closed notes, creating effects that can easily tip into portamento. Modern horn pedagogy tends to discourage these, treating them as blemishes to be smoothed over, but I approached them differently: as potentially intentional expressive resources. This was a practical, embodied method: at times speculative, always provisional, but indispensable for grounding my arguments in the physical realities of the natural horn.

The fourth and final strand involved engaging with early recordings. These, of course, post-date Gallay's prime by several decades, but they are nonetheless invaluable. The recordings of singers such as Patti, or instrumentalists such as Joachim, demonstrate the ubiquity and variety of portamento in late nineteenth-century practice. Building on the work of scholars such as Leech-Wilkinson and the CHARM team, I treated these recordings not as direct evidence of Gallay's world but as an audible demonstration of how portamento functioned musically: when it was deployed, how it was varied, and how it shaped phrasing. Recordings also reminded me that portamento was not a monolithic gesture but a family of practices, ranging from the discreet to the extravagant, each carrying its own expressive weight.

The value of this triangulated methodology lies precisely in the interplay between its strands. Treatises alone might suggest an idealised, perhaps sanitised practice; reviews hint at reception but rarely offer technical detail; recordings supply sonic evidence but from a later era; organology tests feasibility but cannot supply historical context. Only by bringing them into dialogue can we approach a plausible picture of natural horn playing in France during the 1810s–50s.

This approach also reflects my broader philosophy of HIP research. Rather than treating historical sources as commandments to be obeyed, I consider them as invitations to creative reconstruction. Portamento, in particular, resists codification: its essence lies in nuance, taste, and discretion. Accordingly, my method acknowledges its elusiveness. It does not attempt to pin down a definitive rulebook but instead seeks to open a space of historically informed possibility—an imaginative but grounded framework within which today's performers can experiment.

In summary, my methodology for studying portamento and timbre on the nineteenth-century horn is best described as layered. It involves reading prescriptive sources against descriptive ones, testing textual ideals against instrumental realities. Above all, it treats portamento and timbre not as isolated techniques but as prisms through which to glimpse the wider aesthetic, pedagogical, and expressive values of French musical culture in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Part One of my study starts with the present day. In Chapter One I aim to explore the culture around the resurgence of the natural horn and the specific attitudes in the horn community towards the ancestral instrument. On this basis I will suggest that crucial aspects of what has been perceived as correct horn playing have unduly influenced how we now play the natural horn. This modern aesthetic of playing the natural horn has led to practitioners both failing to engage with elements of portamento, but also to distorted ideas concerning what might be achievable/ desirable concerning the balance of natural and open notes.

Chapter Two, gives an overview of the sources investigated and of pertinent scholarship which focusses mainly on a review of that pertaining to the horn but also includes research into singing and singers and that of other instrumentalists, as these sources are vital in order to suggest plausible performance techniques for the horn.

In **Part Two**, my study will turn to style (Chapter Three) and to analysis of two key expressive devices of the early nineteenth century: timbral shifts (Chapter Four) and portamento (Chapter Five). These chapters will investigate writings by horn players on these two topics, looking at comparisons between horn playing, especially that of Gallay, and singers of the era, and looking at the advice promoted by vocalists and other instrumentalists to suggest a methodology via which to use these expressive devices on the horn. I will also deal with the vexed issue of exactly what happens when one stops a note on the horn, arguing that effective portamento is one way of demonstrating the true acoustics of the instrument.

In **Part Three** I give an overview of the development on the horn in France in the nineteenth century, focussing on Louis-François Dauprat and his two pupils; Joseph Meifred and Jacques-François Gallay. The period in which the three were active was one of great change for the instrument with the sonic capabilities of the different forms of the instrument (natural versus valved) creating great debate. Having established this context I will then turn specifically to Gallay, a performer who was consistently linked with what the critics believed to be a particularly vocal style of horn playing and in Chapters seven through to fourteen I provide a biography of the horn player Jacques-François Gallay.

Following this in **Part Four** I will establish a deeper understanding of Gallay's performance practice through the examination of six significant horn obligatos associated with him each of which affords me the opportunity to investigate a wide range of sources and methodologies that can inform current interpretations of Gallay's career and performance practice.

I. Chapter Fifteen: Devienne's *Les Visitandines* "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" (1792, performed by Gallay in Perpignan c.1810).
II. Chapter Sixteen: Rossini's *Otello* "Inutile e quel pianto" (first Paris performance, Théâtre-Italien ,5 June 1821).
III. Chapter Seventeen: Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo* "È questo il loco" (first Paris performance, Théâtre-Italien, 11 September 1827).

IV. Chapter Eighteen: Mercadante's *Nitocri* "Se m'abbandoni" (premiere Turin on 26 December 1824, second version Milan on 2 October 1830, Gallay performing it January 1835)

V. Chapter Nineteen: Mercadante's *I Briganti* ""Perche non posso" and "Ove a me rivolgi un guardo" (first Paris performance, Théâtre-Italien 22 March 1836).

VI. Chapter Twenty: Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* Overture (first performance, Théâtre-Italien 3 January 1843).

Finally, to conclude, I will use the information gleaned from the study of the above six obligatos in order to suggest an approach for including portamenti and timbral shifts in performances of works from this period.

PART ONE

Natural horn playing and scholarship today

Chapter One: The revival of the natural horn during the twentieth century

> What was once fashionable or accepted may no longer be.[1]

The approach of the modern school of horn playing to the HIP revival of the natural horn

In the second half of the twentieth century the HIP movement led to a revival of interest in the natural horn. The vast majority of research into the instrument, and suggestions as to how it should be played, were either based on organology or historic pedagogy. A great deal of HIP study of the instrument has been based on and shaped by the huge number of treatises, *études*, pedagogical materials and compositions produced by the teachers at the Paris Conservatoire.

Authorities such as the highly esteemed horn pedagogue Verne Reynolds (1926–2011) championed the cause, writing in 1997 that "[m]any of our finest players and teachers are convinced that a horn player's technique is not complete without the skill and understanding necessary to play the natural horn successfully, or to play the modern instrument in a historically valid style". After referring the student to sources of information on the subject (notably, none of them primary sources) Reynolds goes

[1] Neal Peres da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), xxiii.

on to say that "[t]o isolate ourselves from this information will delay, or deny the development of attitudes and techniques necessary for stylistic growth."[2] For Reynolds, the natural horn was an adjunct to the modern horn, "the skill and understanding" required being viewed as part of "horn player's technique", and failure to engage with the subject was indicative of a closed/anti-growth mindset.

Regardless of the HIP movement's general acceptance in the second half of the twentieth century, the opinion prevails that the natural horn is a more limited instrument than the modern horn, rather than an instrument ideally suited to the repertory composed for it. This view is clearly seen in a 2019 interview with the modern horn player Richard Watkins regarding his *Romantic Horn* CD.[3]

The interviewer David Smith pointed out the development of the horn during the nineteenth century and asked Watkins "How much do you see these pieces as responses to the newly expanded powers of the horn?". Watkins believed the natural horn offered "rather limited options" and, with the exception of "the genius of composers such as Mozart and Beethoven…who were able to exploit the natural characteristics of the horn", that generally "composers tended to be rather conservative and sometimes embarrassed" by the instrument.[4]

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[2] Verne Reynolds, *The Horn Handbook* (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1997), 31.

[3] Richard Watkins (horn), Julius Drake (piano). 2019. *The Romantic Horn.* CD. SIGCD556. United Kingdom: Signum Classics.

[4] David Smith, "Richard Watkins on The Romantic Horn", *Presto Music* (14 March 2019), https://www.prestomusic.com/classical/articles/2451--interview-richard-watkins-on-the-romantic-horn [Accessed 9 April 2025].

Not only has the natural horn been perceived by some practitioners (and audiences) of the modern horn as inferior, the timbres inherent to the instrument, and the liaisons which can occur as a player traverses from stopped to open notes and vice versa, have been deemed questionable. This opinion was openly demonstrated in a 1999 recital by David Pyatt (winner of the BBC Young Musician of the Year in 1988, former principal horn of the London Symphony Orchestra and current principal horn of the Royal Opera House, London) in which he "ridiculed the natural valveless hand horn…demonstrating the 'funny noises' that come out for notes outside the normal harmonic series. Demonstrating hand-stopping, Pyatt's comment that he 'might as well be playing a trombone, which'd be awful'" apparently alludes to the smears that can happen between stopped and open notes.[5]

Troubles with transitions

Throughout the course of the history of the horn critics and practitioners have often strongly disagreed as to the merits or demerits of every development the instrument has encountered. During the eighteenth century the instrument moved from the baroque instrument played without the hand in the (often upward facing) bell of the instrument to the classical hand horn which depended on the use of the hand in the bell to create its chromatic notes. As I will explore in Chapter Four, critics questioned this development viewing the new method of playing the horn as being "deemed by

[5] Peter Grahame Woolf, "Concert Review: David Pyatt horn, Martin Jones piano, South Bank Centre 28 October 1999", *MusicWebInternational* (28 October 1999), http://www.musicweb-international.com/SandH/Oct99/pyatt.htm [Accessed 9 April 2025].

Judges of the Horn” to have “greatly impaired” “the principal beauty” of the instrument, i.e. “the Tone”.[6]

Similar issues surrounded the transition from hand horn to valve horn. Even after many years after the period focused on in this study, disagreement during the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century as to what had been gained or lost by the adoption of the valved instrument was rife. Hamilton Clarke articulated the view that the instrument had lost more than it had gained:

> Regarding the horn as the instrument it is in its original form, and not as the mere "beast of burden" that latter usage has made it, the introduction of these artificial appliances is to be received as in some respects a very lamentable innovation. For, whereas the real French horn, revealed in every different key, according to the "crook" used, distinct and individual beauties, the use of these valves and pistons has resulted in the almost exclusive employment of the *horn in F* by all average horn players. They play music written for horns in *C, D, E-flat*, and *E* on a horn crooked in *F*, transposing and trusting to guess-work as they go on. This inflicts great injustice on composers, for if one writes a passage for the horn in C, and designs that the tone of the C horn shall be heard in it, perhaps including some of its finest veiled sounds, or close notes; it is only just that one should enjoy the common right of hearing one's design

[6] Anon., *New Instructions for the French Horn* (London: Longman and Broderip, c. 1780), 4. See Chapter Four, 168.

> carried out. But the horn-player sits still, and complacently performs it upon the *F horn*.[7]

By contrast, Frederick Corder, a staunch supporter of the valve horn, remonstrated against defenders of the pre-valve horn:

> [D]o you think musicians were grateful for these benefits conferred? Not a bit! They vehemently protested against the innovation; first vowing that the faulty "stopped" notes written by the old masters when they couldn't help it, were pearls beyond price; then, when it was demonstrated that with the valve horn you could play the entire scale stopped if you liked, they declared that it was faulty in intonation and of far inferior tone to the old Hand horn. One needs only to listen to a solo played by such men as Paersch and Borsdorff, to recognise the fact that tone and intonation on a brass instrument are matters entirely dependent upon the player.[8]

When considering national styles of horn playing I find it significant that Corder is singling out two German horn players from the UK scene, Franz Friedrich Paersch (1857–1921) and Friedrich Adolph Borsdorf (1854–1923), who trained in Leipzig and Dresden respectively, pointing again to the German preferences for a homogenous

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[7] Hamilton Clarke, *A Manual of Orchestration* (J. Curwen & Sons, London, n.d. c.1888), 59

[8] Frederick Corder, *The Orchestra and How To Write for it - A Practical Guide* (London/New York: R. Cocks, 1894), 51. Corder appears to have had an issue with horn players: "The student should be chary in accepting the opinions of orchestral players on the subject of horn-writing. I never knew these gentlemen to admit that any new composer understood their instrument, in that they are like singers. The simple fact is, that no new or unusual passage can be otherwise than difficult at first." Corder, *The Orchestra,* 55.

style of horn timbre. Whilst German trained wind musicians were not at all uncommon in the musical scene of nineteenth-century Britain, horn players in this country, both native and immigrant, more usually played the French style of instruments (both natural and piston). This preference can be seen in the altered illustrative plate in Thomas Busby's ("Professor at the Guildhall School of Music & Trinity College, also of the Royal Opera Orchestra, London") version of German horn player Oscar Franz's *School for the Horn* which in effect pushes out of the way other designs of horns in order to insert the French style ""Hawkes" Perfected French-Horn".[9] Similarly pedagogical material, such as the anonymous 1880 bumper compilation *Grand Method for the French Horn* which condenses the teaching of "Meifred, Gallay and Dauprat" demonstrates the primacy of the French school of horn playing in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Britain.[10]

Towards the end of the century it is not uncommon to find the suggestion, or downright accusation, that earlier practitioners of the horn were as primitive as their instrument, a sense of pity towards the "great" composers of earlier eras who had to contend with such base material to work with. Authors such as Gotthold Carlberg, author of a series of *The Musical Herald* articles in the early 1880s, even questioned whether horn players of earlier eras could be considered "artists":

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[9] Oscar Franz, *School for the Horn, both Theoretical & Practical*, ed. Thomas Busby (London: Hawkes and Son, 1902), front cover and 5. Original version: Oscar Franz, *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Waldhorn-Schule* (Dresden: J. G. Seeling, c.1880).

[10] Anon., *Grand Method for the French Horn by Meifred, Gallay and Dauprat* (London: J.R.Lafleur & Son, 1880).

> The modern writers do not feel any anxiety about the French Horn. Everything can be executed in a way of harmonic and chromatic phrasing; and no good horn-player would feel embarrassed seeing before him runs which would have made his predecessors shiver. When Beethoven wrote the Scherzo of the Sinfonia Eroica, and published the trio for the horns, he was laughed at, and the execution was considered impossible. Now it is not only considered possible, but it is child's play in comparison to the treatment the instrument experiences under the hands of Richard Wagner. The horn-players of our days are good performers, sometimes even artists. ... The horn with all its pistons is used for everything; and it is too late to fight this bad habit, which has become general and is hardly to be abolished.[11]

The suggestion that the horn players of the late eighteenth century were of limited capability, mere artisans rather than artists, and the inference that their lack of potential limited the "great" composers continued to be repeated. In 1950 Martha Kingdon Ward writes of Mozart's horn players and his writing for them:

> Mozart knew only the hand horn which, though liberally supplied with crooks, was not nearly so efficient as are the modern piston and rotary horns. Many notes were either frankly unproducible or at least better left alone, and it was always something of a gamble to play any rapid passages. Most horn parts of the period naturally were only such as could be managed by players of

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[11] Gotthold Carlberg, "Modern Instrumentation III" in *The Musical Herald*, vol. 2, no. 4 (Boston, April 1881), 75.

> moderate ability; and Mozart, no conscious innovator, was content most of the time to write no more elaborately than his contemporaries.[12]

As Mozart's writing for the instrument varies considerably depending on whether he was writing for the instrument in a solo or chamber context or orchestrally, Kingdon Ward's suggestion therefore of him being "most of the time" "no conscious innovator" is clearly a reference to the latter rather than the former.[13]

Whilst the valve horn was the standard instrument by the beginning of the twentieth century, regional variations of the instrument existed, with three, very different, designs of valve being used: the piston valve in France, Belgium and the UK; the rotary valve in Germany, Austria, Italy and Russia; and the Vienna valve in parts of Austria. By the second half of the twentieth century it had become extremely rare to see anything other the German rotary, with the Vienna horn and valve, seen as a peculiarity clung on to solely by members of the Vienna Philharmonic.[14]

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[12] Martha Kingdon Ward, "Mozart and the Horn" in *Music and Letters*, vol. 31, no. 4 (October 1950), 318.

[13] Furthermore it is clear that in the second half of the eighteenth century there emerged two different horn playing roles, the soloists (who incorporated hand technique) versus the orchestral players (who often did not need to use hand technique). See Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), 188.

[14] Richard Merewether, "The Vienna-horn - and some thoughts on its past fifty years" in *The Horn Call,* vol. 15, no. 1 (October 1984), 31–35.

In the early 1930s, Thomas Beecham acquired a set of German rotary valve horns with which to furnish the horn section of his London Philharmonic Orchestra.[15] Resistance was fierce, with British players arguing that the German instrument had an inferior tone to that of the French piston horn, the instrument of choice for British players. Aubrey Brain (1893–1955), principal horn of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, defended his position in 1931, stating that "the most casual of listeners, hearing a performance by a German orchestra, cannot but be struck by the peculiar euphonium-like quality of the horn tone".[16] In the 1950s Brain's son, the legendary Dennis Brain (1921–1957), caused great consternation when he changed full time from his Raoux piston horn to an Alexander rotary horn, with some viewing this decision with a similar ferocity to those who a decade later called Bob Dylan "Judas" for taking up the electric guitar.

In the twenty-first century the standard "double" horn with rotary valves is the norm, but still practitioners are arguing about the implication of technical choice for timbre and concepts of the "true" horn sound. The modern double horn is pitched in the key of F, with a thumb valve that switches the instrument between F and high B-flat alto. The B-flat "side" aids accuracy as the player is accessing lower harmonics on the B-flat side in comparison to the equivalent pitched notes on the F "side".[17] Prior to

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[15] Jocelyn Howell, "Boosey & Hawkes: The Rise and Fall of a Wind Instrument Manufacturing Empire", Doctoral thesis (City, University of London, 2016). 44. David Smith and Richard Blundel, 'Disruptive Innovation in the Creative Industries: The adoption of the German horn in Britain 1935–75' in *Association of Business Historians (ABH) and Gesellschaft für Unternehmensgeschichte (GUG) Joint Conference, 27–29 May 2016, Humboldt University, Berlin*, 6.

[16] Aubrey Brain, "The German Horn: A Comparison" in *Monthly Musical Record*, vol. 61, no. 727 (1 July 1931), 195. Quoted in Stephen J. Pettitt, *Dennis Brain: A Biography* (London: Robert Hale, 2nd edition, 1989), 49.

[17] For example, the written high G is the 12th harmonic in F, but only the 8th in high B-flat.

Dennis Brain switching completely to his Alexander rotary horn, some criticised not his choice of valve design, but the key in which he chose to play. In an inflammatory letter to *Music & Letters*, Farquharson Cousins (1917–2017), then principal horn of the Scottish Orchestra (the present-day Royal Scottish National Orchestra) made a daring attack on a musician whom many still to this day lionise:

> A word about Dennis Brain. He plays on a French horn made by Raoux in 1818 and once owned by Puzzi. It has a black and gold painted (lacquered) bell. Mr Brain plays it with a B-flat crook, which admittedly corrects some harmonics that are, on that particular instrument, weaknesses on the F crook. He produces a remarkably good tone for a B-flat player. But then, he is the most remarkable horn player in living memory! Be it noted that the instrument is a French-bored horn and an unusually fine specimen. All the same, I should like to know whether he feels entirely happy about his tone. Listening to him, one is entranced rather by his flawless technique than by his quality.[18]

Opinion still varies as to whether it is advisable to position the modern horn in F or B-flat. Regardless of the choice a horn player makes they continue to view the instrument as in the key of F and switching between the two sides of the instrument is seamless. For every note on the instrument at least two fingerings are learned; one for the F side and one for the B-flat side.

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[18] Farquharson Cousins, "The Degenerate Horn" in *Music & Letters*, vol. 31, no. 4 (1 October 1950), 378–379.

Today it is rare for any school to advocate playing on the F side as standard throughout the instrument, but conversely many practitioners *do* favour playing predominantly on the B-flat side. Students may be taught to switch at a certain point in their range from the F side for the lower range of the instrument to the B-flat side for the higher range. Whilst the B-flat side might make higher notes easier, some perceive it to be of an inferior timbre, as indicated in Cousins's letter above.

In his influential 1956 work *The Art of French Horn Playing,* Philip Farkas (1914–1992) stated that

> [p]erhaps ninety percent of our professional players use the double horn, which combines the best features of both the F and B-flat horns. It makes use of the velvety F horn tone in the middle and low register, just where the B-flat tone can sometimes become uncharacteristic…Each player has his own method of combining the F and B-flat sections of his double horn.[19]

James Chambers (1920–1989), principal horn of New York Philharmonic from 1946 until 1969 and teacher at the Juilliard School from 1946 up until his death in 1989, drummed into his students the practice of the F horn up until the eighth harmonic high C, and B-flat side for the notes above; "[t]here were no exceptions. Ever."[20] On his retirement in 1997 Barry Tuckwell said that his use of the double horn should "probably not be considered 'politically correct,'… I often play up higher on the F side

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[19] Philip Farkas, *The Art of French Horn Playing,* (Evanston, Illinois: Summy-Birchard, 1956), 7.

[20] Dan Meier, "James Chambers Remembered" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 19, no. 2 (April 1989), 113.

and down lower on the B-flat side, depending on the quality of sound I want. I like the double horn for the wide range of sound qualities available because of the two sides, and I take advantage of the various qualities."[21]

The German horn player Fritz Huth (1908–1980) put the demands of conductors as central to the decisions horn players have made regarding the use of one or the other side. Pointing out that even low horn players in "an exposed passage" were using the more secure B-flat side "as it speaks more freely and flexibly", Huth states that "for contemporary conductors - in the name of perfection - the beautiful horn tone is secondary to safety."[22]

At every stage in the instrument's development arguments over new innovation, be they in terms of instrument design (valve design or configuration) or the techniques of playing it (hand technique), have focused on the timbre of the instrument and particularly whether it sustained the magical (even mythical) special tone associated with the true sound of the instrument. This is equally applicable to discussions regarding the resurgence of the natural horn during the twentieth century as part of the period instrument or historically informed performance movement. In the late twentieth century, as interest in the natural horn grew, criticism was made as to the validity of the utilisation of the instrument. Questions have fallen into three categories:

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[21] Marilyn Bone Kloss and Mark J. Anderson, "Horn Design by Tuckwell" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 17, no. 3 (May 1997), 44.

[22] Frtiz Huth, *Schule für Horn / School for Horn* (London/Hamburg: Rahter, 1968).

1. Whether the timbre of the natural horn is sufficiently a “true horn sound”.
2. Viewing the natural horn as a Darwinian staging post en route to the modern instrument, the height of evolution.
3. The belief that had composers had something “better” they would have preferred it.

The horn player Robin Gregory maintained both that the natural horn of the early nineteenth century was rapidly proving insufficient for the music of the age as well as the need for the player to disguise all timbral contrast. Writing in the 1950s, prior to the resurgence of the natural horn, Gregory believed that “the difficulties confronting the horn player of the early nineteenth century and the handicap under which he laboured are commonly underestimated”, failing to see Beethoven’s writing as very much in the context of horn playing of the time.[23] Gregory continues with this line of reasoning in stating that Beethoven’s horn writing meant that pieces written for the instrument were “beginning to break free from the restrictions previously imposed on them by the limitations of [the] instrument”.[24] Crucially, for Gregory, this liberation was happening “before the instrument itself was ready for this expansion of its activities.”[25]

Additionally, Gregory promotes the idea that part of the “art” of natural horn playing was “in suppressing, as far as possible, the difference in tone-quality between the open and stopped” notes, thus both pushing the concept of a unified/homogenous

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[23] Robin Gregory, “The Horn in Beethoven's Symphonies” in *Music & Letters,* vol. 33, no. 4 (October 1952), 304.

[24] Gregory, “The Horn in Beethoven's Symphonies”, 304.

[25] Gregory, “The Horn in Beethoven's Symphonies”, 304.

timbre as well as questioning whether the instrument as it stood was sufficient for the demands made on it.[26]

Accounts such as these are symptomatic of attitudes in the second half of the twentieth century towards the natural horn and illustrate the prevalent opinion in some circles that the instrument was deficient: the timbre was frequently questioned, as was the idea that it was up to the task of fulfilling what composers wished the horn could do.[27]

The revival of the natural horn during the twentieth century

Specialist higher education establishments boasting active HIP departments often run into a problem regarding the training of young period horn players. For most HIP students (e.g. violin, cello, flute, oboe, trumpet etc.) their initial focus will be on the baroque form of their instrument and its associated repertoire, with advanced students then progressing to study later instruments, techniques and repertoires. In contrast, the study of historic horns starts traditionally with the classical instrument

[26] Gregory, “The Horn in Beethoven's Symphonies”, 305.

[27] These opinions are in line with a number of aesthetic values and preferences associated with what Bruce Haynes has termed the “Mainstream style”, a style of playing which was “the norm” from the 1930s onwards (Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007) 48).In his chapter “Mainstream Style *“Chops, but No Soul”*”(47–65) Haynes positions the “Modern Style” as a reaction to the “Romantic style”: “If Romantic protocol was heavy, personal, organic, free, spontaneous, impulsive, irregular, disorganized, and inexact, Modern style is the reverse: light, impersonal, mechanical, literal, correct, deliberate, consistent, metronomic and regular.” (49). Haynes positions “The Authenticity Revolution of the 1960s” as a reaction against the “Mainstream” or “Modern Style”: “The mainstream at the time had long since moved away from Romanticism. These were Modernists we were battling.” (41). Haynes’ discussion of the changing tastes in performance practice demonstrate how they were often grounded in reactions against the values of earlier practices.

and, if the student makes sufficiently speedy progress, then proceeds either backwards in time to the study of the baroque instrument and repertoire or towards the early valve horn.[28] The reasons for this trajectory include the sizeable canonic repertoire for the instrument from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (concertos by Mozart, Haydn, sonata by Beethoven etc.) and the accessibility of instruments, but also the ongoing discussions as to exactly what approach to take to the vexed issue of baroque horn technique (vent holes, hand technique, or neither hand nor holes).

For contemporary horn players (on both the modern and the period instruments) much of the repertoire for baroque horn is considered challenging due to its high tessiatura, hence the frequent use of descant horns (horns built in high F alto) when playing this repertoire in modern instrument ensembles.[29] For modern players performing this repertoire on historically appropriate instruments, the additional challenge is how to counter the apparent intonation issues (most notably the 11th harmonic high F/F-sharp and the 13th harmonic high A), a problem which has led to

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[28] Such an approach can be seen in the course description for the Bachelor course in Natural Horn at the Royal Conservatoire in The Hague/ Koninklijk Conservatorium Den Haag which states that "[I]n the early stages of the Bachelor programme you will study the technique of playing the natural horn, while later there will be more room for the demanding solo parts for the baroque horn". Royal Conservatoire of The Hague / Koninklijk Conservatorium Den Haag, "Bachelor Early Music Natural Horn" (2019) https://www.koncon.nl/en/programmes/bachelor/early-music/bachelor-earlymusic-naturalhorn [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[29] Barry Tuckwell states that the "chief use" of the "short F alto horn" (or descant horn) "is in high Baroque music, where a lighter texture is more appropriate". Barry Tuckwell, *Horn* (New York: Schirmer, 1983), 56.

these varying approaches to modern baroque horn technique which include modern (vent holes) and anachronistic (hand technique) solutions.[30]

Within institutions period horn students are often disadvantaged, with fewer opportunities for ensemble and orchestral projects than their counterparts. Student horn players being "late to the party" mirrors in some way the uptake of the instrument during the "early music revival" of the late twentieth century.[31] As the name suggests, the "revival" focused mostly on "early music", i.e. mostly seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repertoire, a period before the horn became a common component of ensembles. As and when the emerging early music ensembles explored repertoire which did require horns, it was to the many surviving natural hand horns, often from the nineteenth century, that players turned and with them, the later hand technique, an approach which is now beginning to be seen as anachronistic for most eighteenth-century repertoire.[32]

The development of interest in the natural horn was fuelled by the work of three performer-researchers: W.F.H. Blandford, Reginald Morely-Pegge and Horace Fitzpatrick (see Chapter Two). The combined efforts of these three figures built up a body of knowledge which led a numemailber of highly regarded horn players to turn to the instrument in the 1960s.

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[30] For further on the debate regarding modern baroque horn technique see: J. Drew Stephen, "To Stop or Not To Stop: Nodal Venting and Hand-Stopping on the Baroque Horn" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 37, no. 3 (May 2007), 59–65.

[31] John Humphries, "Horn", *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Historical Performance in Music,* ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 313.

[32] See John Manganaro, "Eighteenth-Century Horn Performance Practice: A Re-evaluation of the Role of the Hand" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 37, (2025) (forthcoming).

Fitzpatrick's work had a deep impact on the professional horn scene of the 1970s, especially in Anglophone countries. Anthony Halstead (b.1945) comes to mind as one of the most significant of all HIP horn players, yet in the early 70s he was firstly co-principal (1970–72), then principal (1972–3) of the prestigious London Symphony Orchestra. In a 1996 interview reflecting on his career Halstead pinpointed the occasion which swung him towards exploring the older instruments, and Fitzpatrick's involvement:

> I would say that it was during my time in the London Symphony Orchestra that I found that (after being there for two or three years) I wanted to get away from the big symphonic repertoire. I felt that I wasn't suited to it physically, and that I had other things on my mind musically. I became attracted to the Classical repertoire and, at that time, I renewed my acquaintance with Dr. Horace Fitzpatrick… Anyway, it was Fitzpatrick whom I recall hearing in a lecture-recital with Barry Tuckwell, doing some duets. Tuckwell did a very good job on the natural horn. Barry would then play a fragment of a Mozart concerto or the Beethoven sonata on the modern horn, and then Horace Fitzpatrick would play the same thing on the natural horn, as if to say this is better. But, in fact, some people thought that it was worse! You always have that hot and cold situation, with people getting very, very polarized. Well, I was utterly fascinated and charmed by the range of color, as well as the appropriateness of the use

of the stopped notes to either enhance a musical phrase or to bring some dramatic point to life.[33]

In the same interview Halstead recalls his first public performance on the natural horn: a performance in 1973 in which he "played Bach Brandenburg Concerto No. 1 with an orchestra which was all modern instruments except for the poor horns".[34] This experience, of the horns being the only "historic" element in an otherwise modern ensemble, is one that is common with other important 1960s/70s horn players who were beginning to experiment with the instrument. Halstead confesses to having used "a very early Paxman hand horn (basically a modern horn with the valves removed)" for his 1973 performance. This instrument would now be considered both anachronistic and inauthentic being based on a nineteenth-century rather than on a surviving original instrument from the eighteenth-century, and moreover requiring a late-eighteenth-century technique (hand technique) to play it.

A high number of nineteenth-century instruments survived into the twentieth century and on the UK and French scenes it was not uncommon in the early twentieth century for the older hand horns, especially those from respected makers such as

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[33] Paul Austin, "A conversation with Anthony Halstead" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 26, no. 2 (February 1996) 17.

[34] Austin, "A conversation with Anthony Halstead", 17. Halstead has (in private email correspondence, 14 July 2025) relayed that that this was a concert given at the Holywell Music Room (Oxford) by a "scratch band" (i.e. an ensemble of musicians brought together just for a one off concert) which may have augmented a university ensemble. The performance, directed by Anthony Sargent who had requested the use of natural horns, was of all six Brandenburg Concerti. Sargent was a student and choral scholar at the University of Oxford. Fitzpatrick was based in Oxford and a prominent figure in the musical scene so may have influenced Sargent's decision to use natural horns. Halstead used a "valvectomy" Paxman (i.e. a Paxman modern horn which had had the valves removed, converting it to a natural horn) and the second horn, Pierre Meulien (a pupil of Halstead's at the time), used an original French natural horn from the nineteenth century.

Raoux and Courtois, to be converted in order to take a piston valve block and thus older instruments could continue to be played as the technology and playing style changed. This may have given the 1960s/70s generation of horn players more confidence, or at least more opportunity, than their fellow wind-playing colleagues to integrate these instruments into otherwise modern ensembles. For example Dennis Brain's personal collection demonstrates how common it was for horn players in the mid twentieth century to have some form of access to, or at least recognition of, the earlier hand horns which, with some interventions and adjustments, were still in circulation. Brain's first instrument, by Raoux-Millereau, would originally have been a hand horn which later had had a piston valve block added.[35] Brain performed on this instrument for many years. He additionally had an 1818 Raoux hand horn with a detachable valve block on which he performed a great deal, and a Raoux-Labbaye c.1855 hand horn with a later Hawkes valve block which he used more rarely.[36]

The liberal attitudes of instrument collections facilitated a number of the 1960s/70s generation. The Belgian natural horn player, and recent professor of natural horn at the Paris Conservatoire, Claude Maury (b.1956) recalled the role of his teacher, Francis Orval (b.1944) in the Belgian musical scene of the 1970s and the "relaxed" attitude towards an instrument loaned to him:

> The first time I heard Francis playing natural horn must have been in 1975 or 1976 and I remember he had an instrument from the MIM [Musical

[35] Stephen Gamble and William C. Lynch, *Dennis Brain: A life in music* (North Texas: University of North Texas Press, 2011), 190.

[36] Gamble and Lynch, *Dennis Brain,* 192–194.

> Instruments Museum] in Brussels on [sic] the back of his car, without any bag or case and the instrument was slipping from right to left when he was driving his car. At that time I don't think he was doing much more than playing the Beethoven sonata in recitals.[37]

Michel Garcin-Marrou (b.1944), former principal horn and founder member of the Orchestre de Paris, was the leader of the French renaissance of the natural horn. Similarly to Halstead, his initial forays into the instrument involved playing Handel's *Water Music* on natural horn in 1972 in with what was, at that point, a modern instrument ensemble, La Grande Ecurie et la Chambre du Roi (dir. Jean-Claude Malgoire). Again like Halstead, the instruments used by the horn players for this recording were nineteenth-century instruments, though originals from Raoux and Courtois rather than Paxman valve horns with the valves removed.[38]

The Dutch horn player Ab Koster's (b.1952) career balanced a formidable track record as principal horn of the modern North German Radio Symphony Orchestra (the NDR) alongside the same role with Franz Brüggen's Orchestra of the Eighteenth Century, frequent solo and chamber music performances on both the modern and natural horn, and almost forty years' teaching at the Hochschule für Musik und Theater in Hamburg.

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[37] Claude Maury (private email correspondence, 20 March 2020).

[38] Claude Maury (private email correspondence, 20 March 2020).

Koster cites an older generation of Dutch musicians, including Gustav Leonhardt (1928–2012), Frans Brüggen (1934–2014) Anner Bijlsma (1934–2019) and Frans Vester (1922–1987) as highly influential, especially during Koster's brief period of study at the Koninklijk Conservatorium (Royal Conservatoire) in The Hague.[39] Koster's early experiences involved encounters with fellow horn players who felt the natural horn was either "ridiculous or not interesting" and how his colleagues in the Residentie Orchestra "started laughing" when they saw him with his first ever natural horn; "[e]veryone thought it was just a nice attempt that would end soon".[40]

Access to appropriate instruments was also an issue for Koster. An early, significant, recording of the Brandenburg Concertos with Leonhardt and Brüggen was on instruments ordered from Alexander's (Mainz, Germany) which were "modern F horns without valves".[41]

> Originals were not generally available - nobody cared when they found one in the attic. They were sure that it was worthless because it was so old.[42]

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[39] Ab Koster, "Natural Horn Playing Now and Forty Years Ago", *Horn and More - The IHS Digital Newsletter* vol. 2, no. 9 (6 September 2016), https://www.hornsociety.org/?view=article&id=1056:natural-horn-playing-now-and-forty-years-ago&catid=295 [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[40] Koster, "Natural Horn Playing".

[41] Gustav Leonhardt, Frans Brüggen, Anner Bylsma, Lucy Van Dael, Paul Dombrecht, Sigiswald Kuijken, Wieland Kuijken, Claude Rippas. 1977. *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos.* LP. 6575 086. Netherlands: Phillips. Koster, "Natural Horn Playing".

[42] Koster, "Natural Horn Playing".

The final significant horn player from the 1960s and 1970s to be considered is the German horn player Hermann Baumann (1934–2023). Whilst Halstead, Orval, Garcin-Marrou and Koster undeniably had prime jobs in their field, Baumann's explosion on to the worldwide horn scene in the 1960s changed the face of horn playing, and it is hard to overestimate the impact of Baumann's adoption of the natural horn.

Described as one of the "three giants" of horn playing in the twentieth century alongside Dennis Brain and Barry Tuckwell, Baumann's success in winning first prize in the ARD Radio and Television Competition in Munich in 1964 springboarded him from principal horn of the Stuttgart Radio Symphony Orchestra into one of the most significant solo and freelance careers.[43] It was in the period after his success in Munich that Baumann first started to explore period instruments. Hella Baumann ascribes Hermann's chance encounter with an alphorn whilst on holiday in Switzerland as the birth of her husband's fascination with the instrument.[44] Willi Aebi, an audience member at the competition in Munich and a collector of historic horns, encouraged Baumann to explore the older instruments, and he began to collect instruments himself.[45]

Baumann was quickly enlisted by the growing number of HIP ensembles, most notably Nikolaus Harnoncourt and Concentus Musicus Wien, with whom he

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[43] Johnny L. Pherigo, "Bravo Baumann!" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 28, no. 4 (August 1998), 21.

[44] Hella Baumann, "Stories from the Wife of a Traveling Hornist" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 28, no. 4 (August 1998), 33.

[45] Stefan Blonk and Eric Borninkhof, *Hermann Baumann: The Collection* (Didem: Stefan Blonk, 2017), no page numbers, 13–24.

performed on the ensemble's second recording of the Brandenburg Concertos.[46] Baumann became known for his ability to play some of the more notorious Bach horn obligatos, with his recording of the 'Unsre Stärke heißt zu schwach' from *Wär' Gott Nicht Mit Uns Diese Zeit* BWV14 often singled out for praise.[47] In 1969 he recorded the Beethoven Sonata op.17 and other works on natural horn and was the first to record the Mozart concerti on the instrument, with Harnoncourt in 1974.[48]

Baumann was primarily a modern horn player. He gravitated to the natural horn and regarded it as his "last and definitive teacher", which suggests an engagement with the instrument more than, necessarily, engagement with surviving evidence of performance practice.[49] Hella Baumann suggests at least some differences of opinion between Baumann and others involved in "authentic" music making:

> My husband did not conform to the dogma of so-called authenticity. He did not avoid these fierce discussions, but suffer he did. A scene from an early

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[46] The first recording: Concentus Musicus Wien, Nikolaus Harnoncourt. 1964. *Johann Sebastian Bach: Brandenburgische Konzerte 1–6*. LP. 6.35043 DX. Germany: Telefunken. Natural horns played by Hans Fischer, Hermann Rohrer. The second recording: Concentus Musicus Wien, Nikolaus Harnoncourt. 1981. *J.S.Bach: Brandenburgische Konzerte Nr.1 · 2 · 4*. LP. 6.42823 AZ. Germany: Telefunken. Natural horns played by Baumann and Markus Schleich.

[47] Hermann Baumann, Gustav Leonhardt, Leonhardt Consort. 1972. *Original Instruments Horn*. LP. 6.42321 AP. Germany: Telefunken. It is important to note that the evidence that this aria is for horn is slight. Bach indicated "tromba" tacet in the B section of this aria, suggesting that a trumpet was his intended instrument. Baumann's recording, inadvertently, helped establish the myth of this being a movement for horn.

[48] Hermann Baumann, Anner Bylsma, Stanley Hoogland. 1969. *Chamber music by the young Beethoven on original instruments, 1792–1800.* LP. SAWT 9547-A. Germany: Telefunken. Hermann Baumann, Concentus Musicus Wien, Nikolaus Harnoncourt. 1974. *Die 4 Hornkonzerte*. LP. SAWT 9627-A. Germany: Telefunken. The earliest known recording of the Beethoven Sonata is Horace Fitzpatrick (horn). 1959. *Music for Hunting Horn 1561–1840*. LP. 4014. USA: Golden Crest Records. With thanks to Ian Zook for bringing this recording to my attention.

[49] Hans Joachim Kreutzer, trans. Carolyn Sturm, "Hermann Baumann: A Biography" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 28, no. 4 (August 1998), 25.

> recording session with natural horn: my husband was playing with a strong, healthy tone. That did not comply with the sound producer's fanatical, despotic concept. He knew better how the "original" horn should sound. He said: “We have to let him repeat that over and over again, and then we have him where we want him.” In other words: we’ll tire his embouchure, then it will sound “original”.[50]

It certainly is due to Baumann that the natural horn began to be taken far more seriously. In 1998, reflecting on his experiences in the 1960s, Koster stated categorically

> Nobody expected its popularity to increase as much as it has. Only a fine, respected horn player could have had the chance of being taken seriously on the natural horn. Without Hermann Baumann’s contribution, today’s standard of performance on original instruments would be much lower.[51]

Baumann’s insistence on partnering a modern horn concerto with one for natural horn within the same performance was a deliberate effort, and a highly successful one, to raise the visibility of the instrument.[52] But probably the act that did the most to promote and propagate the instrument was his foundation of a series of natural horn competitions in the city of Bad Harzburg, Germany.

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[50] Baumann, “Stories from the Wife of a Traveling Hornist”, 34.

[51] Ab Koster, “Reflections: Students and Colleagues from the 1960s” in *The Horn Call*, vol. 28, no. 4 (August 1998), 67.

[52] Kreutzer, trans. Sturm, “Hermann Baumann: A Biography”, 24–25. Baumann, “Stories from the Wife of a Traveling Hornist”, 34.

The competition was not the first of its kind: an Association Française du Cor festival in the French city of Perpignan in 1981 to mark the bicentenary of the birth of its famous horn playing son Jacques-François Gallay incorporated a competition purely for the natural horn; but it was the Harzburg competition was the most influential.[53] The competition took place four times between 1984 and 1993. Baumann's stroke on the 9th of January 1993 undoubtedly was the major factor in the cessation of the competition, though Orval, in a report on the 1993 event, announced a competition scheduled for 1996.[54] September 1993 also saw an International Natural Horn Festival held in Essen. If Baumann had instigated his Bad Harzburg competitions in order to raise the profile and standards of natural horn playing, the Essen Festival, organised by Baumann's former student Oliver Kersken, a member of the Deutsche Naturhorn Solisten (founded in 1985), proved that by the mid-1990s the instrument had been established much more securely.[55]

The prize winners from Baumann's competition were to become the leading lights in the next generation of HIP horn players, with the majority of them (including Knut Hasselmann (1961–1994), Claude Maury, Thomas Müller (b.1956), Ulrich Hübner (b.1964), Wilhelm Bruns (b.1963), Teunis van der Zwart (b.1964), Javier Bonet

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[53] The competition was organised by Claude Carboni (professor of horn in Perpignan) and the jury comprised Daniel Bourgue (chairman), Froydis Wekre, Francis Orval, Edmond Leloir and Lucien Thévet. The prize winners were Lowell Greer (1st prize), Claude Maury (2nd prize) Bernard Le Pogam (3rd prize) and Gilles Rambach (*Prix Devémy*). Details regarding the organisation and jury from Claude Maury (private email correspondence, 21 March 2020).

[54] Francis Orval, "Fourth International Hand horn Competition at Bad Harzburg, Germany" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 5 (1993), 323.

[55] Thomas Hiebert, "International Natural Horn Festival, Essen" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 5 (1993), 319–322.

(b.1965) and Eva-Maria Görres (b.1966)) going on to hold significant positions with leading HIP ensembles and teaching institutions.[56]

The choice of repertoire for these competitions was also significant in shaping the perception of the instrument in the late twentieth century, and reflects Baumann's concept of the instrument. Of key importance was the inclusion of newly commissioned solo unaccompanied works for the instrument as a compulsory element of the competition. Each iteration of the competition included two such works by composers who already had strong links to the modern horn, including Hans George Pflüger (b.1944), Berhard Krol (1920–2013), Vitaly Buyanovsky (1928–1993), Alun Francis (b.1943), Vincent Grüger (b.1962), Vladimir Djambazov (b.1954), Jean-Luc Darbellay (b.1946) and Baumann himself.[57] The historical works for horn included mainstays of the repertoire by Gallay, Beethoven, Danzi, Ries, Mozart, Haydn, and Brahms, plus the Prologue from Benjamin Britten's Serenade for tenor, horn and strings, Op. 31.

In 1995 I auditioned to study at a number of UK conservatoires with the desire to attend an institution that would enable me to study natural horn as part of my degree course. Shortly before the round of auditions which were held in December 1995, I had been introduced to the natural horn: in the late 1990s it was still relatively easy to pick up a battered old piston horn at jumble sales or flea markets and my teacher had

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[56] Data concerning the competition (including prize winners, jury and repertoire) is to be found in Appendix ii, 593–594.

[57] For the initial competition in 1984 Francesco Raselli (1948–1983) had been commissioned to write a piece but died before completion of the work. Therefore Baumann composed his *Elegia für Natuurhor*n in memory of Raselli for inclusion in the competition.

started buying such instruments in order to remove the valve block, thus making simple, cheap natural horns, a procedure known by some as “valvectomy”. I had been provided with one such instrument, primarily as a way of getting insight into the Beethoven sonata which I was then learning.

My teacher had no expertise in the instrument and so I was more or less left to work it out for myself, an experience I found challenging but exciting. I was so taken with the instrument that I decided to incorporate it as part of my application for the conservatoires. At this time it was standard to expect some exposure to historic brass instruments as part of any conservatoire undergraduate course, though the number of hours of tuition available, the pressures on potentially sharing limited “second study” hours between auxiliary instruments (natural horn or Wagner tuba) as well as the point in the course at which such studies commenced (often restricted to after the first year) could vary. Rarely, if ever, were these studies assessed unless a student chose to incorporate historical instruments into examined recitals.

Whilst I was somewhat unusual in the perseverance with which I insisted on being allowed to commence my natural horn studies from my first year at the Royal Academy of Music, my student peers included a number with similar previous HIP experience who were keen that this would be a part of their future careers. These aspirations were strongly encouraged by the head of department, John Wallace, whose enthusiasm helped endorse an attitude towards historic brass instruments as

a legitimate career path within the student community, albeit mostly couched within the concept of a portfolio career rather than necessarily as the sole specialism.[58]

Twentieth and twenty-first-century aesthetics of natural horn playing

The horn players discussed above illustrate the progression of natural horn in the twentieth century with it moving from a museum artefact, an object viewed as something of a curiosity, though one that was recognised as something that could offer a window onto earlier modes of music making, through to the working tools of an international community of musicians who had made it the central activity of their careers.

Undoubtedly, the high professional standing of adopters of the instrument in the 1960s and 1970s did much to give the instrument credibility. Hand-in-hand with this was the establishment of a performance aesthetic heavily influenced by their modern training,

Whilst a number of HIP woodwind players have come to baroque/classical woodwinds having started their careers as recorder players rather than on modern woodwind instruments, it tends to be highly unusual for professional brass players to

[58] For more on John Wallace's work promoting performances on historic brass instruments during this period see John Miller*, The Modern Brass Ensemble in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2022), 18 fn 35, 134–138, 140, 143–144.

have started with a historic instrument rather than its modern counterpart.[59] In my recent experience of writing a natural horn method I was keen to ensure that the book was accessible to those coming from a number of different standpoints: professionals, amateurs, horn players wishing to enhance their knowledge of the historic instrument in order to inform interpretation, and ultimately serious HIP players for whom this was a mainstay of their careers.[60] The one thing I did not factor in was any rudimentary horn teaching - how to form an embouchure and make a sound.[61] It is generally a given that those who study the natural horn will already have a certain amount of modern horn training behind them before they commence studies of the historical instrument.

With this prior modern horn training will come a whole raft of conscious and unconscious beliefs about the aesthetics of horn playing. These are propagated in explicit ways (through the teaching students receive, with certain cardinal rules) and implicit ways (through the "norms" heard in live and recorded performance). In Chapter Four I will raise the issue of the current preference in modern HIP horn playing to render the high F-sharp and A as open notes, with the hand out of the bell in order to sufficiently raise the pitch.[62] This is despite the overwhelming evidence

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[59] The case of recorder players switching to other HIP woodwinds is often due to career prospects. Many Early Music departments have a large number of recorder students however there are fewer professional career opportunities for them in comparison to other orchestral woodwind instruments, hence the encouragement to diversify or perish.

[60] Anneke Scott, *Historical Horns Handbook: Natural Horn - An introduction* (London: Plumstead Peculiar Press, 2019).

[61] Similarly, in many of the pedagogic texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, this aspect of horn playing is often given scant regard. Conversely, these sources frequently include a lot of information on musical notation, a knowledge of which is presumed for readers of my book. These two topics reflect how readerships of such sources can require quite different information.

[62] See Chapter Four, 162–164.

that both notes were primarily considered to be stopped, with some writers offering the option of the open position for timbral or enharmonic reasons. This is an example of how modern-day players have favoured a timbre that reflects the modern aesthetic of the open horn sound, over the more coloured (and potentially tempered) option preferred during the heyday of the instrument.

As musicians, how we discuss aspects of taste and style especially as regards concepts of sound and timbre is notoriously tricky. For example, what exactly is a "round" or a "warm" sound, both attributes that many horn players often seek? We search for adjectives and metaphors in order to explain with words what we mean in sound. Albeit writing from the perspective of assessing and reviewing performance, rather than discussing performance pedagogy and performance practice, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has argued that "[f]ar from being a symptom of perceptual and intellectual failure, metaphor is fundamental to human perception, an index of the ways our brains connect up stimuli to generate knowledge and ideas".[63] Within communities of musicians certain terms become buzz words for what is correct or incorrect, with a certain amount of complicity amongst them, a silent agreement that these values are understood and upheld; yet if one pushes for more clarity and explanation as to what exactly is meant by these terms practitioners can struggle to articulate more clearly, often merely returning to certain stock phrases. I have seen this first-hand when giving masterclasses and encouraging students to give feedback to one another. Frequently the advice returns to key concepts ("more air", "more

[63] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performances", CHARM (2009), https://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/chapters/intro.html [Accessed 22 August 2025]. Chapter 1.2.3 "Metaphor", paragraphs 29–37.

support", "sing") without recourse to deeper understanding or critical thought. Similar modes of thinking permeate the professional scene.

Added to this is the issue of notation, a subject of particular importance with regard to portamento. Written symbols can be vague and their meanings subject to change. On this issue Peres da Costa makes a fundamental statement that applies not only to the issue of notation but the whole issue of performance practice underlying this dissertation in that "what was once fashionable or accepted may no longer be".[64] As a further problem, when one delves into the sources in order to try to glean a deeper understanding as to the performance practices of earlier eras there is the potential discrepancy between what people said and what they did: "written texts - musical notation and verbal advice - are imperfect in preserving performing practices of the past", and there are many "examples in which, perplexingly, advice appears to contradict practice."[65] By using a mixture of early recordings and piano rolls, and the writings of the musicians involved, for example Camille Saint-Saëns and Carl Reinecke, and looking particularly at the issues of "dislocation" (pianists not synchronising their right and left hands) and arpeggiation, Peres da Costa provides a number of examples in which "written texts and audible evidence do not accord."[66]

Whilst these discrepancies may appear highly problematic to those such as myself seeking to recover lost performance practices, Peres da Costa concludes that, whilst

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[64] Peres da Costa, *Off the Record*, xxiii.

[65] Peres da Costa, *Off the Record,* xxii, 76–77.

[66] Peres da Costa, *Off the Record,* 79.

the expressive devices used in previous eras "will not be clearly discernible from contemporaneous written texts, nor indeed from their scores…to come to an understanding about what musical notation meant to composers and performances of the late nineteenth century, we must accept that the most admired musicians of the era approached the aesthetics of performance from a very different perspective than musicians of today."[67] Additionally he warns that "it cannot be achieved simply by the adoption of appropriate instruments or the application of only those practices that do not challenge the current notions of good taste or that do not take us out of our comfort zone."[68]

As I stated in my introduction to this thesis, the rules impressed upon me when I came to study the instrument in the late 1990s were:

1. That one should aim to blend the open and the stopped notes of the instrument so that the differences between them could barely be perceived.

2. That one should avoid at all costs any smearing of the pitch between the open and stopped notes or vice versa.[69]

Exploring the issues of the balance between the stopped and open sounds in her 1994 article "Natural Horn: A Self-Guided Study for Beginners", the American natural

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[67] Peres da Costa, *Off the Record,* 310.

[68] Peres da Costa, *Off the Record,* 310.

[69] Richard Chenoweth, "Orchestral Notes: Performing on Natural Horn for Valve horn Players. An Interview with Paul Austin" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 41, no. 1 (October 2010), 44.

horn player Jean Rife's expresses views in line with the performance practice of HIP revival horn playing, in which contrast is minimised except for special moments:

> An important part of the hand technique that is not often mentioned is learning to listen to the sound of the stopped horn. Stopped horn can sound either slightly covered, and be fairly similar to the sound of the open horn, or it can sound forced, as in the twentieth-century cuivré. To try to match the sound of the open and stopped notes, one should use as open a hand position as possible to preserve good intonation, neither forcing the air nor creating unnecessary resistance in any part of the air column. Save the cuivré sound for special effects such as the appoggiaturas in the first movement of the Beethoven Sonata.[70]

A review of a 2012 performance of my own playing raised the issue of the balance of the stopped and open notes. Highlighting the current orthodoxy amongst horn players regarding this issue, the reviewer tellingly reveals disagreement between himself (a non-horn player) and his companion (a horn player) on this element of horn playing:

> I have to confess that there was quite a bit of discussion with my horn playing companion about Scott's technique, with some horn players feeling that Scott could have achieved smoother tone with the hand stopped notes. But I have to confess that I loved the multi-coloured textures and timbres that Scott produced;

[70] Jean Rife, "Natural Horn: A Self-Guided Study for Beginners" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 25, no. 1 (November 1994), 54–55.

> her playing of the more brilliant passages was vivid, with just the right note of bravura. These were pieces written to show off the original players and that's just what Scott did.[71]

Concern about the challenge of travelling from a stopped to an open note, or vice versa, extends to some espousing the view that the natural horn could not play a true legato and suggesting that:

> [w]hen slurring between the g''-f''-e'', natural horn players should use a legato tongue to avoid sliding between notes. It is helpful to think of the right hand of the natural horn more like a trombone player's slide, rather than the left hand of the valve horn. If trombone players do not lightly tongue during legato passages, a *Lassus* Trombone effect will occur![72]

The "*Lassus* Trombone effect" is a type of trombone glissando or smear, a device used to great affect in a number of compositions by the trombonist Henry Fillmore (1881–1956) including one entitled "Lassus Trombone". The effect is used to suggest laziness, sloppiness or bad technique and the term itself originates in extremely racist tropes.[73]

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[71] Robert Hugill, "Virtuoso works for natural horn on the South Bank", *PlanetHugill* (6 March 2012), http://www.planethugill.com/2012/03/virtuoso-works-for-natural-horn-on.html [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[72] Chenoweth, "Orchestral Notes", 44.

[73] For more on this see Trevor Herbert, "Trombone Glissando: A Case Study in Continuity and Change in Brass Instrument Performance Idioms" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 22 (2010), 8–10. Also Douglas Yeo, "Trombone players: It's time to bury Henry Fillmore's "Lassus Trombone"", *The Last Trombone*, (28 June 2020), https://thelasttrombone.com/2020/06/28/trombone-players-its-time-to-bury-henry-fillmores-lassus-trombone [Accessed 9 April 2025].

Performers such as Paul Austin encouraged the player not to think of the valves this is purely in order to shift the student's mindset regarding tonguing.[74] By thinking of a trombone slide the horn player is encouraged to avoid using a constant stream of air, undisrupted by the tongue (i.e. how horn players normally produce a slur). Despite being asked not to think of the valves, this approach is being encouraged in order to create the effect of the valve horn (i.e. smooth, clean slurs).

The idea that the natural horn is somehow inconducive to achieving the "proper" legato of the valve horn is repeated frequently during the twentieth century. Frederick Corder, the staunch advocate of the valve horn quoted earlier, states that "[l]egato phrases can be played really legato", implying this to be a new facility, special to the valve horn.[75]

The American horn player Harold Meek (1914–1998) also believed that slurs were risky and weak on the natural horn. The authority to which he referred is that of his former teacher Anton Horner (1877–1971), who had studied with Friedrich Gumpert (1841–1906), the principal horn of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra and professor at the Leipzig Conservatory from 1864 to 1898.[76] Meek states that this information, passed on from Gumpert to Horner to him, is steeped in the "tradition established at the Gewandhaus in Mendelssohn's days" (i.e. 1835–1847). Writing of the Allegro con

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[74] Chenoweth, "Orchestral Notes", 44.

[75] Corder, *The Orchestra,* 51.

[76] Gumpert also taught Paersch, mentioned earlier in relation to Corder's praise.

brio “fanfare” in Leonora’s aria “Komm, Hoffnung” from Beethoven’s *Fidelio* (figure 1:1) he states that*:*

> …this passage was always played detached throughout - not as written by Beethoven. The reason was that it was more powerful and safer on the hand horn then in use. The tradition was not broken until the modern valve horn appeared, whose valves aid the player in making the slurs clean and safe.[77]



Figure 1:1: Allegro con brio horn “fanfare” from Leonora’s aria “Komm, Hoffnung” from Ludwig van Beethoven *Fidelio*, Op. 72 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. c.1864), 120.

Meeks’s claim that this passage was played without slurs on the natural horn is surprising and, therefore, his assertion regarding its historical precedent requires further examination. We know, for example from Berlioz’s accounts, that the Leipzig Gewandhaus of this period did continue to use natural horns so, at first glance, this account appears to be suggesting useful evidence of historical performance

[77] Harold Meek, *Horn and conductor: Reminiscences of a Practitioner with a Few Words of Advice* (Rochester, University of Rochester Press, 1997), 49.

practice.[78] However Meek's argument that the Leipzig natural horn players altered Beethoven's direction, removing slurs to aid power and security, runs contrary to what we now know is feasible on the instrument. Slurs between open harmonics are amongst the easiest to execute on the instrument given that they rely solely on the embouchure and no hand technique is required. As such, they are regularly included in the relevant method books of the period.[79] As Meek is also maintaining that it was only with the advent of the valve horn that Beethoven's intentions could be fully realised, I would argue that his statements be seen as indicative of twentieth-century attitudes to the natural horn, i.e. evidence that it was considered inferior to the modern valve horn, rather than a plausible account of historical performance practice. Finally, the fact that Meek is specifically using a composition by Beethoven in relating the attitudes of the older generations (Horner and Gumpert) falls in line with analysis of other late nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers who maintained that Beethoven, above all composers, had been ill-served by the musicians and instruments available to him.[80]

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[78] Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires de Hector Berlioz, membre de l'Institut de France: comprenant ses voyages en Italie, en Allemagne, en Russie et en Angleterre, 1803-1865. Avec un beau portrait de l'auteur* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1870), 290–292. Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise: a translation and commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 183.

[79] Examples include Johannes Heinrich Göroldt, *Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Horn-Schule, vom ersten Elementar-Unterricht an bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung* (Quedlinburg: Basse, 1822),11; Joseph Fröhlich, "Vom Horn" in *Vollständige theoretisch-pracktische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente zum Gebrauch für Musikdirectoren - Lehrer und Liebhaber*, vol. 3 (Bonn: Simrock, 1811),19; Richard Hofmann, *Hornschule*, Op. 17 (Leipzig: Carl Merseburger, 1883), 15. Regarding the performance practice of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra the Hofmann example is particularly important given Hofmann being active in late nineteenth century Leipzig.

[80] See: Scott Burnham "The four ages of Beethoven: critical reception and the canonic composer" in ed. Glenn Stanley, *Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) 272–291, and Anneke Scott, "The Revisionist History of the Fourth Horn Solo from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony", paper presented at Historic Brass Society Conference (July 2017, New York University/Metropolitan Museum).

Christopher Mowat, former principal trombone of the BBC Symphony Orchestra, cast his ear over a HIP recording of similar repertoire to that found on Watkins's *The Romantic Horn* disc: Andrew Clark's EMI recording of Beethoven, Mozart and Brahms.[81] In Mowat's *Classical Music* review, he voiced his concerns as to the wisdom of performing works by composers identified by Watkins as "geniuses" on the natural horn:

> The horn has changed so enormously over 300 years that a recording such as this, where a rudimentary instrument is pushed, however expertly, to its limits, can sow doubts in the mind of even an enlightened listener. We hear what the contemporary audience heard; but is it what they wanted? The technical innovations that were on the horizon must have been occasioned by dissatisfaction, so might we be re-creating something that even at the time was considered inadequate?[82]

Mowat finds the twin issues of the timbral shifts encountered between the stopped/open notes and the manner in which one travels between them troubling. As outlined above, he opens his review questioning the validity of an HIP approach to this repertoire and goes on to state, despite his qualms that:

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[81] Andrew Clark (horn). 1998. *Music for Horn*. CD. CDZ 7243 5 72822 2 2. United States of America: EMI Classics.

[82] Christopher Mowat, "Review of Andrew Clark EMI CD Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart: Horn Quintet, K407; Two Horn Duos in E flat, K487" *BBC Music Magazine'* (12 January 2012), http://www.classical-music.com/review/mozart-beethoven-brahms-0 [Accessed 9 April 2025]. Original, Christopher Mowat, "Chamber Music Reviews" in *BBC Music Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 5 (January 1999), 73. For a more nuanced investigation of the drivers behind the invention of the valve see John Ericson, "Heinrich Stoelzel and Early Valved Horn Technique" in *Historic Brass Society Journal* vol. 9 (1997), 65–82.

> [t]his does not invalidate Andrew Clark's realisation or his achievement in ironing out much of the inherent unevenness of the natural horn in his debut solo recording. At times he achieves an elegant cantabile, and some remarkably fluent allegros, all done with lips and hand alone, free of any mechanism. Only occasionally do strange, incongruous metallic notes and glissandos remind us that here was an instrument that was crying out for mechanical assistance.[83]

Mowat's choice of language is illuminating. His description of the "strange, incongruous metallic notes…" of "…an instrument that was crying out.." is not vastly different from the earliest accounts of hand technique in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, such as in Charles Burney's *Cyclopaedia* article highlighting the "different quality" of the open and stopped notes and likening Punto's playing "to a person ridden by the *night mare* [Burney's italics] who tries to cry out but cannot".[84] The similarity between Burney's early-nineteenth-century impression and Mowat's in the late twentieth century, both listeners encountering the "new" use of hand technique for the first time is striking.

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[83] Christopher Mowat,"Review of Andrew Clark EMI CD Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart: Horn Quintet, K407; Two Horn Duos in E flat, K487" *BBC Music Magazine'* (12 January 2012), http://www.classical-music.com/review/mozart-beethoven-brahms-0 [Accessed 9 April 2025]. Original, Christopher Mowat, "Chamber Music Reviews" in *BBC Music Magazine*, vol. 7, no. 5 (January 1999), 73.

[84] Charles Burney, in Abraham Rees, *Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Art Sciences and Literature*, vol. 18 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown, 1819), (no page numbers). NB Burney refers to "now" as 1803 in this article. "It must, however, be discovered, by every discriminating hearer, that the factitious half notes, that are made by the hand in the mouth of the instrument, are sounds of a different quality from the natural tones of the instrument. We have often thought that Ponto [sic], with all his dexterity, produced some of these new notes with similar difficulty to a person ridden by the *night mare* who tries to cry out but cannot."

The twentieth century saw the reemergence of the natural horn as part of the HIP movement, and current practitioners still use as their first port of call the two main texts produced during the century by Morley-Pegge and Fitzpatrick, research produced more than half a century ago. The careers and recordings of the trailblazing generation from the 1960s and 1970s are still highly regarded as influential, as can be seen in a new generation of performers and recordings. Examples of this are two recordings of the Mozart horn concertos released in 2015, one by the Spanish horn player, and winner of the 1990 Bad Harzberg Natural Horn Competition, Javier Bonet, the other by the British horn player Philip ("Pip") Eastop (b.1958).[85] Bonet's recording (on modern horn) was conducted by his former teacher Hermann Baumann, whilst Eastop's (on natural horn) was conducted by Anthony Halstead. This could be construed as one generation leaning on the previous generation for an aura of "authority".

Throughout the development of natural horn playing in modern times, the two issues of timbre and transition between the stopped and open notes have often dictated the terms by which style and taste have been discussed.

Appropriate or tasteful playing on the natural horn has been judged using criteria that have been established by the modern horn school rather than in relation to the tastes and aesthetics of the original eras of the natural horn. This is in many ways similar to

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[85] Javier Bonet (horn) Hermann Baumann (conductor), Münchner Rundfunkorchester. 2015. *W.A.Mozart: The Horn Concertos.* CD. ARSIS 5254. Spain: ARSIS. Pip Eastop (horn), Anthony Halstead (conductor), The Hanover Band. 2015. *Mozart: Horn Concertos, Horn Quintet.* CD. CDA68097. United Kingdom: Hyperion.

arguments that have surrounded the instrument every time it encountered a shift in performance practice. When the instrument first began to be played using hand technique; when valves were first added; when the double horn was developed; each successive development fuelled debate as to whether or not the latest, newest, version of the horn sufficiently retained its most valued character: the beauty of timbre associated with the instrument. Inevitably, the assessment of such qualities of timbre naturally entails further subjective and changeable concepts throughout the history of the instrument, but, whenever debate has raged as to the relative merits of new innovations in horn performance practice or technology, the argument has always returned to concepts of beauty of timbre.

The re-introduction of the natural horn in the second half of the twentieth century happened amidst a set of aesthetic criteria which prioritised an open timbre and smoothness of playing typical of the modern instrument, criteria which influenced the interpretation of sources. However, as I will argue in Part Two (Chapters Four to Six), information pertaining to vocal and string performance practice can lead us to question the prevailing approach to the natural horn.

In Part Three (Chapters Seven to Fourteen) I will consider the work of one of the leading natural horn players, Jacques-François Gallay and in Part Four (Chapters Fifteen to Twenty) I will investigate key solos associated with him whilst exploring a number of sources that I believe provoke modern-day natural horn players to reconsider how we interpret these works.

Chapter Two: Sources and scholarship on the horn and nineteenth-century performance practice

The study of nineteenth-century horn playing has advanced in parallel with wider currents in historical performance research. Early histories, for example Blandford and Morley-Pegge, tended to adopt a descriptive, antiquarian stance, cataloguing instruments and teachers without investigating the aesthetic or cultural frameworks in which they operated.[1] More recent scholarship, for example Humphries, Snedeker and Meucci and Rochetti, has enriched our understanding of organological change, institutional contexts, and the Conservatoire's pivotal role in codifying technique.[2] Yet, whilst the transition from natural to valve horn in terms of the development of the instrument and compositions written for it has been charted in detail, the expressive dimensions of horn playing, incorporating aspects of timbre, portamento, and the

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[1] Walter Fielding Holloway Blandford, "Studies on the Horn" in *The Musical Times* (London), "I. The French Horn in England", vol. 63, no. 954 (1 August 1922), 544–545; "II. Wagner and the Horn Parts of Lohengrin", vol. 63, no. 955 (1 September 1922), 622–624; "II. Wagner and the Horn Parts of Lohengrin (Continued)", vol. 63, no. 956 (1 October 1922), 693–697; "III. The Fourth Horn in the 'Choral' Symphony", vol. 66, no. 983 (1 January 1925), 29–32; "III. The Fourth Horn in the 'Choral' Symphony (Continued)", vol. 66, no. 984 (1 February 1925), 124–129; "III. The Fourth Horn in the 'Choral' Symphony. III (Concluded)", vol. 66, no. 985 (1 March 1925), 221–223. Reginald Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique* (London: E. Benn, 1960).

[2] John Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Jeffrey L. Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Hor*n (London: Routledge, 2021). Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023).

emulation of vocal style, remain largely ignored or suffer from the assumption that vocality today is no different to that of earlier eras.

This study seeks to address these issues and, by placing Jacques-François Gallay at the centre of this inquiry, I seek to reconstruct the sound-world of nineteenth-century horn playing as it was understood by those who performed and listened to it. Bringing together pedagogical treatises, critical commentary, and operatic obligatos, I will argue for a re-evaluation of what constituted "good style" on the horn, challenging modern HIP assumptions that prioritise homogeneity of timbre and restraint in expression. In doing so, I shall propose not only a new reading of Gallay's artistry but also a reframing of the French school's broader aesthetic priorities in the 1810s–1850s.

Primary sources

The primary sources that underpin this investigation are abundant. At the centre of the horn tradition stand the Conservatoire methods by Frédéric Duvernoy, Heinrich Domnich, Louis-François Dauprat, Joseph Meifred and Jacques-François Gallay, plus numerous similar methods published in Europe during this period.[3] Together these texts codify technique and pedagogy, but they are often reticent on matters of taste and style, often suggesting talented students emulate other musicians, most often the best singers, thus emphasising the expectation that such practices were

[3] Frédéric Duvernoy, *Méthode pour le cor, suivie de Duo et de Trio pour cet Instrument* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1802); Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808); Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* 3 vols (Paris: Zetter, 1824); Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840); Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor*, Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3).

learnt through imitation rather than textual instruction.[4] Gallay's *Méthode* is frequently examined in this thesis, especially regarding his position on timbre with his views contrasting with that of the previous generations of horn players.[5]

Beyond horn-specific pedagogies, a wider circle of contemporaneous treatises proves indispensable. Baillot's *L'art du violon,* García's *École de García* and Spohr's writings testify to the centrality of vocal models for all musicians.[6] For horn players, these and other sources illuminate the aesthetic values implicit in Conservatoire training but seldom made explicit in horn methods.

A crucial initial stage in my research involved a systematic survey of reviews and critical writings in journals such as *Le Ménestrel* and *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* in order to build up a database of references in these publications to Gallay.[7] These reports, which I draw upon frequently in this thesis, add further layers, documenting Gallay's reputation for a "vocal" style and situating horn performance within broader debates about taste, national identity, and the merits of the natural versus valve horn.

Almanachs, histories of the Conservatoire, and theatre archives provide a framework of factual documentation (posts held, works performed, prizes awarded), while

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[4] See Chapter Three, 151–154.

[5] For more on Gallay's *Méthode* see 142, 149–150, 153, 164, 173–174, 177, 239–240, 299, 302, 317, 367, 528, 530, 565–566.

[6] Pierre Baillot,, *L'art du violon* (Paris: Depot Central de Musique, n.d. c. 1834); Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 2 vols (Paris: Manuel García, 1847); Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, n.d. c.1832).

[7] For a list of the press surveyed see Bibliography, 623–624.

correspondence, notably Rubini's 1838 letter to Gallay, offers glimpses of the aesthetic language shared between singers and instrumentalists.[8] Operatic obligatos and other compositions constitute an important body of primary evidence, since they suggest expectations of expressive nuance that were seldom written down in words.

In addition to written and notated sources, this study also draws on the evidence of early sound recordings (see Chapter Seventeen). Although made several decades after Gallay's death, the earliest recordings of singers and instrumentalists preserve vestiges of nineteenth-century expressive practice, particularly with regard to portamento and timbral inflection. When considered alongside contemporaneous treatises and reviews, these recordings provide rare aural testimony that helps to corroborate written accounts and offers modern performers a more tangible sense of the expressive vocabulary available to Gallay and his contemporaries.

The conspicuous absence of more discursive horn writings on matters of style highlights the asymmetry of the surviving record. Unlike the violin or voice, where copious pedagogical texts detail expressive nuance, in order to understand the performance practice for the horn in this period it is necessary to use of multiple types of evidence. This is not simply a limitation but a defining feature of the field which requires the study of surviving horn methods alongside contemporaneous vocal and

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[8] For a list of the Directories and almanachs see Bibliography, 625. Conservatoire histories include: Constant Pierre, *B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Librairie Delalain frères, 1895); Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900); Théodore Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Levy Frères, 1860). Jean Mongrédien's series, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris 1801–1831, chronologie et documents* 8 vols (Lyon: Symétrie/Venise: Palazzetto Bru-Zane, 2008), proved invaluable.

other instrumental sources, and to consider evidence of Gallay's performance practice within the larger aesthetic networks of nineteenth-century Paris.

Histories of the horn and its performance practice

W. F. H. BLANDFORD - 'STUDIES ON THE HORN'

The renewed interest during the twentieth century in the performance of music on historical instruments was fuelled by research and publications. In the 1920s, in a series of articles entitled "Studies on the Horn", Walter Fielding Holloway Blandford (1865–1952) set out many of the key texts and sources that horn players were to rely on as scholarship on the instrument grew over the century.[9] It is a testament to the French school's importance that, despite the Anglo-centric nature of the first publication in this series, "The French Horn in England", Blandford sees fit to highlight the importance of the seventeenth-century French *trompe de chasse*, composers such as "Lulli" and makers such as Raoux, as well as pointing out that "[s]o advanced a musician as Ravel" had written a part for the "abandoned" natural horn in his *Pavane pour une Infante défunte* (orchestrated 1910).[10]

In referring to native British "first-rank artists on the hand-horn", Blandford suggests the lack was due to "want of efficient training" and points to the Italian Giovanni Puzzi, who came to England from Paris after the Battle of Waterloo, as a promoter of the instrument. Blandford positions Puzzi by the company he kept on stage: "the vocalists were Mesdames Malibran and Grisi, Messrs. Rubini, Tamburini, Lablanche,

[9] For Blandford's publications see footnote 1.

[10] Blandford, "Studies on the Horn" (1 August 1922), 544–545.

and others". These singers were part of the Italian school of singing, fashionable both in Puzzi's London and Gallay's Paris. Many of them shared the concert platform and specific repertoires with both Puzzi and Gallay.

REGINALD MORLEY-PEGGE - *THE FRENCH HORN: SOME NOTES ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE INSTRUMENT AND ITS TECHNIQUE*

The work of Blandford's protégé, Reginald Morley-Pegge (1890–1972) has dominated much of twentieth-century horn scholarship. Morley-Pegge's *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of its Technique* was part of a groundswell of interest in "the evolution of wind instruments" that happened in the 1960s and 1970s in the UK, centred around key members of the Galpin Society (founded in 1946), which resulted in many similar publications.[11]

In his Preface, Morley-Pegge sets out both his sources - "[t]he active collecting and handling of old specimens… old tutors, dictionary articles, press reports, accounts of international exhibitions, and…patent specifications" - and his credentials: "[p]ractical experience… backed by half a century of professional horn playing in old and new music, often on period instruments".[12] Though British born, Morley-Pegge spent a significant proportion of his life in France, studying with François Brémond (1844–1925) at the Paris Conservatoire as well as with Louis-Edouard Vuillermoz (1869–

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[11] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, ix. See also Anthony Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development* (London: Faber, 1976); Anthony Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History* (London: Faber & Faber, 1957); F. Geoffrey Rendall and Philip Bate, *The Clarinet: Some Notes upon its History and Construction* (London: E. Benn, 1971); Philip Bate, *The Flute, A Study of Its History, Development, and Construction* (London: E. Benn, c.1979); Philip Bate, *The Oboe: An Outline of its History, Development, and Construction* (London: E. Benn, 1975); Philip Bate: *The Trumpet and Trombone: An Outline of Their History, Development and Construction* (London: E. Benn, 1972); Lynsey G. Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon* (London: E. Benn, 1965).

[12] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, ix–x.

1939).[13] In the interwar years Morley-Pegge worked professionally in Paris with the Orchestre Symphonique de Paris, the Orchestre Colonne, the Association des Concerts Poulet and the Paris Radio Orchestre.[14]

Given Morley-Pegge's background as "a privileged witness", a great deal of the information contained in his book can be seen to have come directly from people involved with significant episodes in the history of the instrument.[15] For example, Brémond, who was amongst the first cohort of Paris Conservatoire students of Jean-Baptiste Mohr (1823–1891), and who was in turn both Gallay's former pupil and successor, relays directly to his own student Morley-Pegge a first-hand account of the transition of the Conservatoire horn class from that of natural horn ("until 1896"), to both natural and valve-horn ("from 1897 to 1902") and eventually to just valve-horn ("since 1903").[16]

The above information is crucial to the narrative of the French school upholding the natural horn throughout the nineteenth century. The demographic of Brémond's class

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[13] Philip Bate, "R. F. M.-P. 1890–1972" in *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 25 (July 1972), 2.

[14] Bate, "R. F. M.-P. 1890–1974", 2.

[15] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn*, 337.

[16] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 3–4, fn 1 5–6.

towards the tail end of the period when students were solely studying natural horn ("until 1896") is well illustrated in the class photograph (figure 2:1) from 1895.[17]



Figure 2:1: François Brémond's horn class at the Paris Conservatoire (1895). Photo E.Pirou. Published in 1895 by *Le Monde Musical*. Collection: Bibliothèque National de France (Paris, France), btv1b84541780.

Despite being more than sixty years old, Morley-Pegge's *The French Horn* is still viewed as the main history of the instrument.[18] However, whilst it is an important source, there are some errors, particularly concerning the dating of instruments,

[17] François Brémond's horn class at the Paris Conservatoire. Photo by Eugène Pirou published in *Le Monde Musical,* 1895. Collection Bibliothèque Nationale de France, IFN-8454178. Left to right (seated): Pierre Jacques Thierhoff (assistant conductor of the Harmonie du 10eme arrondissement de Paris), François Brémond (1844–1925) and Eugène Priad (1863–1936, accompanist to the horn class). Left to right (standing): Jules Marius Vialet (1871–1948, *premier prix* winner 1895), Charles Coyaux (1870–1929, *premier prix* winner 1892), François Tribout (1873–19??, *second prix* winner 1895), Victor Louis Lemoine (1872–19??, *premier prix* winner 1897), Antoine Emile Penable (1877–19??, *premier prix* winner 1896) and Marius Ferdinand Volaire (1874–19??, *premier prix* winner 1899). Biographical information from Vincent Andrieux and John Humphries (private correspondence 3 April 2024).

[18] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxvii.

which often err on the much older side than is correct.[19] In some cases it may well be that the writer himself was too close to the course of the history he was recounting to be an accurate witness; for example, the first-hand account of Brémond reported above can be contested.[20]

HORACE FITZPATRICK - *THE HORN & HORN PLAYING AND THE AUSTRO-BOHEMIAN TRADITION 1680–1830*

By his own admission Morley-Pegge does not cover "what, for lack of a better word" he calls "artistic horn playing", i.e. performance practice, instead dealing with more organological and historical details of the history of the instrument and its players.[21] For "artistic horn playing", he points to the work of his former student, Horace Fitzpatrick (1934–2020) and Fitzpatrick's publication *The Horn & Horn Playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition 1680–1830*.[22]

Given the more precise topic - that of the Austro-Bohemian tradition - it may seem counterintuitive to consider this text here in a section on the more general histories

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[19] For example the Wilhelm Glier horn (no.1 on plate vii) is listed as being from 1835. The date of 1835 on the bell of this horn is indicating that Glier was making **from** 1835 and this instrument is undoubtedly from a much later date. See William Waterhouse, *The New Langwill Index* (London: Tony Bingham, 1993), 137.

[20] Evidence suggests that Brémond was more occupied with the promotion of the valve-horn prior to the 1897 date than his first-hand account to Morley-Pegge may suggest. For example, Brémond had published a number of transcriptions of works by composers including Delibes, Massenet, Gounod, and Beethoven for piston horn and piano from 1890 onwards. Additionally the *premier prix* set work in 1897, a Sonata by Xavier Leroux was explicitly for *cor chromatique,* which would be a peculiar decision to make if this was the first year that the instrument had been offered. Setting such a piece for examination most probably indicates some level of valve-horn study having been already set in place, even if unofficial.

[21] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn,* vii.

[22] Horace Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing and the Austro-Bohemian tradition 1680–1830* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970).

relevant to my study. However, much of Fitzpatrick's argument concerns the influence of the Austro-Bohemian tradition on other geographical areas, hence its inclusion here. Additionally, given the strong influence of Fitzpatrick's work on much contemporary understanding of the history of the instrument, it feels important to tackle this publication at this juncture.

Morley-Pegge's *The French Horn* can be viewed today as, in places, rather outdated, containing some errors which more recent scholarship is able to rectify; generally though it is a good and useful history of the instrument. Fitzpatrick's œuvre, on the other hand, is much more controversial and problematic. Regrettably though, in much of the horn playing community Fitzpatrick, a prolific writer, is seen as authoritative and an exhaustive expert on the instrument.

The high number of unverifiable assertions in *The Horn & Horn Playing* has led to them being known as "Fitzpatrickisms", apparent facts that have been quoted in other publications and yet have little or no grounding in verifiable truth. In places Fitzpatrick appears to have been particularly selective in editing sources to back his narrative (for example the biographical information on the Uhlmann family).[23]

In a way his work provides an excellent warning for researchers. There is a lot of informative material in *The Horn & Horn Playing* and Fitzpatrick undertook a great

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[23] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing*, 148–149. Fitzpatrick cites Anton Ziegler's *Adressenbuch von Tonkünstlern* (Vienna: Strauss, 1823), 54, as evidence that Tobias, Jacob and Leopold Uhlmann were three brothers (rather than father and two sons) giving Tobias as a "graduate of the National Conservatory", yet Ziegler makes no mention of Tobias being such a graduate which ties in with him having been from an earlier generation.

deal of unique archival research in a time when access to many relevant sources was not as free and easy as it is today. But, as with any source, researchers should seek to check the veracity of the information before repeating it.

An additional reason that I believe Fitzpatrick's work forms such an important cautionary tale is in his tendency to verge on the hagiographic, asserting aspects of players' styles, and even individual character, in order to further his argument that "the magical effect which the horn obviously exerted over the concert-room audiences of the time" was a product of a special and unique Austrian-Bohemian school".[24] For example, the "Miger" portrait of Giovanni Punto demonstrates "a remarkable mixture of sensitivity, humour, intelligence, pride, integrity, and stubbornness reflected in the aristocratic features of this striking face".[25] Fitzpatrick falls into the trap of over-reaching, often in order to further magnify the credentials of his subjects.

As I will do in the course of my thesis, Fitzpatrick highlights the importance of vocal training as part of the training of musicians, and in particular horn players. To this end he cites Fröhlich:

> A singing style is the horn-player's principal grace [*Zierde*: adornment], just as the choir-school is the only true training ground for those who in time hope to

[24] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing,* 178.

[25] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing*, 173–4. Fitzpatrick describes the portrait as being by Miger. Simon Charles Miger (1736–1820) is the engraver. The original portrait is by Charles-Nicolas Cochin (1715–1790).

> accomplish anything worthwhile on this instrument… [i]f in addition the pupil listens to many good singers, studies singing, and strives unremittingly to pattern his playing upon good singing technique, the resulting progress will quickly advance him so far in this field as to win him recognition as a true artist on his instrument.[26]

Similarly, he includes a number of accounts of his protagonists being critiqued in comparison to singers, but little analysis occurs as to what exactly the singing style of the time may have been. An example of such conjecture is his discussion of a very vexed issue for horn players: vibrato. Fitzpatrick asserts that "every correctly produced voice features a pleasant natural vibrato", ergo: "vibrato appears to have enriched the tone of the virtuoso horn-players".[27]

Whilst I believe the historic use of vibrato on the horn to be an area ripe for study, as well as believing it to be linked to musical expressivity and vocality, I have chosen to focus on portamento and timbre in this study and therefore it is outside of the present scope. However, like portamento and timbre, suggestions of what "appropriate" vibrato for earlier eras may or may not have sounded like cannot be made conditional

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[26] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing,* 180. The original text comes from Joseph Fröhlich, "Vom Horn" in *Vollständige theoretisch-pracktische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente zum Gebrauch für Musikdirectoren - Lehrer und Liebhaber*, vol. 3 (Bonn: Simrock, 1811), 17, 20. "Die dort angeführten Beyspiele suche man nach dem Instrumente einzurichten, und verweile nur mit um so größerer Aufmerksamkeit bey diesem wichtigen Punkte, als ein gesangvoller Vortrag die Hauptzierde des Hornisten ist, so wie die Singschule die einzige wahre Bildungsmethode für alle jene enthält, welche mit der Zeit etwas Gutes auf diesem Instrumente leisten wollen." "Wenn man nun noch über dies viele gute Sänger hört, Gesänge studiert, und unablässig in dem Bestreben ist, sich nach wahrer Singmethode zu bilden, so müssen Fortschritte dadurch erzielt werden, welche den Schüler in kurzer Zeit in dem Gebiethe der Kunst recht weit bringen, und ihm bald den Ruhm eines wahren Künstlers auf diesem Instrumente verschaffen."

[27] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing*, 180.

on modern vocal practice as part of a belief in the universality and immutability of vocal performance practice.

Fitzpatrick takes the position that no-one refers to vibrato on the horn (bar one reference he cites) due to the fact that it was "so intrinsically a part of the vocal tone quality and delivery of the great horn-players" as to require little mention. Fitzpatrick believes that "obviously if a player sang upon his horn, he sang with a natural vibrato." No further analysis is entered into. Fitzpatrick assumes that what is considered "intrinsically" part of "vocal tone quality" has always been thus. Evidence of his assertion comes in the form of "present day" Russian horn players, a school "initially taught by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Bohemians", who still use vibrato. Fitzpatrick's suggestion of a c. 1970s performance practice being indicative of one from the early nineteenth century is very hard to credit.

Regarding vocality in horn playing, a typically tantalising Fitzpatrick paragraph runs as follows:

> Punto is said to have possessed what Dlabacž calls 'a very fine Basso voice', and is known to have taught singing as well. Punto's nephew, a Herr Jellauer, studied voice with him and sang an aria in the great horn-player's National Theatre concert at Prague in 1801.[28]

[28] Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing*, 179.

Fitzpatrick does not cite from which specific Dlabač (actually Bohumír Jan Dlabač also known as Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, 1758–1820) publication this information originated. Further study suggests that this specific account originates from Dlabač's article on Stich/Punto in his *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon.*[29] The article recounts the 1801 concert which indeed included a performance by Punto's nephew, the tenor Fellauer (not Jellauer), who commands his own entry in Dlabač's *Lexikon*.[30] Dlabač describes Fellauer as a student of Punto, but there is no evidence in his account that he studied singing with Punto.[31] Nor is there any trace of the assertion that Punto had "a very fine Basso voice".

Subsequent publications on the history of the horn followed in the 1970s and 80s, including Barry Tuckwell's *Horn* and the work of Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle.[32] These works broadly repeat the accepted history of the instrument and focus on the organology and, especially in the case of Janetzky/Brüchle, the iconography.

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[29] Bohumír Jan Dlabač, "Stich" in *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, vol. 3 (Prague: Haase, 1815), 209–213.

[30] Dlabač, "Stich" in *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 1, 385.

[31] Dlabač, "Stich" in *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 3, 210.

[32] Barry Tuckwell, *Horn* (New York: Schirmer: 1983). Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle, *The Horn,* trans. James Chater (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1988). Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle, *Kulturgeschichte des Horns/A Pictorial History of the Horn*), trans. Cecilia Baumann (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976. Given that the Janetzky/Brüchle make no specific comments relevant to this study no further comment will be made on it in this chapter.

BARRY TUCKWELL - *HORN*

Tuckwell, a master of the modern instrument and a proponent of much of the early repertoire for the instrument (Zelenka, Pisendel etc), albeit on the modern horn, lets his modern aesthetics show on occasion. Concerning the "disadvantage" of hand-stopping given the "disparity" between the "muffled" stopped notes and "open, natural notes", Tuckwell asserts that "[w]hat players - and composers - wanted was a chromatic instrument with all the notes sounding the same."[33]

Tuckwell's work, while utterly devoid of citations, is, generally, an informed overview of the history of the instrument, though a number of facts are incorrect.[34] Whilst he is not unique in doing so he does also attempt to dispel certain myths that nonetheless continue to this day, such as the inaccurate belief that the fourth horn solo of Beethoven's Ninth symphony was written for an early valve-horn ("not a remarkable piece of writing for the hand horn"), that Strauss's Concerto No. 1 for horn was written for natural horn ("clearly nonsense"), and the subtle difference between "stopped" notes (for which the player hand stops and transposes down a semi-tone) and the "echo" notes (for which the player only half stops the bell and transposes up a semi-tone) required in Dukas's *Villanelle* (the two effects are "not the same…and it is regrettable that so few conductors are aware of the subtle difference of these two effects").[35]

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[33] Tuckwell, *Horn*, 36.

[34] For example the ambiguous comment on Puzzi performing at the Opéra Comique (the implied Parisian theatre) in 1830. Tuckwell, *Horn*, 131.

[35] Tuckwell, *Horn*, 71–72, 92, 100–101.

Where Tuckwell comes into his own is in his first-hand experience of playing the works quoted, focusing mostly on post-Mozart repertoire through to contemporary pieces, and especially when discussing the art of modern horn playing.[36] Tuckwell clearly groups portamento as a contemporary musical effect alongside microtonality, glissando ("not exactly a new effect… an accepted part of a hunting-horn player's technique") and flutter tonguing.[37] Including examples of portamento from Richard Rodney Bennett (*Actaeon*) and Mátyás Seiber (*Notturno* for Horn and Strings), Tuckwell explains that, for him, portamento is executed using the hand in the bell of the instrument: "[w]hen the hand is slowly moved across the bell from the open to the fully stopped position the pitch is gradually lowered."[38] The greatest interval in his illustrations is a stopped to open major third in his example from *Actaeon.* In this section Tuckwell also flags up how the use of the hand in the bell also changes "the quality of the sound".

Whilst repertoire is discussed, generally there is little discussion of any relevant performance practice other than for more recent composition, i.e. those pieces with a performance practice within Tuckwell's own living memory.[39] Timbre is discussed, touching also upon vibrato, in terms of twentieth-century "national schools".[40]

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[36] Tuckwell, Chapter 7 "The horn player, artist and technician" in *Horn*, 179–193.

[37] Tuckwell, "Modern Techniques" in *Horn*, 108–119.

[38] Tuckwell, *Horn*, 114–5.

[39] For example Tuckwell points out the current performance practice, which started with Denis Brain of playing the written high A in bar 12 of the Prologue and Epilogue of Britten's *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings* as a high B-flat. Tuckwell, *Horn*, 112.

[40] Tuckwell, *Horn*, 142–5.

JOHN HUMPHRIES - *THE EARLY HORN: A PRACTICAL GUIDE*

Morley-Pegge's *The French Horn* and Tuckwell's *Horn* are publications conceived as individual elements in book series designed to explore the history of musical instruments. Two of the most recent additions to the study of the instrument, Humphries *The Early Horn* and Meucci and Rocchetti *The Horn,* serve a similar purpose.[41] The title of John Humphries's slim volume *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide* clearly places it as focused on historical instruments and the playing of them.[42]

This publication forms part of a short-lived series of "Cambridge Handbooks to the Historical Performance of Music" published in the late 1990s/early 2000s. The series, under the editorship of Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, was conceived to provide information not only on the history of the instruments but practical advice from an HIP standpoint. In keeping with the structures of other books in this series, Humphries deals with issues such as the relevant equipment/technology and the techniques of playing.

More than the previously mentioned works, Humphries tackles questions of relevant and stylistic performance practice, which he describes as "the language of musical style", and references a number of core non-horn-centric texts in order to firm up

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[41] Humphries, *The Early Horn.* Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn* (see discussion below, 100–105).

[42] Humphries, *The Early Horn.*

points regarding aspects of style which are more seldom covered in the horn pedagogy of the period.[43]

Humphries briefly engages with the vocality of horn players. He notes that Giovanni Puzzi “frequently claimed to perform 'in the style of' the great Italian tenor, Giovanní Battista Rubini”, a singer, Humphries notes, “who was renowned for his pronounced vibrato.”[44] Humphries wisely states the “need for care in drawing parallels between instruments” using current trends in vibrato as a case in point.[45]

Like these forebears I will follow the methodology of “casting the net wider” than just horn literature in order to utilise sources which, in addition to being plentiful, are vastly more detailed than much of the horn literature. For example, I will incorporate the work of relevant performers such as Louis Spohr and Manuel García.[46] This methodology ties in with Clive Brown’s argument that it is far easier with some

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[43] Examples include Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments,* translated by W.J. Mitchell (New York: Cassell, 1949 and London: Eulenburg, 1974); Leopold Mozart, *Complete Violin School,* translated by Editha Knocker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1948); Louis Spohr, *Violin-Schule,* translated by John Bishop (London: Cocks & Co., n.d. c.1843); Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute* translated by Edward R. Reilly (London: Faber & Faber, 1966 and 1985); Daniel Gottlob Türk, *School of Clavier Playing,* translated Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1982).

[44] Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 72, citing a letter from Bradley Strauchen. Bradley Strauchen’s work will be discussed below, 109–116.

[45] Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 71.

[46] Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr’s Celebrated Violin School*, trans. John Bishop (London: Robert Cocks & Co. n.d. c.1843). Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, n.d. c.1832). Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant*, 2 vols (Paris: Manuel García, 1847). Manuel García, *Garcia’s Treatise on the art of singing*, ed. Albert Garcia (London: Leonard & Co., n.d. c.1924). Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel Garcia*, trans. Beata Garcia (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894). Manuel García, *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 1857).

instruments (e.g. string instruments) to explain certain performance practices than it is on others.[47]

One reason for the lack of pedagogical sources for the horn in the eighteenth century is that it was a relatively unpopular instrument for amateurs to learn. Pedagogical sources were often aimed at the amateur market and the more desirable instruments to learn were those more often associated with genteel music making: flute, violin, keyboard etc. The horn was more often associated with servants who would entertain their employers than with the gentry who were entertaining themselves.[48]

Of this affluent class, many who did wish to learn the horn were more often interested in it for its use in the hunt, as is indicated by "Mr Charles's" advert in the *Dublin Journal* in which he "proposes teaching Gentlemen and others, the French Horn after the newest Taste, and in the most expeditious Manner; He likewise teaches Lovers of Hunting or Huntsmen, the Hunting or Field-Pieces, as now in Use all over England and France &c."[49]

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[47] Clive Brown, "Singing and String Playing in Comparison: Instructions for the Technical and Artistic Employment of Portamento and Vibrato in Charles de Bériot's Méthode de violon" in Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Roman Brotbeck and Anselm Gerhard, eds., *Zwischen schöpferischer Individualität und künstlerischer Selbstverleugnung*, vol. 2 (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2009), 83–108.

[48] Martin Perkins, "Music in the Country Houses of the English Midlands, 1750–1810", PhD thesis, Birmingham City University, 2020, 29–31. Whilst we have a number of iconographical sources depicting the use of horns in domestic interiors, the loudness of the instrument may have added to the challenges of incorporating it in such settings, a fact alluded to in Lady Mary Wortley Montague assessment of the Viennese balls c. 1717 which were "magnificently furnished, and the music good, if they had not that detestable custom of mixing hunting horns. But that noise is so agreeable here, they never make a concert without them." Mary Wortley Montague, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M- -y W- - -y M- - -e* (London: Cooper, 1763), 108.

[49] Mr Charles, advert in *Dublin Journal* (November 23–27, December 4–7, December 18–21 1742, January 1–4, January 11–15 and January 29–February 1743). Quoted in Albert Rice, *The Baroque Clarinet and Chalumeau* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 201.

Nuances of hand-technique are also notoriously difficult to communicate in text, leading one eighteenth-century source to opine that “this will be better found out by Practise than it is possible here to describe.”[50]

I would suggest that the paucity of horn-specific horn pedagogical literature in the eighteenth century, when compared to the abundant and detailed sources for voice and other instruments, set a precedent that shaped nineteenth-century horn pedagogy. The horn was treated as an instrument whose technical challenges required systematic explanation, something feasible in text, whilst its expressive capacities were expected to be absorbed through other channels, specifically through the emulation of other musicians.[51] Horn players would be technically schooled through method books but aesthetically refined through listening to the best exemplars. The result is a corpus of sources that preserve what they can of the mechanics of horn playing, whilst leaving its expressive practices to be reconstructed indirectly. This approach of first learning to play correctly (mechanically) and then beautifully (aesthetically) will be more fully discussed in Chapter Twelve of this thesis.

As I shall be considering early recordings of singers in Chapter Seventeen (see 462–478), Humphries’ consideration of surviving recordings of horn players, the usefulness and limitations of these sources for our understanding of performance practice is pertinent to my study. Humphries cites recordings including Karl Stiegler’s

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[50] Anon., *New Instructions for the French Horn* (London: Longman and Broderip, c. 1780), 4.

[51] For an example of such guidance to emulate singers see Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 93.

Vienna horn quartet performing Mendelssohn's *Hunter's Farewell* (pre-1910), Anton Horner performing Wagner's "Siegfried's Call" (1912), Arthur Nikisch and the London Symphony Orchestra performing Weber's Overtures to *Oberon* and *Freischütz* (1914), Edouard Vuillermoz performing Émile Vuillermoz's *Pièce Mélodique* (1929), Elgar conducting his own works with the London Symphony Orchestra and Royal Albert Hall Orchestra (1920s–1930s) and Dennis Brain's recordings of the 1950s.[52] Humphries sees early recordings as a crucial, though limited, window into performance practice, using the orchestral examples (such as the Elgar and Nikisch) to illustrate their demonstration of unnotated aspects of performance practice such as the use of portamento in the strings, and vibrato in woodwinds and horns.[53]

Humphries points to a "small, but significant" body of solo and ensemble recordings featuring the horn but highlights that as "there are no recordings of the hand horn being played as part of a living tradition" they are of limited use for suggesting a pre-recording era performance practice.[54] He uses his examples of pertinent recordings

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[52] Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 1, 3–4. Waldhornquartett Adolf Stiegler, Hofoper Wien (horn quartet). 1902. *Jagers Abschied*. 78 rpm record. 48031. United Kingdom: Gramophone & Typewriter Company. Anton Horner (horn). 1912. *Hear Me Norma / Siegfried's Call*. 78 rpm record. Victor 17174. USA: Victor Talking Machine Company. Arthur Nikisch (conductor), London Symphony Orchestra. 1914. *Arthur Nikisch conducts Beethoven*. CD. CDBP9784. United Kingdom: Dutton. Édouard Vuillermoz (horn), G. Haas (piano). 1929. Émile Vuillermoz *Pièce Mélodique.* LP. L 753, 78 t. France: Voix de son maître. Edward Elgar (conductor), London Symphony Orchestra and Royal Albert Hall Orchestra. 2011. *Elgar conducts Elgar.* CD. CD1257 (4 CDs). United Kingdom: Music & Arts. Dennis Brain, (horn). 2008. *Dennis Brain: The Horn Player.* 2060102. CD. France: Warner Classics.

[53] Humphries, *The Early Horn,* 1.

[54] Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 3. Whilst not considered here due to the dates of study being outside the scope of this thesis, the recent work of Vincent Andrieux, Inja Stanović and Jeroen Billiet represent the most relevant regarding surviving early recordings of horn playing. See Vincent Andrieux, "The French Horn School during the Belle Epoque: Investigation into "Prehistoric" Recordings"" , trans. Chris Larkin and Kate Malahieude, *The Horn Call*, vol. 50, no. 11 (February 2020), 32–41; Inja Stanović and Jeroen Billiet "(Re)constructing early recordings: reviving the Brave Belgians", in *Music & Practice*, vol. 10 (2023). https://www.musicandpractice.org/reconstructing-early-recordings-reviving-the-brave-belgians/ [Accessed 4 September 2025].

as illustrations of the limitations of methods and other text sources to fully encapsulate the performance practices of earlier eras, reminding us that "[t]he lack of recordings from earlier periods makes it very much more difficult to capture the unnotated essence of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century music today" and suggests a joint study of instruments, "players' techniques and music style in general" as the best course of action.[55] I am in agreement with Humphries on both the limitations of using early recordings to substantiate pre-recording era performance practices as well as the benefit of using them to argue for the use of non-notated elements of performance.

In comparison with the above works Humphries makes a more concerted effort to draw upon and explore a wider range of sources in order to suggest how earlier repertoires for the horn could be performed. Understandably given the brevity of the work the scope is limited, but the abundance of sources cited (an extensive and clear bibliography, information on collections etc.) gives the reader plenty of material to explore independently.

RENATO MEUCCI AND GABRIELE ROCCHETTI - *THE HORN*

The most recent history of the horn follows in the tradition of many of the texts referred to above. Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti's *The Horn*, published in 2023, forms part of the Yale University Press series on instruments.[56] Most of this series, on topics including the trumpet, trombone, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon,

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[55] Humphries, *The Early Horn*, 1.

[56] Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023).

saxophone, timpani and percussion were published in the early 2000s–2010s, with the Meucci and Rocchetti book, plus a recent book *The Recorder*, published a decade later.[57]

Meucci and Rocchetti's book is complemented by a web resource including a great deal of text that they were unable to include in the printed copy. These include sections regarding important composers in the history of the horn (e.g. Vivaldi, Bach, Handel, Telemann, Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven) and their relationships to the instrument as well as "insights and curiosities".[58]

The rationale for this configuration may be in the authors' wish to explore many of the resources that are not that freely available or well known, especially those that cover "major new developments, generally skipping over minor experiments and variations."[59]

The authors also place "the active practice of the instrument" as outside their study, instead pointing the reader to sources such as the digitised version of *The Horn Call* (the journal of the International Horn Society) for such information.[60] Rather politely, it

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[57] Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010). Stephen Cottrell, *The Saxophone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). Trevor Herbert, *The Trombone* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006). Eric Hoeprich: *The Clarinet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008). James B. Kopp, *The Bassoon* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012). David Lasocki and Robert Ehrlich, *The Recorder* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023). Jeremy Montagu, *Timpani & Percussion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003). John Wallace and Alexander McGrattan, *The Trumpet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

[58] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxix.

[59] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxvii.

[60] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxvii.

can perhaps be inferred that they allude to the problems caused by Fitzpatrick by stating that they "distance ourselves from credited opinions by the most respected authors, discussing our position with detailed argumentation."[61]

Given the importance of the influence of the Italian school in my study the particular attention given to "Italian topics" is especially relevant. The authors "ask readers to forgive a certain focus on Italian topics", explaining that "the horn in Italy has never been thoroughly studied, despite the crucial role played by the country in the history of music".[62] Much of their information pertaining to Italian opera houses and Italian horn players (in particular the Belloli family) will be more fully explored in Chapter Sixteen of my study in order to tackle what Rossini (and other composers associated with the Théâtre-Italien in Paris) would have expected of horn players from their homeland.

Given the wide remit of *The Horn* it is unsurprising that Gallay is grouped in with a number of other exponents of the French school and only receives a brief mention ("last but not least").[63] His importance is acknowledged ("a renowned composer and author of a *Méthode* published in 1845 whose studies are appreciated today") but little is discussed regarding his performance practice.[64]

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[61] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxvii.

[62] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* xxix.

[63] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 192.

[64] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 192.

Turning to the question of timbre on the instrument, the authors point out that modern HIP performances are often hampered by “inappropriately applied” stopped *bouchés* sounds.[65] This implies a predisposition of some performers today towards using a more modern approach to stopped notes which is executed by cupping the “hand firmly over [the] entire opening of the bell…blow[ing] strongly against [the] resistance”.[66] This creates a “compressed and nasal quality” which is “very penetrating…in louder dynamics” and “somewhat duller and more covered in softer dynamics”.[67] Today the term *bouchés* is often being viewed more as an effect than a colour and is thus exaggerated.[68]

Regardless of whether a note is open or closed, the exact position of the hand in the bell of the instrument effects both the intonation and the timbre of the note being played. With the stopped notes, more firmly sealing the bell lowers the pitch of the note but this creates a darker or brassier timbre. More loosely sealing the bell raises the pitch and creates a timbre closer to the sound of the open notes of the instrument. With the open notes the player normally adjusts the position of their hand in the bell to ensure good intonation (for example, a player normally slightly closes the hand to flatten the naturally sharp high D and opens the hand to sharpen the naturally flat high E) though this makes minimal difference to the overall timbre of the open notes. Additionally, the intonation and timbre can be further manipulated by the

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[65] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 134.

[66] Douglas Hill, *Extended Techniques for the Horn: a Handbook for Composers and Performers* (Hialeah, FL: Columbia Pictures Publications, 1982), 22.

[67] Hill, *Extended Techniques,* 22.

[68] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 134.

embouchure of the player (it is possible to “lip” notes sharper/flatter to a certain extent) and the breath support (a more forceful air stream having the potential to make notes more strident in tone). All these elements are taken into consideration in order to play in tune and without abrupt and distracting changes of timbre.

Meucci and Rochetti muse that early nineteenth-century horn players (and, one presumes, their audiences) “must have been much more accustomed to achieving homogeneity between closed and open sounds”.[69] They cite horn player Jean-Baptiste Mengal’s Chapter, “De l’Égalité du Son’” as evidence of the goal of achieving such homogeneity, with Mengal “suggesting “lightening” open sounds as little as possible to get the proper intonation of unstopped notes”. This is the approach advocated by Dauprat in which the overall timbre of the instrument is darkened by the open notes being played with a more closed hand position in order to better merge them with the stopped notes.[70] This opinion is further enforced by the authors’ quotation from the music critic Castil-Blaze that “[t]he great art of the horn player is to strengthen these (i.e. stopped) sounds, weak in their nature, and to diminish the brilliance of the open sounds, so that the instrument is even on all the degrees of the scale.”[71]

Despite only quoting such contemporary sources which advocate muting the open sounds of the instrument, Meucci and Rocchetti believe that composers actively

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[69] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 268.

[70] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 134, quoting Jean-Baptiste Mengal, *Méthode de Cor suivi du Doigté du Cornet à pistons* (Paris: Meissonnier, 1835), 4.

[71] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 134, quoting François Castil-Blaze, *Dictionnaire de musique moderne*, vol. 2 (Paris: Lyre moderne, 1825), 320–321.

exploited the stopped notes of the instrument using the instrument's "peculiar language… with its ever-changing colorful timbre." Additionally, in reference to the ascendancy of the valve-horn in the nineteenth century, They uphold the idea that the natural horn with "the predilection for its multifaceted timbre… prevented composers and horn players from unconditionally accepting the solely "open" sound of the valve instruments." I concur with Meucci and Rocchetti on both these points and will in the course of my thesis explore how Jacques-François Gallay's approach to the instrument explicitly contradicts his teacher's generation regarding restricting the open notes and how he set out to exploit the different timbres.

More specific studies of aspects of the horn and horn playing

THE HISTORIC BRASS SOCIETY / HOCHSCHULE DER KÜNSTE BERN

Alongside the more general histories of the instrument have been a number of more specialised studies over the last seventy-five years. Bodies such as the Historic Brass Society (HBS, founded 1988), its *Historic Brass Society Journal*, plus monographs including conference proceedings published by Pendragon Press and the Hochschule der Künste Bern (HKB) with its *Romantic Brass* conferences and published proceedings, have done much to promote scholarship of nineteenth-

century brass instruments and their performance practices.[72] Individual papers from publications of both of these institutions (including a number of HKB publications on strings and vocal technique) will be referred to in this thesis.

BIRCHARD COAR - *A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY HORN VIRTUOSI IN FRANCE*

The first specialist study of the French school comes in the form of Birchard Coar's 1952 self-published *A Critical Study of the Nineteenth Century Horn Virtuosi in France.*[73] Coar's study contains a great deal of biographical information on the important horn players of the period. Coar admits that he leans heavily on the work of François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), but has tried to substantiate Fétis's claims where he is able, thus tacitly acknowledging that Fétis is not to be regarded as the most accurate of biographers.[74]

Regarding the influential generation of horn players who introduced hand-technique to France, Coar is often rather unimpressed by the pedagogic sources that they left behind. The Hampel/Punto *Seule et Vraie Méthode* provides "ample material for

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[72] Stewart Carter (editor), *Perspectives in Brass Scholarship: Proceedings of the International Historic Brass Society Symposium, Amherst, 1995* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 1997). Stewart Carter (editor), *Brass Scholarship in Review: Proceedings of the Historic Brass Society Conference, Cite de la Musique, Paris 1999* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2006). Claudio Bacciagaluppi and Martin Skamletz (editors), *Romantic Brass. Ein Blick zurück ins 19. Jahrhundert. Symposium 1* (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2015). Daniel Allenbach, Adrian von Steiger and Martin Skamletz (editors), *Romantic Brass. Französische Hornpraxis und historisch informierter Blechblasinstrumentenbau. Symposium 2,* (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2016). Adrian von Steiger, Daniel Allenbach and Martin Skamletz (editors), *Das Saxhorn: Adolphe Sax' Blechblasinstrumente im Kontext ihrer Zeit. Romantic Brass Symposium 3* (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2020). Adrian von Steiger, Daniel Allenbach and Martin Skamletz (editors), *To Play or Not to Play. Corrosion of Historic Brass Instruments. Romantic Brass Symposium 4*, (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2023). Proceedings from Symposia 5 (*The Sound of Brass*, 2018) and 6 (*Romantic Brass in Context*, 2023) forthcoming.

[73] Birchard Coar, *A Critical Study of the Nineteenth Century Horn Virtuosi in France* (DeKalb, IL: Birchard Coar, 1952).

[74] Coar, *A Critical Study*, 2, ** fn.

furthering great technical skill but little or nothing which would develop refined taste and sound musical judgment in the minds of the students", whilst Rodolphe's *Solfège* is "poorly arranged and badly written… and enjoyed a popularity entirely out of proportion to its true value, probably because it filled a long felt want."[75]

Whilst Coar's book is extremely useful for the data provided—for example, he includes great swathes of quotes from the pedagogy of writers such as Domnich, Duvernoy, Dauprat etc. and a lot of detail of the who/where/when of his subject—such judgements by Coar are in keeping with a mid twentieth-century approach which often fails to place this information in the wider context of the performance practices and requirements of musicians in this era. For example the eighty-six page Hampel/Punto *Seule et Vraie Méthode* in effect provides the student with a huge number of variations on the initial chord sequence notated on the second page. This is not merely an attempt to teach technique but, instead, a masterclass in tasteful ornamentation which exploits the instrument to the fullest extent.

Coar, somewhat simplistically, views the French school of the nineteenth century as "an unbroken period of almost fifty years in which an uninterrupted succession of uniform principles and practices of teaching horn were in operation."[76] Coar considers the handover from Dauprat to his student Gallay in 1842 to be a natural,

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[75] Coar, *A Critical Study,* 13, 15. Referring to Anton Hampel and Giovanni Punto, *Seule et Vraie Méthode,* (Paris: Naderman, c.1797–1799) and Jean-Joseph Rodolph, *Solfège ou nouvelle méthode de musique* (Paris: Imbault, n.d., c.1790).

[76] Coar, *A Critical Study*, 107.

amicable progression and that “Gallay, although a Cor alto, generally saw eye to eye with Dauprat in matters of pedagogy.”

As will be discussed later in Chapters Four and Thirteen, the “grands changements” that resulted in Gallay replacing Dauprat were not welcomed by the outgoing professor.[77] Similarly (again, to be discussed later) Gallay’s approach to many aspects of the natural horn was different from that of his teacher, a fact that Coar rationalises as rooted in the difference between Dauprat as a *cor basse* player and Gallay as a *cor alto* player rather than as a change of aesthetic between the two generations of players. Coar appears also to place Gallay as a member of the Opéra, rather than the Théâtre-Italien. With the two ensembles having a critically different repertoire and, as I will argue in the course of this thesis, the Théâtre-Italien having links with a particular style of singing that influenced Gallay’s work, there is a particularly crucial difference. Writing of Gallay’s playing style, Coar concludes:

> Although a great artist and a member of the Opera orchestra for a long time, his playing did not tend to perpetuate the broad tone quality of Dauprat. The reason is obvious as the Cor alto style was necessarily different. Gallay played his horn more 'open' and in a more brilliant manner. The present writer feels that this was a regrettable circumstance which was in all probability a turning

[77] Letter from Louis-François Dauprat to M. Leroy, sub-librarian of the Conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation dated February 1855, (AN ; cote : Aj 37 319, sous dossier 4c). Quoted in full in Cyrille Grenot, “Les Dons de Dauprat au Conservatoire de Paris (Correspondance de 1852 à 1862), *La Revue du Corniste,* no. 79 (Autumn 2000), 15–18.

> point in the French school and the beginning of the present day practice (in France) of playing the instrument too 'open'. [78]

The “present day practice” Coar refers to is likely to be a reference to the playing of Lucien Thévet (1914–2007) who famously played with an exceedingly open hand position.[79] In a similar fashion to Fitzpatrick asserting that the use of vibrato by mid-twentieth-century Russian horn-players was a result of the playing styles of Bohemian horn-players in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Coar is stating that the wide open hand position used by mid-twentieth-century French players (such as Thévet) was the result of Gallay’s performance style in the first half of the nineteenth century. Evidence remains sketchy at best regarding any assertions of uninterrupted traditions and therefore such statements should be treated with caution.

ELIZABETH BRADLEY STRAUCHEN - *GIOVANNI PUZZI: HIS LIFE AND WORK. A VIEW OF HORN PLAYING AND MUSICAL LIFE IN ENGLAND FROM 1817 INTO THE VICTORIAN ERA (c. 1855)*

On the face of it Strauchen’s study of the “life and work” of the horn player Giovanni Puzzi could be seen as tangential to the current study given that her work is clearly

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[78] Coar, *A Critical Study*, 89, 107.

[79] Rather than using the standard “cupped” hand position in which the gently curved hand is placed in the bell, the inside of the throat/flare of the bell resting on the proximal phalanx of the thumb, Lucien Thevét would place his whole hand flat on the inside of the bell, fingers pointing into the throat of the bell and his thumb hooked over the rim of the bell. For information detailing Lucien Thevét’s playing style and hand position see Wendell (Pete) Exline,“Two Surveys of European Horn Playing Styles: 1964–65”, *International Horn Society* (2012), https://www.hornsociety.org/multimedia-mainmenu/european-style-surveys [Accessed 9 April 2025].

centred on “musical life in England”.[80] The crossover, however, of Puzzi’s and Gallay’s careers and spheres is both fascinating and pertinent.[81]

The Parmesan horn player Giovanni Puzzi (1792–1876) is of an almost identical generation to my central figure, Jacques-François Gallay (1795–1864). Whilst Strauchen’s narrative starts with Puzzi’s arrival in London c.1817, in order to glean details of Puzzi’s performance style she briefly but persuasively considers his initially Italian training (Strauchen, quoting Fitzpatrick, suggests Luigi Belloli as Puzzi’s teacher, a statement she backs up with evidence from Dauprat’s *Méthode* and Puzzi’s own repertoire) and his career in France, which included a period in 1815–1816 as part of the horn section of the Parisien Théâtre-Italien.[82]

Puzzi’s subsequent career in the UK revolved around the Italian Opera in London. As Strauchen states, this institution was “at the centre of nearly all of Puzzi's endeavours”.[83] Given the strong crossover of repertoire and singers between the London and Paris “Italian Theatres”, plus the similar crossover in Puzzi’s and Gallay’s careers (members of Italian opera orchestras, popular soloists at salon concerts, prolific composers for their instruments, professors at the national music school)

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[80] Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (c. 1855)* . DPhil diss. (University of Oxford, 2000).

[81] This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eighteen regarding performances by both Gallay and Puzzi of the aria “Se m’abbandoni” from Mercadante’s *Nitocri.*

[82] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 2.

[83] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 3, 119–120, 120–132, 198, 312–323, 390. Tadolini “La potenza d’amore”, copyists manuscript, part of the “Covert Collection” “in the possession” of Bradley Strauchen, shelf mark C. MS 27, catalogue no. 63. Strauchen places Puzzi as *cor solo* (principal horn) of the ensemble but, as I will discuss in Chapter Sixteen, it is more likely that he was a *cor second*.

Strauchen's thesis offers a great deal of detail concerning a major horn player with relevant parallels to Gallay.

At times the crossover between the two players can cause confusion. Strauchen makes parallels between her subject Puzzi's playing style and the singing of the fashionable Italian tenor Rubini and I will explore the same parallels between Gallay and Rubini.[84] An example given by Strauchen demonstrating the working relationship between Puzzi and Rubini is the undated manuscript of the canzonet *La potenza d'amore* written for Rubini by Giovanni Tadolini (1789 –1872) which she states includes a horn obbligato composed by Puzzi.[85] I believe this to be a misreading of the manuscript which describes the obligato ("accompagnamento di Corno…") as for Puzzi ("…pel Signor Puzzi"). Admittedly it is outside the scope of her enquiry, but Strauchen does not mention the publication of the exact same work in Paris, this time described as by Tadolini for Rubini with the accompaniment for obligato horn having been composed explicitly for Gallay.[86]

In contrast to a number of the sources considered thus far in this chapter, Strauchen makes a concerted attempt to analyse evidence regarding Puzzi's performance practice in order to comment on his playing style. In Chapter Four, "' 'Il maestro on the horn': The playing of Giovanni Puzzi", she points out that few players on the

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[84] For my own comparison of Rubini and Gallay's performances see Chapter Thirteen, 182–186.

[85] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 167, 312–323.

[86] Giovanni Tadolini, *La Potenza d'Amore* (Paris: Bernard Latte, n.d. plate number 2553, c.1840/1), frontispiece: "*avec Accompagn*. de Cor *obligé, composé pour M.r* GALLAY." Two editions were published by Latte. The first for solo tenor and piano *La Potenza d'Amore* (Paris: Bernard Latte, n.d. plate number 2504, c.1840/1). The second with horn obligato for Gallay (Paris: Bernard Latte, n.d. plate number 2553, c.1840/1).

London scene received the plaudits that Puzzi did but that “such encomiums leave us to ascertain what was so exceptional about his playing.”[87] Strauchen’s methodology is to undertake “a study of Puzzi's origins and environment as a performer, his choice of instruments, his music and the scant amount of information provided by critical accounts” in order to “explore the defining elements and hallmarks”.

In order to further her suggestions as to Puzzi’s playing style, Strauchen undertakes a similar methodology to mine and investigates the singing style of the Italian school with which Puzzi was associated. Strauchen quotes terms such as “irreproachable taste”, “manner of pleasing”, “feeling” and “expression” as commonly used to describe Puzzi’s playing style in reference to the style of singers, terms identical to those used for Gallay.[88]

Whilst, given Puzzi’s departure from the Paris scene c.1820, Strauchen’s focus on the impact of Duvernoy and Dauprat is highly relevant for her study (these two certainly being the most influential horn players in Puzzi’s case), I disagree with some of her statements concerning the longevity of their influence as well as the continuation of a particularly “covered” school of horn playing.

Citing Fitzpatrick, Strauchen asserts “an unbroken French tradition of horn teaching” starting with Dauprat’s “1817” appointment at the Paris Conservatoire.[89] Pointing to

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[87] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 116.

[88] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 159.

[89] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 124. Fitzpatrick, *The Horn & Horn Playing,* 189–190.

the differences between Austro-Bohemian made horns and French-made horns with their respectively larger and narrower bell flares Strauchen states that the slimmer French design “was at the heart of the rather 'closed' hand position that most French teachers of the hand horn advocated, and facilitated in the production of a scale where the difference in the tone quality of the stopped and open notes was almost indiscernible.”[90]

Strauchen is repeating what is, in my view, a common belief in the horn community: that Dauprat - Gallay - Mohr - Brémond form an unbroken tradition of horn playing, which advocated a closed hand position in order that performers could obtain the ultimate goal of performing with minimal timbral variation. However, as Coar points out (but erroneously links to the difference between *cor alto* (Gallay) and *cor basse* (Dauprat)) Gallay, in some ways the closest player of this era to Puzzi, advocated a brighter “base” timbre, with a more open hand position.

Unlike Gallay, Puzzi unfortunately did not leave us his thoughts on the subject of hand position. However, Strauchen does examine instruments associated with Puzzi, in particular the Marcel-Auguste Raoux c.1826/1827 *cor solo* from the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.[91] This instrument is invaluable given the enamelled bell

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[90] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 126.

[91] Date given by the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. "Formerly the property of ... Giovanni Puzzi (1792–1876) and said to have been presented to him by Louis XVIII [reigned 1814–1826], though in the opinion of Mr R. Morely-Pegge, the leading modern historian of the horn, the donor is more likely to have been Charles X [reigned 1826–1830]. See R.Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn* (London, 1960)". - Anthony Baines, *Catalogue of Musical Instruments in the Victoria and Albert Museum - Part II: Non-keyboard instruments*. (London, 1998), 107. Bradley Strauchen (Horniman Museum) dates it “1826 or 1827”. Bradley Strauchen, “French Horn”, *Victoria and Albert Museum* (2015). https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157258/french-horn-raoux-marcel-auguste/. [Accessed 18 April 2025].

complete with wear marks from the hand in the bell. Gallay's similar instrument (also a Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor solo*, this time from the earlier date of 1821, and housed in the Cité de la Musique collection, Paris) does not have a painted bell, and any markings that there may have been are no longer visible (perhaps due to well-meaning conservation schemes). As a result it offers no evidence concerning Gallay's hand position, either (relatively) open or closed.[92]

Using evidence which includes the worn hand marks in the bell of a surviving instrument associated with Puzzi, Strauchen argues that he had a generally closed hand position. Strauchen asserts that the (literal) dexterity needed by Puzzi in order to perform many of his compositions required such a generally closed hand position as this as "the only hand position that would have been feasible for the performance of most of his repertoire, particularly for the arrangements of virtuosic arias that would have required a high degree of flexibility, speed and lightness of technique".[93]

As a performer, I would refute this notion. If one looks at the distances some instrumentalists (for example of piano, cello, double bass) have to traverse quickly to get from one note to another, it is totally viable for horn players to play fast virtuosic passages with a generally more open hand position, which in comparison requires relatively small movements. More pertinently, the similar style of virtuosic horn writing of Puzzi (with his more closed hand position) and Gallay (with his more open hand

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[92] For further analysis of both the Gallay and Puzzi Raoux *cor solos* and the subject of the *cor solo* in general see Anneke Scott, John Chick and Arnold Myers, "The *Cor Solo*: History and Characteristics" *Historic Brass Society Journal,* vol. 31 (2019), 1–34.

[93] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi,* 152.

position) suggests the general hand position has no bearing on the "flexibility, speed and lightness of technique" required.

Elsewhere Strauchen argues that Puzzi's blended style of horn playing was a result of a generally closed hand position, but does concede that such a homogenous timbre would not be in keeping with the vocal style of the period given that:

> [t]he capacity to produce a large spectrum of tone colours and shadings…was also a fundamental requirement of the bel canto singer. According to singing pedagogue and composer Reynaldo Hahn, he should be able to produce not three, four, or five sonorities but in fact ten, twenty or thirty. The voice had to be moulded in an infinite degree, passing through all the colours of the sound prism.[94]

I believe that this "sound prism" is what Gallay was aiming to exploit, an observation backed up by his writing in his *Méthode*. Additionally I believe that it was his ability to incorporate multiple sonorities into his performances (rather than blending so that everything sounded the same) that resulted in a performance style that led to the comparisons between his horn playing and the practice of the leading vocalists of the time.

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[94] Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen-Scherer, "Technology and Timbre Features of the Changing Instrumental Soundscape of the Long Nineteenth Century (1789–1914)" in *The Oxford Handbook of Timbre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2018), 409.

Whilst stating that Puzzi "lived during an era of change and diverging traditions in the horn playing world" Strauchen also repeats the idea of the "unbroken" French tradition through the nineteenth century, with the closed hand position, and the goal of the blended/homogenous sound as central to this tradition.[95]

JEFFREY L. SNEDEKER - *HORN TEACHING AT THE PARIS CONSERVATOIRE, 1792 TO 1903: THE TRANSITION FROM NATURAL HORN TO VALVED HORN*

Snedeker's recent 2021 publication builds upon his DMA dissertation of 1991 as well as a number of his related publications from the same decade.[96] The first half of his title sets out the focus of his work, though the sub-clause is more indicative of the actual contents of the book.

In his introductory "overview of the problem" Snedeker sets out the issues to be discussed as similar to my own course of enquiry. In short, he seeks to ascertain what was going on in France during this period that led to the dominance of the natural horn for so long, especially in light of other countries (in particular Germany) making a speedier transition to the valve-horn.

Snedeker states that "one of the largest gaps in research about the development of the horn and horn playing has been that of understanding how hand horn technique

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[95] Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi*, 117, 124.

[96] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*. Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique ou à Pistons and Early Valved Horn Performance and Pedagogy in Nineteenth Century France", DMA dissertation (University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1991). Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "Dauprat's *Méthode de Cor-alto et Cor basse*" in *Historic Brass Society Journal,* vol. 4, (1992), 160–192; vol. 5 (1993), 42–74; vol. 6 (1994), 269–303; vol. 7 (1995), 36–66; vol. 8 (1996), 69–89; vol. 9 (1997), 30–49. Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "The Early Valved Horn and Its Proponents in Paris 1826–1840" in *The Horn Call Annual,* vol. 6 (1994), 6–17. Jeffrey L. Snedeker, "Fétis and the 'Meifred' Horn" in *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society*, vol. 23 (Autumn 1997), 121–146.

gave way to valve technology". I feel that this does not do full credit to a number of works that Snedeker includes in his own bibliography, in particular the publications from the Hochschule der Künste Bern, the work of Jeroen Billiet and of Burke Anderson.[97]

Despite the stated aim being to address "Horn teaching at the Paris Conservatoire", it is clear that the work of Joseph Meifred is the central subject for Snedeker, in the same way that Meifred's colleague at the Conservatoire, Gallay, is the central figure and subject for this present study. In setting the scene for his analysis of Meifred's work Snedeker does include a great deal of information concerning Meifred's predecessors at the institution, and his approach to early horn tutors in France is particularly illuminating in its questioning of what is **not** included in these sources. In looking at apparent lacunae Snedeker offers the opportunity to consider what was considered worthy or relevant for inclusion in these early sources.

The brevity with which Snedeker tackles Gallay's impact gives an impression of him almost as a footnote in the study: Snedeker gives barely five pages of his book to Gallay's work.[98] This fleeting consideration of such a major figure appears to be due to the belief, like Strauchen's mentioned above, that Gallay was in essence continuing the work of his former teacher and predecessor, Dauprat. For example,

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[97] Burke Anderson, "François Brémond and the Transition from Natural Horn to Valve Horn at the Paris Conservatory", DMA dissertation (Indiana University, 2020). Jeroen Billiet, *200 Years of Belgian Horn School? A Comprehensive Study of the Horn in Belgium 1789–1960* (Ghent: Corecole Editions Tielt, 2008). Jeroen Billiet, "Brave Belgians of the Belle Époque : A Study of the Late-Romantic Ghent Horn Playing Tradition", Doctoral thesis (University of Ghent, 2021).

[98] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 130–134.

Snedeker gives more attention to Gallay's technique for performing trills (an approach he views as unique) than to his approach to the timbres of the instrument. I believe this is because Snedeker views Gallay's approach as in keeping with that of Dauprat rather than, as I will argue, Gallay's approach being an intrinsically different approach in keeping with the vocal technique of the time.

The seventh chapter of Snedeker's book focuses, in a greater way than any of the above works, on the application of his study to performance practices, on both the natural horn and valve-horn, today.[99] In this chapter he collates "relevant passages" from the main natural horn practitioners of the age (Duvernoy, Domnich, Dauprat and Gallay) in order to "emphasize the values placed on an evenness of resulting tone colors, and/or using vocalists or singing as a model for expressive performance".[100] In comparing Gallay to singers of his circle I will be using a similar methodology to Snedeker; however, like Fitzpatrick regarding vibrato and Coar regarding hand position in the bell, I believe that Snedeker presumes that vocality today is indicative of the performance practice of the early nineteenth century.

Snedeker appears to focus predominantly on the "correct" rather than the "fine" or "beautiful" aspect of nineteenth-century musical vocal and horn pedagogy. As I will more fully explore in Chapter Twelve of my study, many practitioners of this era maintained the belief that musicians should first learn to successfully perform in a

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[99] Snedeker, "Applications to performing practices and hand and/or valve today" in *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire,* 194–212.

[100] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 194.

"correct" style which involved playing exactly what the music notated. Spohr lists these elements as:

> 1st true intonation; 2ly an exact division of the several members of the bar according to their duration; 3ly a strict keeping of the time, without either hurrying or dragging; 4ly an exact observation of the prescribed shades of *forte* and *piano*, as well as 5ly of the bowings, slurs, turns, shakes &c.[101]

Once these fundamentals were sufficiently mastered ("when…the pupil has so far advanced as in some degree to have overcome the mechanical difficulties of playing"), talented students would be taught the extra elements that would lead to a performance being deemed "fine" or "beautiful" ("it will then be time to cultivate his taste and awaken his sensibility").[102] Central to this was the ability to both comprehend and convey the emotional character of the music.

Many of these elements were naturally hard to elucidate in writing and students were frequently directed to listen to the best musicians and emulate their performances. It is far easier to communicate the skills involved in technically "correct" style than in the more nuanced "beautiful" style, a fact that is reflected in many methods focusing mostly on the former (through many pages of technical exercises) and referring more obliquely to the latter (through closing essays on "taste" or "style"). This approach of first learning to play "correctly" then to play "beautifully" and the ramifications

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[101] Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Celebrated Violin School*, (London: Robert Cocks & Co. n.d. c.1843), trans. John Bishop, 181.

[102] Spohr, *Celebrated Violin School*, 182.

regarding nineteenth-century performance practice will be discussed further in Chapter Twelve.

Snedeker quotes extensively from Gallay's introductory statement on the balance of stopped and open notes. Whilst he quotes a small portion from Gallay's longer and more nuanced essay on taste in his brief coverage of Gallay, Snedeker does not explore the further issues raised by this chapter concerning the exploitation of the timbres.[103]

Having put Gallay in the same "school" as other practitioners regarding the goal of a homogenous timbre, Snedeker then argues that, whilst their approach "does not apologize for the differences in tone colors", it "prioritizes an approach that minimizes the discrepancies between them in the same way that a vocalist handles vowel shapes."[104] Snedeker goes on to state:

> For vocalists, open and closed vowels must be managed to preserve continuity and consistency in phrasing and clarity in expression of text. In the same way hornists must adjust the tone colors to achieve some level of equality without distorting the timbres… The nuance involved requires the same attention to detail associated with moving smoothly from note to note on a valved instrument, where the player works to refine the changes in timbres

[103] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 196–196 quoting from Jacques-François Gallay: *Méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Lemoine, 1843), 8. Also Snedeker 134 quoting from Gallay 91.

[104] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 198.

> associated with different valve combinations, lengths of tubing in general, and register within the harmonic series.[105]

Like Fitzpatrick, Snedeker does not question that the vocal technique and the aesthetics associated with good singing would be anything other than what we recognise today. As I argued in Chapter One, I believe that this idea of "vocality" on the horn is very much shaped by the training that most natural horn players have received on the modern horn, which has resulted in natural horn playing being judged on, and taught utilising, the aesthetic goals of modern horn playing. On this point, see, for example, Snedeker directly comparing the balance of open/closed notes to that of smooth valve changes, a goal which, incidentally, does not leave scope for the idea of one of the most common expressive devices of the 19th century: portamento.

LISA KAY EMRICH - *JACQUES-FRANÇOIS GALLAY: BIOGRAPHY AND COMPOSITION CATALOG* and AMY JO McBETH - *JACQUES-FRANÇOIS GALLAY: A STUDY OF HIS LIFE AND SELECTED WORKS FOR ACCOMPANIED HORN*

Gallay's pedagogical works have continued to be part of horn teaching throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries with his solo works only really being reclaimed as part of the repertoire due to the revival of the natural horn. Therefore it

[105] Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 198–199.

is not surprising that Gallay has been a popular subject for DMA dissertations such as those by Lisa Kay Emrich and Amy Jo McBeth.[106]

Snedeker promises much of Emrich's work, citing her as "the primary scholarly source for Gallay's life and work" in a conference paper he gave in Paris in 2007.[107] Correspondence with Snedeker and Emrich's supervisor, Richard Seraphinoff, provided both the dissertation and confirmation that Emrich switched courses and did not submit her research.[108] Emrich's work contains six pages of biographical information and five pages on Gallay's position at the Conservatoire. The majority of the dissertation documents Gallay's catalogue, for example listing which were included as competition pieces at the Conservatoire, grouping them by genre, and a producing a thematic index. Emrich includes an incomplete catalogue of Gallay's works, in comparison to my catalogue (Appendix i), with Op. 25, 29, 34, 47 unidentified and Op. 28 incorrectly given as a second concerto. She does though include details such as the range of the horn part, and an appraisal of the level of difficulty of the work (which appears to be from the point of view of modern horn playing) and examples of modern editions.

McBeth's 2005 dissertation represents the first full study of Gallay's accompanied works for horn, but her approach remains primarily descriptive and bibliographic. Like

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[106] Lisa Kay Emrich, "Jacques-François Gallay: Biography and Composition Catalog", Unpublished DMA dissertation (University of Indiana, 1996). Amy Jo McBeth, "Jacques-François Gallay: A study of his life and selected works for accompanied horn", DMA dissertation (University of Iowa, 2005).

[107] Jeffrey Snedeker, "Hand or Valve (or both): Horn Teaching, Technique, and Technology at the Paris Conservatoire, ca. 1840–1903" in *Paris: un laboratoire d'idées, facture et répertoire des cuivres entre 1840 et 1930* (Paris: Cité de la musique, 2007), 207–218.

[108] Jeffrey Snedeker and Richard Seraphinoff (private email correspondence, 2–5 March 2025).

Emrich, McBeth often relies on modern editions (often by Hans Pizka), and she surveys a limited selection of pieces, outlining them in terms of range, form and stylistic features. She also includes elements of biography and information about nineteenth-century horn practice. However, she offers no sustained critical framework, comparative analysis, or consideration of performance practice, reception history, or editorial issues. McBeth presents Gallay's compositions largely in isolation, without reference to his contemporaries or the broader cultural and pedagogical currents that shaped his output and subsequent reputation.

In comparison, whilst my study does include reference to Gallay's compositions, the focus when considering them and compositions he performed positions them within the performance practice of his time. In doing so, I seek to provide a more analytical and contextual investigation of Gallay's own performance practice and especially to link it to the vocal performance practice of his contemporaries. Therefore, my research addresses the large gaps left by both Emrich and McBeth and goes beyond purely documenting his works and accounts of his performances.

Studies of vocal technique

Given that much of my argument hinges on relating the performance practice of Gallay to that of the vocalists with whom he was compared, it is clearly essential to venture outside of the sphere of horn playing and consult studies of singers, vocality and vocal technique during the early- to mid-nineteenth century.

The work of Robert Toft, in particular on bel canto, has been essential to my study.[109] The term bel canto is a somewhat slippery one, something Toft acknowledges in stating that the term is, somewhat indiscriminately, used as "a comprehensive label for all vocal performance between c.1600 and c.1850".[110] Toft argues that "the term did not begin to represent a "style" of singing until the second half of the nineteenth century" and that it was used initially somewhat retrospectively in reference to the "loss of the older Italian practices that had flourished from some point in the eighteenth century until the 1820s", the latter terminus thus tying in with Gallay's training and early career.[111] Whilst he sets the "1820s" as the end of the period in which bel canto style was at its height, Toft draws on sources from throughout the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth, thus illustrating the longevity of the impact of this style of singing. Many of these sources will be considered in Part Two (Chapters Four through to Six) of the present work.

In considering the use (and abuse) of the term bel canto and the longevity of its use, Toft's point that the term is a somewhat nostalgic reference to a lost or dying art form is important, as the term's use as a marker of a historical rather than contemporary

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[109] Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). Robert Toft, "Bel Canto: the unbroken tradition" in *Singing music from 1500 to 1900: style, technique, knowledge, assertion, experiment: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association International Conference, in association with the University of York Music Department and the York Early Music Festival*, John Potter and Jonathan Wainwright eds., "Singing music from 1500 to 1900: style, technique, knowledge, assertion, experiment: Proceedings of the National Early Music Association International Conference, in association with the University of York Music Department and the York Early Music Festival", University of York (2011), https://web.archive.org/web/20180729121239/https://www.york.ac.uk/music/conferences/nema/toft/ [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[110] Toft: *Bel Canto*, 3.

[111] Toft: *Bel Canto*, 4.

practice can muddy the water when trying to establish an accurate picture of what was happening at any given point.[112]

As mentioned earlier, a number of other studies of the horn have fallen into the trap of assuming vocal practice has remained unchanged over the centuries. Toft's summation of both the challenges and opportunities facing singers wishing to emulate the vocal practice of the nineteenth century argues that many changes occurred and, as a result, that there are many elements of singing that are vastly different today.

> Without a doubt, the style of singing that emerges from these documents differs markedly from that of the twenty-first century, and even though we must rely on verbal depictions of the performer's art to generate an aural image of what was once a living tradition, the extant material provides a wealth of information on how singers altered the texts before them. Early principles of phrasing and tempo contrast with ours, and the ways in which the singers more than two hundred years ago performed slurs, portamenti, appoggiaturas, and the other manners of singing expressively further distinguishes their time from ours. We are in essence dealing with a musical culture quite distinct from our own, one that must be recovered from the surviving documents, and the sheer number and quality of these sources allow us to generate a reasonably accurate picture of contemporary performance practices.[113]

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[112] Toft, *Bel Canto,* 4.

[113] Toft, *Bel Canto,* 17.

Toft considers and explores portamento as an inherent part of phrasing (rather than, as some modern practitioners view it, as a form of ornamentation) citing a wide range of authorities from the period including Corri, Lablache and, most notably for the present study, García.[114]

As I will explore later, it is not possible to "map" what Toft refers to as "tonal contrast" from the voice directly onto the horn; yet the way in which bel canto singers utilised such contrasts, especially in order to demonstrate the emotional content of the text (artistic reasons) or to navigate changes in register (technical reasons) was such an essential part of the practice of good bel canto singing that any horn player considered on a par with the top singers surely would have been utilising comparable effects.

As an illustration of just how many "tonal qualities" singers could be required to incorporate (and as a contrast to Fitzpatrick's and Snedeker's belief that a blended timbre was the goal of singers of this period) Toft turns to García, who "produced the largest catalogue of the tonal qualities singers could employ to portray various emotional states" (figure 2:2):[115]

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[114] Toft, *Bel Canto,* 60–69.

[115] Toft, *Bel Canto,* 86. Material taken from Manuel García, *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 1857), 66–68.

Passion	Tonal Quality
Imprecation, threatening, severe command	Roundness, roughness, hauteur
Muttered threats, deep grief, intense despair	Deep, hollow
Threats of grief and despair when bursting forth	Open, piercing, heart-rendering
Terror, mystery	Sombre [dark], hoarse
Sarcasm, raillery	Metallic, shrill
Religious enthusiasm	Clear, brilliant
Prostration which follows strong excitement	Dull
Love	Soft, affectionate
Joy	Lively, brilliant, light
Laughter	Voice acute, suddenly interrupted, convulsive

Figure 2:2: Robert Toft's summary of Manuel García's tonal qualities employed by singers for various emotional states. Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 86. Material taken from Manuel García, *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London: Cramer, Beale, and Chappell, 1857), 66–68.

Thomas Seedorf further explores the problematic bel canto term from the starting point of its being used so ubiquitously and indiscriminately, noting, after Sergio Durante, that the term "can mean everything or nothing".[116] In tracing the history of the term he points to late twentieth-century historians of singing, such as Rodolfo Celletti, as stating that Bellini and Donizetti (key figures in the present study) marked the beginning of an era when one "is no longer justified in speaking of bel canto,

[116] Sergio Durante, "Der Sänger" in Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli, eds., *Geschichte der italienischen Oper*, vol. 4 (Laaber: Laaber Verlag 1990), 397. Quoted in Thomas Seedorf, "Belcanto: Perspectives on a multifaceted Term" in Isolde Schmid-Reiter and Aviel Cahn eds., *Belcanto. Tradition and Fascination Today. Schriften der Europäischen Musiktheater-Akademie,* vol. 15 (Regensburg: ConBrio Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, 2024), 13.

either in praise or derogation."[117] In comparison Peter Berne places bel canto as thriving in the "epoch from Rossini to early Verdi…and when I speak of the 'bel canto style', I do not mean the baroque art of singing, but that style of singing which was predominant in Italian opera from Rossini to early Verdi – a style which developed from the vocal art of the castrati, but which is not identical with it."[118]

Seedorf suggests that subdivisions of a "baroque", a "classical" (including Rossini), and a "romantic bel canto" (Bellini, Donizetti and "even" Verdi) would be a more accurate terminology, though he admits that "the boundaries" between them "prove so fluid upon closer examination that the historical caesura claimed by Celletti and others is hardly comprehensible."[119]

Whilst I am wary of any assertions of any schools of performance as having an "uninterrupted tradition", Seedorf's exploration of Manuel García, another key subject in this present study, is pertinent. Seedorf views García as asserting that there was "no fundamental difference between Rossini's art and that of his successors", citing García's grouping of composers as disparate as Handel, Gluck, Mozart and Cimarosa through to Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti and Meyerbeer as evidence of this broad "era". This provokes questions as to how wide-ranging the relevant repertoire

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[117] Seedorf, "Belcanto: Perspectives on a multifaceted Term", 15. Quoting from Rodolfo Celletti, *Geschichte des Belcanto*, trans. Federica Pauli (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter 1989), 16. English equivalent in Rodolfo Celletti, *A History of Bel Canto,* trans. Frederick Fuller (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 10.

[118] Peter Berne, *Belcanto: historische Aufführungspraxis in der italienischen Oper von Rossini bis Verdi. Ein praktisches Lehrbuch für Sänger, Dirigenten und Korrepetitoren* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 2008), 11.

[119] Seedorf, "Belcanto: Perspectives on a multifaceted Term", 20.

for utilising the performance practice of García (and that of contemporaries such as Gallay) could fundamentally be.

Whilst not specifically targeting the same geography and repertoire as my study, the work of singers Sarah Potter and Koenraad van Stade has proven useful.[120] Coming from the perspective of performer/researchers, Potter (focused on British repertoire from the long nineteenth century) and Stade (focused on Schumann and specifically "Dichterliebe") are able to explore and articulate their findings regarding emulating aspects of performance practice as found in the (to quote Toft) "sheer number and quality of…sources" available. This is particularly helpful when regarding the performance practice of García and his discussions of elements such as larynx position, tricky concepts for non-singers to appreciate.

Regarding such physical elements of singing, and echoing my points above regarding the assumption that horn playing of earlier eras would have been emulating a vocal style of performance unrecognisable to us today, Potter highlights what she describes as "the fundamental error" regarding the discussion of bel canto as being "the on-going presumption that vocal technique has remained static". Potter points out that "despite the constant physical state of the larynx, the usage of the vocal apparatus has changed dramatically."[121]

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[120] Sarah Potter, "Changing Vocal Style and Technique in Britain during the Long Nineteenth Century". PhD thesis (The University of Leeds, School of Music, 2014). Koenraad J. H. van Stade, "Discovering Ideals of Expressivity and Artistry in 19th-Century Vocal Performance: Re-enacting Schumann's Dichterliebe", PhD thesis (Sydney Conservatorium of Music - The University of Sydney, 2022).

[121] Potter, "Changing Vocal Style and Technique in Britain", 65.

The American tenor Dan H. Marek's study of Giovanni Battista Rubini, a tenor closely associated with Gallay, has provided a great deal of information not only regarding the critical commentary on Rubini's performances (which will be compared to that of Gallay in Chapter Five), but also exploration of his vocal technique, in particular the subject of the *voix sombrée*, incorporating the work of García and his predecessors.[122]

Further studies of the accounts of important singing practitioners associated with Gallay and the Théâtre-Italien in Paris, their artistic aims and the practicalities and physicalities of their techniques are usefully explored in the work of Sean M. Parr and James Davies.[123] Parr's study focusses mostly on the second half of the nineteenth century (i.e. a period later than my study), albeit with much detail on what he describes as "the new Franco-Italian school of singing" which provides much information on the differing goals of Franco-Italian and Austro-Germanic schools which are pertinent to an understanding of similarly differing goals in the horn world. Davies's study addresses a host of singers and pianists (including Rubini, Chopin, Nourrit, Liszt, Thalberg and Malibran) on the "lucrative London - Paris musical circuit" of c.1830, i.e. a group of musicians pertinent to Gallay's world.[124] Davies further explores subtle elements of how the display or concealment of the corporeal aspects of performance was considered a fundamental part of a musician's artistry.

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[122] Dan H. Marek, *Giovanni Battista Rubini and the Bel Canto Tenors: History and Technique* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2013).

[123] Sean M. Parr, *Vocal virtuosity: the origins of the coloratura soprano in nineteenth-century opera* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021). James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014).

[124] Davies, *Romantic Anatomies*, 8.

Making the intangible tangible - relevant studies of other instruments

As I will explore later, singing and horn playing share the common problem of much of their performance techniques being “hidden”, either as a result of being within the body (breathing, use of the tongue etc.) or obscured (the hand in the bell). This makes turning to more tangible articulations of performance practice such as timbral shifts or portamento as demonstrated by other instruments, most notably but not limited to string instruments, especially important.

The writings of string playing performer/researchers such as Clive Brown and his former students David Milsom and George Kennaway, along with the work of Robin Stowell, contain a wealth of information pertaining to the practicalities of utilising such expressive devices as well as the aesthetics of when and where to use them.[125]

Milsom’s exploration of the bel canto violin in his Chapter “A Violinistic Bel Canto?” sets out to use the term bel canto, which he flags up as a term “somewhat vexed… for many singers who grant to it specialised meanings”, “simply to describe singing that is stylised in such a way as to provide a clear analogy ideal for violinists of this period”.[126] Focusing his attention on vibrato (a subject outside the focus of my

[125] Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 558–587. Clive Brown, “Singing and String Playing in Comparison: Instructions for the Technical and Artistic Employment of Portamento and Vibrato in Charles de Bériot’s *Méthode de violon*” in Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Roman Brotbeck and Anselm Gerhard, eds., *Zwischen schöpferischer Individualität und künstlerischer Selbstverleugnung*, vol. 2 (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2009). David Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices - A Handbook* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020). George Kennaway, *Playing the Cello, 1780–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014). Robin Stowell, *Violin technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[126] Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices*, 69.

present study) and portamento, Milsom concludes that both elements "were not just signifiers of how a violinist might *sound like* a singer" but additionally that "their 'correct' execution depended upon a finely tuned estimation of expressive context."[127] Milsom goes on to state that "all nineteenth-century players will have parsed the essential violin tone and colour in a more or less vocal-emulatory framework", thus providing a useful basis on which to consider the performances of horn players such as Gallay who were credited with performing in a particularly vocal style.[128]

Whilst not specifically pertaining to musicians of Gallay's circle, ter Haar's study of Alfredo Piatti and Bennett-Wadsworth's of Friedrich Grützmacher provide further details of the ubiquitousness of key expressive devices as well as subtleties of their uses in different geographical areas or periods of time.[129]

Further analysis of "vocality and instrumentality", in particular pertaining to pianists, is presented in the collected works of performer-researchers associated with the Orpheus Institute (Ghent) in the "collected writings" *Ohne Worte.* Torbianelli's opening chapter addresses aspects of vocally inspired "character and emotion", incorporating the work of Pierre Baillot, Charles de Bériot and Manuel García.[130]

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[127] Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices,* 96.

[128] Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices*, 96.

[129] Job ter Haar, "The Playing Style of Alfredo Piatti – Learning from a Nineteenth-Century Virtuoso", Doctoral thesis (Royal Academy of Music, 2019), 144–7, 304–5. Kate Bennett-Wadsworth, '"Precisely Marked in the Tradition of the Composer': The Performing Editions of Friedrich Grützmacher", PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 2017), 69–93.

[130] Edoardo Torbianelli, Jeanne Roudet, Jean-Pierre Bartoli, Douglas Seaton, Hubert Moßburger, *Ohne Worte: Vocality and Instrumentality in 19th-Century Music* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2014).

Kristine Anne Healy's study of more recent concepts of vocality and instrumentality has provided lucid analysis of the sometimes overinflated claims by instrumentalists as to the grounding of their practises in vocality.[131] Regarding this idea that any one instrument can claim to be the "closest…to the human voice", Healy points out that "for all sorts of reasons, and in a wide variety of contexts, this declaration has been and continues to be repeated relentlessly amongst the instrumental performance community", and she provides evidence of the wide cross-section of instrumental performers making this claim.[132] Healy's analysis of performers' claims and the motivations (conscious and subconscious) behind them provides a note of caution to any research regarding this topic.

To conclude, the existing scholarship presents a layered but incomplete picture of nineteenth-century horn performance. General histories of the instrument have clarified its organological development and institutional settings, yet they often subordinate aesthetic concerns to narratives of technological progress.

Horn-specific studies have enriched our knowledge of figures such as Dauprat, Meifred, and Gallay, but their attention to style and expression remains uneven, with expressive devices such as timbre and portamento seldom considered. Research into vocal technique and bel canto pedagogy have considered the centrality of vocal models across musical training, while comparative work on strings and winds has

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[131] Kristine Anne Healy, "Imagined Vocalities: Exploring voice in the practice of instrumental music performance", Doctoral thesis (The University of Huddersfield, 2018).

[132] Healy, "Imagined Vocalities", 193.

provided valuable analogies for reconstructing practices that escape textual description.

What remains lacking, however, is a sustained attempt to integrate these elements in order to recover how horn players themselves conceived of expressive nuance within the operatic culture of early nineteenth-century France. It is precisely this subject that the present study seeks to address.

PART TWO

Aspects of nineteenth-century style and performance practice.

Chapter Three: Style

“Grands changements” at the Paris Conservatoire

In the spring of 1842 *La France Musicale* reported Pauline Garcia-Viardot (1821–1910) delaying her departure to Spain due to a concert organised by the pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812–1871) which was to include performances by the baritone Antonio Tamburini (1800–1876) and horn player Jacques–François Gallay.[1] The unknown author of this report took the opportunity to berate the Conservatoire for not having yet employed Gallay as a professor and declared that the horn school, still under the direction of Gallay’s former teacher Louis-François Dauprat (1781–1868), had been completely neglected.

Six months later “grands changements” at the Conservatoire were announced in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, with new professors including Gilbert-Louis Duprez (1806–1896), Manuel García (1805–1906), Louise Farrenc (1804–1875), Henri Herz (1803–1888) and Gallay. These new forces replaced the old guard including the pianist Louis Adam (1758–1848), singing teacher François-Louis Henry (1786–1855, often referred to simply as “Henri”), harmony teacher Victor Dourlen (1780–1864) and Dauprat.[2] Dauprat was later to tartly refer to his former pupil Gallay as not his

[1] *La France Musicale*, no. 14 (10 April 1842), 143.

[2] *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, no. 52 (11 December 1842), 492. *La France Musicale*, no. 38 (18 September 1842), 320. Further information can be found in Pierre Constant, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 934–35.”De grands changements s’opèrent au Conservatoire.”

successor but instead his supplanter.[3] The “grands changements” can be viewed as cementing a change in French taste that had its roots in the vogue for Italian operatic repertoire which had grown out of the impact of musicians such as Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868) and Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840) in the 1820s and 1830s.

Les Artistes Contemporains and the fashion for Italian and Italian-influenced musicians

Paganini’s arrival in Paris in 1832 coincided with a series of engraved group portraits, *Les Artistes Contemporains*, published by Bulla. These group portraits, engraved by Lemercier from an original by Jacques François Gauderique Llanta (1807–1864), brought together various “leading lights” of their field. The series comprised what were considered to be the authorities in fields such as literature, medicine, music and dance.

Les Artistes Contemporains celebrates the musical heroes of the day and shows the particular rise of musicians associated with Italian opera (figure 3:1). In it we see the leading musicians of 1830s Paris surrounding the most fêted of them of that time, Paganini. All these musicians had high-profile solo careers and, with the exception of the pianists and Paganini, they all held prestigious posts in one or other of the opera houses, normally in combination with posts in the Chapelle Royale or the newly

[3] Letter from Louis-François Dauprat to M. Leroy, sub-librarian of the Conservatoire (February 1855), (AN ; cote : Aj 37 319, sous dossier 4c). Quoted in full in Cyrille Grenot, “Les Dons de Dauprat au Conservatoire de Paris (Correspondance de 1852 à 1862)” in *La Revue du Corniste,* no. 79 (Autumn 2000), 15–18. “Enfin je sais que ma Méthode et mes ouvrages ne sont plus de mise dans les classes de Cor, du moins dans celle de mon supplanteur, mais que sont devenus les cahiers reliés qui renfermaient ces ouvrages?”

formed Société des Concerts du Conservatoire. Again with the exception of Paganini, they were also notable teachers who either had by this stage positions at the Conservatoire, or would acquire such in subsequent years. They had all been awarded or were subsequently to be awarded the *Légion d'honneur*. These accolades helped establish these musicians as influential and well regarded for a considerable period of time.



Figure 3:1: Lithograph by Jacques François Gauderique Llanta, *Les Artistes Contemporains* (1832). Collection: Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main (D-F): s36_g03840.

Working clockwise from the left of Paganini we have Jean-Louis Tulou (1786–1865), principal flute of the Théâtre-Italien from 1804 to 1813; Friedrich Wilhelm Kalkbrenner (1785–1849), pianist and duo partner of Gallay; Gustave Vogt (1781–1870), oboist and member of the Théâtre-Italien ensemble 1800–1802; Frédéric Berr (1794–1838), principal clarinet of the Théâtre-Italien; Henri Herz (1803–1888), pianist and founder member of the Cercle musical alongside Gallay; Pierre-Marie Baillot (1771–1842), violinist) and, finally, Jacques-François Gallay.

The group portraits of the male and female singers further highlight the regard held for singers associated with Italian opera, with the majority of these singers having either established links to the Théâtre-Italien or being known as notable interpreters of Rossinian roles at the Opéra . The male singers include Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794–1854), Luigi Lablache (1794–1858), Domenico Donzelli (1790–1873) Jean-Baptiste Chollet (1798– 1892), Nicolas Levasseur (1791–1871) and Marco Bordogni (1789–1856), with Antoine Ponchard (1787–1866), the sole singer devoid of Italian connections.

For the female performers it was only Mademoiselle Mars (the pseudonym of Anne Françoise Salvetat, 1779–1847) who had no strong links to the Italian school, surrounded by such luminaries as Henriette Sontag (1806–1854), Maria Malibran (1808–1836), Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801–1863), Giuditta Pasta (1797–1865) and the actress Marguerite Georges (1787–1867). Many of these singers will return in this study as particularly important and relevant in the discourse that follows.

For the composers in the series, Rossini is placed in the centre surrounded by a cosmopolitan crowd of Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842), Gaspare Spontini (1774–1851), François-Adrien Boieldieu (1775–1834), Daniel-François-Esprit Auber (1782–1871), Ferdinando Paër (1771–1839), Henri-Montan Berton (1767–1844) and Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864). Here Rossini, Cherubini, Spontini, Paër, Meyerbeer represent the taste for Italian-trained composers in Paris of the early 1830s.

These group portraits help ascertain that, by 1832, the most notable instrumentalists, singers and composers in Paris often had strong ties with the Italian school of opera and singing. Gallay, with his key role at the Théâtre-Italien since 1825, was well placed to benefit from the fashion for Italian repertoire. Guyot de Fère went further in suggesting in 1834 that Gallay's birthplace, Perpignan in the Pyrénées Orientales département, had a hand in his aptitude as "[t]his province… teems with musicians, and it is perhaps the only one that could be compared to Italy for the natural dispositions of its inhabitants in favour of music."[4]

Gallay's performances were celebrated: he was regularly heard performing as a soloist in concerts including other leading lights of the Italian operatic music scene in Paris such as Pasta, Malibran, Rubini (all depicted in the Lantata portraits), Antonio Tamburini and Pauline Viardot. Rubini and Tamburini premiered Bellini's *I Puritani* in 1834 and Mercadante's *I Briganti in* 1836. In these operas it was Gallay who performed the respective horn obligatos in the Act 2 duet "Il rival salvar tu dei" and Act 1 aria "Ove a me rivolgi un guardo" (the latter of which will be discussed more

[4] Guyot de Fère, *Annuaire des artistes francais* (Paris: Guyot de Fère, 1834), 295.

fully in Chapter Eleven). Gallay was frequently compared favourably to these particular singers: for example, the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* reported that "M. Gallay, who has undertaken to prove to us that Rubini has not left us, by making us hear that other human voice called the horn, has played us a very sweet solo on this instrument in a delightful way".[5] On more than one occasion the compliment was reversed, with the tenor Jean Elleviou (1769–1842) being praised for his singing, considered as akin to the sound of Gallay's horn.[6]

Gallay's approach to the instrument as outlined in his *Méthode du cor*, along with contemporary accounts of his performances, especially in comparison to vocalists of the time, suggests a change of approach from that of his teacher, Dauprat, and from the previous generation of Frédéric Duvernoy (1765–1838) and Heinrich Domnich (1767–1844).[7]

Given the numerous comparisons, as well as his newfound employment along with Duprez and García as part of the "grands changements", it seems pertinent to look to vocal technique of the time in order to glean more about expressive effects such as timbre and portamento, these effects which are particularly inherent to the natural horn, and which were particularly valued by French musicians in the Italian-influenced vocal style. Thus they become a highly significant element in the desires

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[5] Henri Blanchard, "Sigismond Thalberg" in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 9th year, no. 16 (17 April 1842), 169. "M. Gallay, qui s'est chargé de nous prouver que Rubini ne nous a pas quittés, en nous faisant entendre cette autre voix humaine qu'on appelle le cor, nous a joué un suave solo sur cet instrument d'une façon ravissante."

[6] *La France Musicale*, no. 20 (15 May 1842), 183. "La voix d'Elleviou était un ténor volumineux, un peu sombré, imitant le son du cor, mais du cor de Gallay, d'une agilité remarquable."

[7] Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3).

of performers of the period to maintain the natural horn as dominant over the incoming valve horn. Gallay's fellow professors Duprez and García are clear contenders for such study alongside other practitioners of the bel canto style in France such as Rubini, Viardot, Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801–1863), and Luigi Lablache (1794–1858). Given their popularity in the Conservatoire tradition, Bernardo Mengozzi (1758–1800), Marco Bordogni and Auguste Panseron (1796–1859) should also be considered.

Manuel García

Of the singers promoting this style one of the most influential and by far the most comprehensive in their exploration and elucidation of the art of singing at this juncture was the baritone Manuel García. Often referred to as Manuel García II to distinguish him from his father of the same name, García (as I will refer to him) was born into a superstar family of singers, teachers and composers. García's father (1775–1832) was a Spanish tenor, teacher and composer, *primo tenore* of the Théâtre-Italien and particularly famed for his interpretation of Rossini. García's sisters were the mezzo-soprano and composer Maria Malibran and mezzo-soprano, teacher and composer Pauline Viardot. Malibran's second husband was the Belgian violinist Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802–1870), and Viardot's husband was the writer and director of the Théâtre-Italien, Louis Viardot (1800–1883). García and his extended family were fully immersed in and connected with the Parisian musical world that was centred on the Italian operatic repertoire of the early nineteenth century.

Given his family background, García was destined for a career on the operatic stage from a young age. His pupil and biographer Malcolm Sterling Mackinlay emphasised García senior's teaching style and general work ethic as being "a hard task master", and suggested García junior's having continued to sing "during that dangerous period at the commencement of puberty" as a factor that ultimately led to his vocal breakdown early in his career.[8]

However, a disastrous performance in Naples in 1829, for which García received critical reviews, gave him the necessary ammunition to justify to his parents a departure from the stage, allowing him instead to concentrate on his pedagogical and scientific career: "From now onward I am going to devote myself to the occupation which I love, and for which I believe I was born."[9]

Problems with defining Bel Canto

García and his school are often associated with that most debated of vocal terms: "bel canto". As discussed in Chapter Two ("Studies of vocal technique", 124), this term is bandied about equally by those nostalgic for a perceived bygone golden era of vocality as much as by those who view it as a derogatory term associated with outmoded singing. Additionally, confusion can occur since, as Cornelius Reid states,

[8] M. Sterling Mackinlay, *Garcia the centenarian and his times : being a memoir of Manuel Garcia's life and labours for the advancement of music and science* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons 1908), 28, 85.

[9] Sterling Mackinlay, *Garcia the centenarian*, 91.

the term can “refer not only to a style of singing, but also an era of operatic history, to a musical style, and to a pedagogical technique for training the singing voice.”[10] In an unpublished article on bel canto, Thomas Seedorf explains that

> [a] major reason for the vagueness of the term may be the lack of historically attested definitions. Unlike terms such as ‘‘portamento” or ‘‘appoggiature”, which have been explained in dictionaries and singing textbooks since the 18th century, ‘‘bel canto” crept gradually and inconspicuously into music-related vocabulary, establishing itself in musical terminology only in the late 19th century.”[11]

For the purposes of this study I am choosing to use a set of definitions based upon the work of Robert Toft and summarised by the Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project: “The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900”.[12] Bel canto style comprises:

1. **Admired vocal practices** (originating in Italy) prevalent in Europe, 1700–1900.

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[10] Cornelius L. Reid, *A dictionary of vocal terms. An analysis* (New York: Joseph Patelson Music House 1983, Reprint Huntsville (TX): Recital Publications 1995), 20.

[11] Thomas Seedorf, “Belcanto: Perspectives on a Multifaceted Term” (unpublished article), 3. In this article Seedorf “takes up and expands thoughts” from his chapter; Thomas Seedorf, “Die Schönheit des Belcanto”, *Singstimmen: Ästhetik – Geschlecht – Vokalprofil*, ed. by Saskia Maria Woyke, Katrin Losleben, Stephan Mösch and Anno Mungen, (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2017), 15–24.

[12] Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer’s Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

2. **Transformation of score** "into passionate musical declamation by treating melodic lines freely and by personalizing the music through both minor and major modifications."
3. **Communication of meaning, effect, and affect of the words** through myriad speech-derived effects and associated tonal colours.[13]

Furthermore the Sydney Discovery Project has described bel canto as "a style of expressive singing that projected the text and its meaning, not so much a technique" going on to point out that "[t]he term only appears from the 1860s and is mostly used in a nostalgic manner to describe a lost style of singing."[14]

The above definitions demonstrate how much of the bel canto style (a retrospective term) is centred around vocal practices originating in Italy which transcend the notated score by using expressive devices in order to communicate the emotional meaning and context of the text.

A further contributing factor to the nebulous nature of the term is the recurring complaint in methods and treatises that whilst technique can be taught from a book, aspects of taste and associated style could only be learnt through modelling based on musicians who were deemed the epitome of taste, hence the repeated mantra to

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[13] Definition taken from "Historical Recording Emulation Session 1" (2023) and subsequent sessions. Neal Peres da Costa and Helen Mitchell, "The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900", *The Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project,* https://www.sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/artistic-research/the-shock-of-the-old.html [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[14] Definition taken from "Historical Recording Emulation Session 2" (2023). Peres da Costa and Mitchell, "The shock of the old", https://www.sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/artistic-research/the-shock-of-the-old.html [Accessed 9 April 2025].

all instrumentalists of “listen to good singers and emulate them.” Hand in hand with this was the concept of learning from a great master, thus placing a performer in a “family tree”, certifying them as part of an important lineage and thus implicated as a link in a “Great Tradition”. Thus, García’s biographer highlights how the “celebrated tenor [Ansani] was able to hand on to [García] the Italian vocal traditions of that “Bel Canto” school which had come down from the old Neapolitan maestro, Porpora.”[15]

“Correct style” and “Fine style”

A central goal of the Paris Conservatoire was the requirement for professors to publish method books, and the significant number of these, across all musical disciplines, means we are able to draw parallels between the approaches and methodologies of the professors. Indeed, as will be seen shortly in the case of portamento exercises, it is not unusual to see exercises “lifted” directly from one discipline (frequently the singing methods) to another. Cross-over between different national schools also happened, as can be seen in many of Duvernoy’s exercises appearing (often uncredited) in German *Horn-Schulen* in the first half of the nineteenth century.[16]

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[15] Malcolm Sterling Mackinlay, *Garcia the centenarian and his times : being a memoir of Manuel Garcia's life and labours for the advancement of music and science* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons,1908), 25.

[16] For example the “Marche” for two horns in Duvernoy’s *Méthode* appears as a “Marsch”in Göroldt’s *Hornschule*. Frédéric Duvernoy, *Méthode pour le cor, suive de Duo et de Trio pour cet Instrument* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1802), 10. Johannes Heinrich Göroldt, *Ausführliche theoretische praktische Hornschule vom ersten Elementarunterricht an bis zur vollkommensten Ausbildung* (Quedlinburg: Basse, 1822), 16.

The structures of the methods often mirror one another. Methods were often published in two parts, the first focused on technique, the second more on taste, style, and expression. Dauprat's *Méthode* falls into three parts, the first dealing with technique, the second with style and the third directed at young composers rather than horn players.[17] These structures emphasise the pedagogical approach of the time in which the technical aspects of playing were separated from the musical and expressive aspects.

Louis Spohr's (1784–1859) influential *Violinschule* is similarly structured in three parts.[18] The first deals with the violin as a physical thing, the parts of the instrument, the strings, bow, rosin, value and quality of instruments, maintenance etc., and the second with the technical aspects of playing, how to read music, how to hold the instrument, scales, intervals, bowing, double stops, broken chords, arpeggios, and ornamentation. It is only when the student gets to the third part that Spohr starts to explore aspects of style and expression, and it is here that he explores the distinction between "correct style" and "fine style".

> By *style* or *delivery* is signified the manner in which the singer or player performs what has been invented and written down by the composer. This, if confined to a faithful rendering of the same, as expressed by notes, signs and technical terms, is called a *correct style*; but if the performer, by additions of his own, be capable of intellectually animating the work, so that the hearer

[17] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse* (Paris: Zetter, 1824).

[18] Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, n.d. c.1832).

> may be led to understand and participate in the intentions of the composers, it is termed a *fine style*, in which correctness, feeling and elegance, are equally united.[19]

For Spohr *correct style* is getting all the notes in the right order, in the right place, performing the text as the composer wrote it. *Fine style* goes beyond this, understanding the text and expressing the feelings that the composer wishes the performer to awaken in his or her audience.

In his chapter on taste in his *Méthode pour Cor,* Gallay echoes Spohr's opinion:

> [T]here are two kinds of expression, *written* expression and *performed* expression: the first comes from the composer; it is drawn from the subject himself, it is subordinate to the state of mind, under the influence of which the musician wrote; sometimes it betrays the emotion he felt; sometimes it paints his happiness; these are memories that he communicates: often his music is his own story, sometimes it is only an episode of his life.[20]
>
> The second is up to the performer, it is up to him to give life, movement to this inanimate tableau before his eyes; he must identify with it, seek to capture the

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[19] Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Celebrated Violin School,* tr. John Bishop (London: Robert Cocks & Co. n.d. c.1843), 181–182.

[20] Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* 91. "Il y a deux sortes d'expression, l'expression *écrite* et l'expression *jouée*: la première vient du compositeur ; elle est tirée du sujet même, elle est subordonnée à la disposition d'esprit, sous l'influence de laquelle le musicien a écrit; tantôt elle trahit l'émotion qu'il a ressentie, tantôt elle peint son bonheur ; ce sont des souvenirs qu'il communique : souvent sa musique est sa propre historie, quel que fois ce n'est qu'un épisode de sa vie."

> author's intimate thoughts; he needs to put himself on stage in order to strike the tone and choose the language most in harmony with the subject he has to translate. He must not give warmth, strength and impetus to that which requires graceful simplicity, it must appear easy, naïve and touching. With tact and an instinct, he manages to give each piece the expression that suits it: this is what truly constitutes the artist, this is how he can reach the sublime reaches of the art.[21]

Gallay follows on from this by stating categorically that "[t]he use of the stopped sounds is one of the greatest means of expression that one can use on the horn".[22]

Gallay is thus emphasising the need for performers to transcend the notes on the page. It is the musician's role to understand the emotion of the music and adapt their playing to fully communicate the true expression. A "correct" rendering of the notes on the page is not enough. As I will expand on later, for Gallay the stopped notes of the horn are a fundamental part of communicating the emotion of the notated music.

Spohr, and others of the period, maintained that first you had to learn correct style, which for Spohr could be summarised as true intonation, correct rhythm, even pulse,

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[21] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. "La second tient à l'exécutant, c'est à lui de donner de la vie, du mouvement à ce tableau inanimé qu'il a sous les yeux ; il faut qu'il s'identifie avec lui, qu'il cherche a y surprendre la pensée intime de l'auteur ; il a besoin de se mettre en scène pour prendre le ton, et choisir le langage le plus en harmonie avec le sujet qu'il a à traduire. Il ne doit pas donner de la chaleur, de la force et de l'élan à ce qui ne demande que du calme et de la douceur. Dans une mélodie, par exemple, ou chaque phrase est empreinte d'une simplicité gracieuse, il faut qu'il se montre facile, naïf et touchant. Avec du tact et de l'instinct on arrive à donner à chaque morceau l'expression qui lui convient: voilà ce qui constitue véritablement l'artiste, c'est ainsi qu'il peut atteindre au sublime de l'art."

[22] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. "L'emploi des sons bouchés est un des plus grands moyens d'expression dont ou puisse se servir sur le Cor.

correct dynamics, and correct execution of bowing and ornamentation, and only once you had conquered the technical demands required in order to play with correct style could you begin to explore the fine style.

It was a commonly held belief that whilst fine style could be “awakened and cultivated”, it was something you were either born with or not. It was “entirely a natural gift” which “can never be taught”.[23] Despite this warning Spohr did suggest methods of learning it, one assumes only for the privileged students touched by a natural capacity for the fine style. Spohr maintained that once the student has ‘‘overcome the mechanical difficulties of playing” then it was the time to ‘‘cultivate his taste and sensibility”. This is done by listening to ‘‘good music” and ‘‘celebrated singers and instrumentalists”. A good teacher is one who can point the student in the direction of these models as well as explain to the student ‘‘the beauties of the composition” and the ‘‘means of expression employed by the singer or player in order to work on the feelings of the auditor.”

The elements that Spohr believed elevated a performance from correct to fine style further emphasise the difference between “merely” playing all the right notes at the right time with the right articulation/dynamics/ornamentation/bowing and, instead, transcending the text by a deep understanding of its emotions. These would be evoked through, for Spohr, more refined management of the bow; quality and intensity of tone, and accentuation or separation of the phrases; and artificial

[23] Spohr, *Louis Spohr’s Celebrated Violin School,* 181–2.

positions used not for security but for the sake of expression, i.e. portamento; four degrees of tremolo; and rubato.

Horn pedagogy of this era often touches upon aspects of taste and style fleetingly if at all. Domnich saves the subject to the last article in his *Méthode,* stating that everything that came before makes up what is "sufficient for the training of a good performer" and only students blessed with the "gift of nature" that "cannot be acquired" may "become an artist."[24] The difference for Domnich between being a "good performer" and "an artist" is "taste" and "expression" which "cannot be taught by definite precepts…[I]n this respect the school of excellent singing is the best school of taste in music, and this is particularly true for the horn, which has such a great affinity with the voice."[25]

Similarly Dauprat discusses aspects of taste and style in the closing pages of Part Two of his *Méthode* and again informs students that "just as an aspiring actor must frequent theatres and learn from the work of the best performers, so also the

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[24] Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Co*r (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 92–93. Translation from Heinrich Domnich, *H. Domnich Méthode de premier et de second cor*, trans. Darryl Poulsen (Crawley: University of Western Australian Publishing, 2019), 94–95. "Les leçons dont se compose cette méthode suffisent pour former un bon exécutant… Il a tous les moyens de l'art à sa disposition; il faut encore qu'il sache les mettre en œuvre; il faut qu'il devienne artiste… En effet, ces qualités sont un don de la nature; elles tiennent à une organisation privilégiée; on peut bien les développer, les perfectionner par le travail, mais non en acquérir le germe; ces qualités sont le *goût* et *l'expression*."

[25]Domnich, *Méthode,* 93. Translation from Poulsen, *Méthode*, 95. "Quoiqu'à proprement parler, il ne puisse être enseigné par des préceptes positifs…Sous ce rapport, l'école d'un excellent chanteur est la meilleure école de goût en musique; et cela est particulièrement vrai pour le Cor, qui a tant d'affinité avec la voix."

musician must hear, as often as possible, the most celebrated instrumentalists and renowned singers in order to form his own taste and style."[26]

Gallay's article on style forms the last text in his *Méthode*. He repeats the same issues: that the study of taste, style and expression are the final elements that "complete the art of playing the horn" and that " [t]aste cannot be learned; it is a gift of nature that man gets at birth; it is one of those mysterious and hidden senses that he can possess, or of which he can be deprived".[27] He asks the reader:

> Is it so much to ask of the nature of the horn to ask it to sing with expression? Certainly not: for this artificial voice imitates the human singing voice, and the one who plays this instrument can add to it the expression that he might put into a piece sung with his natural voice.[28]

It is clear that these horn players, like other musicians of the era, saw aspects of taste, style and expression as elements of performing that could not be taught other

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[26] Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 2, 118. Translation from Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse,* trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994) 322. "Enfin, de même que celui qui se destine à la déclamation doit fréquenter les théâtres et profiter des exemples que lui donnent les meilleurs acteurs; de même aussi, le musicien doit, autant que possible, écouter souvent les instrumentistes les plus célèbres et les chanteurs les plus en renom, afin de former sur eux son goût et son style."

[27] Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* 90–91. "Le Goût ne s'apprend pas; c'est un don de la nature que l'homme apporte en naissant; c'est un de ces sens mystérieux et cachés qu'il peut posséder, ou dont il peut être privé." "Résumons nous: *Le goût, le style, l'expression* ajoutés aux études sévères et opiniâtres, complètent l'art de jouer du Cor, comme elles servent à former un bon chanteur."

[28] Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* 90–91. "Est-ce trop exiger de la nature du Cor que de lui demander de chanter avec expression? non assurément, car cette voix factice imitant celle du chant de l'homme, celui qui joue de cet instrument peut y ajouter d'expression qu'il en mettrait dans un morceau chanté avec sa voix naturelle."

than through emulation (ideally of singers) and that this stage in a students education came after they had mastered other elements.

In the next two chapters I will investigate two important aspects of expressive performance in the early nineteenth century which were considered part of appropriately tasteful and stylish performance; timbre and portamento.

Chapter Four: Timbre

Timbre considerations on the natural horn

As outlined in the preliminary material to this study, the classical natural horn forms its notes by a combination of lip tension and the manipulation of the right hand in the bell of the instrument. The instrument has recourse to the sixteen or more ‘‘open” notes of the harmonic series. The chromatic notes in between are created by the partial or full closure of the bell to form notes that are referred to as ‘‘stopped” (figure 4:1). The open notes are characteristically clearer in timbre whilst the stopped notes can range from indistinct and covered to brassy and shrill. Some stopped notes can be barely distinguishable from the open notes.



Figure 4:1: Chromatic range of the hand horn (black note heads = stopped, clear = open).

In contrast to the twentieth-century trend for homogeneity across the ranges of most instruments (piano, strings, woodwind included), in the early to mid nineteenth century such timbral variety was common to most instruments. The piano had three

distinct ranges (bright, clear high treble; more indistinct middle range; dark/dense powerful bass) plus a range of pedals which offered additional timbral variety. The individual strings of string instruments each had their distinct timbres as did the notes on the wind instruments of the time. Whilst modern day steel strings retain something of the individual characteristics, innovations in woodwind key systems and design have done much to iron out these colours giving fully chromatic and uniform instruments. Valves have the same effect on brass instruments.

On the hand horn the timbre of any particular note can be seen as resultant of both the crook the horn is pitched in and the hand position. For example, the written stopped high F between the 10th and 11th harmonic will always be a stopped note but it may be more strident on some crooks whilst almost indiscernible as a stopped note on others. This is particularly noticeable when comparing the nuances of hand technique between the highest (alto: A and above), middle (solo: D to G) and lowest (basso: C and below) crooks.

Gallay's contemporary, the violinist Pierre Baillot (1771–1842), wrote in his method of the individual timbres and characters of the four strings of the violin. Baillot went as far as saying that, thanks to this variety of timbres "the violin can be given the character of the *oboe*, that of the *flute, horn, trumpet, harmonica*…".[1] In Baillot's estimation the E string (the *chanterelle*) was "clear and silvery… an extension of the voice"; the A string "sweet and penetrating…the greatest likeness to a woman's

[1] Pierre Baillot, *L'art du violon* (Paris: Depot Central de Musique, n.d. c. 1834), 140. Translation: Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 131.

voice"'; the D string "has the noble and velvety tone of the contralto voice"; the G string "proclaims the empire of the violin…it is the tenor voice in all its beauty."[2] In his later *Nouvelle Méthode* Baillot went further in his description of the G string, advocating "playing slowly, and to bring the bow close to the bridge so that the strength of the vibration can render more faithfully the noble and touching sounds of the horn."[3] Baillot demonstrates this with passages from Jean-Paul-Égide Martini's popular Romance *Plaisir d'amour* and the theme from Beethoven's Rondo from the Concerto in D, Op. 61 (figure 4:2).



[2] Baillot, *L'art du violon,* Translation: Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice,* 131–135.

[3] Pierre Baillot, *L'art du violon, Nouvelle Méthode* (Mainz & Antwerp: les fils de B. Schott, n.d.1835), 139–40. Translation: Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice,* 135–6.

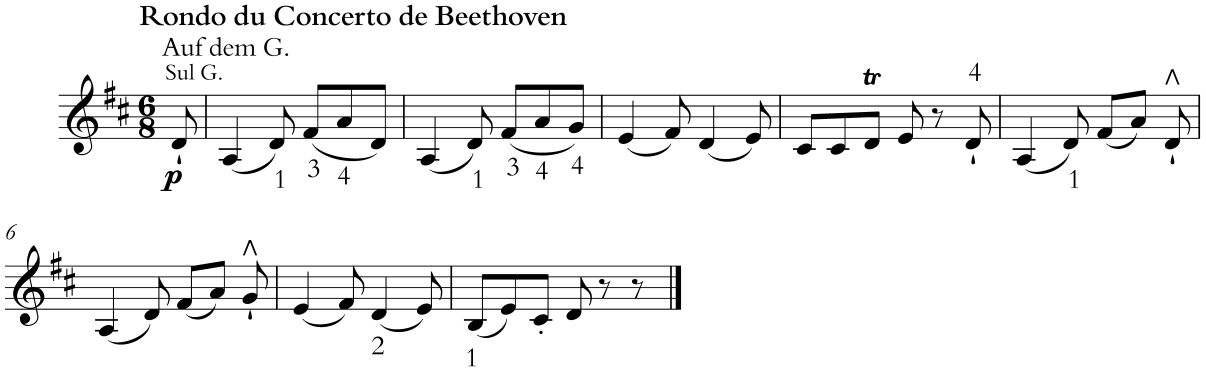


Figure 4:2: Baillot's examples of "horn tone": Jean-Paul-Égide Martini's popular Romance *Plaisir d'amour* and the theme from Beethoven's Rondo from the Violin Concerto in D, Op. 61.[4] Pierre Baillot, *L'art du violon, Nouvelle Méthode* (Mainz & Antwerp: les fils de B. Schott, n.d.1835), 140.

It is important to recognise that, with a small and important handful of exceptions, on the natural horn each pitch can only be open (either a neutral open position with the hand resting in the bell through to a very open hand position, with the hand entirely out of the bell) or stopped.[5] For the vast majority of the range of the instrument, there is only one way of playing each note. It was only the advent of the valve horn that meant that for the first time any note on the horn could be chosen to be played either open or stopped, a fact that was most notably exploited within the French school by Joseph Meifred (1791–1867).[6]

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[4] Jean-Paul-Égide Martini, *Romance - Plaisir d'amour* (Paris: Bureau de la Petite Bibliotheque des Théâtres, 1785). Ludwig van Beethoven, Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61, eds. Joseph Schmidt-Görg and Shin Augustinus Kojima (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1973).

[5] For further explanation as to hand positions and how the natural horn works please see "Some definitions" xxviii–xxxii of the present work.

[6] Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840). For further discussion of Meifred's approach see Jeffrey Snedeker, Chapter Four "Hand *and* valve: Joseph-Émile Meifred, Jaques-François Gallay, and horn teaching at the Conservatoire 1833–1864" in *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Horn* (London: Routledge, 2021), 92–138.

When we are looking to emulate expressive devices proposed by practitioners of other instruments, the predominantly binary nature of either open or stopped is an issue. In contrast to the horn, Manuel García, Gallay's contemporary teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, states that for singers "each sound could receive either the open or closed *timbre*".[7] This makes the few notes that are capable of being played on the horn in either fashion extremely important when assessing whether composers and/or performers were actively exploiting the different timbres these afforded. Further to this are the differing approaches of the Austro-Germanic and the French schools to enharmonic pitches, e.g. F-sharp and G-flat, with the former less likely to suggest different options for hand position for each spelling of a pitch, and the latter much more likely to do so, even including some alternatives which appear challenging in terms of intonation.

The most frequently encountered notes that are capable of being played either open or closed are low F-sharp/G-flat, low G-sharp/A-flat, middle C-sharp/D-flat, middle A-sharp/B-flat, high F-sharp/G-flat and high A. These pitches are obtained by either forcing up the pitch of the the harmonic a semi-tone below them with the breath, or flattening the pitch of the harmonic a semitone above them by a mixture of the hand and bending the note with the embouchure. Appendix iii: "Hand position charts regarding key notes" surveys over 40 sources regarding these six notes..

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[7] Manuel García, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing,* ed. Albert Garcia (London: Leonard & Co., n.d. c.1924), 69. Original: Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en 2 parties*, vol. 2 (Paris: Manuel García, 1857), 54.



Figure 4:3 Six notes which can be played stopped or (very) open.

The low F-sharp/G-flat is predominantly played as a stopped note in both the Austro-German and French schools, although Dauprat, Domnich, François Nicolas Jacqmin (1793–1847) (citing Dauprat), Jean-Baptiste Mengal (1796–1878), and Othon-Joseph Vandenbroek give the option to play it as an open note, i.e. bent with embouchure, with most of them stipulating open in slow music and stopped in fast.[8] Vandenbroek, alongside Domnich, was one of the first generation of horn professors at the Paris Conservatoire.[9] Mengal was a pupil of Domnich's and recipient of the *premier prix* in 1814 whilst Jacqmin (see Chapter Eight, 282) was a pupil of Dauprat's and the *cor alto premier prix* winner in 1818.[10]

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[8] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 31. Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 16. François Jacqmin *Méthode complète de premier et de second cor*, Op. 20 (Paris: A. Petit, 1832), 28. Jean-Baptiste Mengal, *Méthode de cor* (Paris: Meissonnier, 1835), 7–8. Othon-Joseph Vandenbroek, *Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée pour apprendre à donner du cor* (Paris, Naderman, c. 1797), 12.

[9] Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 258.

[10] Théodore Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Levy Frères, 1860), 148. Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 526.

On the other side of the third harmonic low G, **the low G-sharp/A-flat** is similarly predominantly given as a stopped note in both schools, though again with more French sources offering the alternatives of either stopped or fully open.[11] This option is more often given specifically for the A-flat, with the G-sharp stopped. Jean-Antoine Blanc (1793–1869) and Edouard Guilbaut (1830–1908) additionally suggest supplementing the third harmonic with enough air to force the pitch up from G to G-sharp/A-flat.[12] Domnich directs that not only is A-flat an open note, but due to the flat pitch the hand should be removed from the bell, the removal of the hand thus sharpening the note sufficiently.[13]

The same concept of forcing an open harmonic up with the breath (rather than lowering it with the hand) is similarly popular in the French school with the **middle C-sharp/D-flat.**[14] Again, this is suggested more frequently as an open note in slow tempi.

Most of the Austro-Germanic and French school horn tutors favour the middle **A-sharp/B-flat** as an open note, though a number of French authorities give the option of a stopped note, often more for the A-sharp than the B-flat, with Cam only giving

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[11] Jean-Antoine Blanc, *Nouvelle méthode de cor* (Lyon: Cartoux, n.d. c. 1828), 15 and *Grande méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Grus ainé, 1845), 15. Edouard Guilbaut, *Méthode très facile pour le cor d'harmonie* (Paris: E. Gérard et Cie, c. 1870), 7. Jean-Georges Kastner, *Méthode élémentaire pour le cor* (Paris: Troupenas, 1844), 10; Jean-Baptiste Mohr, *Méthode de premier et second cor* (Paris: Escudier, 1870), 1. Two Austro-German sources (Friedrich Gumbert, *Praktische Horn-Schule* (Leipzig: Rob. Forberg, 1879), 16 and Louis Rossmann, *Horn-Schule: Kurze u. praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung des Hornes* (Augsburg: A. Böhm & Sohn, 1884),12) follow suit.

[12] Blanc, *Nouvelle méthode/Grande méthode pour le cor,* 15. Guilbaut, *Méthode*, 7.

[13] Domnich, *Méthode*, 17–18.

[14] Domnich, *Méthode*, 19. Jacqmin *Méthode,* 28. Mohr, *Méthode*, 1.

the stopped version as an option.[15] This note is part of the harmonic series (the 7th harmonic) but is so flat that it is normally played open and with the hand out of the bell in order to sufficiently sharpen it. As it is so flat, the stopped version of this note is, in effect, created by stopping the 8th harmonic high C which creates a semitone above the 7th harmonic below (i.e. the middle B-flat) resulting in a note which could be considered either a very flat middle B or a very sharp A-sharp. A German outlier for the A-sharp/B-flat is Carl Klotz's trilingual *Praktische Schule* which offers this as "0 ou 1" (i.e. open or stopped).[16]

The next two notes in question, the **high F-sharp/G-flat** and **high A** provoke serious questions for modern natural horn players. Francis Orval's (b. 1944) late twentieth-century method clearly gives both notes as open, though for most contemporary performers the former is open with the hand out of the bell, while the latter is either hand out of the bell or stopped.[17]

This practice flies in the face of almost all original methods, which give both notes almost exclusively as stopped, and in my opinion highlights the modern aesthetic, influenced by the preference for the open, homogenous timbre of the modern instrument, a subject that was explored in Chapter One.

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[15] Ebrems (Abraham) Cam, *Méthode de premier et second cor* (Lyon: Arnaud, c. 1827) 16; Domnich, *Méthode,* 17; Mezières, *Méthode pour le cor,* (Paris: Richault, 1832), 9; Mohr, *Méthode*, 1.

[16] Carl Klotz, *Praktische Schule fur das einfache und chromatische Horn* (Offenbach: André, 1863),17.

[17] Francis Orval, *Method for Natural Horn/Schule für Naturhorn/Méthode de Cor Naturel* (Crans-Montana: Marc Reift, c. 1992), 11. For an example of the either/or modern approach see Paul Austin, *A modern valve horn player's guide to the natural horn* (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1993), 42.

In one of the earliest French sources on the horn, Valentin Roeser (1735–1782) indicates that the high F-natural is sharp and requires the hand in the bell in order to lower the pitch accordingly. On the other hand he states that the high A is flat and "there is no way to make it just", advising that it "should not be used in a chord" and unisons with other instruments should be avoided as much as possible."[18] Roeser seems to imply an open, rather than stopped A, albeit a note worth avoiding. Vandenbroek describes the high A as "a very unattractive tone and very difficult to get in tune".[19] Dauprat advises students to spend time on both the high F-sharp and high A (which he gives as stopped) as they are both "difficult in quality and accuracy".[20] Of the 40-plus historical methods I have consulted (data contained in Appendix iii: Hand position charts regarding key notes), the high F-sharp/G-flat, which is almost universally played today with the hand out of the bell, is indicated in most cases only as a stopped note.[21] A number of the French sources offer the option of either

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[18] Valentin Roeser, *Essai d'instruction a l'usage de ceux qui Composent pour la clarinette et le cor* (Paris: Le Menu, 1764), 13. "Le La… est trop bas, et il n'y a pas moyen de le rendre juste; c'est pour quoi il ne faut pas s'en servir dans un accord, et éviter l'Unisson avec d'autres Instruments tant qu'il est possible."

[19] Vandenbroek, *Méthode nouvelle*, 13. "Le La naturel est un ton bien ingrat et très difficile à prendre juste."

[20] Dauprat*, Méthode*, vol. 1, 30–31, fn. B. "[É]galement difficile, sous le rapport de la qualité et de la justesse"

[21] Blanc; A. Boscher, *Méthode de 1er cor en mi bémol* (Paris: V. David, n.d. c. 1875), 24; Ebrems (Abraham) Cam, *Méthode de premier et second cor* (Lyon: Arnaud, c. 1827) 16; Pierre-François Clodomir, *Méthode élémentaire pour cor d'harmonie* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1886) 17; Domnich, *Méthode*, 17; Duvernoy, *Méthode*, 23; Leon Fontbonne, *Méthode complète* (Paris: Costallat & Cie, c.1908) 20; Louis Girard, *Petite méthode de cor sans pistons* (Paris: Gautrot ainé, 1866) 2; Kastner, *Méthode,* 10; Henri Kling, *Méthode de cor d'harmonie* (Paris: Choudens, c. 1890–1900),12; Adrien Lagard, *Méthode de cor d'harmonie* (Paris: Ikelmer Frères, 1877), 9; Émile Lambert, *Méthode complète* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie, 1922), 50; Mezières, *Méthode*, 9; and Vandenbroek, *Méthode nouvelle*, 10. Austro-Germans promoting the same approach include Richard Hofmann, *Hornschule*, Op. 17 (Leipzig: Carl Merseburger, 1883), 16; Andreas Nemetz, *Horn-Schule,* Op. 18 (Vienna: Diabelli et Cie, 1829), 7; Franz Strauss, *Übungen für Naturhorn zum täglichen Studium* (Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1909), 3; and Adam Wirth, *Méthode pratique de cor / Praktische, systematisch geordnete Hornschule,* Op. 43 (Offenbach: Andre, 1877), 12.

stopped or open with a general preference for the F-sharp stopped and the G-flat open.[22] Notably, it is predominantly non-French sources which offer only the option of the open high F-sharp/G-flat, i.e. the approach favoured today.[23]

Modern horn players favour raising the flat 13th harmonic (the flat high A) by removing the hand from the bell, an action which normally results in a note that remains rather resolutely flat. The alternative is to stop the 14th harmonic (the high B-flat), which creates a note a semi-tone above the flat 13th harmonic (the flat high A) i.e. a flat high B-flat. This gives the impression of a very sharp high A. This contrasts strongly with the almost exclusively stopped approach to this note in the original sources.

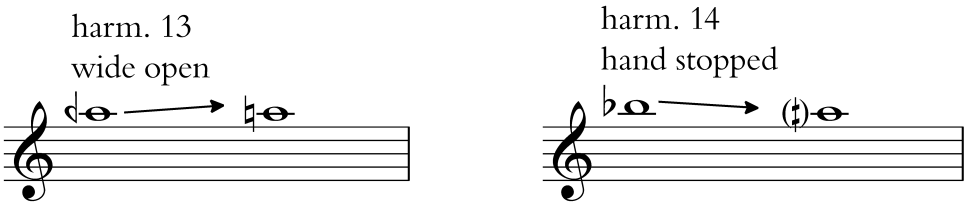


Figure 4:4: How to find the high A.

[22] Victor Cornette, *Méthode de cor* (Paris: Colombier, c. 1854), 6; Marc-Antoine-Jules Corret, *Petite méthode de cor* (Paris: J. Meissonnier, c. 1830), 7; Gallay, *Méthode*, 13; Jacques-François Gallay, *30 études pour le cor précédées d'une gamme enharmonique avec des signes indiquant les mouvemens de la main du pavillon,* Op. 13 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c. 1835); Guilbaut, *Méthode*, 7; Jacqmin, *Méthode*, 27; Mengal, *Méthode,* 7–8; and Mohr, *Méthode*, 1. Non-French sources promoting the same approach include Gumbert, *Horn-Schule,* 16; Jacob Adam Kappey, *Complete Tutor for the French Horn* (London: Boosey & Co, 1887), 8; Klotz, *Praktische Schule*, 17; and Rossman, *Horn-Schule*, 12 .

[23] Franz, *Waldhorn-Schule*, 35; Gottfried von Freiburg, "Das Horn" in *Der Weg zu den Blechblasinstrumenten* (Potsdam: Akadem. Verl.-Ges. Athenaion, 1938), 106; Luigi Frontori, *Metodo per corno da caccia si semplice che a pistoni* (Rome: Litografia Tiberina, 1849), 3; August Prée, *Theoretisch-praktische Waldhornschule* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1912), 48; and Charles Tully, *Tully's tutor for the French Horn* (London: R. Cocks & Co, c.1840), 7.

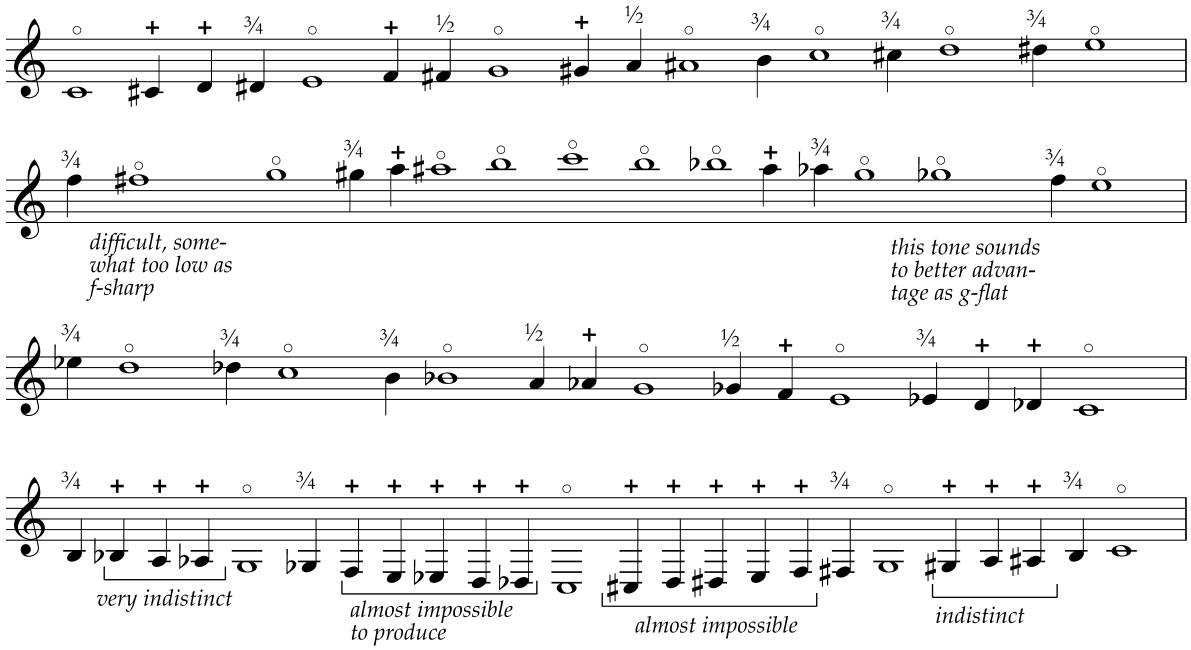


Figure 4:4: Oscar Franz, "Stopfhorn" in *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Waldhorn-Schule* (Dresden: J. G. Seeling, c.1880), 35.

To conclude regarding options for open versus stopped on these key notes, it should be noted that in general, fewer alternatives are given in the Austro-German school. Oscar Franz, for example, gives less nuance for the exact hand position for the lower notes, grouping them together as stopped and challenging, considered collectively as "very indistinct" and "almost impossible to produce" (figure 4:5).[24] Austro-German sources are less likely to offer enharmonic alternatives, for example middle A-sharp and B-flat are approached identically. Finally, they are more likely to give the high F-sharp as only open.

[24] Oscar Franz, *Grosse theoretisch-praktische Waldhorn-Schule* (Dresden: J. G. Seeling c.1880), 35.

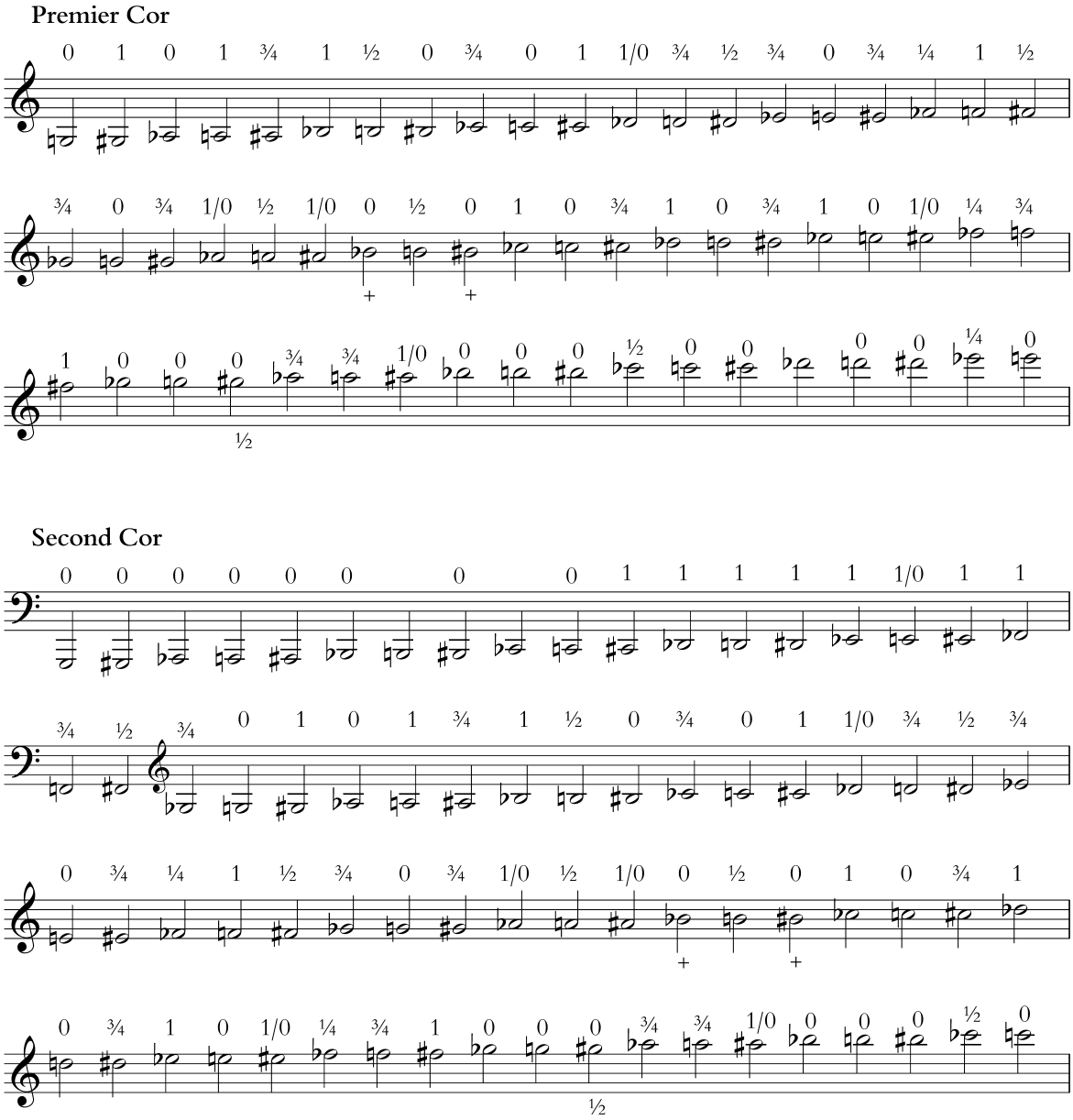


Figure 4:6: Jean-Baptiste Victor Mohr “Gammes enharmoniques” from *Méthode de premier et de second Cor* (Paris: L.Escudier, 1870), 1.

By contrast, the French school normally gives the option to play middle B-flat and high F-sharp as either stopped or open notes.[25] Low notes below the stave, whilst generally quite stopped (the "1" designation in Mohr, figure 4:6 above), are given more alternatives than just "fully stopped".

In some French sources the binary options appear to be in keeping with ideas of temperament and tuning: for example, Mohr gives high F-sharp as stopped and high G-flat as open. In other French sources the speed of the music is a factor to be considered, for example Domnich gives the high F-sharp/high G-flat as half-stopped in fast pieces and hand out of the bell in slow works.[26]

That the German sources tend to offer only one hand position potentially points towards a German sensibility whereby the natural horn was conceived as a more homogenous instrument, an aesthetic that would lead to the more rapid acceptance of the valve horn with its uniformity of sound. The fact that the French sources offer options becomes a key point when looking at their repertoire for evidence of composer/performers choosing to harness a particular timbral colour: these notes become potential fulcrums. By choosing to use one option or another a line of music can be rendered as more in an open or more in a closed realm. This approach will be discussed further below when considering Gallay's own compositions.

As part of an earlier pioneering generation of natural horn players particularly active in the 1770s, Bohemian horn player Giovanni Punto (1746–1803) was the subject of

[25] Mohr, *Méthode*, 1.

[26] Domnich, *Méthode*,16.

concerns regarding the timbral changes created by this technique, as well as giving rise to crucial information as to its novelty.[27] The anonymous *New Instructions for the French Horn* from the 1770s explained briefly how to use hand technique but warned that:

> Mr Ponto [sic] and many others, famous on this Instrument, constantly uses this method, by which means the half tones are expressed, which is not to be done by any other method: but it is deemed by Judges of the Horn that the principal beauty, the Tone, is greatly impaired thereby.[28]

Charles Burney in his article on the horn for Rees's *Cyclopaedia* states:

> It must, however, be discovered, by every discriminating hearer, that the factitious half notes, that are made by the hand in the mouth of the instrument, are sounds of a different quality from the natural tones of the instrument. We have often thought that Ponto [sic], with all his dexterity, produced some of these new notes with similar difficulty to a person ridden by the *night mare* who tries to cry out but cannot.[29]

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[27] For biographical information concerning Punto see: Henri Kling, "Giovanni Punto: Célèbre Corniste (1748–1803)" in *Bulletin Français de la Société Internationale de Musique*, no. 10 (15 October 1908), 1066–1082 and Teunis van der Zwart, "Giovanni Punto (1746–1803) : cor basse célèbre", DOCARTS thesis (Leiden University, 2023).

[28] Anon, *New Instructions for the French Horn* (London: Longman and Broderip, c. 1780), 4.

[29] Charles Burney, *Cyclopaedia, or Universal Dictionary of Art Sciences and Literature*, ed. Abraham Rees, vol. 18 (London Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown,1819), n.p..

In Joseph Fröhlich's article on the horn the author focuses on how Punto's performance style incorporated to great effect contrasts in terms both of character and timbre. For example, Fröhlich praises "the thunder of tones, and their sweetest, indescribable blending" (*Verschmelzen*) and Punto's use of "all the nuances in the variegated tone production."[30] Of all his many abilities, Fröhlich deems Punto's most distinguishing trait to be his "silvery brightness" (*Silberhelle*) sound, which gave him "the most enticing singing tone that one has not heard from any artist before."[31]

Such accounts acknowledge that hand technique, as demonstrated by Punto in the second half of the eighteenth century, incurred timbral changes, "nuances in the variegated tone production", plus the suggestion of portamento (*verschmelzung)*.[32]

Punto was highly influential as a teacher. Frustratingly neither of his pedagogical sources are particularly forthcoming as to the intricacies or nuances of hand technique.[33] Given this, studying the work of his students may be informative, for

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[30] Joseph Fröhlich,"Horn" *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste in alphabetischer Folge,* section 2, vol. 11 ("H-N: Horn-Hultschin") (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1834), 7. "Der donner der tone und ihr süßestes unbeschreibliches Verschmelzen."

[31] Fröhlich, "Horn" in *Allgemeine Encyclopädie,* 7. "[U]nd wahrsten aber eine Silberhelle des reizendsten, gesangreichen Tones, wie man sie bei keinem andern Künstler bisher hörte, zeichneten ihn aus."

[32] Versions of the term "Verschmelzen" or "Verschmelzung" can be found explicitly linked to portamento in a number of nineteenth-century sources, for example Lindner, who states that "das Wesen des Portamento ist die innigste Bindung, ja Verschmelzung des sprachlichen und musikalischen Elementes" ("The essence of the portamento is the most intimate connection, indeed fusion, of the linguistic and musical elements"). Friedrich Wilhelm Lindner, *Das Nothwendigste und Wissenswertheste aus dem Gesammtgebiete der Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1840), 325. Riewe defines Portamento as the "Verschmelzen eines Tones". F. Riewe, *Handwörterbuch der Tonkunst, sachlich und biographisch* (Gütersloh: Bertelsmann,1879), 208.

[33]Anton Hampel, ed. Giovanni Punto, *Seule et Vraie Méthode* (Paris: Naderman, c.1797–1799). Giovanni Punto, *Étude ou Exercise Journalier* (Paris: A La Muse du Jour, n.d. c. 1793–1801).

example that of Heinrich Domnich who is said to have studied privately with Punto.[34] The work of Miller and of van der Zwart have considered Punto's compositions with the latter suggesting a difference of approach between Punto and his teacher Hampel; more thorough study of Punto's output may be able to suggest further evidence regarding his approach to hand technique.[35]

Domnich's 1808 *Méthode de premier et de second cor* was expressly written for the Conservatoire and can be seen, in terms of the exercises, as the forerunner of the 1824 *Méthode pour cor alto et cor basse* by Louis-François Dauprat, Domnich's one-time "adjunct" and eventual successor at the Conservatoire.[36] Domnich and Dauprat both admit that the use of the hand in the bell changes the sound and that it is impossible to make these timbral differences disappear entirely. They both state, however, that in the hands of a good player it is possible to mitigate these timbral differences.[37]

The pair both identify an approach to the challenge of the timbral shifts incurred with hand technique which they feel is an insufficient solution. They recount that,

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[34] François-Joseph Fétis, "Domnich" in *Biographie universelle des musiciens,* first edition, vol. 3 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 323.

[35] James Earl Miller, "The Life and Works of Jan Vaclav Stich (Giovanni Punto); a Checklist of 18th Century Horn Concertos and Players; an Edition for Study and Performance of the Concerto No. VI in E-flat by Giovanni Punto, PhD dissertation (University of Iowa, 1962), 47–80. Van der Zwart, "Giovanni Punto", 54–58, 121–125.

[36] Domnich, *Méthode*. Dauprat, *Méthode.*

[37] Domnich, *Méthode*, Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 19–21.

traditionally, it had been advised to support the stopped notes with more air in order to "make them equal in volume and quality".[38]

I would suggest that this "traditional" approach, in which the balance between the stopped and open notes is tackled by the performer investing the stopped notes with more air-support to counteract them being naturally more indistinct, is the performance practice of the previous generation of players such as Punto and Jean-Joseph Rodolphe (1730–1812).

Domnich believed this approach to be impractical in anything other than slow movements and instead advocated adopting a basic hand position in the bell which was quite covered and closed, thus making the "open" notes less bright, an opinion reiterated by Dauprat.[39] By adapting the open notes to a more closed and therefore less bright position, the darker stopped notes provide less contrast and a more blended affect can be created.

Looking ahead somewhat to the issue of portamento, Domnich's belief that the approach of playing with a more open hand position was more viable in slow tempi appears to chime with aspects of Domenico Corri's account of the *Cantabile* style.[40] Corri (1746–1825) and his teacher Nicola Porpora (1686–1768) are considered

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[38] Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 20. "Comme le seul moyen qu'on eût trouvé pour former les sons que nous nommons factices, était précisément celui qui devait donner une couleur étrangère à ses sons, dans leur rapport avec les sons naturels, on conçut aussi, qu'en donnant un plus grand volume d'air à ces sons, et en le ménageant au contraire, pour les sons naturels, on parviendrait à rendre les uns et les autres égaux en force et en qualité".

[39] Domnich, *Méthode,* 5. Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 20.

[40] Domenico Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor* (London: Chappell & Co., n.d. c.1810), 69.

fundamental in the establishment and propagation of the bel canto style.[41] Corri's *The Singer's Preceptor*, published around the same time as Domnich's *Méthode,* and his other pedagogical sources are considered important evidence of Porpora's approach to vocal performance practice and that of the early nineteenth century. Corri deems the *Cantabile* style to be slow in tempo and that it "may justly be called the superlative of all Styles".[42] He goes on to explain that it "comprehends all soft, slow movements, where all the charms of Vocal Music may be combined - the Messa di Voce, the Portamento, Tempo, Rubato &c: here are used to their full extent."[43] Corri's linking of slow tempi and portamenti and Domnich's view that the more open hand position (a position which would encourage portamenti) was most realistic in slow tempi adds further credence to the suggestion that portamento was part of the horn player's arsenal of expressive devices.

It is important to note that Dauprat's discussion of the importance of achieving "evenness in quality between the sounds" focusses particularly on the importance of having "such good intonation as to leave nothing to be desired, constantly comparing [the sounds] with each other, listening acutely to oneself, and judging oneself with severity."[44] This accords with my experience as a practitioner today: if one aims for perfect intonation as a primary goal then the ear is less challenged by the different timbres on the instrument. If the blending of the timbres is the primary goal then often

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[41] Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performers Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.

[42] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor*, 69.

[43] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor*, 69.

[44] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 21. Translation from Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse,* trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994). 29.

intonation is neglected or a subsidiary goal and the contrasting timbres appear more problematic.

Gallay was often praised for his ability to blend the contrasting timbres of the instrument, yet by his own admission his approach was markedly different from that of his teacher Dauprat and the earlier teaching of Duvernoy and Domnich.[45] Instead of tempering the sound of the open notes by the use of a more closed hand position in order to make the open notes more covered and therefore closer in timbre to that of the stopped notes, Gallay advocated a more open hand position in order not to compromise the timbre of the open notes.[46] This apparent discrepancy will be discussed further in Chapters Nine and Ten in light of critical reviews of Gallay's performances.[47]

Whilst in one of his early chapters "On the equality of the tones and on their intonation" Gallay disagrees with Dauprat and Domnich on the basic right-hand position, he does, however, reiterate their earlier entreaties to horn students:

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[45] François-Joseph Fétis, *Revue musicale,* vol. 3 (Paris, 1828), 206–7. "Mr. Galay [sic] is now at the forefront of virtuosos on the horn: what distinguishes this artist is a purity of sound and a way of singing that leave nothing to be desired, and which give the idea of greater perfection possible. He must be quoted above all as a model for the equality he has been able to give to the stopped sounds and open sounds of his instrument; for it is, as we know, one of the greatest difficulties of this same instrument." "M. Galay [sic] est maintenant au premier rang des virtuoses sur le cor: ce qui distingue cet artiste, c'est une pureté de son et une manière de chanter qui ne laissent rien à désirer, et qui donnent l'idée de la plus grande perfection possible. Il doit être surtout cité comme modèle pour l'égalité qu'il a su donner aux sons bouchés et aux sons ouverts de son instrument or, c'est, comme on sait, une des plus grandes difficultés de ce même instrument."

[46] Gallay, *Méthode,* 8.

[47] Chapter nine, 298–306. Chapter ten 314–318.

> [T]o obtain the most possible equality between these two types of notes, it is necessary to work on one or the other [type of note], whilst striving every day to make the difference, that would result from their continuous comparison, disappear.[48]

This contrasts with the advice given in a much longer chapter, “On taste, style, nuances, expression and the effect of the stopped notes”, that closes the *Méthode*, in which Gallay describes the use of the stopped notes as “one of the most important means of expression” available to the instrument, describing how “[t]his nuance, this contrast, this opposition at all times” is a way of endowing the music with “an immense variety” which “adds an inexpressible charm to its beauty”.[49] For Gallay the contrast between the stopped and open notes gave the instrument an incontestable advantage, a “superiority of language that belongs to it alone”.[50]

> Does the horn not want to paint the circumstances of the soul, the passions of the heart? Does it not have joyful accents for pleasure as it has tears for sorrow?[51]

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[48] Gallay, “Du gout, du style, des nuances, de l’expression et de l’effet des sons bouchés” in *Méthode,* 8. “Enfin pour obtenir le plus d’égalité possible entre ces deux espèces de sons, il faut alternativement s’exercer sur les uns et sur les autres, en s’efforçant chaque jour de fair disparaître la différence qui résulterait de leur incessante comparaison.”

[49] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. “L’emploi des *sons bouchés* est un des plus grands moyens d’expression dont ou puisse se servir sur le Cor.” “Cette nuance, ce contraste, cette opposition de tous les instans donnent à la musique une immense variété et ajoutent à sa beauté un charme inexprimable.”

[50] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. “il a en cela sur d'autres instrumens cette supériorité de langage qui n'appartient qu'à lui seul et qu'on ne saurait lui contester.”

[51] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. “Le Cor veut-il peindre la situation de l'âme, les passions du cœur ? n-a-t-il pas des accens joyeux pour le plaisir, comme il a des larmes pour la douleur ?”

Whilst Gallay may appear to be contradicting himself, first instructing students to strive to “obtain the most possible equality” between stopped and open notes, while later championing “this nuance, this contrast, this continual opposition”, his approach is very much in line with other pedagogy of the time as explored in the previous chapter. First you learn to play correctly, and then you learn to play beautifully. Equivalents today can be seen in string pedagogy where vibrato is normally only taught after a student has mastered other skills, similarly string portamento is only introduced once a student has mastered smooth playing and shifts.

Manuel García (1805–1906) and timbre

Gallay’s exploitation of the two timbres of the horn echoes Manuel García’s promotion of the two vocal timbres. Whilst on the horn we have the open (*ouverte* or *naturelle*) and stopped (*bouchée* or *factice*) timbres, García promoted the *timbre clair* and the *timbre sombre*. Further to García’s binary of timbre, that “each sound could receive either the open or the closed timbre”, he continued that each of these two timbres “could, at the singer’s will, become brilliant or dull” citing examples of appropriate moments to use such combinations, describing them as resources which permit the expression of the voice (figure 4:7).[52]

[52] García, *Garcia’s Treatise,* 69. Original: García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 2, 54.

	Open	Closed
Brilliant	Donizetti *Lucia di Lammermoor* "Maledetto sia l'istante" (Edgar)	Rossini *Otello* "Or vedrai qual chiudo" (Othello)
Dull	Rossini *Otello,* "Io credeva che alcuno" (Desdemona "overcome by "moral exhaustion")	Rossini *Semiramide* "Deh! Ti ferma, ti placa, perdona" (Assur) and "Qual mesto gemito" (Assur)

Figure 4:7: Manuel García, examples which "offer the student a host of resources that allow him to vary the expression of voice".[53] Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant* (Paris: Manuel García, 1847), vol. 2, 54.

It is important to note that direct mapping from voice to natural horn emulating García's directions is not possible. A key difference between the voice and the horn is that the voice has recourse to both open and closed timbres on any note, whilst the horn, bar the six notes illustrated in figure 4:3, has no choice. The contours of a horn melody, the notes chosen by the composer, forces the options for a horn player.

For García it is the emotion that informs the singer's choice of appropriate timbre. Singers have the option to use any timbre on any note, while for the horn player the choice of timbre for each note is more limited. However, as explored above, certain notes have more than one option, thus making them particularly susceptible to this comparison. Whilst there is clearly an important distinction to consider here when a horn player is trying to emulate the voice, Gallay's guidance that it is the emotional content of the music ("the circumstances of the soul", "passions of the heart",

[53] García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 2, 54. "[E]t offrir à l'élève une foule de ressources qui lui permettent de varier à propos l'expression de la voix."

"pleasure", "sorrow") that informs and guides the interpretation and choices of how much we exploit a timbre is fully in keeping with García's guidance for singers.[54]

Marco Bordogni (1789–1856) and timbre

Marco Bordogni was an Italian tenor deeply connected to the Théâtre-Italien, where he was a mainstay from 1819 until 1833, the point at which he turned his attention more fully to his role as a professor at the Paris Conservatoire where he worked alongside Gallay.[55]

The French music critic and writer Paul Scudo's (1806–1864) extensive biographical article on Bordogni, published shortly after the singer's death, outlines a number of characteristics of Bordogni's timbre and performance practice, especially in comparison to another titan of the Italian school in France, Manuel García senior (1775–1832). In light of discussion of his colleague Gallay's own timbre and performance practice, I particularly note the discussion of Bordogni's "metallic" and "graceful" timbres, the difficulty in distinguishing between some sounds, plus his use of "daring portamento".

> Bordogni possessed a tenor voice of ordinary range and a timbre more graceful than powerful. It barely rose above a G, which was the limit of the vigorous part of his delicate organ, which in schools is called the chest voice;

[54] Gallay, *Méthode,* 91. "Le Cor veut-il peindre la situation de l'âme, les passions du cœur ? n-a-t-il pas des accens joyeux pour le plaisir, comme il a des larmes pour la douleur ?"

[55] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 2, 275.

but he added to this metallic register a series of feminine notes which extended to the super-high F, so that the virtuoso could, on special occasions, have a range of at least two octaves at his disposal. This charming voice was of rare flexibility and of such a tight structure that the ear often had difficulty distinguishing the different links which made up the sonorous chain. It was the fault of Bordogni's vocalisation to be too rapid and too delicate, while García, his contemporary, with whom he sang for many years, detached each note with astonishing vigour, and never was not afraid to push as far as the pillars of Hercules, I mean as far as the high C chest long before Duprez had invented it. The falsetto of Bordogni's voice, these feminine notes which I spoke of above, and which in scientific language we call head or super-laryngeal sounds, were stronger and more vibrant than the chest sounds. So the artist made great use of it, and sometimes he abused it. It was so convenient for him to take refuge in the higher spheres with a rapid scale or a daring portamento![56]

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[56] Paul Scudo, “Essais et Notices: Bordogni” in *Revue des Deux Mondes,* 2nd period, vol. 10 (1857), 707–708. “Bordogni possédait une voix de ténor d’une étendue ordinaire et d’un timbre plus gracieux que puissant. Il ne dépassait guère le sol, qui était la limite de la partie vigoureuse de son organe délicat, qu’on qualifie dans les écoles de voix de poitrine ; mais il joignait à ce registre métallique une série de notes féminines qui se prolongeaient jusqu’au fa sur-aigu, en sorte que le virtuose pouvait, dans les grandes occasions, disposer d’une étendue au moins de deux octaves. Cette voix charmante était d’une rare flexibilité et d’une trame si serrée, que l’oreille avait souvent de la peine à distinguer les différens anneaux qui composaient la chaîne sonore. C’était le défaut de la vocalisation de Bordogni d’être trop rapide et d’un tissu trop délicat, tandis que García, son contemporain, avec qui il a chanté pendant de longues années, détachait chaque note avec une vigueur étonnante, et ne craignait pas de pousser jusqu’aux colonnes d’Hercule, je veux dire jusqu’à l’ut aigu de poitrine bien avant que Duprez l’eût inventé. Le fausset de la voix de Bordogni, ces notes féminines dont j’ai parlé plus haut, et qu’en langage scientifique on appelle sons de tête ou super-laryngiens, étaient plus forts et plus vibrants que les sons de poitrine. Aussi l’artiste en faisait-il un très grand usage, et parfois il en abusait. Cela lui était si commode de se réfugier dans les sphères supérieures par une gamme rapide ou par un portamento audacieux !”

Part of Bordogni's legacy as a teacher is his sets of vocalises. In the almost two hundred years since their composition these works have been reappropriated for many instruments, undoubtedly as part of the desire by instrumentalists to emulate the singing voice. An early example of this trend can be found in Joseph Meifred's 1840 *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons*, which concludes with a set of ten vocalises transcribed from the works of Auguste-Mathieu Panseron (1796–1859) and Bordogni.[57]

Similarly, the Vocalises were arranged and published in 1928 by the Paris Conservatoire graduate and Boston Symphony Orchestra trombonist Joannès Rochut (1881–1952), and became hugely popular in the trombone and low brass repertoire. Meifred advised that the Vocalises were valuable pieces to learn as they were useful for study, appropriate for salon performances, and gave the horn player the opportunity to emulate singers, advising that "one needs an understanding of singing in order to communicate the meaning of music."[58]

Gilbert Duprez (1806–1896) and timbre

Duprez's early Parisian career had been based at Gallay's old workplace, the Odéon, where he made his debut as Count Almaviva in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (Rossini) in December 1825.[59] Thwarted in fully establishing himself on the Parisian scene, he

[57] Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840), 96–111.

[58] Meifred, *Méthode,* 86.

[59] Gilbert Duprez, *Souvenirs d'un chanteur* (Paris: Au Ménestrel, 1874), 38.

left France in December 1828 to forge a career in Italy, where he achieved great success with notable roles such as Idreno in *Semiramide* (Rossini), Rodrigo in *Otello* (Rossini), Gualtiero in *Il pirata* (Bellini) and Edgardo in *Lucia di Lammermoor* (Donizetti). He made important new contacts shortly after his arrival in Milan in 1829 with Prince Emilio Barbiano di Belgiojoso (the estranged husband of Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso) and the prince's cousin Count Pompeo Barbiano di Belgiojoso d'Este (1800–1875), acquaintanceships which would be renewed on his return to Paris.[60]

Departing Italy in 1837 after almost a decade, Duprez himself credited the country as the place of the birth, his prosperity, and his reputation.[61] Now regarded as a leading interpreter of Italian opera, on his return to Paris he quickly became acknowledged as typifying a new style of singing "imported" from Italy, and which offered "a new species of singing voice" and was engaged to teach at the Paris Conservatoire as part of the "grands changements" of 1842 in which Gallay was similarly appointed (see Chapter Thirteen).[62]

In his article on "The Pathological Voice of Gilbert-Louis Duprez", Gregory W. Bloch, does much to question many of the myths and legends that surround Duprez's legacy, arguing, for example, that Duprez's use of the famous "ut de poitrine" (chest

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[60] Duprez, *Souvenirs d'un chanteur,* 48.

[61] Duprez, *Souvenirs d'un chanteur*, 139.

[62] Diday, Paul and Joseph Pétrequin, "Mémoire sur une nouvelle espèce de voix chantée" in *Gazette médicale de Paris* (16 May 1840), 305–14.

voice C) was not unique for this time.[63] Very importantly Bloch characterises Duprez's notable effects (such as "the special colour of the tenor's high notes") as being "inextricably linked to the dramatic situation [they were] meant to express": the emotional content of the text, he suggests, determines the use of appropriate timbre.[64]

During his lifetime, debate raged as to what exactly Duprez was doing physically in order to create his range of timbres, and how his approach fitted with the traditional concepts of vocal range (for example chest versus head voice). For this current study, given the almost binary nature of timbre on the horn (notes being either stopped or open) this is an important nuance given the differing opinions as to whether timbre was linked explicitly to vocal range or whether different timbres (for example *sombrée/voilée* versus *blanche/éclat*) could be applied across the different ranges.

Physicians Paul Diday and Joseph Pétrequin defined the different timbres executed by Duprez thus:

> The darkening gives the singing more energy, but it takes away much of its agility; the voix blanche has less force, but it gains the advantage whenever vivacity becomes indispensable. The first has a slow, solemn quality; the second has more facility in its manner, more delicacy in its forms. The sound

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[63] Bloch, Gregory W., "The Pathological Voice of Gilbert-Louis Duprez" in *Cambridge Opera Journal*, vol. 19, no. 1 (March 2007), 12–13.

[64] Bloch, "The Pathological Voice", 13.

of one is full, but veiled; the other is ringing but a little thin. One transports and dominates with its power; the other seduces and captivates with its flexibility.[65]

Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794–1854) and timbre

Gallay's horn playing was often directly compared to Giovanni Battista Rubini's singing. Given this, the very many reviews and commentaries regarding Rubini, a leading singer of his era, prove a useful source to help deduce aspects of performance practice that would be relevant for Gallay. Rubini, the son of a horn player, gave his debut performance at the Théâtre-Italien in 1825, the same year that Gallay was appointed *cor solo* to this establishment.[66]

Rubini was known for his use of timbral and/or dynamic shading, though the foreign press, especially in the UK where he frequently performed, seem more critical of this than the French. Such accounts allow a perspective on aspects of the prevalent Italian style popular in France and therefore an idea of the qualities that were valued in Rubini's and therefore in Gallay's performance styles.

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[65] Diday and Pétrequin, "Mémoire sur une nouvelle espèce de voix chantée", 313. English translation from Bloch, "The Pathological Voice", 15. "Le sombrer imprime au chant plus d'énergie, mais il lui ôte beaucoup de son agilité; la voix blanche a moins de force, mais elle reprend l'avantage des que la vivacité devient indispensable. Le premier a quelque chose de lent et de plus solennel; la seconde offre plus de facilité dans sa mode, plus de la délicatesse dans ses formes. Le son dans celui-là est plein, mais voilé; dans celle-ci il est éclatant, mais un peu maigre. L'un transporte et maîtrise par sa puissance; l'autre séduit et captive par sa flexibilité."

[66] Anon., "Giovanni Battista Rubini" in *L'Apatista Giornale di Teatri e Varieta,* year 2, no. 32 (12 September, 1835), n.p..

For example, Cox recounted that Rubini:

> …has also the habit of suddenly forcing out his voice, as it were in gusts, and so suddenly withdrawing it, as to be nearly inaudible. This was done on no fixed principle, or in order to express any particular sentiment or epithet, but merely to produce a succession of contrasts, thought by not a few, who, from the experience of the past, preferred a more level method of vocalisation, to be violent and unmeaning.[67]

Frederick von Raumer, a German writer encountering Rubini in England, echoed Cox's view on Rubini's extreme contrasts, stating that the singer had;

> [a] beautiful voice, but the most unnatural and impure style of the modern Italian school pushed to the utmost: violent, shouting, alternated in the same bar, with an effeminate and almost inaudible whisper; light and shade blotched on in hard and unartist-like contrast; no sustained style, but a superficial string for effect. But this is what the musical multitude like.[68]

The Musical World appears to be more complimentary to Rubini when quoting directly the French press, for example their reproduction of an article entitled "Characteristics of Rubini" from *La France Musicale* which praised Rubini's ability to

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[67] John Edmund Cox, *Musical Recollections of the Last Half Century*, vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), 267.

[68] Frederick von Raumer, *England in 1834: A Series of Letters Written to Friends in Germany,* tr. Sarah Austrin and H. E. Lloyd, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1836), 96.

"colour and diversify his phrases".[69] The content of *The Musical World* frequently relied on replicating reports from other publications and, therefore, the articles often expressed options which offer different, and sometimes contradictory, points of view.[70] Such a scenario can be seen in a subsequent critique of Rubini in which *The Musical World* now reported that

> Rubini sings in this, as all other operas, more as a vocal artist than as a musician. Perfect as are some points of his style, his colouring is grievously exaggerated; light and shade with him are carried to the extremes of white and black - we lose nearly all of our intermediate tints.[71]

In 1833 an anonymous writer in the *Harmonicon* reported that "Signor Rubini refrained, as much as with him is possible, from roulades in the aria of Mozart, and his alternations of fortissimo and pianissimo were more moderate; indeed, he pretty nearly equalized his tones."[72]

The concept of singers equalising or levelling tones or vocalisations seems in keeping with the issues we have as horn players. There seems to be a great discrepancy between accounts by performers and by critics as to what the goal was and how successful practitioners were in achieving it.

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[69] Anon., "Characteristics of Rubini" in *La France Musicale*. Reproduced in *The Musical World*, vol. 12, no. 190 (7 November 1839), 430–3.

[70] With thanks to Paul Rodmell for clarification on this point.

[71] Anon., *The Musical World,* vol. 13, no. 215 (30 April 1840), 274.

[72] Anon., *The Harmonicon,* vol. 1 (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1833), 135.

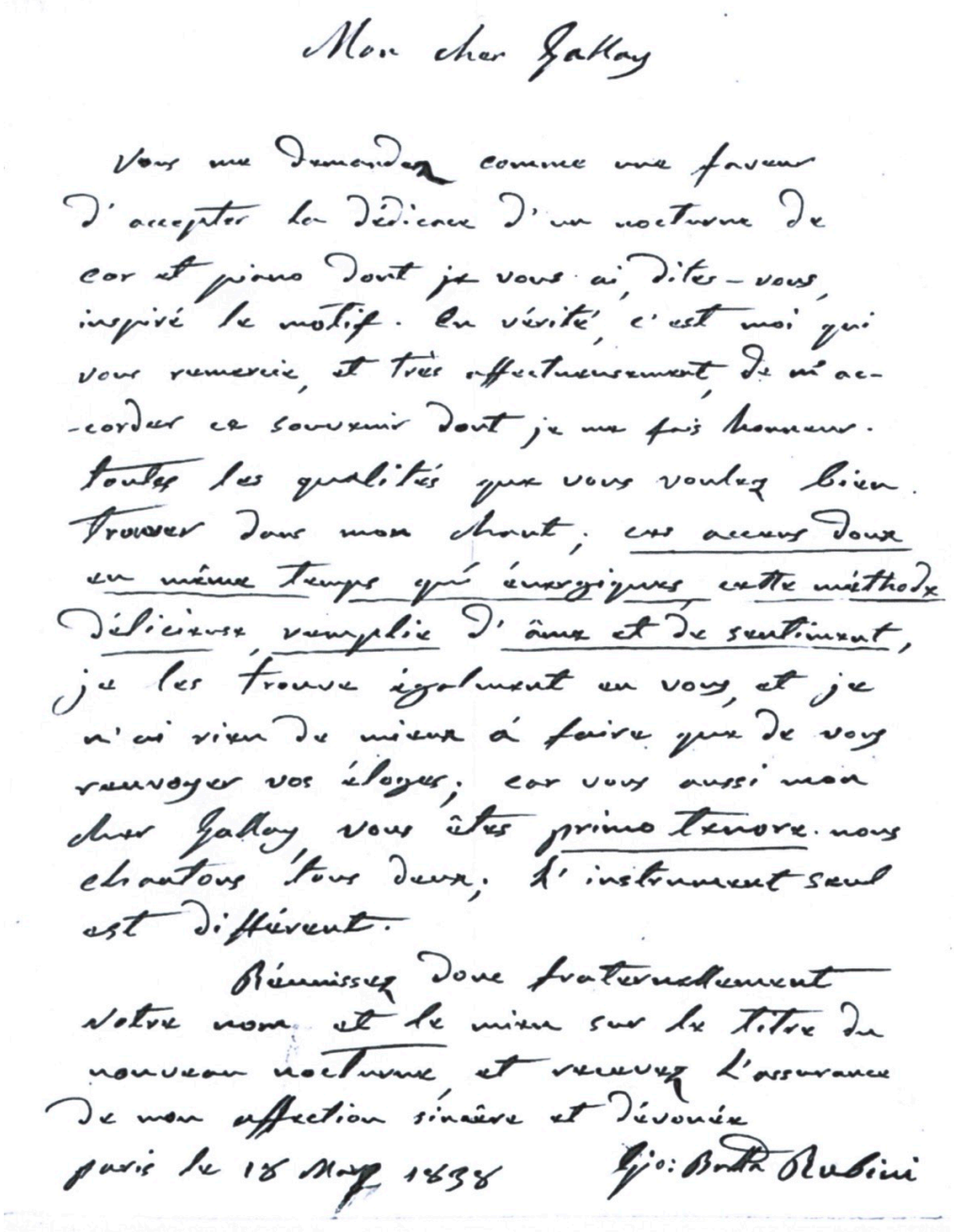
In 1838 Gallay proposed to Rubini that he dedicate his recent composition, a Nocturne for horn and piano, to the singer. Rubini accepted the proposition and wrote to Gallay (figure 4:8) that the qualities the horn player admired in his singing, "those sweet accents at the same time energetic, this delicious method, full of soul and sentiment", (Rubini's own underlining), were exactly the same as those that he admired in Gallay's horn playing. "I have nothing better to do than to return your praise; because you too, my dear Gallay, you are primo tenore. Let us both sing; the instrument alone is different."[73]

In a performance the following year of Giovanni Tadolini's (1789–1872) *L'echo di Scozia* given by Rubini and Gallay, such direct comparisons of Gallay's horn playing to vocalists of his age were repeated with one review stating that Gallay's horn was "more a human voice than a brass instrument".[74]

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[73] Rubini, letter to Gallay (Paris: 18 March 1838). Private collection of Daniel Lienhard (Bern, Switzerland).

[74] Giovanni Tadolini, *L'Eco di Scozia* (Paris: Bernard Latte, n.d.)."Revue critique" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 6th year, no. 12 (24 March 1839), 94. "La mélodie romantique intitulée *l'Echo di Scozia* a produit un tres grand effet au concert que les Italiens ont donné tout récemment au bénéfice de leur Butafuori. Rubini le chantait avec sa voix touchante, et Gallay sur ce cor qui est plutôt une voix humaine qu'un instrument en cuivre. C'est faire le plus bel éloge de ce charmant morceau, qui ne tardera pas d'être chanté dans tous-nos salons."


Mon cher Gallay

Vous me demandez comme une faveur
d'accepter la dédicace d'un nocturne de
cor et piano dont je vous ai, dites-vous,
inspiré le motif. En vérité, c'est moi qui
vous remercie, et très affectueusement, de m'ac-
-corder ce souvenir dont je me fais honneur.
Toutes les qualités que vous voulez bien
trouver dans mon chant; ces accens doux
en même temps qu'énergiques, cette méthode
délicieuse, remplie d'âme et de sentiment,
je les trouve également en vous, et je
n'ai rien de mieux à faire que de vous
renvoyer vos éloges; car vous aussi mon
cher Gallay vous êtes primo tenore. nous
chantons tous deux, l'instrument seul
est différent.

Réunissez donc fraternellement
votre nom et le mien sur le titre du
nouveau nocturne, et recevez l'assurance
de mon affection sincère et dévouée
paris le 18 Mars 1838 Gjo: Batta Rubini

Figure 4:8: Giovanni Battista Rubini, letter to Jacques-François Gallay (Paris: 18 March 1838). Private collection: Daniel Lienhard.[75]

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[75] "Mon cher Gallay Vous me demandez comme une faveur d'accepter la dédicace d'un nocturne de cor et piano dont je vous ai, dites-vous, inspiré le motif. En vérité, c'est moi qui vous remercie, et très affectueusement, de m'accorder ce souvenir dont je me fais honneur. Toutes les qualités que vous voulez bien trouver dans mon chant ; ces accens doux en même temps qu'énergiques, cette méthode délicieuse, remplie d'âme et de sentiment, je les trouve également en vous, et je n'ai rien de mieux à faire que de vous renvoyer vos éloges ; car vous aussi mon cher Gallay, vous êtes primo tenore. Nous chantons tous deux ; l'instrument seul est différent. Réunissez donc fraternellement votre nom et le mien sur le titre du nouveau nocturne, et recevez l'assurance de mon affection sincère et dévouée. Paris le 18 mars 1838 Giovanni Battista Rubini"

Gallay's exploitation of timbre on the natural horn

I would argue that Gallay's edict that students "obtain the most possible equality" between the open and stopped notes of the horn falls in line with the accepted correct style required for all musicians, and that his later encouragement to engage with these timbral differences, which are "one of the most important means of expression", is an indication of what was regarded as fine style for horn players.

In his *Méthode,* Gallay highlights four of his compositions in which he incorporated passages that exploit long series of stopped notes for expressive effect, i.e. actively using the timbral differences rather than, as Gallay advises earlier in his *Méthode,* making their difference disappear. The works identified by Gallay are his Fantaisies on Donizetti's *Les martyrs* and Bellini's *La straniera*, as well as his Neuvième and Onzième Solos for horn.[76] To these I would add the opening section of his 3ème Caprice as a further example of Gallay's exploitation of the stopped notes of the horn.[77]

In order to make the effects of the hand technique more comprehensible in these examples, I have marked the stopped notes with the + sign, the open notes with the o sign. In order to blend (or sometimes contrast) with the rest of the notes in certain passages, I have made interpretative choices as to which approach (stopped or very

[76] Jacques-François Gallay, Fantaisie brillante pour cor et piano *sur La Straniera* de Bellini, Op. 30 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1834); Neuvième solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 39 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1838); Fantaisie brillante pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano sur l'opéra *Les martyrs* de Donizetti, Op. 49 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1840/41); Onzième solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 52 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842/43).

[77] Jacques-François Gallay, *Grands caprices pour cor*, Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835).

open) to use for the small number of notes (figure 4:3) which can be rendered either way, and these notes are given the additional marking of a half shaded circle. Whilst these latter notes are commonly played today with the hand out of the bell, the French school of natural horn playing often lists them as playable also as stopped notes. This can help with tempering (a G-flat is not the same note as an F-sharp harmonically) as well as giving the player the option to exploit the differing timbral effects, although on some occasions composers notated which alternative they wished the player to take.[78]

A good example of this effect is the contrast between the initial “open” theme of the Onzième solo (bars 22–40, figure 4:9) which is based around predominantly open notes which when it returns later (bars 55–76, figure 4:10) uses predominantly stopped notes.

[78] For example the “ouvert” marking for the high G-flat in bar 51 of Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance,* Op. 67 (Paris: 1866).



Figure 4:9: Jacques-François Gallay, Onzième Solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 52 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842/43), bars. 22–40. (Audio example 04_01).[79] (+ = stopped notes, o = open notes, half shaded circle represents notes where there is a choice as to whether to play the note stopped or open).

If we interpret the middle B-flats as open rather than stopped notes then the timbre of this passage is predominantly open. This is unusual in horn writing as normally minor-tonality works incur a high number of stopped notes.

Later this version of the theme returns, but this time Gallay only calls for stopped notes which, again if we choose to interpret the high F-sharps as open rather than stopped, return to the open timbre in the following *con forza* passage.

[79] All audio illustrations in this chapter recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).



Figure 4:10: Jacques-François Gallay, Onzième Solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 52 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842/43), bars 55–76. (Audio example 04_02).

Gallay frequently uses the timbral shifts in tandem with dynamic contrasts. Here in the Neuvième solo, if we interpret the middle A-sharps and high F-sharps as stopped rather than open notes, the contrast is heightened between the *con dolcezza* and piano passages on the one hand and the forte interjections on the other (figure 4:11).



Figure 4:11: Jacques-François Gallay, Neuvième solo pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano, Op. 39 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1838), bars 136–152. (Audio example 04_03).

For Gallay, stopped notes do not necessarily equate to soft, and open to loud, as can be seen in this passage from the *Martyrs* Fantaisie (figure 4:12). The crescendo from the stopped high D-flat to the following forte passage goes via open 9th harmonic high Ds. The forte passage is predominantly stopped and the following piano could be either half open/half stopped or predominantly stopped.



Figure 4:12: Jacques-François Gallay, Fantaisie brillante pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano sur l'opéra *Les martyrs* de Donizetti, Op. 49 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1841), bars 177–191. (Audio example 04_04)**.**

An even more explicit illustration of Gallay using extended stopped passages as not merely a dynamic effect comes in the opening of his 3ème Caprice (figure 4:13).[80] Gallay's set of twelve Caprices are written in a quasi-improvisation style typical for the period and Gallay stipulated that they were to be studied only after players had tackled his *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés*, Op. 27.[81] Gallay does not specify a crook for either of these works, the choice is left to the performer though it is most likely that the choice should be restricted to that of the *cor solo*

[80] Jaques-François Gallay, Grands caprices pour cor, Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835).

[81] The frontispiece of Gallay's Caprices states that they are "faisant suite aux études et préludes" (Gallay, Grand Caprices ()). Jacques-François Gallay, Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés, op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8).

crooks of D through to G.[82] Both the Caprices Op. 32 and the second half of the Préludes Op. 27 contain unmeasured music which enhance the improvisatory feel to



Figure 4:13: Jacques-François Gallay, 3ème Caprice, Grands caprices pour cor, Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835), (no bar numbers). (Audio example 04_05).

[82] For more on the choice of crooks in the Caprices Op. 32 and the ramifications for performing them see: Anneke Scott, "Jacques-François Gallay – Playing on the edge" in ed. Daniel Allenbach, *Romantic Brass. Französische Hornpraxis und historisch informierter Blechblasinstrumentenbau. Symposium 2*, vol. 6 (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2016), 198–222.

the compositions, the most obvious model being Paganini's Caprices which contains similar unmeasured material in the 5th Caprice.[83] Musicians of this period were expected to be able to construct improvised preludes, and Gallay's Op. 32 and 27 are indicative of the style and scope of such preludes.[84] The second line comprises almost entirely stopped notes. The crescendo through this passage opens up into the third-line forte in which the open notes contrast with the previous line. As the sextuplets descend the first note of each set is open, aiding the momentum of this passage.

In summary, the natural horn has at its disposition a range of timbres thanks to the contrast of the open and the stopped notes as well as due to the different timbres associated with different crooks. This contrasts strongly with the aesthetic of the modern horn, and many other modern instruments, which favour timbral homogeneity. Whilst on the natural horn the colour of the individual notes (open/ stopped notes) is context-sensitive (most notes are either open or stopped), further interpretive nuances arise in light of the different pedagogy offered by the Austro-

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[83] Niccolò Paganini, *24 Capricci per violino solo* (Milan: Gio. Ricordi, n.d. c.1818). Similar material can be found in other compositions by instrumentalists who appear in this study, for example in numbers 20 and 23 of Friedrich Kalkbrenner, 24 Preludes, Op.88 (Paris: Pleyel, n.d.) and in the "cadenzas" that precede all of Agostino Belloli's *Venti-quattro studi per corno di caccia* (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi, 1843).

[84] For more on the Preludés Op. 27 see: Scott Russell, "The History and Pedagogy of Jacques-François Gallay's Non- measured Preludes for Horn, op. 27, nos. 21–40", Doctoral thesis (Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana, 2004). For wider context of improvisation on wind instruments and non-measured writing see: Betty Bang Mather and David Lasocki, *The Art of Preluding 1700-1830: For Flutists, Oboists, Clarinettists and Other Performers* (New York: McGinnis and Marx, 1984). For a specific performance practice study focussed on the same period as this thesis see: Robert de Bree, "The improvising 19th-century oboist: A collection of possibilities from articulating the obvious to imagining the fantastical" in ed. Katarzyna Pilipiuk, *Proceedings from "The Historical Oboe: Current State of Research, Contemporary Practice and Perspectives"* (Krakow: Pendercki Academy Press, forthcoming 2025).

German and French schools which reveal significant differences. The French school valued timbral expressivity and, for six specific pitches (see figure 4:3), offered options, often related to enharmonic equivalents. These notes offered performers interpretive flexibility, which can be particularly useful in expressing emotional or stylistic contrast. Domnich and Dauprat acknowledged the inherent timbral shifts related to hand-stopping and offered the strategy of modifying the open hand position to achieve a more blended tone. Gallay, however, later advocates for preserving the natural brilliance of open notes and embracing contrast for expressive effect. German sources generally aimed for consistency and often discouraged timbral contrast. Whilst it is outside of the scope of my study, I would suggest that the German preferences are in line with what was valued in German singing, and this desire for homogeneity ensured the rapid acceptance of the valve horn in German speaking countries.

Gallay's expressive approach aligns with vocal pedagogy, notably that of Manuel García, who encouraged singers to vary timbre based on emotional content. García's *timbre clair* and *timbre sombre* are analogous to the horn's open and stopped tones. However, while singers can choose any timbre on any pitch, horn players are limited by the physics of the instrument's acoustics, which makes the choice of timbre for certain notes especially impactful.

Gallay's own compositions often exploit these contrasts in this way. He uses long passages of stopped notes not just for dynamic shading but as an expressive device in works such as his Onzième Solo, Neuvième Solo, and *Fantaisie on Les Martyrs*.

These contrasts parallel the vocal style of Rubini, a singer Gallay admired and was often compared to. Rubini's dramatic timbral and dynamic shifts - praised by some, criticised by others - mirror the aesthetic of contrast found in Gallay's horn writing. In his *Méthode,* Gallay advocated the artistic use of timbre once technical control had been mastered, first striving for evenness, then learning to exploit difference. This is an approach that is in line with similar approaches to teaching style and taste as discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, in Gallay's view, the timbral contrast between open and stopped notes is not a flaw to be hidden, but a powerful expressive resource.

Chapter Five: Portamento

Recent scholarship has shown that portamento was far from being a careless slide between notes, but a central element of nineteenth-century expression. As Daniel Leech-Wilkinson argues in *Portamento and Musical Meaning*, the device conveyed elements of intimacy, tenderness, and dramatic tension, shaping musical meaning in ways that depended upon context rather than fixed rules.[1]

Complementing this, Leech-Wilkinson's broader studies assembled in *The Changing Sound of Music* reveal how early recordings, though made decades after Gallay's era, display a wide variety of portamenti, applied with taste and discrimination.[2] These findings contradict the modern assumption that portamento was merely

[1] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Portamento and Musical Meaning" in *Journal of Musicological Research*, vol. 25, no. 3-4 (2006), 233-261.

[2] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performances", *CHARM* (2009), https://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/chapters/intro.html [Accessed 9 April 2025]. Chapter 4 "Singing", paragraphs 10–15, 25, 30, 40, 44–45; Chapter 5 "Violin playing": paragraphs 1–3, 26–29, 35–53.

formulaic or symptomatic of poor technique; instead, Leech-Wilkson and other scholars highlight it as a flexible expressive resource integral to style.[3]

Alongside expressive techniques such as rubato and asynchronicity (the separation of a melody from its accompaniment), the study of portamento and its possible reintroduction into HIP performance practice has therefore become key concern of recent research, especially when informed by early recorded evidence. Yet while recordings shed valuable light on late nineteenth- and early twentieth- century practice, questions remain as to how closely they reflect earlier styles. For this reason, in seeking to understand how portamento may have been incorporated into horn playing between the 1810s and 1850s, it is necessary in this chapter to combine these insights with contemporary pedagogical sources, reception evidence, and organological experimentation.

Portamento in many ways suffers from the same notational challenges as rubato and asynchronicity in that it is an expressive device that was rarely notated by composers

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[3] For example Neal Peres da Costa and Helen Mitchell, "The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900", *The Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project* (2024) https://www.sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/artistic-research/the-shock-of-the-old.html [Accessed 9 April 2025]. See also John Potter, "Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing" in *Music & Letters,* vol. 87, no. 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press: November 2006), 528–533; Clive Brown, "Singing and String Playing in Comparison: Instructions for the Technical and Artistic Employment of Portamento and Vibrato in Charles de Bériot's Méthode de violon", in Claudio Bacciagaluppi, Roman Brotbeck, and Anselm Gerhard eds., *Zwischen schöpferischer Individualität und künstlerischer Selbstverleugnung* (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2009), 83–108; Clive Brown, "Chapter 15 - Portamento" in *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 558–587; David Milson, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices - A Handbook* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020), 83–98; George Kennaway, "Chapter 4 - Playing with Expression - Portamento" in *Playing the Cello, 1780–1930* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 115–134; Job ter Haar, "The Playing Style of Alfredo Piatti – Learning from a Nineteenth-Century", Doctoral thesis (Royal Academy of Music, 2019), 144–148; Kate Bennett-Wadsworth, ""Precisely marked in the tradition of the composer": the performing editions of Friedrich Grützmacher", PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 2017), 69–93.

or performers, making it difficult for twenty-first-century performer/researchers to formulate ideas on its frequency and the particulars of its execution. Whilst the study of early recordings has been enlightening (especially concerning elements of disparity between what practitioners said or taught on the one hand, and performed on the other), when trying to ascertain a better idea of appropriate portamento for, as in the case of this study, French expressive technique of the 1810s-50s, it is worth considering how relevant these admittedly compelling sources can be.[4]

Though recordings may not be indicative of exactly how portamento was executed in eras pre-recording they do demonstrate that portamento was not, as may first appear to a twenty-first-century untrained ear, applied without care or attention, nor a uniform ornament, nor merely evidence of poor technique. Studies of, for example, the portamento of soprano Adelina Patti (1843–1919) or violinist Joseph Joachim (1831–1907) have demonstrated that there was a range of different portamenti that practitioners applied in very specific circumstances.[5] In the cases of musicians such as Patti and Joachim, both of whom made their professional debuts in the mid–nineteenth century, it seems reasonable to assume that this aural evidence is

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[4] See: Neal Peres da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012); Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). The Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project "The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900" has set as one of its goals "to explore historical styles for *bel canto* repertory through implementation of a new multi-modal methodology combining recording emulation, and practical and collaborative active experimentation". See Neal Peres da Costa and Helen Mitchell, "The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900", *The Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project* (2024) https://www.sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/artistic-research/the-shock-of-the-old.html [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[5] Kai Köpp, "Die Hohe Schule des Portamento: Violintechnik als Schlüssel für die Gesangspraxis im 19. Jahrhundert" in *dissonance*, vol. 132 (2015), 16–25.

indicative of their performance practices throughout their careers, which plausibly would have in turn been based on early nineteenth-century practices.

In order to understand the use of portamento on the natural horn in France c.1810s–50s it is necessary to develop a similarly nuanced approach. Given the absence of aural sources for this period, one must turn to a mixture of sources pertaining to technique (e.g. methods), and to those pertaining to reception (e.g. critical reviews). Organology can also be extremely fruitful in this study, giving the opportunity to test what was possible.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, portamento was a regular element of most musicians' practice. The fiercest critics of its use during this period may have railed against its over-use, but they always reserved praise for its tasteful execution.[6] Instrumentalists were advised:

> As a means borrowed from the human voice (Italian: portar la voce - carrying the voice, French: port de voix), the use and manner of executing the portamento must come naturally under the same rules as those which hold good in vocal art.[7]

Likewise, singers were advised to look to nature as the inspiration for their portamento:

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[6] William Gardiner, *The music of nature* (Boston: Ditson, 1837), 127, 164–5.

[7] Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violonschule,* trans. Alfred Moffat, vol. 2 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1905), 92.

> [T]he expression of tenderness belongs exclusively to the enharmonic style, and just as the trill comes to us from birds, I wager that this amorous scale comes from the cooing of tender turtle-doves.[8]

The model of singers' portamento, both in terms of execution and taste, could be seen as a goal for instrumentalists, despite their particular instruments precluding or limiting it. Johann Friedrich Schubert defined portamento and its execution thus:

> It consists of a gentle, imperceptible drawing up or down of the voice from one note to another. It certainly cannot be done on the keyboard; on the violin it occurs when the player draws two different notes together with one finger on one string and at the same time melts them into each other. This gliding up and down of the voice is a real beauty of singing if it is well executed and brought in at the right place. Otherwise, however it becomes disgusting and unbearable.[9]

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[8] Michel Woldemar, *Grande Méthode* (Paris: Cochet, 1798), 2. "L'expression de la tendresse apartenant exclusivement au genre Enharmonique, et comme la cadence nous vient des oiseaux, je gagerais que cette Gamme amoureuse est venue de roucoulement des tendres tourterelles." Woldemar defines three scales (diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic) and three styles (German, French and Italian). He goes on to state that is is the Italian style which uses the enharmonic scale "which is nothing other than a flow from one tone into another by the inflection of the voice". Woldemar, *Grande Méthode*, 1. "l[L]'enharmonique qui n'est autre chose qu'un coulé d'un ton dans un autre par l'inflexion de la voix."

[9] Johann Friedrich Schubert, *Neue Singe-Schule oder gründliche und vollständige Anweisung zur Singkunst: in drey Abtheilungen mit hinlänglichen Uebungsstücken* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1804), 57. Quoted in Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 572. "Es besteht in einem gelinden unmerklichen Auf - oder Unterziehen mit der Stimme von einem Tone zum andern. Auf dem Klaviere kann es gar nicht gemacht werden; auf der Violine geschieht dies, wenn der Spieler mit einem Finger auf einer Saite zwei verschiedene Töne aneinander zieht, und gleichsam in einander schmelzt. Dieses Herauf- und Heruntergleiten der Stimme ist eine wesentliche Schönheit des Gesanges, wenn es gut executirt und am rechten Orte angebracht wird. Im Gegentheile aber wird es ekelhaft und unerträglich."

Fröhlich, who plagiarises much of Schubert's writing on this subject, deviates from Schubert's text briefly to add what, for this study, is some fascinating further detail:

> Oboists, clarinettists, bassoonists, can read about this in the article in the Flute Method [a later section of the *Musikschule*] and attempt to transfer [portamento] to their instruments. Hornists, trombonists must, by dint of diligent study, try to make it as much like the singing voice as possible. But this is a matter for people who want to appear as up-to-date artists.[10]

A by-product of the use of hand technique on the horn is the liaison between the stopped and open notes and vice versa. In modern performance practice this is an element of natural horn playing which is discouraged; however, a key passage in Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's description of the style of one of the earliest pioneers of hand technique in France, Jean-Joseph Rodolphe's (1730–1812), style of performance, questions whether this is appropriate.

Schubart writes that Rodolphe's "affectionate passages always succeeded splendidly", going on to state that Rodolphe was "one of the first who expressed the mezzotint with the horn".[11] This visual term is likely not only to be a reference to

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[10] Franz Joseph Fröhlich, *Fröhlich, Joseph, "Vom Horn" in Vollständige theoretisch-pracktische Musikschule* (Bonn: Simrock, 1811), 58. Translation and parentheses: Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 573.

[11] Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: J. V. Degen, n.d. c.1806), 154. Translation from Ted Alan DuBois, "Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart's Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst: An annotated translation", PhD thesis (University of Southern California, 1983).

Rodolphe's use of hand technique but also suggestive of a type of portamento, given Schubart's definition of "mezzotint" as the ability to blend notes into one another so as to disguise the degrees of the scales.[12]

Portamento was not only seen as a fundamental part of singers' technique, but particularly the domain of Italian singers. Michel Woldemar's delineation of French, German, and Italian repertoire and style firmly puts the "slur from one note into another through the inflexion of the voice" as a particularly Italian expressive device. Woldemar's account also grapples with the issue faced by late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century theorists as to how to explain what happens in effect between the notes.[13] Whilst it would be inaccurate to suggest that musical theories of earlier eras lack concepts of microtonality (for example, see any discussion of temperament) writers such as Woldemar needed to develop a way of referring to these transitions, what Domenico Corri described as "the sliding and blending one note into another".[14] Woldemar compares the French and German use of diatonic scales versus the Italian use of chromatic and enharmonic (quarter tone) scales in order to further qualify this effect as particularly Italian:

> The French and the German, although quite different styles, formed their sounds from the diatonic scale, while the Italian was created, with as much

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[12] Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst,* 154, 365: "Mezzotinto: oder Mitteltinte. Ist die Verflößung der Töne in einander, ohne Bemerkung ihrer Abstufung." "Mezzotint: or Mitteltinte. It is the blending of sounds, one into another, without marking out their gradation."

[13] Woldemar, *Grande Méthode,* 1. "[L]'enharmonique qui n'est autre chose qu'un coulé d'un ton dans un autre par l'inflexion de la voix." Translation: Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 561.

[14] Corri, *The Singer's Preceptor*, 69.

> sensitivity as grace, by means of the chromatic or rather the enharmonic, which is nothing more than a slur from one note into another through the inflexion of the voice. This style, so touching, has triumphed over the other two in this century of enlightenment, and Italian music…this music so delicious and so touching has become the universal language of all musicians.
>
> […]
>
> Despite the fact that it is not notated in musical works, it exists physically and makes itself felt in a palpable manner in all the diatonic and chromatic slurs through the inflexion of the voice.[15]

Not only was portamento hard to describe in text, there was also a disagreement in definition that further complicates the issue. A variety of terms all appear to potentially refer to an expressive device that could come under the bracket of portamento, including, but not restricted to: portamento, *portamento di voce*, *port de voix*, glissando, glide, slur, *tragen der tone*, *cercar della nota*, *messa di voce crescente*, and *messa di voce decrescente*. Brown warns that "as with so much terminology, the usage of these phrases by different authors is often inconsistent". Influenced by García's graphics (illustrated in figure 5:5 and discussed below on pages 222–221) I

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[15] Woldemar, *Grande Méthode,* 1–2. Translation: Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 561. Woldemar furthermore defines the scales as: "[t]he diatonic is composed of five tones and two semitones. The chromatic is only composed of semitones and the enharmonic of quarter-tones", furthermore the enharmonic "is nothing more than a slur from one note into another through the inflexion of the voice". "[L]a Diatonique est composée de cinq tons et deux demi tons. [L]a Chromatique n'est composée que de demi tons et l'Enharmonique de quarts de tons…ou plutôt de l'Enharmonique qui n'est autre chose qu'un coulé d'un ton dans un autre par l'inflexion de la voix." Translation Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 561.

would propose using the term legato to indicate the smooth transition between two notes without intervening connection and slur to mean the transition between two notes with connection (or smear) between them.[16]

The *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* in 1818 again places the device as particularly Italian but also raises practitioners' disagreement on how to define the practice verbally:

> We have heard a living singer of very high authority, apply it to designate the glide from one note to another, either ascending or descending, (something similar to the effect produced by sliding the finger along the string of a violin) and which Italians perform in an exquisite manner. From these differences it appears to us, that the legitimate application of the term is not yet settled among musicians with precision.[17]

Portamento, when executed by instrumentalists, was regarded as more appropriate for soloists than tutti players. The cellist Friedrich Dotzauer discussed the use of what he termed "glissando", warning students not to lean on the device as a crutch for bad technique and advising it be used only in solo repertoire, this being a more appropriate opportunity for the musician to display his or her sensitivity of feeling:

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[16] Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en 2 parties,* vol. 1 (Paris: Garcia, 1857), 31.

[17] Ed. Richard Mackenzie Bacon, "Treatise on Singing" in *Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (London, 1818), 362.

> The manner makes it easier for the artist to grasp the next note more accurately in awkward passages and, when applied tastefully and infrequently, produces a very fine effect. It is obvious that we do not dare to use it in the tutti passages, since the ornaments, in general, are only appropriate in a concert or in a solo, which allows the artist to give in to his feelings.[18]

The concept that portamento is a device used by instrumental soloists returns us to the idea of a difference between "correct style" (i.e. the notes played correctly, right notes, right time, right dynamics/articulation etc.) versus "fine style" (i.e. an artistic rendering of a piece of music in which the performer knows how to communicate the emotion of the work to the audience).

Joachim and Moser introduce the student to portamento (and vibrato) only in the second part of their *Violonschule* having, in part one, "hitherto aimed…to accomplish the change of position as smoothly and inaudibly as possible, to overcome…a purely technical difficulty."[19] Once the student was capable of successfully changing position smoothly and inaudibly they were then given a new aim of achieving "that kind of position-changing which is perceptible to the ear and auxiliary to artistic expression on the violin." First one learned to hide the change of position, then one learnt to make the change perceivable, but in an expressive way. Applying the same logic to the horn, first one learns to hide the change between the open and stopped notes (or vice versa), then one could learn to make it perceivable, but in an expressive way.

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[18] Friedrich Dotzauer, *Méthode de violoncelle,* trans. Adolphe Ledhuy (Paris: Richault, 1838), 38–39.

[19] Joachim and Moser, *Violonschule,* vol. 2, 92.

It is prudent to keep in mind this concept of portamento being an expressive device particular to solo rather than orchestral performance when formulating ideas as to its use on the horn. This is particularly relevant when assessing the impact and reach of pedagogical sources of the early nineteenth century, given the explicit remit of conservatoire training during this period, which focused on training future generations of soloists rather than orchestral performers. In the case of horn players trained in Paris, this specific aim can be further evidenced by the awarding of an instrument to the annual *premier prix* recipients, specifically a restrictive *cor solo* rather than the more practical *cor d'orchestre*.[20] Despite this aim, unsurprisingly the vast majority of graduates from these institutions went on to orchestral careers.

Portamento is not simply a glissando between two notes. The technique can be broken down further into whether the singer/instrumentalist travels from the first to the second note within the same sung syllable/bow stroke/fingering/articulation or between different ones. Similarly, there is a fundamental difference between whether the portamento commences travelling from the first note to the second then changes syllable/bow stroke/fingering/articulation (slide then change) or immediately changes syllable/bow stroke/fingering/articulation then travels between first note to the second (change then slide).

In *The Singers Preceptor* Domenico Corri used the term "anticipation grace" to describe the first approach. Here the singer remains on the pitch of the first note and

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[20] Anneke Scott, John Chick and Arnold Myers, "The *Cor Solo*: History and Characteristics" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 31 (2019), 119–133.

is still within the first syllable. The singer then ascends or descends via a portamento to the pitch of the second note and re-articulates the second note now using the subsequent syllable. By comparison, Corri's "leaping grace" can be used to describe the second category. With this type of grace the singer switches from the first to second syllable whilst still on the pitch of the first note. Having switched syllable, the singer then ascends or descends via a portamento to the second note.[21]

Sources indicate a change in taste during the late eighteenth century from the second category to a preference during the early nineteenth century for the first. For example Brown points out how Corri's earlier *Select Collection* includes far more examples of leaping graces than anticipation graces, whilst his later work far favours anticipation graces over leaping graces.[22]

This change of taste can be seen in Manuel García's writings in which he uses the example of Sara's aria "Deh parlate" from Cimarosa's 1786 biblical opera *Il Sagrifizio d'Abramo*. Albert García's English edition of his father's *Traité complet* helpfully includes the original notation (figure 5:1:a). Manuel García gives the two approaches to portamento: firstly (6:1:b) whereby the singer remains on the original syllable "Deh", travels to the next note and then switches to the subsequent syllable "par" associated with this arrival note (Corri's anticipation grace); and secondly (6:1:c) switching from the original syllable "Deh" immediately to the following syllable "par" and then travelling via portamento to the note ascribed to this second syllable "par"

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[21] Corri, *The Singers Preceptor*, 32.

[22] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 569. Domenico Corri, *Select Collection*, (Edinburgh: John Corri, n.d. c.1782–3).

(Corri's leaping grace). García states that the former (anticipation grace) is considered correct whilst the latter (leaping grace) is incorrect, though "too often" heard.[23]



Figure 5:1: Examples of portamento execution.

Other instrumentalists can, to a greater or lesser extent, map these two forms of portamento onto their respective instruments. Clive Brown has argued that the intangibility of vocal technique can be rendered less nebulous by reference to more

[23] García, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing*, vol. 2, 53. García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 2, 28. For further analysis on García's approach see Potter, "Beggar at the Door", 528–533.

tangible string technique.[24] String performance practice researchers including Brown, Milson, Kennaway, ter Haar and Bennett-Wadsworth have investigated how notated fingerings give evidence concerning the nuances of portamento.[25]

In a similar way to singers being able to switch to the next syllable of text in advance of or after performing a portamento, string players have the option as to whether to change finger before or after the shift. These approaches could be defined as either sliding (indicated by S in figure 5:1d/e above) and then changing finger (indicated by C), which, as in example d above, would equate to Corri's anticipation grace, or vice versa by changing and then sliding, as in example e above, which would equate to Corri's leaping grace. Unlike singers, string players will be restricted by the pitches of their strings as to exactly which portamenti are possible.

In addition to options of change/slide versus slide/change, Brown has also identified a style of portamento whereby the player brushes the string with their finger as they descend to an open string.[26]

A further nuance for both instrumentalists and singers is offered regarding dynamics linked to the "direction of travel", with ascending intervals normally indicating crescendo through the portamento and descending indicating decrescendo. Quoting

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[24] Brown, "Singing and String Playing in Comparison", 83–108.

[25] Brown, "Chapter 15 - Portamento" in *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 558–587. Milson, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices*, 83–98. Kennaway, "Chapter 4 - Playing with Expression - Portamento" in *Playing the Cello*, 115–134. ter Haar, "The Playing Style of Alfredo Piatti ", 144–148. Bennett-Wadsworth, ""Precisely marked in the tradition of the composer", 69–93.

[26] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 578.

directly from the *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire,* Dauprat reports that if the portamento goes from a low note to a high note then the dynamics go from *piano* to forte, while descending intervals go from *forte* to *piano*.[27]



Figure: 5:2: "The Portamento" from Otto Langey, *Newly Revised Tutor for French Horn* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1890), 68.[28] (Audio example 05_01).[29]

Evidence of this rule can be seen later in the nineteenth century in some editions of Otto Langey's *Tutor for the Horn.* Langey advises that horn players should "[I]ncrease the sound when from lower to higher notes, decrease it when from higher to lower

[27] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 52.

[28] NB the + marking here is used by Langey to indicate where to breath. Langey, *Newly Revised Tutor,* 31.

[29] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Original Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor d'orchestre* (Paris, c.1862) with later valve block (*sauterelle*) by Boosey (London, 1918) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009).

notes" (figure 5:2).[30] Langey's notation is similar to other sources, figure 5:1 b and d above for example, and thus is suggestive of Corri's anticipation grace, i.e. slide from the first note with some sort of arrival or re-articulation prior to the second. Langey gives no indication as to how this was to be technically executed.

Discussion of the art of portamento has mainly been restricted to the realm of vocal and string performance practice. Brown merely mentions that some practitioners suggested that wind players "attempt" to imitate the vocal portamento, but is of the opinion that "it was scarcely possible for them effectively to make a portamento over larger intervals", instead suggesting that it was most regularly and convincingly used on intervals of a semitone.[31] Brown refers only to examples pertaining to wind portamento from Fröhlich (quoted above) and the flute players Adolph Bernard Fürstenau and John Clinton. Clinton indicates that the portamento (or glide) on the flute was produced by

> [G]radually drawing or sliding the fingers off the holes, instead of raising them in the usual manner; by this means is obtained, all the shades of sound

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[30] Otto Langey, *Otto Langey's Newly Revised Tutor for French Horn* (NewYork: Carl Fischer, 1890), 68. Otto Langey was the publisher of numerous tutors for orchestral and band instruments in the late nineteenth/early twentieth centuries. This description of portamenti and associated exercises appears in Langey's cornet method of the same period but, notably, no similar directions appear in the string or woodwind tutors I have inspected. Also this direction is missing from other editions of Langey's *Tutor for the French Horn* (for example the *Practical Tutor for the French-Horn (with and without valves* (London: Hawkes & Son, n.d. plate no. H&S 3927) which may suggest geographical as much as temporal differences in schools of horn playing. It is worth noting whilst the focus of this work is on valve horn playing, Langey nonetheless did include directions for playing the horn without valves in all editions.

[31] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 573.

between the notes, so that the performer may pass from one note to another, as it were, imperceptibly; it produces a pleasing effect when sparingly used.[32]

Pustlauk expands further on the discussion regarding flute portamento specifically, as well as the influences upon the inclusion and development of this effect in broader early-nineteenth century wind playing.[33] Carl Grenser's *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* review reiterates the ideal of emulating the voice and the technical challenges of doing so on the flute, and warns of the danger of learning portamento through other instrumental "intermediaries", rather than from good singers:

> Originally, this passing through of tones probably arose from the well-intentioned aim of getting closer to the human voice in imitation. But since an artist rarely succeeded in producing the barely perceptible passage from one note to another, just as quietly, or even just close to it, on an instrument, this often reminded one more of certain animal voices, which are not among the more pleasant, and thus missed the point. The latter happened most often to those who only tried to copy players on instruments who used this ornament and saw it as merely a special way of playing. On the other hand, those who realised what the true intention was, listened to a good singer and tried to

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[32] John Clinton, *A School or Practical Instruction Book for the Boehm Flute*, Op. 88 (London: Cocks and Co., 1846), 73. For further examples of portamento on the flute see also: Anton Bernhard Fürstenau, "Das Überziehen der Töne" in *Die Kunst des Flötenspiels,* Op.138, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. 1844), 84–86; Charles Nicholson, Complete Preceptor for the German Flute (London: Cocks and Co.,1816), 31; Charles Nicholson, *A School for the Flute*, vol. 2 (London: Cramer, 1836), 70–71.

[33] Anne Pustlauk, "The simple system flute between 1790 and 1850, its performance practice and chamber music repertoire with pianoforte and / or strings", Doctoral thesis (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, 2016). 70–75.

> imitate him; such people were more successful. In general, however, the imitation of the human voice in this capacity is easier to do with a bow than on wind instruments, and that is why it has been practiced more frequently and more happily on the one than on the other.[34]

Regarding the vexed issue as to when/where portamento was expected to be executed, Pustalauk points out that "[s]ince the glide is a discretionary embellishment it is scarcely notated in music […] Therefore it is difficult to understand how much and on which notes it was applied."[35] As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the flautists criticised by Grenser could at least be forgiven for turning to string playing as a model to emulate, given the physical tangibility of how string players execute portamento versus the far more nebulous and descriptive language that is associated with portamento and the voice.[36]

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[34] Carl Grenser, "Für Flötenspieler bemerkenswerthe Stellen aus dem Buch: A word or two on the Flute by W. N. James" in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* (20 February 1828), 115. "Ursprünglich war wohl dieses Durchziehen der Töne aus der gutgemeynten Absicht entstanden, auch dadurch der Menschenstimme in der Nachahmung näher zu kommen. Da es aber nur selten einem Künstler gelang, das kaum bemerkbare Durchziehen von einem Tone zum andern, eben so leise, oder auch nur nahe daran, auf einem Instrumente hervorzubringen, so wurde dadurch öfter mehr an gewisse Thierstimmen, die eben nicht zu den angenehmeren gehören, erinnert und also die Absicht verfehlt. Letzteres geschah am meisten von denen, welche nur Spieler auf Instrumenten, die diese Zierde anwandten, zu copiren suchten und bloss eine besondere Manier zu spielen darin sahen. Hingegen die, welche merkten, was die wahre Absicht dabey sey, belauschten einen guten Sänger und suchten diesem nachzuahmen; solchen glückte es eher noch. Ueberhaupt ist aber die Nachahmung der Menschenstimme in dieser Eigenschaft leichter auf Bogen- als auf Blas-Instrumenten zu machen, und darum auch häufiger und glücklicher auf jenen als auf diesen ausgeübt worden. Derselbe Fall ist es auch mit der schon erwähnten Bebung."

[35] Pustlauk, *The simple system flute*, 74.

[36] As mentioned in the introduction to this work, Brown himself cites the work of Roger Freitas on this subject: Roger Freitas, "Towards a Verdian Ideal of Singing: Emancipation from Modern Orthodoxy" in *Journal of the Royal Musical Association,* vol. 127, no. 2 (2002), 227. Brown, "Singing and String Playing", 85.

Whilst clarinettist Frédéric (Friedrich) Berr (1794–1838) was born in Mannheim and received his training in Frankenthal, his substantial career in Paris lends credence to the statement that his pedagogical works "present a comprehensive picture of the concerns and tastes of a successful clarinettist in France during the critical years of the instrument's development."[37] Berr's military service brought him to France, where he enrolled at the Conservatoire to study composition with Reicha. He joined the orchestra of the Théâtre-Italien initially as second clarinet to Giovanni Gambaro (1785–1828) later replacing the ailing Italian as principal. Fétis justified his description of Berr as the "leading clarinettist in France" due to the "perfection he brought to the ritornellos and clarinet passages found in operas in the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien."[38]

Berr taught at the Conservatoire from 1831 and was the director of the newly founded Gymnase Musicale Militaire founded in 1836. He was the author of two pedagogical sources for the clarinet: *Méthode complète de clarinette à quatorze clefs* and *Traité complet de la clarinette à quatorze clefs*, both published in or around 1836. In David Charlton's view, "the *Méthode* contains certain information more appropriate to a virtuoso while the *Traité* employs a more explicit approach to history and pedagogical matters", reinforcing, as explored in Chapter Three, the attitude of

[37] Eric Hoeprich, *The Clarinet* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, c. 2008), 160.

[38] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 165. "Il ne lui a fallu, pour être considéré comme le premier clarinettiste de France, que la perfection qu'il a mise dans les ritournelles et dans les traits de clarinette répandus dans les opéras du répertoire du théâtre italien."

teachers of this period in differentiating between teaching the technical aspects of an instrument (the correct) and the musical aspects (the fine).[39]

In his discussion regarding changing fingering on the same note Berr points student clarinettists in the direction of string players in order to learn, by imitation, the best way of executing “les sons portés” going on to state that “to imitate these sliding sounds, some instrumentalists gradually remove their fingers from the holes; the result is an ambiguous sound quite similar to a diatonic mewing.”[40] Berr’s use of the onomatopoeic “miaulement” is particularly evocative of the effect he is describing.

It is important to note that Berr is discussing this in context of explaining to students how to switch fingering whilst on the same note, which suggests a nuance similar to the string players option of changing finger before the shift, i.e. the clarinet player can play a note, shift fingering whilst on the very same note prior to moving to the next thus opening up different options for the liaison between the two notes.

French bassoonist Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Willent-Bordogni’s (1809–1852) biography provides a number of points that also make him pertinent to this study. As a member of the Théâtre-Italien orchestra (1830–1833) he would have worked alongside Gallay

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[39] David Charlton, “The Berr Clarinet Tutors” in *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 40 (December 1987), 49. Frédéric Berr, *Méthode complète de clarinette à quatorze clefs* (Paris: J. Meissonnier, c. 1836) and *Traite complet de la clarinette à quatorze clefs* (Paris: E. Duverger, 1836).

[40] Berr, *Méthode complète,* 62. “Pour change de position sur la Clarinette, il faut 1o. que le déplacement des doigts n’interrompe point la vibration donnée sur un premier son, et 2o. Chercher à imiter les sons portés des instrumens à cordes. Pour imiter ces sons glisses, quelques instrumentistes retirent au fur et à mesure les doigts placés sur les trous; ii en résulte un son équivoque assez semblable a un miaulement diatonique.”

in an ensemble deeply connected with the Italian repertoire and style of singing.[41] In 1834 he married the singer Louise Bordogni, daughter of the tenor and teacher Marco Bordogni (discussed in Chapter Four, 177–179).

Like many other authors, Willent-Bordogni states that there are two types of *ports de voix.* The first (Lento in figure 5:3) is closest to a legato transition in which all the notes are played smoothly: each note's sound is "transferred" to the other, yet each note has its own "distinct intonation in order to avoid uniting them with a trail of sounds that would cause unpleasant confusion".[42] The second, the "true *port de voix*", is an "anticipation" of the subsequent note, a "lightly slipped" "rapid inflection, which passes through an infinite number of intervals that are indecipherable to the ear".[43] This may be the proper form, but Willent-Bordogni regrets that "unfortunately it is impracticable on wind instruments"; however, "by acting with skill, one can still manage to render it in a satisfactory manner".[44] From the point of view of bassoon playing, Willent-Bordogni shares one tactic for this, which is to softly strike the tongue

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[41] *Annuaire Dramatique* (Brussels: Tarride, 1843), 202.

[42] Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Willent-Bordogni, *Méthode complète pour le basson* (Paris: Troupenas, 1844), 77. "La *première* consiste dans la liaison de plusieurs notes, qui fait que leurs sons peuvent se reporter les uns sur les autres. en liant ces notes, il faut avoir soin que chacune d'elles ait son intonation bien distincte afin d'éviter de les unir entre elles par une trainée de sons qui occasionnerait une confusion désagréable."

[43] Willent-Bordogni, *Méthode complète pour le basson*, 77. "Le seconde espèce peut plus particulièrement être nommée *Port de voix*. C'est une anticipation du son suivant sur lequel on glisse légèrement la voix avec une inflexion rapide, qui passe par un nombre infini d'intervalles inappréciables a l'oreille."

[44] Willent-Bordogni, *Méthode complète pour le basson*, 77. "C'est là le veritable port de voix, mais malheureusement il est impraticable sur les instruments à vent. Cependant en agissant avec adresse on peut encore parvenir à le rendre d'un manière satisfaisante."

against the soft palate of the roof of the mouth (rather than the reed) in order to define the end of the portamento and the beginning of the subsequent note.[45]

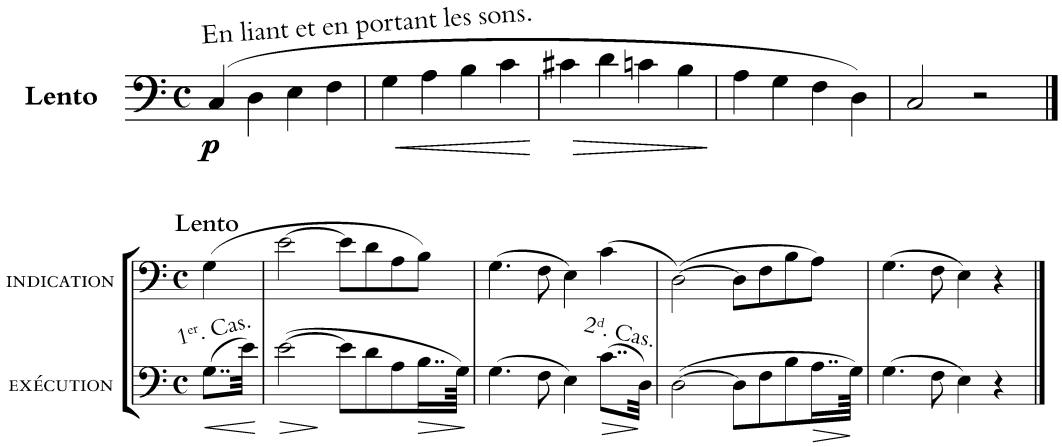


Figure 5:3: "Des Ports de Voix" from Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Willent-Bordogni, *Méthode complète pour le basson* (Paris: Troupenas, 1844), 77.

Given the comparisons made by twentieth and twenty-first-century horn players regarding the perils of inelegant hand technique and its comparison to trombone glissandi (see Chapter One, 39 and 70), nineteenth-century directions on trombone portamento are particularly informative given that they demonstrate portamento as an integral element in the performance practice of this instrument during this era. In 1836 Antoine Dieppo (1808–1878) was appointed professor of trombone at the Paris Conservatoire as part of the Conservatoire's expansion of brass subjects in the mid-1830s.[46] Dieppo's description of "porter les sons" chimes with others above, in that the aim is to "link" two notes "by making the interval that separates them

[45] Willent-Bordogni, *Méthode complète pour le basson*, 77. "Le coupe de langue qui doit executer la répétition des deux notes qui constituent le port de voix doit se donner en allant frapper le palais et sans toucher l'anche."

[46] See Chapter Thirteen, 341–342.

disappear."[47] Dieppo goes on to describe two ways to execute the effect on the trombone.

- If carrying the sound between two notes that can be performed on the same slide position (i.e. between two harmonics) the effect is achieved by using the lips "sliding slightly" between the two notes and "anticipating a little" the second note.[48]
- If the second sound is a different slide position to the first then the effect is achieved by moving the slide more slowly than normally.[49]

Dieppo gives the following exercise (figure 5:4) for students to practice in order to "overcome the difficulty" of this effect.

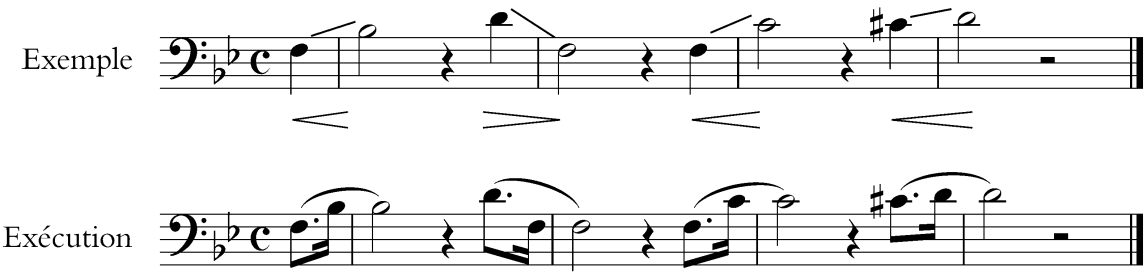


Figure 5:4: Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombonne* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 53.

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[47] Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombonne* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 53. "On appelle porter les sons l'action par laquelle on lie deux sons en faisant en quelque sorte disparaître l'intervalle qui les sépare."

[48] Dieppo, *Méthode complète,* 53. "Si le second son est dans la même position il faut y arriver par le jeu des lèvres en glissant légèrement sur l'espace qui le sépare du premier et en l'anticipation un peu."

[49] Dieppo, *Méthode complète,* 53. "Lorsque le second son se trouve dans une autre position il faut y arriver en faisant glisser légèrement les coulisses au lieu de les lancer comme on fait pour détacher."

As part of his explanation regarding “The Art of Phrasing”, Dieppo includes a highly annotated example (figure 5:5) which builds upon his “preceding rules”, rules that students need to assimilate in order to phrase well. This *Andante* is designed to aid the students’ comprehension and the detail, including where and how to incorporate portamento, illustrates just how many nuances were considered essential in performance, yet would be hard to discern from just the notated music alone. In addition to the “hairpin” symbols for crescendo and diminuendo, Dieppo instructs the player in this example to “carry the sound by increasing” (upbeat to bar one: “Portez le son en augmentant”) on rising intervals, or to “carry the sound by decreasing” (bar 5: “portez le son en diminuant”) on falling intervals, thus demonstrating how dynamics and portamento were often used in combination. Dieppo also includes text instructing the performer on how to begin the initial notes, for example “start softly / increase the strength to the C” (bar 1: “commencez piano / augmentez la force jusqu’au l’Ut”) or “start a little strongly / but without harshness and / carry the sound by decreasing” (bar 5: “attaquez un peu fort / mais sans dureté et / portez le son en diminuant”).

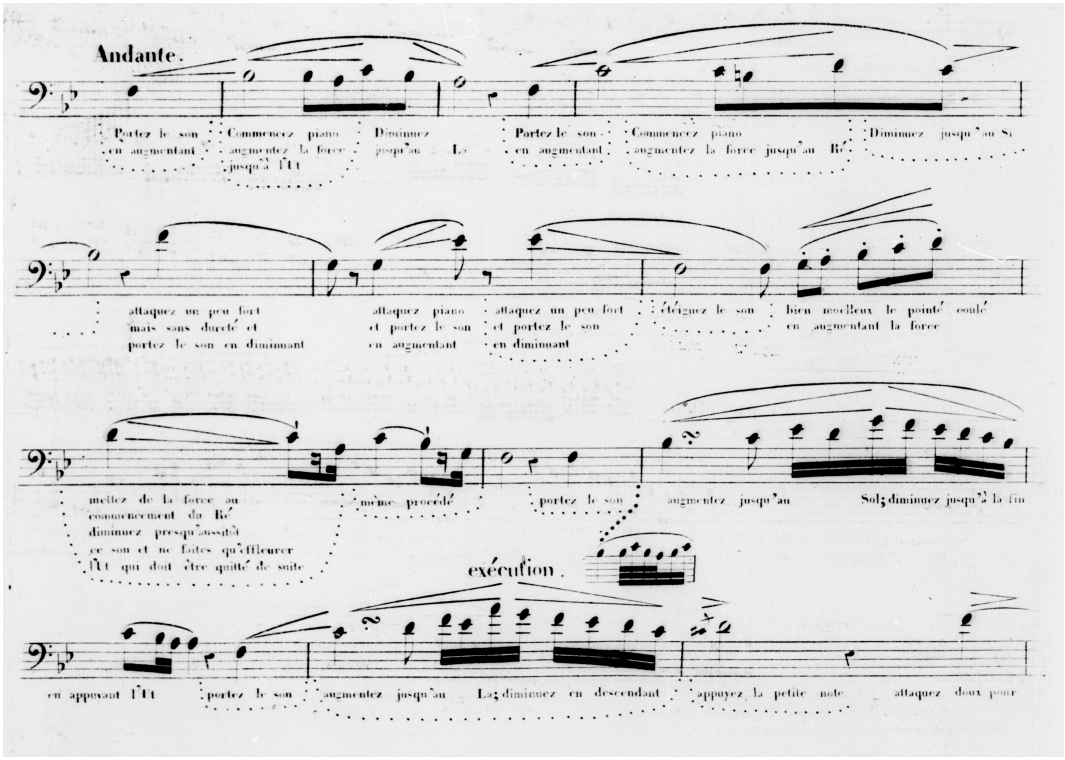


Figure 5:5: Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombonne* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 60.[50]

The scientifically minded Manuel García turned to a form of graphic notation (figure 5:6) to explain to his readers the difference between *sons portés* (portamento) and other types of articulation including *liés* (smooth or legato), *marqués* (accented or marked) and *piqués* (detached or staccato).[51] His depiction of *sons portés* helps one clearly see how the note is carried from one to the other in contrast to the *sons liés* in which, given that there is no space between the notes, there is no continuum from one to another. Part of the beauty of García's illustration is how clearly it indicates the difference between what would be considered true portamento (the carrying/ blending of notes) i.e. García's *sons portés* (literally "carried sounds", somewhat

[50] The Andante appears to a composition by Dieppo rather than an identifiable melody from another work.

[51] Manuel García, ed. Albert Garcia, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing*, vol. 1 (London: Leonard & Co., c.1924), 9. Original material in Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en 2 parties*, vol. 1 (Paris: Garcia, 1857), 31.

confusingly, to modern musicians, translated in *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing* as "slurred sounds") and simply playing smoothly or legato, i.e. García's *sons liés* (translated as "smooth sounds", or the modern term "slurred").[52]

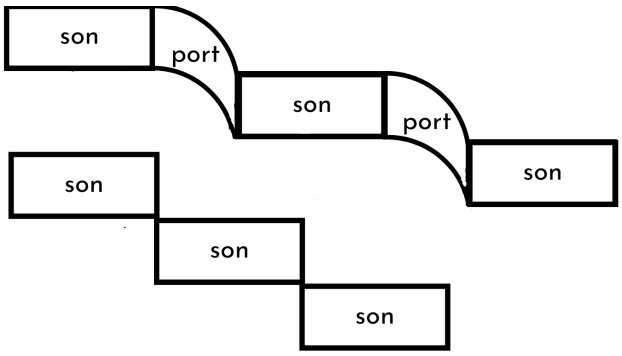


Figure 5:5: *Sons portés*/slurred sounds (top); *sons liés*/smooth sounds (below) from Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en 2 parties*, vol. 1 (Paris: Garcia, 1857), 31.

Whilst García uses graphics to show the concept of portamento, the violinist Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802–1870) furthers the use of a typographic notation to aid his explanation of the speed and intensity of portamenti (figure 5:7).[53]



Figure 5:7: Graphic notation for different types of portamento from Charles Auguste de Bériot, *Méthode de violon*, vol. 3 (Paris: de Bériot, 1858), 215.

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[52] García, *Garcia's Treatise*, vol. 1, 9. Original material in García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 1, 31.

[53] Charles Auguste de Bériot, *Méthode de violon,* Op. 102, vol. 3 (Paris: de Bériot, c.1858), 215–18.

These graphic notations of portamento, in conjunction with indications as to which finger/string should be used, can be more illuminating than purely textual descriptives as to how practitioners of the era conceived the mechanics of how portamento would be performed. Bériot's examples are particular helpful as they give a rare indication of the speed at which portamenti should be performed. Brown has pointed out that certain early nineteenth-century critics of the use of portamento, "musicians whose views had been formed in the middle years of the eighteenth century, especially in Germany", often complained that the effect was "too slowly" performed which may imply a certain swiftness in execution.[54] Brown also cites Fröhlich ("poached directly" from Schubert) as advising that portamenti on descending intervals "must be taken somewhat faster" in order to avoid "howling" or "unbearable drawling", and that "the more distant the interval, therefore, the faster it must be performed in descending" which suggests differing degrees of speed dependent on the direction of the interval (i.e. ascending slower than descending).[55] Furthermore regarding speed of portamenti Emma Williams has highlighted that Fröhlich does not "indicate whether the speed of the slide should be influenced by the sentiment of the piece", an approach that would seem appropriate given how portamenti are promoted by nineteenth-century writers as an expressive device. Returning to the Bériot's suggestions of speed in his graphic notation of portamenti, Williams describes them

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[54] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 564.

[55] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice*, 567. Quoting Joseph Fröhlich, *Vollständige theoretisch-pracktische Musikschule für alle beym Orchester gebräuchliche wichtigere Instrumente zum Gebrauch für Musikdirectoren - Lehrer und Liebhaber,* vol. 1 (Bonn: Simrock, 1811), 35: "Das Portamento bey einem herabsteigenden Intervall muss etwas schneller genommen werden, wie es durch die kleineren Nötchen bey dem Absteigen der Octaven bezeichnet ist, damit kein Geheul statt Gesang entstehe, und das unerträgliche Schleppen vermieden werde."

in mathematical terms with the “Port-de-voix vif” given as ”linear (steady speed of pitch change)”, the “Port-de-voix doux” as “positive exponential growth (starting slow then gradually increasing speed of pitch change as the destination pitch is approached)” and the “Port-de-voix traîné” as “either parabolic (gradual decreasing and then increasing speed) or more pronounced positive exponential growth”.[56]

Bériot includes examples by composers including Haydn (from *The Creation*), Méhul (*Joseph*), Rossini (*Moïse*), Weber (*Der Freischütz*) and Schubert (*Ständchen*) in their original forms, then juxtaposes them with more highly annotated versions, including his graphic notation of portamenti.[57] This positioning of the two versions helps emphasise the fact that portamenti were rarely notated.

Given Bériot’s relationship with Maria Malibran his suggestions of portamento performance practice are particularly relevant to this study, especially regarding his choice of Italian repertoire such as (figure 5:8) the aria “A te, o cara, amor talora” from Bellini’s *I Puritani*.[58]

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[56] Emma Williams, “The Singing Violin: Portamento use in Franz Schubert’s violin music”, Master’s thesis (Royal Conservatoire The Hague, 2019). Accessible from: Emma Williams, “The Singing Violin: Portamento use in Franz Schubert’s violin music” *KC Research Portal* (2019), https://www.researchcatalogue.net/view/561381/577341 [Accessed 18 September 2025].

[57] Bériot, *Méthode*, 216–217.

[58] For Maria Malibran see Chapters Seventeen, 447–449, 455–457 and Eighteen, 473–478.



Figure 5:8: Example of portamenti in “A te, o cara, amor talora” from Bellini’s *I Puritani*, from Charles Auguste de Bériot, *Méthode de violon,* Op. 102, vol. 3 (Paris: de Bériot, c.1858), 218.

Portamento on the horn - practicalities

The natural horn does not have the capacity to perform a portamento between just any two notes. As explained in on pages xxx–xxxiii when the hand moves from the open position to fully close the bell of the horn (to “stop” the bell) the initial open harmonic note gradually descends to the pitch a semitone above the harmonic below, and by doing so a slide or portamento can be created. When closing the bell of the horn with the hand in this way, the pitch of the original harmonic is lowered, but the interval by which each harmonic is lowered is different, dependent on its place in the series. This is just one way in which a portamento can be played on the instrument.

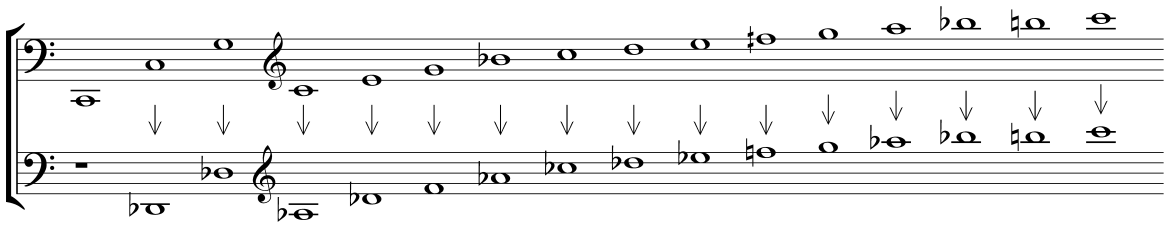


Figure 5:9: The harmonic series and the notes to which they descend when hand-stopped.

On the horn we have the option to play from (i) an open to an open note, (ii) stopped to stopped note, (iii) open to stopped and (iv) stopped to open. The status of the notes that start and end a portamento plus their placement within the harmonic series will determine the character of the portamento; however, I have yet to find any discussion of these particular technicalities in any historical sources.

Everything outlined below is acoustically and technically viable but is based upon my experience and experimentation with the instrument, from me trying to emulate what is known about instrumental and vocal practice, rather than based on anything prescribed in horn literature of the nineteenth century.

Portamento can function on the natural horn in the following ways:

1. Portamento within a harmonic, i.e. between the original harmonic and a semitone above the harmonic below (see figure 5:9) or vice versa, works very well. Figure 5:10, for example, demonstrates a portamento between the 9th harmonic high D and the stopped D-flat which is derived from this harmonic. This is not dissimilar to Dieppo's second approach to portamento which was achieved by

moving the slide more slowly than normal. This a very effective way of performing portamento on the natural horn.

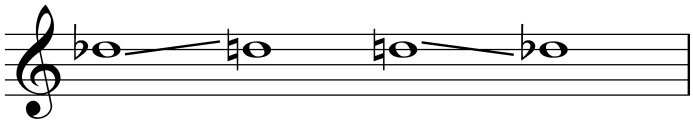


Figure 5:10: Portamento on the natural horn: within a harmonic. (Audio example 05_02).[59]

2. Portamento descending from a harmonic (or notes derived from it) to the harmonic below (or notes derived from it) can work, but there is a noticeable click when the upper harmonic has been pulled to its fullest extent and switches to the harmonic below. This creates an effect not dissimilar to a string player sliding and then changing finger, or Corri's anticipation grace in which a singer remains on their first syllable, travels via a portamento to the next note and then switches to the subsequent syllable.

Figure 5:11 shows four possible descending portamenti; (a) open harmonic to adjacent lower open harmonic, (b) stopped note derived from higher open harmonic to adjacent lower open harmonic, (c) open harmonic to stopped note derived from adjacent lower open harmonic and (d) stopped note derived from higher open harmonic to stopped note derived from adjacent lower open harmonic.

[59] Unless stipulated, all the following audio illustrations in this chapter were recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

The effect is not as noticeable as that of within a harmonic and is mostly dependent on the player being able to bend the initial note with their embouchure until it flicks to the harmonic below. This is in keeping with Dieppo's first approach to portamento: using the lips "sliding slightly" between the two notes and "anticipating a little" the second note. Given that on the natural horn harmonics can more easily bent down than up using the player's embouchure, Dieppo's approach using the lips is only feasible for descending, not ascending.

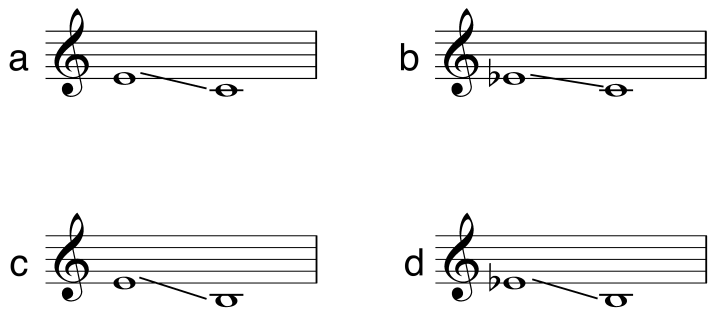


Figure 5:11: Portamento on the natural horn: descending to an adjacent harmonic. (Audio example 05_03).

3. Portamento ascending from a harmonic (or notes derived from it), via the notes in between to the harmonic above (or notes derived from it), the equivalent of a string player changing finger and then sliding or Corri's leaping grace, are more challenging and requires some form of intervention with the hand. It is a common misconception that the pitch of the horn rises when hand-stopping and many horn

players vehemently believe this to be the case.[60] If the pitch of the horn did in fact ascend when open harmonics are hand stopped this would much more possible. Indeed if hand stopping raised the pitch of a note then points 2 and 3 of this list would be reversed hence portamento on the horn is evidence of hand stopping lowering the pitch of the instrument as described above.

Figure 5:12 shows four ascending interval portamenti which are impossible without some form of “station” note *en route*: (a) open harmonic to adjacent higher open harmonic, (b) open harmonic to stopped note derived from adjacent higher open harmonic, (c) stopped note derived from lower open harmonic to adjacent higher open harmonic and (d) stopped note derived from lower open harmonic to stopped note derived from adjacent higher open harmonic.[61]

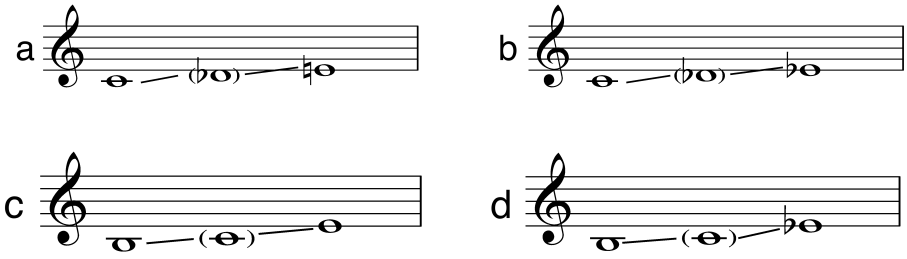


Figure 5:12: Portamento on the natural horn: ascending to an adjacent harmonic. (Audio example 05_04).

[60] For example Teunis van der Zwart states that “[t]he basics of hand stopping, or hand technique, are simple” going on to list three ways in which he believes it operates. The first method is by “[m]oving the hand slightly inwards makes the horn longer and lowers the pitch of a blown partial with about a semitone, if supported by lipping the pitch down”. The second method is by removing the hand from the bell and lipping the notes up in pitch whilst the final method is by “‘Stopping’ the bell forcefully with the hand” which “makes the horn shorter and raises the pitch of a blown partial with a semitone, if supported by strongly lipping the pitch up.” On the first and third approach van der Zwart seems muddled both in his assessment of what the hand is doing to the length of the instrument (that “moving the hand slightly inwards” lengthens the instrument) as well as the acoustics of the instrument. Teunis van der Zwart, “Giovanni Punto (1746–1803) : cor basse célèbre”, DOCARTS thesis (Leiden University, 2023), 17–18.

[61] With thanks to my colleague Martin Lawrence with whom discussions led to the idea of using the term “station” note.

Note that whilst the intervals remain the same as in the previous example (figure 5:11), here the nature of the interval being ascending rather than descending has bearing on the viability of the portamenti as the horn has limited flexibility to bend harmonics upwards. Similarly the ascending intervals in example 6:12:b and c are now open to stopped and stopped to open respectively, whilst in the previous example they were the reverse configuration (i.e. stopped to open and open to stopped) creating another factor which affects what is possible.

In the case of 5:12:a and b a portamento is almost possible, but in order to do so after playing the first note the musician is then required to switch to a stopped D-flat (i.e. a note derived from the stopped 5th harmonic middle E) and from there execute portamento to the final note. Without this intervening “station" note it is not possible to create any kind of portamento, the C will just flip to the E or E-flat as it crosses from one harmonic (the 4th harmonic open middle C) to the one above (the 5th harmonic middle E or the E-flat derived from it). This is almost akin to the string player switching finger and then sliding or Corri’s “leaping grace” except that for most harmonics the note after the switch will not be unison to starting note. Theoretically switching to a unison and then sliding is feasible on the highest harmonics which are a semitone apart.

In the case of 5:12:c and d a portamento can naturally be created between the initial stopped note and the harmonic from which it is derived (stopped low B to the 4th harmonic open middle C). Whilst it could be possible to then additionally utilise the

same approach as 5:12:a and b in order to further slide to the final note this results in two distinctly separate portamenti within the interval, an approach which does not fall in line with known approaches to portamenti discussed above. This appears to be the least effective way of performing a portamento on the natural horn.

4. It is possible to create an ascending or descending portamento over an interval which has one or more harmonics between the two notes. The more harmonics that are in between, the more plausible the effect, as there are more notes that can be "caught up" between the two intervals. 5:13 shows (a) between two open harmonics, (b) between an open harmonic and a stopped note, (c) between a stopped note and an open harmonic and (d) between two stopped notes.

These are not continuous portamenti (i.e. do not contain a seamless slide between the first and second notes) but they can create a particularly successful portamento effect with quite a "swoop" to the sound.[62]

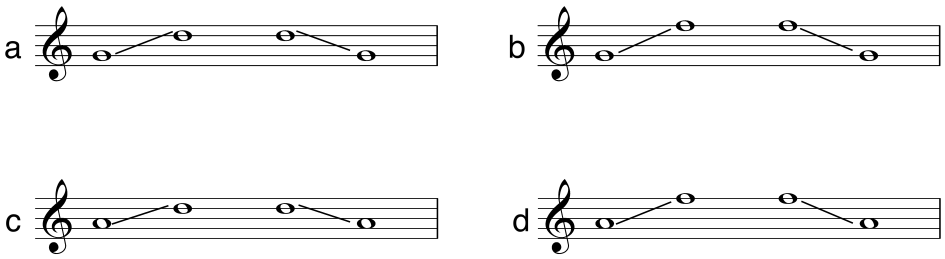


Figure 5:13: Portamento on the natural horn: crossing one or more harmonics. (Audio example 05_05).

[62] On the modern horn it is exactly this swift movement over a wide range of harmonics that forms the basis of *glissandi.* Robin Gregory explains that "[b]y rapidly sounding, with increasing lip tension, all the harmonics from the fourth or even third upwards to the fifteenth or sixteenth, a sort of glissando may be obtained" pointing out such usage in Igor Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps.* Robin Gregory, *The Horn: A Guide to the Modern Instrument* (London: Faber and Faber, 1961), 140–141.

5. As discussed in the previous chapter on timbre (pages 93–95) it is possible to "over blow" the very flexible 2nd (5:14 a), 3rd (5:14 b) and 4th (5:14 c) harmonics and push the note up almost by a semitone. Horn players of the nineteenth century viewed these resultant notes (particularly middle D-flat and low A-flat) as most feasible only in slow tempi or on longer notes.[63]

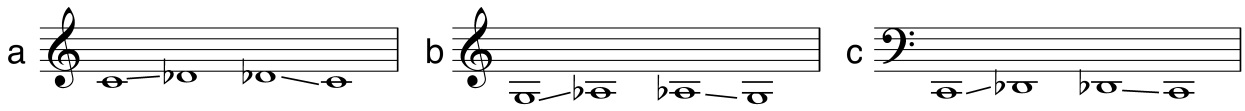


Figure 5:14: Portamento on the natural horn: raising the 2nd, 3rd and 4th harmonics. (Audio example 05_06).

An example of this can be seen in bar 137 in the "sixth" (technically third *cor second*) horn part of Dauprat, Sextuor VI. Allegro moderato (figure 5:15) in which his marking of "ouvert" expressly requires this approach. These are the only examples of the potential for a continuos portamento to and from a semitone above an open harmonic.

[63] For example Domnich gives the low G-flat as "in a slow movement, without stopping the bell." Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 16. "[D]ans un movement lent, sans boucher le pavillon."



Figure 5:15: Bars 136–143 from the "sixth" horn part in C basso, VI. Allegro moderato from Louis François Dauprat, Sextuor pour cors en différents tons, Op. 10 (Paris: chez l'auteur, c.1817). (Audio example 05_07).[64]

In summary:

- The first approach (ascending or descending portamento within a harmonic) is very feasible and in keeping with Dieppo's second approach to portamenti (slowly using the slide).
- The second approach (descending portamenti between two adjacent harmonics) is feasible, especially when using something akin to Dieppo's first approach to portamento (bending with the embouchure) and somewhat in keeping with string players sliding then changing finger or Corri's anticipation grace.
- The third approach (ascending portamenti between two adjacent harmonics) is tricky unless using a "station" note *en route* in order to create a partial continuous portamento. This approach can be seen as similar to a string player switching finger and then sliding, or Corri's "leaping grace", but is not identical.
- The fourth approach (ascending or descending over an interval that has one or more harmonics between the two notes) can be very effective, especially so when traversing a greater number of harmonics.

[64] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor d'orchestre* (Paris, post 1820) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009).

- The fifth and final approach (using a mixture of air and embouchure to bend the lowest harmonics up by a semitone) is possible but most effective in slow tempi.

Portamento on the horn - Dauprat

Regarding portamento, Dauprat quotes extensively verbatim from the Conservatoire's *Méthode de chant* (figure 5:16), thus very much endorsing Domnich's opinion that "the school of an excellent singer is the best school of taste in music; and this is especially true for the horn, which has so much affinity with the voice."[65]



Figure 5:15: "De la manière de porter les sons" from Bernardo Mengozzi et al., *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de musique contenant les principes du chant des exercices pour la voix, des solfèges tirés des meilleurs ouvrages anciens et modernes* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, 1803/4), 15–16.

In line with the *Méthode de chant,* Dauprat identifies two types of portamento: the first is more closely related to legato (i.e. smoothly switching between one note and

[65] Bernardo Mengozzi et al., *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de musique contenant les principes du chant des exercices pour la voix, des solfèges tirés des meilleurs ouvrages anciens et modernes (*Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, 1803/4), 15. Domnich, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 93.

the other without any portamento in between), while the second (figure 5:17), which he describes as “true portamento”, is an extended appoggiatura, i.e. playable on a rising or descending interval of a semi-tone or more.[66] As can be seen in figure 5:17, Dauprat is quoting from the *Méthode de chant* almost verbatim.



Figure 5:17: “Du Portamento” from Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse* (Paris: Zetter, 1824), vol. 1, 53.

Returning to my analysis of what is viable in terms of portamento on the horn, it is worth noting that whilst Dauprat describes portamento as including “a rising… interval of a semi-tone” (a straight forward effect when sung or played on a string instrument), this would only be possible in the cases illustrated in figure 5:14. All other rising semi-tones on the horn would involve crossing a harmonic which would disrupt the portamento. The four examples in Dauprat’s *Méthode* are all possible because they travel over more than one harmonic. The third (12th harmonic high G to middle B, which is made by stopping the 8th harmonic high C) would be particular effective as it crosses many harmonics (12th to 8th) as well as culminating in a

[66] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 71 and 145. In addition he passingly refers to a “type of portamento much in vogue among modern Italian singers” which looks similar to a “scotch snap”.

stopped note, thus creating a firstly a portamento over five harmonics and then the potential for a smooth glide from the 8th harmonic high C to the middle B that results in the this harmonic being stopped.

Dauprat smuggles in a third type of portamento, citing an example from a trio by his former teacher Joseph Kenn (figure 5:18). Dauprat argues that by adding the portamento from the open middle G to the open high E Kenn avoids an interval "which would sing poorly" between the stopped middle A and the open high E. Dauprat argues that this is "more graceful" and points to the notated small note "on which we must pass lightly and gently".[67]

This is particularly interesting as Dauprat seems to be suggesting, in this instance, that portamento between two open notes (middle G to high E) is preferable to portamento from a stopped note to an open note (middle A to the high E). Dauprat uses the ambiguous notation of + which he does not explain nor use elsewhere in his *Méthode.*

[67] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 145. "On peut voir encore un exemple du *Portamento* dans le fragment suivant, tiré des Trios de M[r.] KENN où, pour éviter un intervalle qui chanterait mal avec ce qui précède, il en prend un autre plus gracieux, au moyen de ce *Portamento* qu'il indique par une petite note sur laquelle on doit passer légèrement et avec douceur."

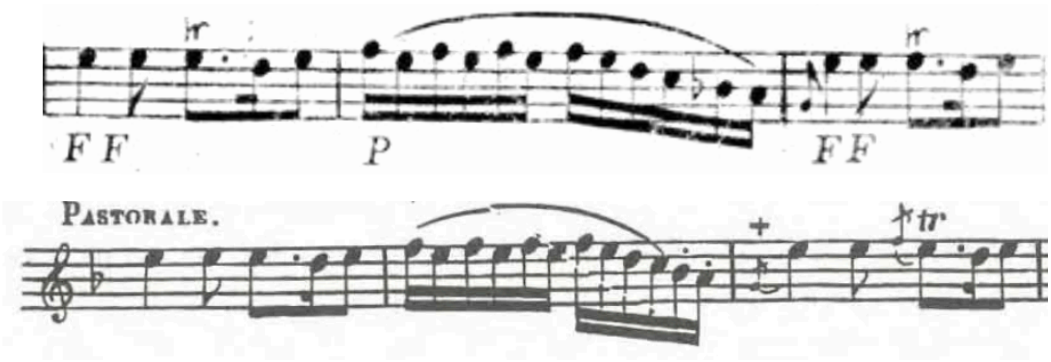


Figure 5:18: Top, bars 25–27 from the first horn part of Trio no. 9 *Pastorella* from Joseph Kenn, *Recueil d'airs arrangés pour trois cors* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de musique, 1800), 5. Bottom: transcription of the Kenn in Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse* (Paris: Zetter, 1824), vol. 1, 145.

Dauprat's preference for Kenn's combination of middle G to high E over the option without the portamento of middle A to high E, suggests separate criteria being used for particular combination of notes given that earlier in the *Méthode* he gives the advice that "passing from a stopped note to an open note is, of all connections, the easiest to play and best sounding on the horn".[68] Furthermore this suggestion that the combination of notes (stopped to open), which includes those **most** liable to produce what is today considered an unwanted glissando (a result of moving between a stopped note and the harmonic from which it is derived), will create the "best sounding" connection on the horn lends additional support to the idea that portamenti were an inherent feature of early nineteenth-century French hand horn performance practice.

[68] Dauprat, *Méthod*, vol. 1, 72. "Le passage d'une note factice à une note naturelle est, de toutes les liaisons, la plus aisée à bien rendre sur le cor."

Dauprat goes on to warn that this type of *liaison* (from a stopped to an open note) has the added challenge of the player needing to give more air to "nourish" the stopped note and then to "weaken" the air in order to counteract the "bright" sound of the following open note.[69] I would argue that this could equally relate to the use of portamento by singers of the period to traverse between different timbres within their voice.

Dauprat's exercises for portamento can be found in Appendix iv.

Portamento on the horn - Gallay

Gallay outlines two types of portamento in his *Méthode*. The first form (figure 5:19) fits with Corri's anticipation grace, i.e. the type of portamento whereby the singer remains on the originally syllable, travels to the next note and then switches to the subsequent syllable. This also corresponds to portamento on string instruments whereby the performer slides the finger from the original note, changing fingers on arrival on the next note. Gallay writes that this portamento can be executed over the "conjunct" interval of a major/minor second (the first two lines of examples ascending/ descending) as well as over larger "disjunct" intervals of a "third, fourth, fifth etc." (the second two lines of examples ascending/descending).

[69] Dauprat, *Méthod*, vol. 1, 72. "Mais on doit remarque que ce même passage offre un inconvénient qu'il est important de rectifier, en nourrissant par le souffle la note factice, et en affaiblissant au contraire l'éclat du fort au faible."



Figure 5:19: "Du portamento" from Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Lemoine, 1843), 85. (Audio example 05_08).

Gallay's examples here include one interval that flags up some issues: the first example high C (eighth harmonic) to the high D (ninth). This is the one interval in his selection which does not offer the ability to travel between the two without an intervention similar to that which I suggested earlier in this chapter (figure 5:12 etc). Between these two notes it is challenging to, in the words of Schubart, blend notes "one into another, without marking out their gradation" but it would be possible to switch to the stopped high D-flat and slide from there to the high D (figure 5:20).[70]

[70] Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst,* 365.

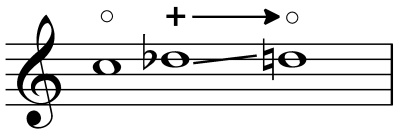


Figure 5:20: A solution for portamento between high C and D. (Audio example 05_09).

The other option on this specific interval would be to perform something more akin to Dauprat/Mengozzi's "first type of portamento", or indeed García's *sons liés* (i.e. a legato connection) rather than the Dauprat/Mengozzi "second type of portamento" or García's *sons portés* (i.e. a genuine portamento).[71]

The second form of portamento that Gallay includes (figure 5:21) accords more with Corri's leaping grace, i.e. whereby a singer would switch from the original syllable immediately to the following syllable and then execute a portamento to the note of the second syllable; or, in string playing terms, whereby a performer would change from the finger of the first note to that of the second note and then slide to the second note.[72]

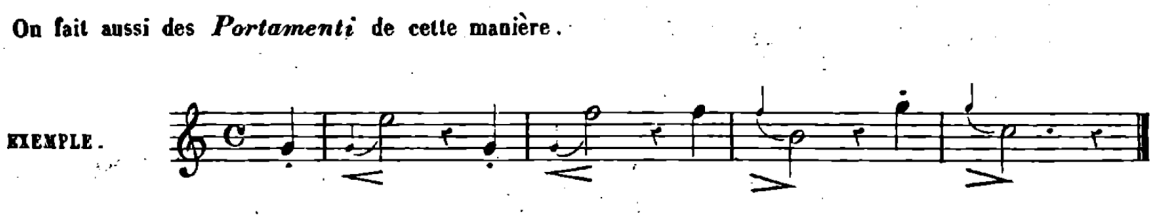


Figure 5:21: "Du portamento" from Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Lemoine, 1843), 85. (Audio example 05_10).

[71] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 53. Mengozzi et al., *Méthode de chant du Conservatoire de musique*, 15. García, *Garcia's Treatise*, vol. 1, 9. Original material in García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 1, 31.

[72] Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Lemoine, 1843), 85.

Gallay dedicates more space to the first type of portamento than the second, which may tie in with García's statement that the first was considered correct, with the second being incorrect though prevalent.[73]

Given that Gallay was very much associated with Italian repertoire and singers of this repertoire, and given that Robert Toft has suggested that "Italian singers…scarcely sang a measure without [portamento]", the following sections concerning the biography (part three) and obligato case studies (part four) of this study will consider Gallay's links with the Italian school of singing in Paris in order to suggest a performance practice utilising this expressive device.[74]

Looking at such repertoire associated with Gallay leads us to sources such as Guerrina Fabbri's (1866–1946) 1903 recording of the aria "Ah, se tu dormi" from Nicola Vaccai's 1827 opera *Giulietta e Romeo.* This recording is purely of the aria with piano accompaniment and does not include the preceding recitative "E'questo il loco", with its horn obligato. Gallay was known to have performed this obligato on multiple occasions, including with both Maria Malibran and Benedetta Pisaroni (1793–1872) in the 1820s.[75] Whilst reviewers were critical of the music - the anonymous *Chronique Musicale* review deemed it "a mediocrity" and not "a work of great veneration" - critics agreed on the merits of Gallay's performance of the obligato: "The horn solo gave much pleasure; of the purity of embouchure, of the

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[73] García, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing*, vol. 2, 53. García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 2, 28.

[74] Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 63.

[75] François-Joseph Fétis, "Soirée musicale de M. Dietz" in *Revue musicale*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1829), 161. Anon., "Chronique Musicale. Théatre Italien: Giulietta e Romeo - Mme Pisaroni" in *Journal des Débats* (18 October 1827), 1–3.

elegance of style".[76] Listening to Fabbri's recording of the aria and those of her contemporaries (see Chapter Seventeen) gives a taste of the pronounced use of portamento by a singer trained in the Italian tradition of the nineteenth century, and I would argue that a horn player considered to be equal to vocalists of the period would have had ample opportunity to engage with the same musical device in the preceding recitative obligato.

In his *Méthode*, Gallay adds very little to Dauprat concerning the use of portamento. Given the resonance of García's ideas of *timbre clair* and *sombre* with Gallay's exploitation of the open and closed timbres of the horn, I believe García's directions on portamento potentially also can align with horn technique for the period. Given that musicians were directed towards emulating singers of this era in order to perform in an appropriately tasteful manner, if portamento is an integral part of vocal technique then horn players should similarly be aiming to incorporate it where feasible and suitable.

As I explored in Chapter One, today, horn players have been encouraged to hide any liaisons that arise naturally when we play from an open to a stopped note or vice versa. I would suggest instead that horn players take heed of García's direction that portamento be used as a way of equalising between the different timbres of the voice, and actively use it.[77] Rather than aiming for totally clean progressions between stopped and open notes as would be the norm on the valve horn, we should actively

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[76] Anon., 'Chronique Musicale', 1–3.

[77] García, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing*, vol. 1, 8. García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 1, 29–30.

incorporate portamento as a means to navigate between the different timbres afforded by the instrument.

PART THREE

Jacques-François Gallay

Chapter Six: An introduction to early nineteenth-century French horn performers and their performance practice.

As I outlined in the introduction to this thesis, the nineteenth century represents an era of great change in the technology and associated playing technique of the horn. Whilst in France, initially, there was great interest in the new valve horn in the late 1820s through to the 1840s, the natural horn not only persisted but thrived with the piston horn never fully establishing itself as the dominant instrument until the beginning of the twentieth century. The situation in German speaking countries was markedly different with, bar some conservative areas such as Leipzig, the valve horn becoming the dominant instrument by the second half of the nineteenth century.

One powerful illustration of the importance of the natural horn in France was the reaction of the Paris Conservatoire's to the situation it faced in 1864 when the natural horn professor, Jacques-François Gallay, died and the piston horn professor, Joseph Meifred, retired. Rather than replace both or even, in what would have been the logical step in other parts of Europe at the time, to maintain just the valve horn class, the Conservatoire closed the piston horn class and retained the natural horn class, replacing Gallay with his former pupil Jean-Baptiste Mohr (1823–1891).

Both Gallay and Meifred had been students of Louis-François Dauprat and all three contribute to an autograph book belonging to Alfred de Beauchesne which illustrate their individual approaches to the horn.

De Beauchesne's snapshot of the three leading Parisian horn players of the 1840s

Alfred de Beauchesne (1804–1876) was secretary to the Paris Conservatoire between the years of 1827 and 1871.[1] Over the course of his career he compiled an autograph book full of snippets of music written by the musicians with whom he came into contact.[2] The list of musicians included reads like a *Who's Who* of the Parisian musical scene of the time including Charles Gounod, Jacques Offenbach, Richard Wagner, Giuseppe Verdi, Gaetano Donizetti, Louis Spohr, Niccolò Paganini, Franz Liszt, Frédéric Chopin, Gilbert Duprez, Giovanni Battista Rubini, and Charles-Auguste de Bériot.

The combination of composers, singers and instrumentalists who all contributed a page or two of their own work highlights much of the quotidian existence of these musicians. Until later in the nineteenth century, to be an instrumentalist or singer entailed being a composer. Today this is a career path only a few achieve.

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[1] Théodore Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Levy Frères, 1860) 426. "Paris et Départements" *Le Ménestrel*, no. 2147, 37th year, no. 49 (Sunday, 3 September 1871), 320.

[2] Various, "Album d'Alfred de Beauchesne", (manuscripts, 1834–1873) (Bibliotheque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): W-24). For more on the genre of autograph books see Halina Goldberg, "Chopin's Album Leaves and the Aesthetics of Musical Album Inscription" in *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* vol. 73, no. 3 (2020), 467–533.

The de Beauchesne album affords us a snapshot of almost two hundred of the leading musicians of the period. Whilst the vast majority are pianists, singers or string players, barely any instrument is left unrepresented.

Included amongst them are the three leading horn players from de Beauchesne's period of employment; Louis-François Dauprat (1781–1868) and his two former students Joseph Meifred (1791–1867) and, the main subject of this current study, Jacques-François Gallay (1795–1864).

LOUIS-FRANÇOIS DAUPRAT: *CANON FERMÉ ET CANON RÉTROGRADE*

Dauprat, who made his contribution on 13 October 1839, was the then-incumbent professor for natural horn. He himself had been one of the first generation of horn students at the Conservatoire and had made it his life's work to promote the instrument and raise both the standard of its playing and the standard of compositions written for it. He was a former composition student of Anton Reicha, who wrote many works, including the horn parts of his wind quintets, for Dauprat.[3]

Dauprat contributed two canons for two horns to the autograph book, the first for horns in E and the second for horns in E-flat.[4] In his monumental *Méthode de Cor-*

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[3] Dauprat donated his scores of the Reicha quintets to the Conservatoire and a surviving letter from Dauprat to Alfred de Beauchesne details Dauprat's views on the importance of the Reicha compositions. Letter from Louis-François Dauprat to Alfred de Beauchesne (1 May 1854) (Bibliotheque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-DAUPRAT-10).

[4] Louis-François Dauprat, *Canon fermé, à l'octave, pour deux Cor en Mi* (1839) and *Canon à rétrograde, pour 2 Cors in Mi bémol* (15 October 1839) in Alfred de Beauchesne, "Album d'Alfred de Beauchesne", 62.

Alto et Cor-Basse (1824), Dauprat had advocated that beginner horn players follow the advice of his illustrious predecessors Joseph Kenn (1757–1840), Heinrich Domnich (1767–1844) and Giovanni Punto (1746–1803) and commence their studies on the horn in the key of E-flat.[5] This was partially as the key was seen to suit both the high (*cor alto*) and low (*cor basse*) players, but also because across the whole of its range it was capable of "the most beautiful sounds of the horn, and offers the true colour and character of the instrument."[6]

Dauprat's choice of canon as the form of his contribution is also significant in light of his rather xenophobic opinions concerning the earliest generation of teachers at the Conservatoire. In the Preface of his *Méthode,* he immediately makes it clear that the foundation of the Conservatoire and its continuing policy was to ensure that the French were no longer dependent on foreign musicians to train native musicians: "[t]he encouragement and protection accorded this establishment by all subsequent governments and the rewards bestowed upon its most eminent graduates have made the French proud rivals of the two neighbouring countries from whom they originally had their musical education."[7]

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[5] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-alto et Cor-basse,* vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 13.

[6] Dauprat; *Méthode,* vol. 1, 13. "[L]es plus beaux sons du Cor, et offre la vraie couleur et le caractère de l'instrument".

[7] Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse*, trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994), i. Original Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, i. "[L]es encouragemens et la protection accordés à cet établissement par tous les gouvernemens qui se sont succédés; les récompenses décernées aux élèves qui se sont distingués le plus, … ont rendu les Français rivaux heureux de deux peuples voisins dont ils tenaient primitivement leur instruction musicale."

Dauprat states that, thanks to performer/composers such as Viotti, Kreutzer, Baillot, Boccherini, Duport and Romberg, the standard of French compositions had improved, but that such progress had not been made across the board, with compositions for wind instruments remaining “feeble”, and associated pedagogical works still showing “the infancy of the art”.[8]

Dauprat believed that the first generation of wind musician/pedagogues associated with the forerunner of the Paris Conservatoire, the École Gratuite de la Musique de la Garde Nationale Parisienne/École de Musique Militaire had been failed by their own education and their own ongoing studies in that they had prioritised “superior technique” over “the study of harmony and composition”.[9] It was these concerns that led Dauprat to seriously study the art of composition in order to help raise the standard of compositions for his instrument. The choice of formal canons, the first “closed” and the second “retrograde”, illustrates “the study of harmony and composition” that Dauprat believed essential to improve the state of the horn.

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[8] Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, i. “Mais les compositions à l’usage des instrumens à vent étaient faibles, et les ouvrages destinés à leur enseignement, se ressentaient encore de l’enfance de l’art.”

[9] Dauprat, *Methode,* vol. 1, i. “[L]es artistes qui exerçaient et professaient ces instrumens, étrangers, la plupart, et sortis des régimens ou du service particulier des Princes d’Allemagne, avaient sacrifié au mécanisme d’une exécution supérieure, l’étude de l’Harmonie et de la Composition; connaissances qu'on est en droit d'exiger aujourd'hui de tout bon professeur.”

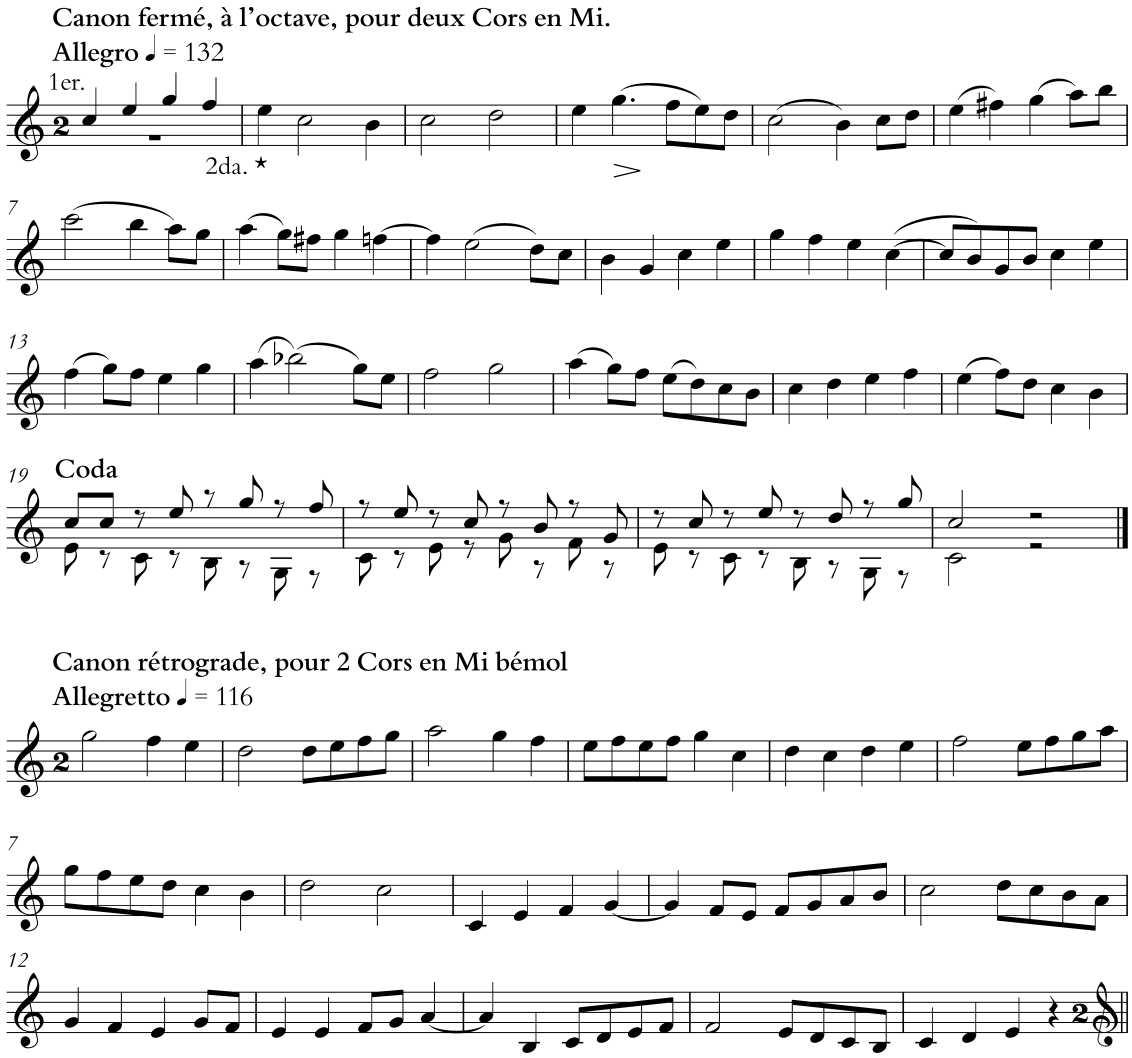


Figure 6:1: Louis-François Dauprat, *Canon fermé, à l'octave, pour deux Cor en Mi* (1839) and *Canon à rétrograde, pour 2 Cors in Mi bémol* (15 October 1839) in Alfred de Beauchesne, "Album d'Alfred de Beauchesne", (manuscripts, 1834–1873) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): W-24), 62**.**

JOSEPH MEIFRED: *ANDANTE POUR DEUX CORS CHROMATIQUES*

Joseph Meifred made his contribution on 8 June 1841. Meifred initially studied at the Ecole Impériale des Arts et Métiers and had a moderate civil service career prior to

commencing his formal studies at the Conservatoire.[10] Meifred's studies in Paris had initially been interrupted by his having enrolled in December 1815 to study with Frédéric Duvernoy (1765–1838), barely two weeks prior to the closure of the institution as a consequence of the Bourbon restoration.[11] When the Conservatoire resumed in July the following year, he was instead studying with Dauprat. Meifred was awarded the *premier prix* as a low horn player in 1818.[12] He was appointed to the Théâtre-Italien later that year, moving to the Opéra in 1822, where he remained until his retirement from that ensemble in 1850.[13]

Having been encouraged by Dauprat to study the emerging valved instrument seriously, Meifred was fundamental in improving the early valve horn and did much to promote this new instrument, performing a solo of his own composition on it at the inaugural concert of the influential Société des concerts du Conservatoire in 1829. Meifred developed a method of playing the instrument which incorporated hand

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[10] For Meifred's pre-Conservatoire career see: Georges Kastner, "Correspondenz" in *Jahrbücher des Deutschen National-Vereins für Musik und ihr Wissenschaft*, no. 45, 2nd year (Karlsruhe: Groos, 5 November 1840), 358–9 and Gustave Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel de Contemporains*, vol. 2 (Paris: Hachette, 1861), 1198.

[11] Frédéric de La Grandville, *Dictionnaire biographique des élèves et aspirants du Conservatoire de musique de Paris (1795–1815)* (Paris: Études et documents en ligne: Institut de Recherche sur le Patrimoine Musical en France, 2017), 492. Frédéric de La Grandville "Dictionnaire biographique des élèves et aspirants du Conservatoire de musique de Paris (1795–1815)", *Institut de Recherche sur le Patrimoine Musical en France* (2014), https://api.nakala.fr/data/11280%2Fcf10d906/2079fbb15e2a476bfe290f328f539761f9064711 [Accessed 14 April 2025]. With thanks to John Humphries for clarification on this point.

[12] Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique*, 439.

[13] Jean Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris 1801–1831, chronologie et documents*, vol. 4 (Lyon: Symétrie; [Venise]: Palazzetto Bru-Zane, 2008), 197 lists Meifred as 2nd low horn on 1 December 1818. François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens,* vol. 6 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866–1868), 66. Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Declamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 810.

technique, an integral part of the older natural horn's playing technique.[14] In 1833 Meifred was appointed to teach the nascent valve horn at the Conservatoire whilst Dauprat continued to teach the natural horn.[15]

Meifred's goal in combining the valves and hand technique was, in effect, to have the best of both worlds, especially in terms of timbre and control of the instrument. His approach set out to (i) be able to give the horn the notes it was "missing", (ii) help the tuning of the instrument, (iii) enable the performer to play stopped notes open yet keep the more "attractive lightly stopped notes" (for example the high F which is normally played partially stopped), (iv) be able to temper notes in a harmonic fashion (e.g. leading notes and sharps being stopped) and (v) ensure that composers continued to be able to exploit the "special colours associated with the different crooks."[16]

Meifred had a multifaceted career. In addition to his work as a performer he was a ardent supporter of amateur music making, a prolific writer, a photographer and a

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[14] Antoine Elwart, *Histoire de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique* (Paris: S. Castel, 1860), 131. Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840).

[15] For Dauprat's approach to the new valved instrument and his view on the developing technology see: Louis-François Dauprat, *Du cor a piston Extrait d'un Traité théorique et pratique de cet Instrument* (Paris: Zetter, c.1828). For Meifred's approach and his view on the developing technology see: Joseph Meifred, *De l'Étendu, de l'emploi et des ressources du Cor* (Paris: Paris: Launer, 1829), Joseph Meifred, *Notice sur la fabrication des instruments de musique en cuivre, en général, et sur celle du cor chromatique, en particulier*, (Paris: De Soy, 1851) and Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840). For recent scholarship on this subject see: Jeffrey Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Horn* (London: Routledge, 2021).

[16] Meifred, "Avant Propos", *Méthode*, n.p.

marksman.[17] His writings (sometimes under pseudonyms) come across as opinionated; for example, as will be discussed in Chapter Thirteen, it is likely that he is the author in 1842 of a number of publications against Gallay's appointment to the Conservatoire.[18] In 1838 it appears Meifred came up against another highly opinionated writer, Hector Berlioz, who, in his *Mémoires*, recounted an altercation between the two during rehearsals for Berlioz's *Benvenuto Cellini*:

> I had occasion to point out to the second horn a mistake in an important passage. I did so in the mildest and politest manner; but the player, Meifred, though an intelligent man, rose in wrath and, losing his head completely, shouted, 'I'm playing what's there. Why do you suspect the orchestra like this?' To which I replied, even more mildly, that it had nothing to do with the orchestra but only with him, and that secondly I suspected nothing, for suspicion implied doubt, and I was quite certain he had made a mistake.[19]

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[17] For example of Meifred's work with amateur musicians see discussions of Meifred and his role at the Conservatoire de la Lyre Harmonique in Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire,* 102 and in François Joseph Fétis, "Prospectus: Conservatoire de la Lyre Harmonique" in *Revue Musicale,* vol. 4, no. 42 (1829), 381–384. For more on Meifred's activities away from horn playing see John Humphries, "Joseph Meifred – from the "literature section" at the Paris Opéra", the *Sixth Romantic Brass Symposium "Romantic Brass in Context",* Hochschule der Künste Bern, 20–23 April 2023 (publication forthcoming). For a list of Meifred's writings see Appendix 2 of Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 238–239.

[18] See Chapter Thirteen, 351–353.

[19] Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires de Hector Berlioz, membre de l'Institut de France: comprenant ses voyages en Italie, en Allemagne, en Russie et en Angleterre, 1803-1865* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1878), 301–2. "Il m'arriva un jour, pendant les répétitions de *Benvenuto Cellini* à Paris, de faire remarquer à un second cor (M. Meyfred, un homme d'esprit pourtant), qu'il se trompait dans un passage important. À cette observation, faite tranquillement, et avec toute la politesse possible, M. Meyfred, se levant courroucé et perdant tout son esprit, s'écria: "Je fais ce qu'il y a! pourquoi se *méfier* ainsi de *l'orchestre*?..." Ce à quoi je répondis encore plus tranquillement: "D'abord, mon cher monsieur Meyfred, il ne s'agit pas tout à fait de *l'orchestre*, mais de vous seulement; ensuite je ne me *méfie* point, car la méfiance suppose un doute, et je suis parfaitement sûr que vous vous trompez." Translation from Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise: a translation and commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 182.

Berlioz's misspelling of Meifred's unusual name as "Meyfred" is not an uncommon error. The argument circles around whether Berlioz is mistrustful (*se méfier,* to be wary, to mistrust) of the orchestra or not. Whilst not homonyms, the similarity of "Meyfred" and *méfier*, especially between two men who prided themselves on their use of language, suggests some element of wordplay.

In his commentary on Berlioz's *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration Modernes,* Hugh Macdonald has argued without clear evidence that this dispute "almost certainly arose" from Meifred playing something "open by using pistons" which Berlioz "would expect to be played stopped". If true, this could concern a passage such as that of bars 716–721 ("Paris 1") or 725–730 ("Paris 2") in the 12th scene Finale to Act 1 in which the second horn, along with the rest of the section, is directed "faites cuivrer très fort ces notes bouchées".[20] The notes required in this passage would automatically be stopped notes on the natural horn.

Macdonald speculates that Meifred's error was playing something open with the pistons, pointing out that Meifred was "an ardent champion of the piston horn" and was, in Macdonald's opinion, "undoubtedly in the habit of playing it in the Opéra orchestra". Macdonald fails to recognise that, whilst Meifred was indeed such "an ardent champion", his approach incorporated, even celebrated, the use of stopped sounds on the instrument, making it highly unlikely that he would have been wantonly using valves without consideration. Meifred states his views early in his *Méthode* that

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[20] Hector Berlioz, *Benvenuto Cellini*, H76, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1994), 646–648. "Paris 1" refers Berlioz's original composition, "Paris 2" refers to the version premiered in 1838 post changes required by the censors.

"to want to prohibit all the *stopped notes* of the *horn*, replacing them with *open* sounds would be to inflict harm on the countenance of the instrument and to make it lose its special character that gives it an indefinable charm."[21] Referencing the views of his teacher, Dauprat, Meifred maintains that the "mixture of *stopped* notes with *open* note" particular to the horn "must be protected from annihilation" on the new valve horn since doing so would "change the nature, the character of the instrument and make it a type of Ophicleide or Bugle", i.e. to use valves for everything, thus rendering all notes as open, risks loosing the special character of the instrument.[22]

Furthermore, whilst it is clear that Meifred was playing piston horn for certain works (for example, Castil-Blaze places him as one of the piston horn players in the premiere of Fromental Halévy's *La Juive*)*,* Macdonald's assertion that "undoubtedly" Meifred was playing piston horn in the Opéra orchestra appears to presume that Meifred was playing piston horn for everything, regardless of the composer's intentions.[23] The need for piston horn in the Opéra orchestra was not automatic post-*La Juive* as, as Humphries has pointed out "sadly for Meifred, Halévy did not start a trend: the next major premiere was *Les Huguenots*, produced in 1836, and its

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[21] Meifred, "De l'abus dans l'usage des pistons", *Méthode*, 4. "J'ai avancé, dans le chapitre qui sert d'Introduction à cette Méthode, que vouloir proscrire tous les Sons *bouchés* du *Cor*, en les remplaçant par des Sons *pleins*, serait porter atteinte à la physionomie de l'instrument et lui faire perdre ce caractère spécial qui lui donne un charme indéfinissable" English translation from Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique", 149.

[22] Meifred, "Introduction", *Méthode*, ii. "[L]a physionomie particulière que lui donne le mélange des Sons *bouchés* avec les Sons *ouverts*; physionomie qu'il faut se garder d'annihiler, si, comme le dit Mr. DAUPRAT, on ne veut pas changer la nature, le caractère de l'instrument et en faire une espèce d'Ophicleïde ou de Bugle." English translation from Snedeker, "Joseph Meifred's Méthode pour le Cor Chromatique", 149.

[23] See Introduction, 4–5. Fromental Halévy, *La Juive,* ed. Philip Gossett and Charles Rosen (New York: Garland, 1980), 37–39, 478, 628. Castil-Blaze, *L'Académie impériale de musique: histoire littéraire, musicale, politique et galante de ce théâtre, de 1645 à 1855,* vol. 2 (Paris: Castil Blaze, 1855), 374.

composer, Giacomo Meyerbeer, was unconvinced by the need for valves, and continued to write for horns in the traditional way."[24]

Given Meifred's training, his approach to the early valve horn, which sought to incorporate the aesthetic values Meifred and others prized in the natural horn (i.e. the use of stopped sounds, the colours of the individual crooks) and known appearances as a natural horn player, I question, regardless of his well documented promotion of the new valve horn, whether Meifred would have completely jettisoned the older instrument.[25]

For example, his participation in the Société des concerts du Conservatoire (for which he became a key member of the various committees and administrations) positioned him in a section alongside natural horn players Dauprat, Gallay, Jean-Auguste Blangy (1779–1848) and Jean-Baptiste Mengal, all of whom were obliged to perform in the Société concerts.[26] A cursory glance of the repertoire for 1838 (the year of the disagreement with Berlioz) indicates performances of works of composers who only wrote for natural horn (e.g. Beethoven, Mozart, Haydn, Weber) and I

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[24] Humphries, "Joseph Meifred – from the "literature section", (publication forthcoming). It is worth noting that whilst Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* contains no valve horn writing Meifred does cite it as an example of good writing for valved brass in his *Notice sur la fabrication des instruments de musique en cuivre.* Joseph Meifred, *Notice sur la fabrication des instruments de musique en cuivre, en général, et sur celle du cor chromatique, en particulier* (Paris: De Soy, 1851), 15.

[25] For example his "perfectly executed" performance of a natural horn quartet alongside Gallay, Paul Lambert Baneux (1795-1854) and Joseph François Rousselot (1803–1880) documented in the *La Nouveauté,* 1st year, no. 193 (14 March 1826), 4. "Un quatuor pour quatre cors, parfaitement exécuté par MM. Meifred, Gallay, Baneux et Rousselot."

[26] See Chapter Nine, 287–293 for horn players and horn playing at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. See D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004), 20, 40, 43, 46, 50, 64, 127, 144, 151, 161–162, 170–171, 174, 177, 179–180, 185, 190, 193–194, 200–202, 206 and 218 for Meifred's administrative role at the Société.

believe that, given Meifred's sensitivities to the advantages of the natural horn in terms of timbre, it is questionable to presume that he would be playing piston horn for such repertoire regardless, especially alongside colleagues persisting with the natural horn.[27]

Ultimately, the argument between Berlioz and Meifred may actually be nothing to do with the open or stopped timbres of the instrument given that Berlioz states that he merely pointed out "a mistake in an important passage."

Meifred contributes an Andante for two "cors chromatiques". His writing in this short work, especially for the second horn, exploits a chromaticism viable on the valve horn. Whilst none of the notes he incorporates is impossible on the natural horn, it is more the figuration and approaches to these notes (especially the low A, the middle C-sharp, D, D-sharp/E-flat) that are critical in viewing this more as an idiomatic early valve piece than a natural horn work.

[27] D. Kern Holoman, "The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967", (12 July 2012), https://web.archive.org/web/20180419155307/http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/ [Accessed 21 September 2025].



Figure 6:2: Joseph Meifred, *Andante pour deux cors chromatiques* (1841) in Alfred de Beauchesne, “Album d’Alfred de Beauchesne”, (manuscripts, 1834–1873) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): W-24), 155**.**

JACQUES-FRANÇOIS GALLAY: FRAGMENT D'UNE MÉLODIE POUR VOIX ET COR

Gallay, the *cor solo* (principal horn) of the Théâtre-Italien, made his contribution, a *Fragment d'une mélodie pour voix et cor*, on 6 January 1841. In a similar fashion to Meifred, Gallay arrived in Paris in 1820 wishing to enrol at the Conservatoire with Dauprat at a far older age than the institution normally accepted students.[28] Special dispensation was made and the following year Gallay was awarded the *premier prix*. Gallay joined the orchestra of the fashionable and groundbreaking Odéon Theatre in 1824, moving to the more important and influential role of *cor solo* at the Théâtre-Italien in 1825.[29]

Like Dauprat and Meifred, Gallay was a prolific writer of works for the horn.[30] The majority of his output reflects the operatic world of the period, especially that of the Théâtre-Italien, with fantasias on works by Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835), Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848), Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868), Saverio Mercadante (1795–1870) etc. Popular French romances by composers such as Antoine Romagnesi (1781–1850), Ferdinando Paër (1771–1839), Henri-Montan Berton (1767–1844) and Frédéric Bérat (1801–1855) also formed a considerable part of Gallay's repertoire, along with transcriptions and arrangements of songs by Franz Schubert (1797–1828) and Heinrich Proch (1809–1878), the latter reflecting the emerging appreciation of German lieder by Parisian audiences. In 1842, Gallay replaced his former teacher at

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[28] A fuller biography of Gallay will be provided in Chapters Seven through to Fourteen.

[29] Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824–1828*, (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002).

[30] See Appendix i for catalogue of Gallay's compositions.



Figure 6:3: Jacques-François Gallay - Fragment d'une mélodie pour voix et cor ("Le bal") (1841) in Alfred de Beauchesne, "Album d'Alfred de Beauchesne", (manuscripts, 1834–1873) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): W-24), 142**.**

the Conservatoire, and, as consequence, pedagogical works also form a significant part of his output.

Given his immersion in the vocal world, both in terms of his employment and his compositions, a short song extract is the natural genre that Gallay would turn to for his contribution to de Beauchesne's album. Written to the uncredited text of the opening stanza of Eugène de Lonlay's (1815–1886) "Es-tu fille des cieux?", Gallay's short, eighteen-bar song is a nostalgic, somewhat wistful, Larghetto non troppo tanto.[31]

These three horn players - Dauprat, Meifred and Gallay - represent the leading lights of the French school at a crucial period in the development of the horn in France. Dauprat and Gallay are particularly seen as key promoters of the natural horn whose work did much to ensure that the French school held on to, and celebrated, the older natural instrument rather than adopting the newer valve horn.[32] Meifred's approach in blending the two, incorporating the natural horn hand technique into playing on the new valved horn rather than using the valves in isolation, is very much couched in the same values and tastes as expressed by those who promoted the natural horn.[33]

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[31] Eugène de Lonlay, *Chansons populaires* (Paris: Garnier Frères, 1858), 289. In this publication it is stated that the text was set to music by Gustave Roger (1815–1879). This setting has not yet be found so it is unclear as to whether Gallay's setting as found in the de Beauchesne is Gallay's original composition or, in a similar fashion to the settings of Mercadante, Proch, Donizetti etc, his version of Rogers's composition.

[32] John Humphries, *The Early Horn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 18. See also Introduction, f.n. 53, 23.

[33] For a fuller discussion of Meifred's approach to the piston horn see: Snedeker, *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire*, 92–130.

These short biographies and the glimpses into their approaches to the horn which can be afforded by their short contributions to the de Beauchesne album demonstrate the attitudes of the three major horn teachers at the Paris Conservatoire from c.1816 to 1864. In the following chapters I will explore in greater depth the biography and work of the central figure of my thesis, Jacques-François Gallay.

Chapter Seven: Gallay - Perpignan, his childhood, formative education and performances (1795–1820)

> PYRÉNEES ORIENTALES: This province…teems with musicians, and it is perhaps the only one that could be compared to Italy for the natural disposition of its inhabitants in favour of music. It is from this country that came the Solères, the Vidals, the Gallays, the Laforgues, the Fabres etc.[1]

Gallay's family, formative education and *Les Visitandines*

Jacques-François Gallay was born in Perpignan on 8 December 1795, the third child after Marguerite Julienne (1791–1817) and Etienne (1793–?) to François Gallay (1766–1833), a merchant, and Marie Bertin (1771–1833).[2] Allowing for the usual caveats about the contents of the *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, much of the biographical information about

[1] F. Guyot de Fère, *Annuaire des artistes francais*, *statistique des Beaux-Arts en France* (Paris: M. Guyot de Fère,1834), 295. I would suggest that the other artists identified in this account include the clarinetist Pedro Étienne Solère (1753–1817), cellist Jean-Joseph Vidal (1789–1867) oboist Pierre Laforge (1789–1853), and the flautist Emmanuel Fabre (1804–?). PYRÉNEES ORIENTALES: "Cette province, nous écrit-on, fourmille de musiciens, et c'est peut-être la seule qu'on pourrait comparer à l'Italie pour les dispositions naturelles de ses habitants en faveur de la musique. C'est de ce pays que sont sortis les Solère, les Vidal, les Gallay, les Laforgue, les Fabre, etc."

[2] Genealogical data obtained from *Geneanet* (2009), https://en.geneanet.org/ [Accessed 23 July 2025].

Gallay's career can be gleaned from Fétis who recounts, for example, Gallay's early music education.[3]

Typical for the era, Gallay started *solfège* lessons at the age of ten (c.1806) with a local musician named Artus. Artus père (Pierre Etienne Joseph Artus, 1761–1846) was a luthier, music dealer and teacher. His three sons were also in the music business; Artus fils aîné (potentially Joseph Etienne Honore Artus 1784–1821) a violinist, Joseph Pierre Artus (1791–1864) a viola player and, perhaps significantly, Pierre (potentially Vincent Pierre Artus, 1797–1876) a horn player.[4] Two years later he was learning the horn with his own father, a "good amateur horn player", though Fétis emphasises that it was "above all" thanks to Jacques-François's "own efforts that he managed to develop his happy dispositions for this instrument".[5]

Around 1810, the fourteen-year-old Gallay got his big break: the first horn of the local opera orchestra was ill and unable to play a performance of François Devienne's

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[3] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, vol. 4 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 248–9. Whilst, given that Fétis and Gallay were contemporaries and both based in Paris, Fétis may have been able to directly interview Gallay for the material contained in his article, the *Biographie* has been described as "subjective and error-strewn" and therefore corroborating evidence is advisable (Katharine Ellis and Robert Wangermée, "Fétis, François-Joseph" in *Grove Music Online* (2001), https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-60000200743 [Accessed 21 July 2025)).

[4] César Gardeton, *Bibliographie musicale de la France et de l'étranger* (Paris: Chez Nigoret, 1822), 576–7. Gallay is also listed in this *Bibliographie* as both "premier cor compositeur, à Perpignan" (583) and "élève de l'école royale (composition et cor)" in Paris (542).

[5] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 248. "[S]on père, assez bon amateur corniste, lui donna les premières leçons de cor ; mais ce fut surtout par ses propres efforts qu'il parvint à développer ses heureuses dispositions pour cet instrument."

(1759–1803) *Les Visitandines* (1792), and Gallay was brought in to play in his place.[6] He performed the solo "with a feeling, an accuracy and an aplomb which earned him unanimous applause."[7]

The significance of such a "jump in" was likely to have been the obligato horn part in Euphémie's aria "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from Act II, Scene 2 of this opera. Devienne writes for an additional solo horn in conjunction with the two orchestral parts, a scoring in keeping with other similar obligatos of the era such as "Lungi da te, mio bene" from Mozart's *Mitridate, re di Ponto* KV 87 (74a) (1770) or "Des dons brillants de Flore" from Jean-Claude Trial's 1771 *La Fête de Flore* written for Rodolphe.[8] This obligato will be investigated in Chapter Fifteen.

Gallay's reluctance to leave Perpignan

According to Fétis, despite the success of his performance in *Les Visitandines* and the encouragement of "visiting artists", Gallay was reluctant to leave Perpignan to study in Paris as due to "the attachment Gallay's father had to his son".[9] The death of

[6] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 248. I have yet been unable to find corroborating evidence from c.1809/10 regarding this performance which would have been likely to have taken place at the *Loge de mer* theatre which predates Perpignan's Théâtre Municipal, an Italian-style theatre built in 1812–14.

[7] Victor Lacaine and Charles Laurent, *Biographies et nécrologies des hommes marquants du XIXe siècle*, vol. 7 (Paris: Imp. Lacour et Comp., 1850), 43–44. "Dès l'âge de quatorze ans, le premier cor du théâtre de Perpignan étant malade, il exécuta à sa place le solo des *Visitandines* avec un sentiment, une justesse et un aplomb qui lui valurent d'unanimes applaudissements."

[8] Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, "Lungi da te, mio bene" from *Mitridate, re di Ponto* KV 87 (74a) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1966) 137– 148. Jean-Claude Trial, "Des dons brillants de Flore" from *La Fête de Flore* (Paris: Le Marchand, 1771) 125–140.

[9] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 248–9. "Les artistes distingués qui visitaient Perpignan lui conseillaient de se rendre à Paris pour y suivre les cours du Conservatoire, mais l'attachement du père de M. Gallay pour son fils lui faisait écarter toutes les propositions de ce genre."

Gallay's elder sister, Marguerite Julienne, in 1817 plausibly could have been a factor. As the death date of his elder brother, Etienne, is unknown it is unclear as to whether Gallay would have had familial duties that kept him in his hometown.

In her DMA thesis, Amy McBeth provides her explanation for Gallay's activities preceding his arrival in Paris.[10] McBeth suggests that Fétis's account of Gallay being named director of a new Perpignan music society in 1818, as well as studying composition with Marie-Joseph Ozi (1787–1827) as implausible and due to Fétis having "confused the inaugural events of a new school of music" with other events in the city.[11] Fétis states that Ozi, the son of the famed bassoonist Etienne Ozi (1754–1813), was named director of a new school of music in Perpignan in 1818, and McBeth proposes that Gallay was a student at the new school rather than director of a new music society.[12] I would argue that the two organisations were quite separate, that Ozi's school was short lived, and that there is good evidence Gallay did have a position in the new Société lyrique.

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[10] Amy Jo McBeth, "Jacques-François Gallay: A study of his life and selected works for accompanied horn", DMA dissertation (University of Iowa, 2005), 18.

[11] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249.

[12] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249. McBeth, "Jacques-François Gallay: A study of his life", 18. Michelle Ros, *Le Conservatoire de Perpignan: 150 ans de musique 1842–1988.* (Perpignan: Éditions des Archives Communales, 1991), 7–8.

The Perpignan Société lyrique

Perpignan had boasted musical societies since at least 1770 with the foundation of its Académie philharmonique.[13] It is unclear exactly when the Société lyrique, a separate venture to the Académie philharmonique, was founded and its activities were sporadic.[14] Potentially contradicting his biography of Gallay, in the *Revue musicale*, Fétis states the organisation was “already formed” in 1816 but the venture had eventually faltered due to the costs of hall hire and “other reasons”.[15]

Another source of information concerning the operations of the Société lyrique and Gallay’s involvement is a biography of the violinist Joseph Lomagne (1803–1868), a contemporary of Gallay’s who would later become significant in the foundation of the Perpignan conservatoire.[16] Capeille’s *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises* places them as giving their debut performances in Perpignan alongside one another in 1817.[17] More retrospective details emerge regarding the history of the Société

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[13] Anon, *Annuaire Statistique et Historique du département des Pyrénées orientales* (Perpignan: J.-B. Alzine, 1834), 428. Guyot de Fère, *Statistique des Lettres et des Sciences en France* (Paris: Guyot de Fère, 1834–5), 223.

[14] In relation to the various iterations of the Société lyrique: “Dans la suite plusieurs sociétés musicales s'élevèrent et tombèrent presque en même tems.” Anon, *Annuaire Statistique,* 428.

[15] François-Joseph Fétis, “Nouvelles des départemens: Sociétés Lyriques”, in *Revue musicale,* vol. 3 (Paris, 1828), 379–80. “En 1816, il s'en était déjà formé une autre qui avait donné des concerts, mais les frais considérables qu'entraînait la location de la salle, et d'autres motifs qu'il serait inutile de rapporter ici, avaient fini par la désorganiser.” For the pre-1818 activities of the Perpignan Société lyrique see also J. Duffrasini “La musique en Roussillon” in *Tramontane. Revue du Roussillon, Art & Littérature, Tourisme*, nos. 359–60 (Perpignan: Imp Midi, 1953), 59–60 cited in Michelle Ros, *Le Conservatoire de Perpignan: 150 ans de musique 1842–1988.* (Perpignan: Éditions des Archives Communales, 1991), 9–10.

[16] Jean Capeille, “Lomagne (Joseph)” in *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises* (Perpignan: Imprimerie-librairie catalane de J. Comet, 1914), 335–6.

[17] Capeille, *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises,* 335. “En 1817, on avait fondé à Perpignan une société lyrique au sein de laquelle il fit ses premières armes de pair avec Jacques Gallay.”

thanks to coverage by the local Perpignan press of a benefit concert given in 1839 featuring Gallay.[18] Gallay had returned to his home town for this event and the anonymous writer comments on Gallay's rise to fame as well as his origins. Not only is Gallay stated to have been the president of the Société, but his departure in 1822 to study in Paris is given as one of the reasons that the organisation had foundered.[19]

Ozi's *École Instrumentale*

Ozi was offering a specific "rapid success" music course based on the principles of "enseignement mutuel" (mutual tuition), a form of tuition which had become popular in the early nineteenth century. It is hard to glean from the surviving accounts how big the school was or how long-lasting.[20] Ozi is known to have been in Perpignan from 1818 and Michelle Ros quotes the *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales*

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[18] Anon., "Gallay. Concert donné au bénéfice des Pauvres le 20 septembre 1839" in *Journal du département des Pyrénées-Orientales,* 24th year, no. 37, (14 September 1839), 150.

[19] Anon., "Gallay" in *Journal du département des Pyrénées-Orientales*, 150: "Mais le départ de Gallay pour Paris, où sa place était déjà marquée et la perte de Pierre Coste, l'âme des concerts, et dont le souvenir est dans le cœur de tous ceux qui l'ont connu, portèrent un coup funeste à la Société lyrique." The *Annuaire Statistique* gives the Société as being briefly re-established in 1823: Anon, *Annuaire Statistique,* 428. Fétis ascribes free access to venues as having been a limiting factor to the activities of the Société, leading to another resurgence in 1826: "Plusieurs membres de cette ancienne société ont entrepris de lui donner une constitution plus solide en 1826, en ont obtenu du conseil municipal la cession gratuite de la salle." Fétis, *Revue musicale,* vol. 3, 380

[20] *Journal d'éducation*, 5th year, no. 7 (Paris: L. Colas, April 1820), 110: "L'ingénieux système de l'enseignement mutuel a été, comme on sait, heureusement adapté à l'étude de la musique. M. Ozi, maître de piano et organiste, a eu le premier, à Perpignan, l'idée de se servir de la nouvelle méthode." *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales,* 8th year, no. 20 (28 December 1822), 190–1: "M. Ozi a l'honneur de prévenir le Public qu'il ouvrira, le 5 janvier 1823, un cours de musique élémentaire, dont la durée sera de 6 mois. Il assure que sa méthode réunit aujourd'hui la plus entière simplicité et clarté, et promet aux Hommes, aux Enfants, comme aux Dames, les succès les plus rapides. Déjà l'année dernière, à Perpignan, les élèves qu'il forma, le prix qu'on attacha à sa méthode, établirent ses succès; et l'approbation du Gouvernement qui voulut, à ses ouvrages, accorder une gratification de 500 francs, en devinrent sa récompense." For a study of this mode of teaching see Sylviane Tinembart and Edward Pahud, *Une "innovation" pédagogique. Le cas de l'enseignement mutuel au XIXe siècle* (Neuchâtel: Livreo-Alphil, 2019).

as advertising Ozi as having “opened a instrumental school similar to the Paris Conservatoire” and offering horn tuition from the end of that year.[21] Whether thanks to this mode of teaching or the aptitude of the student, Fétis states that six months after commencing his studies with Ozi, Gallay’s first composition, his Concerto for Horn, was performed at a music society (presumably, the Société lyrique) and “applauded with great enthusiasm”.[22] Michelle Ros states that the Ozi school was short lived and “disappeared suddenly” after only one year, suggesting that Gallay’s participation would have been brief. Rather poignantly, shortly after his death, Ozi’s widow is seen advertising in the Perpignan press her services as a music teacher who had been “trained at her late husband’s school”, suggesting that the pair had remained active in Perpignan.[23]

Whilst it would indeed have been more typical for a young musician of Gallay’s age to have been studying at the Paris Conservatoire during his teens (the age range being restricted to between ten and sixteen for those with no prior musical training, and between eighteen and twenty for those with previous experience) there are other

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[21] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales* cited (but no date/page number given other than “A la fin de l’année 1818”) in Michelle Ros, *Le Conservatoire de Perpignan: 150 ans de musique 1842–1988.* (Perpignan: Éditions des Archives Communales, 1991), 6: “M. Ozi prévient le public qu'il a ouvert une école instrumentale à l'instar du conservatoire de Paris. Les élèves, moyennant 4 francs par mois, apprendront le violon, la flûte, le basson, la guitare, le cor et l’harmonie.”

[22] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249. “En 1818, une société musicale fut organisée à Perpignan, et Gallay en fut nommé le directeur.” McBeth, “Jacques-François Gallay: A study of his life”, 18.

[23] Ros, *Le Conservatoire de Perpignan*, 8: *“*Malgré son succès, cette école disparaît brusquement”*. Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales,* 12th year, no. 62 (13 October 1827), 554. “Madame OZI, formée à l’école de feu son mari, se dispose à donner des leçons de *Piano*, soit chez elle, soit chez les personnes qui lui feront l’honneur de l’appeler.”

factors to consider, in particular the political upheaval of the period, which may have impacted on such activities.[24]

Gallay's military service

I believe another explanation as to Gallay's activities prior to moving to Paris is military service. A letter dated 15 June 1865, written shortly after Gallay's death, contains information pertaining to the calculation of the pension that Gallay's widow was to receive.[25] The length of time he had been employed by the Conservatoire is given as 21 years, 11 months and 3 days, during the period 1842–1864. It also lists a year of military service in the *6e Régiment d'artillerie à pied* between 20 July 1813 and 20 July 1814. Gallay also was a member of the *Musique des escadrons de Savoie,* part of the *Gardes du Corps du Roi Louis XVIII* between 1 November 1821 and its abolition, as a result of the July Revolution, on 24 August 1830. This role would have been undertaken alongside his work at the Odéon and later the Théâtre-Italien.

The suggestion that military service may have been a significant part of Gallay's life is substantiated by a reference listing Gallay alongside other Conservatoire

[24] Constant Pierre, *B. Sarrette et les origines du Conservatoire national de musique et de déclamation* (Paris: Librairie Delalain frères, 1895), 27. By the end of the century the age range shifted to between nine and twenty-two. See: "C", "The Paris Conservatoire", in *The Musical Herald*, no. 531 (London: 1 June 1892), 168.

[25] This "lettre concernant Mme Gallay du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique au Ministre de la Maison de l'Empereur" in the Archives nationales de France (F-Pan: AJ 37/69/3) was kindly brought to my attention by Cyrille Grenot. As was the dossier containing Gallay's military records held at the Archives de la Défense, Vincennes (F-VIN: 2Ye 1636).

professors (Gustave Vogt, Henri Brod, Dauprat, Charles Barizel, Jean-Francois-Barthelemy Cokken, Antoine Dieppo) as teachers who had “spent several years in the regiments”.[26]

A final explanation regarding Gallay’s delay could be the turbulent time the Conservatoire was experiencing. The Conservatoire had been founded on revolutionary principles; its roots lay in Sarrette’s 1792 Institut National de Musique which had been created to train the sons of serving members of the Garde Nationale as wind and brass players.[27] Therefore, in 1815 it fell foul of the restored monarchy and was forced to shut temporarily. It reopened in a much-reduced form in 1816 as the École Royale de Musique et de Déclamation, though its future was still in question.[28] It was only in 1822, soon after Gallay’s graduation, when Luigi Cherubini was appointed its director, that it began to regain the authority that it had enjoyed prior to the Restoration.

Gallay’s formative years in Perpignan were shaped by a rich local musical culture, an early network of teachers and colleagues, and a series of opportunities, most notably his debut in *Les Visitandines.* His reluctance to leave home, potentially shaped by family ties, was matched by active engagement in local institutions such as the Société lyrique and brief but intensive study with Marie-Joseph Ozi. Military service

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[26] Besson, Buffet jeune, Buffet-Crampon, etc., “Beaux Art: Musique” in *Bulletin de la Librairie, des arts, de l’industrie et du commerce* (1 March 1855), iv-v. “En effet, Vogt, Brod, Dauprat, Gallay, Bariselle, Cokken, Dieppo et tant d’autres artistes, professeurs au Conservatoire, ont passé plusieurs années dans les régimens.”

[27] Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789–1830*, tr. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996), 14.

[28] Mongrédien, *French Music*, 27.

and the political uncertainties of the period may have further delayed his move to Paris. Regardless of the reasons for his delay, by the time he finally entered the musical life of Paris in 1822, Gallay evidently had much musical experience already behind him thanks to the experiences in his native region which placed him well equipped to flourish on a larger stage.

Chapter Eight: Gallay's training in Paris and early career (1820–1825)



Figure 8:1: Portrait of Jacques-François Gallay by Antoine Maurin (c.1825). Bibliothèque National de France (F-Pn): IFN-8420096.

Gallay's arrival in Paris

Gallay eventually moved to Paris in June 1820 and, aged 25, commenced his studies at the Conservatoire later that year.[1] His entrance exam (*concours d'entrée*) would

[1] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique,* vol. 4 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 249.

have taken place between 15 October and 15 November 1820 for entry the following January.[2] Officially, Gallay was far over the age limit of twenty years and special dispensation had to be given.[3] Whilst nineteenth-century biographers often make an issue of Gallay's maturity and the rules being bent in his case, there are other examples of this within the horn school; indeed the same thing happened with Louis-François Dauprat (admittedly, in order to return to the Conservatoire to study composition) and Joseph Meifred, suggesting that this may have not been such a remarkable occurrence.[4]

Gallay achieved the *premier prix* (first prize) in the *premier cor* (high horn) class at the end of 1821 and was awarded a Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo,* which was given to the Conservatoire by Gallay's daughter later in the century.[5] Given his performance of a composition of his own for solo horn and orchestra in the prize winners' concert, it is likely that that was the same piece he performed for the competition itself, thus emphasising how integral composition already was for Gallay.[6] The speed of his success was reported as, once more, testament to the

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[2] Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 267.

[3] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249.

[4] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 3, 251 and vol. 5, 359.

[5] Anon., "Intendance des Théâtres Royaux" in *Journal de Paris* (18 December 1821), no. 352, 2. Documents pertaining to the donation of the Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* to the Conservatoire can be found in the Archives nationales (Paris), Aj 37 (Archives des Écoles et des Conservatoires à Paris); 321, dossier 6, letters dated 4 February 1895 (Mlle Gallay to the Director of the Conservatoire) and 19 May 1896 (Director of the Conservatoire to Mlle Gallay). The instrument is today preserved in the collection of the Cité de la Musique, Paris (E.1531).

[6] Anon., "Décembre 1821" in *Almanach des spectacles*. (Paris: J.-N. Barba, 1823) 23.

Italianate leanings of musicians of the Catalan Roussillon region (which incorporated the Pyrénées-Orientales).[7]

"Music drama" in Paris c.1820

The same issue of the *Journal de Paris* which announces Gallay's *premier prix* success contains a snap shot of the dramatic productions happening on just that day of publication: 18 December 1821.[8] Whilst some of these are easily identifiable as operatic works, music was often incorporated in some form or another more broadly, begging questions as to where the boundaries of the term "opera" or related genres lie. Mark Everist has described "[t]his multi-faceted nature of the Parisian stage music" as the reason why he "treats the term "opera" as a generic term with a degree of caution and prefers the more neutral term "music drama" to encompass a wider range of music for the stage."[9]

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[7] Louis-François Jauffret, *Ruche provençale, recueil littéraire,* vol. 5 (Marsailles: G. Guion, 1819–1822), 186. See also F. Guyot de Fère, *Annuaire des artistes francais*, *statistique des Beaux-Arts en France* (Paris: M. Guyot de Fère, 1833/1834), 295, cited in footnote 1 of Chapter Six. "J'ai dit ailleurs que le Roussillon, sous le rapport de la musique, pouvait être regardé comme l'Italie de la France; j'ajouterai ici que, parmi les amateurs distingués qui en sortent, il en est un, Gallay, qui vient de remporter le premier prix de cor au Conservatoire royal ; il y a à peine un an qu'il a quitté Perpignan , d'où il n'était jamais sorti, pour se rendre à Paris."

[8] Anon., "Feuilleton du Journal de Paris, du 18 décembre" in *Journal de Paris* (18 December 1821), no. 332, 1. These include the Théâtre-Français (*Marie Stuart* and *L'Amant et le Mari* by François Fétis), Opéra-Comique (*Adolphe et Clara* and *Gulistan* by Nicolas Dalayrac,), Second Théâtre-Français (Le Paria and *Les Folies amoureuses* - think these are plays), Théâtre Royal Italien *(Il barbiere di Siviglia* by Rossini), Vaudeville (*Au Feu! Le Comédien, Pierre, Paul et Jean*), Gymnase (*Le Charlatan, Michel et Christine, l'Artiste*), Varietés (*Shogard, M. Lerond, la Leçon de danse, l'Ours*), Gaiete (*Les Roses, Valentine*), Ambigu (*La Forét d'Hermanstadt, la Pièce en perce, la Forêt périlleuse*), Cirque Olympique (*L'Eléphant, la Bataille de Bouvines, les Chinois*), Porte St-Martin (*Les Danaïdes, le Code, les Comtisans, la Servante*), Panorama Dramatique (*Ma Tante Rose, le Délateur, Rosalha*), Barrière Mont-Parnasse (*Les Suppleans, La Rosiere, les Deux Edmond*) plus several more.

[9] Mark Everist, *Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824–1828* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002), 2.

In 1824 Gallay joined the orchestra of the Odéon as *cor solo*, a role he was to hold until taking on the same role for the more fashionable Théâtre-Italien at the end of the following year.[10] Gallay joined the Odéon just on the cusp of four impactful years, a window of time when this establishment was permitted to produce certain musical works. Prior to 1824 the remit of the Odéon was spoken drama, and the house orchestra was a small ensemble of fifteen players. Their role was purely to provide an overture and any incidental music to stage plays.[11] With the change of repertoire that came into effect in April 1824 came the need to expand the ensemble to a full sized opera orchestra and the ensemble "quadrupled in size" between 1824 and 1828.[12]

During the 1820s the five Royal theatres comprised:

I. Théâtre-Français - spoken drama only.
II. Académie Royale de Musique / Opéra - which performed through-composed grand opera in French.
III. Théâtre-Royal Italien - performing Italian music drama in its original language.

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[10] The exact date of Gallay's employment at the Odéon is not known. G. Vapereau, *Dictionnaire Universel des Contemporains*, (Paris: Libraire de L. Hachette et Cie., 1859), 22, *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (Paris; 6 August 1824), 4, and *Almanach des spectacles pour l'an 1825* (Paris: Barba, 1825), 120, all list Gallay as "premier cor" of the Odéon in 1824. Fétis and Mongrédien place him as joining the Théâtre-Italien the subsequent year. Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249; "Correspondances et documents administratifs" Registres. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Théâtre-Italien (housed in the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra ad. 44. (Monday 21 February 1826), cited in Jean Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris 1801–1831, chronologie et documents*, vol. 6 (Lyon: Symétrie; [Venise]: Palazzetto Bru-Zane, 2008), 416.

[11] Everist, *Music Drama,* 94.

[12] Everist, *Music Drama,* 47 and 95.

IV. Théâtre-Royal de l'Opéra-Comique - performing opéras comiques, with spoken dialogue in French.

V. Théâtre-Royal de l'Odéon, also known as the Second Théâtre-Français.

The Odéon

The repertoires of all stages in Paris were strictly controlled, and the Odéon was initially designed to prepare actors for the "the most prestigious venue for spoken drama in the capital", the Théâtre-Français (also known as the Comédie-Française).[13] It was only in 1824 that the Odéon received a music license which would allow it to perform "Public domain opéras comiques, pasticci and occasional works, and translations of foreign music drama".[14]

Prior to this expansion in 1824 the Odéon fielded a small ensemble including only one horn player, Michault père, though there is evidence of it having had a second horn, Pector, early in 1819.[15] In 1824 most of the existing musicians were dispensed with and a new, larger ensemble engaged, expanding the horn section to four players.[16] The Odéon orchestra post-1824 was a youthful ensemble of prize-winning

[13] Everist, *Music Drama,* 2.

[14] Everist, *Music Drama,* 3.

[15] *Almanach des spectacles pour l'an 1824* (Paris: Barba, 1824), 89. César Gardeton, *Annals de la musique ou Almanach musical pour l'an 1819* (Paris: Au Bureaux des Annales de la Musique, 1819), 77, 84.

[16] *Almanach des spectacles pour l'an 1825* (Paris: Barba, 1825), 120 lists Gallay, Weber, Callaut and Ivart as the section.

musicians drawn more or less straight out of the Conservatoire.[17] Whilst many of them, such as Gallay, quickly went on to new positions, to be replaced by further musicians from the Conservatoire, a position in this orchestra which "[a]t its best… could rival every other orchestra in Paris" could arguably be a springboard to the more prestigious houses such as – as in Gallay's case – the fashionable Théâtre-Italien.[18]

The Théâtre-Italien

The orchestra of the Théâtre-Italien was smaller than that of the Opéra, consisting, by 1830, of forty-six players. Spohr recounted in his autobiography that in the 1820s Parisians rated the orchestra as not only better than that of the Opéra but indeed as "the first in the world".[19]

> …this orchestra is justly famed for the discretion with which it accompanies the singer, and in that might serve as a model for the other Parisian as well as many German orchestras.[20]

Not all were impressed, however: in November 1825, shortly after Gallay had joined the Théâtre-Italien, the English musician Sir George Smart attended a performance

[17] Everist, *Music Drama,* 95.

[18] Everist, *Music Drama,* 96.

[19] Louis Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Autobiography*, trans. unknown (London: Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865), vol 2, 118.

[20] Spohr, *Autobiography*, vol 2, 119.

of Simone Mayr's *La rosa Bianca e la rosa rossa*, and noted that the wind players were "nothing extraordinary with the exception of some very excellent horns".[21] Paul Rodmell has argued that British critics often tended towards some antipathy regarding French music, and therefore Smart might have favoured Italian musicians and ensembles.[22] Furthermore Patrick Barbier has raised a note of warning regarding criticism and praise of the "Italiens" pointing out that, given the turf warfare engaged in by the territorial Paris opera houses, a critic's position regarding the Théâtre-Italien was often very much wrapped up in their allegiances.[23]

Many factors had contributed to the Théâtre-Italien's success, but the impact of the operas of Rossini in 1816 and his huge successes with *L'italiana in Algeri* (1817) and *Il barbiere di Siviglia* (1819) were fundamental to the growth in interest in Italian opera buffa. Rossini's appointment as the Director of the Théâtre-Italien in 1823 further increased the importance of this opera house in French culture. Eventually Rossini was headhunted by the Opéra, and, although this did not have an immediate impact on the Théâtre-Italien, by the mid-nineteenth century its glory was beginning to fade.

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[21] Sir George Smart, *Leaves from the Journals of Sir George Smart*, ed. H. Bertram Cox and C.L.E.Cox (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1907), 228.

[22] Paul Rodmell, *French Music in Britain 1830–1914* (London: Routledge, 2021), 22–33.

[23] Patrick Barbier, *Opera in Paris 1800–1850: A lively history,* trans. Robert Luoma (Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1995), 182. "Moreover, commentaries presented quite different pictures depending on whether or not the writer or newspaper supported the Théâtre-Italien and its music. *Le Courrier des Spectacles* had nothing but praise and regarded the Italiens' orchestra as the envy of theatres in Rome and Naples. On the other hand, Stendhal railed against trumpets that "violated the ears," and an orchestra incapable of nuance or sensitivity, which played *sotto voce* passages "at full strength," and failed to understand that it overpowered the deep, soft voice of a contralto. Stendhal, it should be understood, had nothing but praise for Italian performances in Italy and scorn for those in Paris."

	1815	1816	1817	1818	1820	1825
premier	Colin aîne	Colin aîne	Atrapart	Atrapart	Atrapart	Atrapart
second	Colin jeune	Colin jeune	Puzzi	Duvernoy	Duvernoy	Duvernoy
premier	Atrapart	Atrapart			Jacqmin	Gallay
second	Puzzi				Meifred	Meifred

Figure 8:2: The horn section of the Théâtre-Italien 1815–1825.[24]

Gallay joined the forces of the Théâtre-Italien on 1 February 1825, initially succeeding François Nicolas Jacqmin/Jacquemin (1793–1847).[25] Jacqmin was a member of both the Théatre-Italien and Opéra-Comique sections and author of a horn *Méthode*.[26] Jacqmin and Meifred were, like Gallay, students of Dauprat and had graduated from the Conservatoire in 1818, joining the section of the Théâtre-Italien.[27] The pair had been awarded the Conservatoire's *premier prix* (first prizes) for the *premier cor* (or high horn) and *second cor* (or low horn) respectively.[28]

[24] Data taken compiled from: *Almanach général de tous les spectacles de Paris et des provinces, pour l'année 1791* (Paris: chez Froullé, 1791), 38; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Capelle/Delaunay 1815) 115; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: chez Rosa, 1816) 151; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay/Nepveu, 1817), 110; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay/Vente, 1818), 112; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay, 1820), 121. *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay, 1822), 145–6.

[25] "Correspondances et documents administratifs", Registres. Théâtre de l'Opéra-Théâtre-Italien (housed in the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra ad. 44. (Friday 4 February 1825) in Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris,* vol. 6, 41. "Démission de M. Jacqmin, premier cor à l'orchestre du Théâtre-Italien, remplacé par M. Galley, surnuméraire à partir du 1er février." Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 526.

[26] François Jacqmin, *Méthode complète de premier et de second cor,* Op. 20 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, 1832).

[27] For Meifred's biography see Chapter Six, 252–260.

[28] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 526.

From 1820 until Gallay's arrival in 1825, the horn section of the Théâtre-Italien was a stable quartet consisting of Jean-Louis-Constant-Armand Atrapart (1789– after 1843), Duvernoy, Jacqmin and Meifred.[29] Whilst Atrapart was never awarded the coveted *premier prix* at the Conservatoire, achieving the more modest *accessit* (distinction) in the class in 1809, the *1er second* in 1812 and the lower graded *2nd second prix* 1813, he was considered a fine horn player and was also the author of a *Méthode* for the instrument.[30]

In keeping with the smaller sections that had been the norm earlier in the century, prior to 1820 the section had comprised only two horn players, Atrapart and Duvernoy (1818 onwards), and, earlier still, Atrapart and the eminent Italian horn

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[29] "Correspondences et documents administratifs" Série AJ 13 -131 (Théâtre de l'Opéra) (Tuesday, 1 December 1818); *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay, 1820) 121; *Annuaire dramatique ou Étrennes théâtrales* (Paris: Lelong/Delaunay, 1821–22), 144–5. Sources cited in Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris,* vol. 4, 197, 362 and 764.

[30] Jean-Louis-Constant Atrapart (variant spellings include Atrapard/Attrapart). Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 520, 523 and, 524. In 1829 Atrapart is singled out for having "once again demonstrated his talent" as the horn soloist in Carafa's *Nozze di Lammermoor. "*X.X.X." "Chronique musical: Le Nozze di Lammermoor" in *Journal des débats et des décrets* (21 December 1829) n.p. [1]. Cited in Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris,* vol. 8, 275. "Atrapart a fait de nouveau preuve de talent en jouant le solo de cor qui accompagne cet air." Jean-Louis-Constant Atrapart, "Méthode de Cor" published within Alexandre-Étienne Choron and Juste Adrien de Lafage *Manuel complet de musique vocale et instrumentale ou Encyclopédie Musicale,* vol. 4 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1838), 1–31.

player Giovanni Puzzi (1792–1876) whose tenure was disrupted by his departure to London as part of the fallout of the French/British Napoleonic wars.[31]

Very soon after Gallay joined the ensemble, a note is made in the Théâtre-Italien's administrative documents that "the two premier horns" Atrapart and Gallay were to get a pay rise from the annual salary of 1 200F to 1 400F, suggesting the pair were held in equal regard.[32] Contrary to Berlioz's claim that, despite Gallay being "the most gifted horn player in Paris", that "for reasons of seniority he plays third horn and never gets a solo", there is evidence in the following years of the two horn players having shared the role.[33] For example, with Atrapart being credited in 1829 as the

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[31] For Duvernoy see Gardeton, *Annals de la musique*, 9, 39. It is at times ambiguous which Duvernoy records are referring to. His nephew Antoine-François-Frédéric Duvernoy (1800–1874) was also a horn player who studied at the Conservatoire where he was awarded *accessit* in 1813 and *second prix* 1814. (Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 524–525, 689). The younger Duvernoy was a member of the Théâtre-Italien horn section from 1 October 1830 until 31 October 1864 (Pierre, Le Conservatoire National de Musique, 689). For Puzzi see Francois-Joseph Grille, *Les théatres* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, 1817), 91. Strauchen states that Puzzi was the *cor solo* (principal horn) during 1815–16 however the section listings in *Les Théatres* (Grille, *Les Théatres*, 91) and Henri Dulac, *Almanach de 25,00 adresses de Paris pour l'année 1817* (Paris: Panckoucke, 1817), 482, clearly place him as the second horn. Elizabeth Bradley Strauchen, *Giovanni Puzzi: His Life and Work. A View of Horn Playing and Musical Life in England from 1817 into the Victorian Era (c. 1855)*, D.Phil, University of Oxford, 2000, 2 and 26.

[32] Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris*, vol. 6, 416.

[33] Hector Berlioz, "Die deutsche Oper in Paris" in *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung,* no. 26 (27 June 1829), 25. "Von der Masse der Blechinstrumente kann man auch nicht viel sagen, als bloss, dass Gallay der geschickteste Hornist ist, den wir in Paris haben; indess blässt er nur das 3te Horn, und lässt sich daher nie in den Solis hören, woran die Rechte der Anciennetät schuld sind." See also Hector Berlioz, *Critique musicale*, ed. H. Robert Cohen and Yves Gerard, vol. 1 (Paris: Buchet/ Chastel, 1996), 25. "De même, on ne peut pas dire grand - chose de plus de l'ensemble des cuivres, si ce n'est que Gallay est le plus doué des cornistes parisiens. Pourtant, à cause des règles d'ancienneté, il ne tient que la partie de troisième cor, et ne joue donc jamais dans les soli". English translation in Hector Berlioz and Hugh Macdonald, *Berlioz's orchestration treatise: a translation and commentary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), xvi. "There is little better to be said of the brass, except that Gallay is the most gifted horn player in Paris, but for reasons of seniority he plays third horn and never gets a solo."

horn soloist in Michele Carafa's (1787–1872) *Nozze di Lammermoor* and Gallay performing the same role later in the year."[34]

Gallay is frequently singled out as one of the key protagonists of the orchestral ensemble.[35] For example, an Italian report on Maria Malibran's upcoming return to the Théâtre-Italien in in October 1830 highlights that, with the recent new management that was brought in with the appointment of Édouard Robert in the same month, the orchestra had had something of a significant change in terms of its demographic as

> the entire orchestra will be almost entirely replaced by young talents full of taste and ardor, and this will be conducted by Monsieur Giraud, a pupil of Monsieur Bailot; the main instruments of this orchestra are Messrs. Brod, Gambati, Gallay, Beer, Villain and Camus…Everything therefore portends the most brilliant success for Italian theatre.[36]

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[34] The *Journal des Débats Politiques et Litteraires* commented: "The horn solo in the air sung by Zuchelli was given with an elegant purity by M. Gallay." Anon., "Chronique musicale: Théâtre Royal Italien. *Le Nozze di Lammermoor"* in Journal des Débats Politiques et Litteraires (Monday, 14 December, 1829), n.p. (3). Quoted in Mongrédien *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris,* vol. 8, 275. "Le solo de cor de l'air chanté par Zucchelli, a été dit avec une élégante pureté par M. Gallay."

[35] Administrative records and critical reviews are systematically documented in Jean Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris 1801–1831, chronologie et documents* (Lyon: Symétrie/Venise: Palazzetto Bru-Zane, 2008), 8 vols.

[36] Anon: "Teatri, Arti e Letteratura" *Cenni Storici Intorno alle letter invenzioni arti commercio e spettacoli teatrali per l'anno 1830 al 1831*, vol. 14, no. 343 (Bologna: Sassi,1831), 14 October 1830, 52. "Tutta l'orchestra sarà pressoché interamente rimpiazzata da giovani talenti pieni di gusto e d'ardore, e questa verrà diretta da Monsieur Giraud allievo di Monsieur Bailot; li principali istrumenti di questa orchestra sono ii signori Brod, Gambati, Gallay, Beer, Villain e Camus… Tutto a dunque fa presagire un successo il più brillante per il teatro italiano."

Gallay's move to Paris in 1820 marked the decisive turning point from promising provincial talent to a figure embedded in the capital's most prestigious musical institutions. His rapid success at the Conservatoire, securing the premier prix within a year, signalled not only technical mastery but also the early integration of composition into his performing career. Positions at the Odéon and later the Théâtre-Italien placed him at the heart of Paris's operatic life during a period of repertoire expansion, institutional rivalry, and heightened public taste for Italian opera.

Within these ensembles, Gallay rose quickly in status, his artistry earning him parity with established colleagues and confirming his reputation among the city's finest horn players. The skills, contacts, and public profile gained in this decade laid the foundation for the solo, orchestral, and chamber successes that would define the next phase of his career, most visibly in his performances with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire.

Chapter Nine: Gallay and the Société des concerts du Conservatoire (1828 onwards)

> Mr. Galay [sic] is now at the forefront of virtuosos on the horn: what distinguishes this artist is a purity of sound and a way of singing that leave nothing to be desired, and which give the idea of the greatest perfection possible.[1]

Gallay's professional performances were not restricted to the Théâtre-Italien. In the late-1820s and mid-1830s two other organisations were founded, both with the zealous desire to broaden the repertoire being performed in Paris, and to broaden the tastes and appetites of Parisian audiences. The Société des concerts du Conservatoire and Le Cercle musical (also known as La Société musicale, subject of the next chapter), along with Gallay's position as *cor solo* of the Chapelle Royale, were to figure large in his career from the late 1820s onwards.[2] These first two institutions afforded Gallay an important platform and are also significant in

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[1] François-Joseph Fétis, "Nouvelles de Paris: École Royale de Musique. Société des Concerts" in *Revue musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1828), 206–7. "M. Galay [sic] est maintenant au premier rang des virtuoses sur le cor: ce qui distingue cet artiste, c'est une pureté de son et une manière de chanter qui ne laissent rien à désirer, et qui donnent l'idée de la plus grande perfection possible."

[2] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique,* vol. 4 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 249. The ramifications of the July Revolution of 1830 led to the suspension of the Chapelle Royale, though Gallay was appointed to its successor of types, King Louis Philippe I's Musique particulière. As this study is more focused on Gallay's solo and operatic work, the Chapelle Royale will not be considered here.

establishing the circles in which he operated. Gallay was appointed to the Chapelle Royale in 1824 as a result of a concert in which he performed one of his own compositions. The *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Oriéntales* reported that Gallay, “who is already ranked among the top artists of the capital” and “completely justifies the predictions of his compatriots”, demonstrated “the ever-increasing superiority of his talent for the horn, such a difficult instrument, which becomes a flute in his hands”.[3]

In addition to these positions, during this period Gallay developed an important duo partnership with the pianist Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1784–1849) and we see evidence of frequent partnerships with singers including Giovanni Battista Rubini (see Chapters Five and Eighteen) and Maria Malibran (see Chapters Seventeen and Eighteen).

The foundation of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire

The Société des concerts du Conservatoire was founded by François-Antoine Habeneck (1781–1849) in 1828, and was made up of graduates or professors of the

[3] Anon., “Variétés. Beaux-Arts. Spectacle” in *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Oriéntales,* no. 41, 9th year (22 May 1824), 394. “Un autre élève du Conservatoire, qui est déjà classé au rang des premiers artistes de la capitale, vient d'y obtenir un nouveau succès, qui justifie complètement les prédictions de ses compatriotes. Dans un brillant concert, M. Gallay a exécuté un morceau de sa composition. La supériorité toujours croissante de son talent pour le cor, instrument si difficile, et qui devient une flûte entre ses mains, lui a mérité récemment, avec les applaudissements des grands maîtres, la nomination de membre honoraire de la chapelle du roi.”

Conservatoire. The orchestra had a long and illustrious history, only disbanding in 1967 in order to reform as the Orchestre de Paris.[4]

In his history of the Société, D. Kern Holoman illustrates how the orchestra evolved out of the "exercises publics des élèves". The exercises were part of the original remit of the Conservatoire: six concerts to be performed each year on set days. An attempt to fulfil this duty was made in a student orchestra participating in the annual prize ceremony, and in 1800–01 the institution put on three concerts, but the enterprise was so financially detrimental to the Conservatoire that such events were not undertaken again.

Whilst they were not beneficial financially to the institution, the students themselves found these concerts valuable to the extent that they organised their own "Concerts Français", held at the Salle Olympique in 1801. These were successful enough to warrant an 1802 season, held now in the *petite salle* of the Conservatoire. Over the next fifteen years "Conservatoire concerts" were held, only halting on 11 June 1815, a date, Holoman points out, only a week before Waterloo.[5]

As mentioned earlier, the activities of the Conservatoire ceased after the downfall of Napoleon and the institution was slow to re-establish itself and its former standing,

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[4] For comprehensive histories of the Société see: Antoine Elwart, *Histoire de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique* (Paris: S. Castel, 1860); Arthur Dandelot, *La Société des concerts du Conservatoire (1828–1923)* (Paris: Delagrave, 1923); D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004).

[5] Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire*, 9–11.

with public concerts only commencing in 1823. These student performances “failed to achieve either financial or artistic success”, and the new director of the Conservatoire, Luigi Cherubini (1760–1842) took the view that combining the student ensemble with notable graduates of the Conservatoire could improve matters.[6]

The repertoire of the “Conservatoire concerts” was very similar to what would become the repertoire of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. Operatic airs, ensembles and finales formed part of the programming, but the bulk of the concerts comprised orchestral music: symphonies, overtures, concertos, with Haydn and Mozart as favoured composers.

Horn playing at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire

From the very first concert cutting-edge horn playing (and horn design) was on display, with Joseph Meifred playing a solo of his own composition for the new *cor à pistons*. The inaugural horn players of the Société as formed on 4 March 1828 were eminent graduates and teachers of the Conservatoire: Louis-François Dauprat, Jean-Auguste Blangy (1779–1848), Jean-Baptiste Mengal (1792–1878) and Joseph Meifred.[7] Gallay was not a founder member but joined the Société in its first year (6

[6] Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire,*12.

[7] Blangy joined as both a horn player and violist, switching to only viola in 1831.

December 1828), as did Joseph François Rousselot (1803–1880), who joined on 20 December 1828).[8]

Mengal, Gallay, Meifred and Rousselot shared the solo spots in the Société concerts, with horn repertoire being performed regularly.[9] During Gallay's tenure at the Société a sixth solo horn player, Édouard Alexis Bernard (1806–1847), appeared twice, with Bernard only joining the Société as a member after Gallay's retirement, thus plausibly succeeding him.[10]

Dauprat restricted himself to chamber works such as Jean-Louis Tulou's *Air varié concertant* for flute, oboe, horn and bassoon, extracts from Reicha wind quintets and from the very popular Beethoven Septet, Op. 20.[11] Meifred continued to push the boundaries of new technologies with regular performances, mostly of his own

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[8] Rousselot was a contemporary of Gallay's at the Conservatoire, Gallay being awarded the *premier prix* in 1821, Rousselot achieved first the *second prix* in 1822, gaining the accolade of *premier prix* in 1823. Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 642.

[9] Performances included: 29 March 1829 - Mengal solo, 26 April 1829 - "new solo" written and performed by Meifred; 21 March 1830 - Concerto written and performed by Gallay; 9 May 1830 - Solo performed by Rousselot; 31 March 1833 - Fantaisie sur une romance de M. Blangini, Op. 15. written and performed by Gallay; 7 February 1836 - Fantaisie pour le cor sur la Straniera de Bellini, Op. 30, written and performed by Gallay; 24 April 1836 - Solo pour le cor en la bémol, written by M. Munck and performed by Édouard Alexis Bernard; 29 January 1837 - Mélodie pour le cor, written and performed by Gallay; 17 February 1840 - Solo de cor, written and performed by Bernard. Data on the programmes, personnel and legislature of the *Société des concerts du Conservatoire* available from: D. Kern Holoman "The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967", (12 July 2012), https://web.archive.org/web/20180419155307/http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/ [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[10] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 697.

[11] Performed on 30 January 1831, 17 February 1833 and 30 January 1831 respectively. Holoman, https://web.archive.org/web/20180419155307/http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/ [Accessed 8 July 2024]. The Tulou piece has not been identified and an alternative interpretation is that this performance was of the final movement (Thema con variazioni) of Tulou's *Symphonie concertante*, Op. 21, for flute, oboe, horn and bassoon and orchestra (Paris: Pleyel, n.d. c.1819). Op. 21 was dedicated to Vogt, Dauprat and Dossion with Vogt and Dauprat being amongst the solo performers on the occasion of the 1831 performance.

compositions, on his cor à pistons. He found colleagues to join him: horn players François Jacqmin (1793–1847) and Bailly, trumpet player François Dauverné (1799–1874) and cornet à pistons player Dufresne for a performance of the (now lost) Quintet for brass by “Strunz” (probably Jacques Strunz, 1781–1852) on 28 April 1833.

Horn-centric works often received a degree of “amplification” (undoubtably making good use of the student component of the ensemble) with performances of works such as the “Chœur des chasseurs” (Carl Maria von Weber’s “Chor der Jäger" from *Der Freischütz*) and the Overture to Méhul’s *Jeune Henry* each performed with sixteen horns.[12] There appears to have been an appetite for such large forces with movements from Beethoven’s Septet, Op. 20, being regularly “exécutés par tous les violons, altos, violoncelles, contrebasses, clarinettes, cors et bassons”.[13]

Repertoire of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire

The concerts typically featured between six and ten separate works, and a similar repertoire to that of the earlier Conservatoire concerts - symphonies (Beethoven was exceedingly popular), overtures (operas by Weber, Rossini, Mozart etc.), concertos (performed and often composed by Société members), extracts from choral works both modern (again, Beethoven was popular, as were compositions by Conservatoire

[12] Performed on 15 April 1832 and 20 December 1841 respectively. Holoman, https://web.archive.org/web/20180419155307/http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/ [Accessed 8 July 2024].

[13] Performances of unspecified movements on 15 January 1837, 19 March 1837, 25 February 1838, 22 April 1838, 29 March 1839, 21 April 1839 and many other occasions.

management figures such as Cherubini) and “ancient” (Handel and Haydn). The big works comprised sacred music (again Beethoven and Cherubini) and Haydn’s *Creation,* with operatic excerpts (e.g. Weber was popular with works such as *Euryanthe* and *“Robin des Bois”* (an adaption of *Der Freischütz*), as was Gluck’s *Orphée et Eurydice*).

This mixture of repertoire was designed to show off both the professionals associated with the Conservatoire and star students and recent graduates. This drive can be seen in the new decrees written in 1832, which added a stipulation that each concert “must feature…one of the Conservatoire’s most recent prize-winning students” and “one of the pieces of student winners sent to Rome or Germany for three years” (i.e. the winners of the Prix de Rome).[14] The requirement for former prize winners to be included is likely to explain the two performances in 1836 and 1840 by Bernard, Dauprat’s former student and *premier prix* winner of the horn class in 1831.

Whilst it is clear that the majority of the programming focused on Austro-Germanic composers, native compositional talent (especially thanks to the remit to support the prize winners) was included and there was a great deal of Cherubini (perhaps indicating a form of director’s privilege?). The Parisian taste for Italian-influenced

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[14] Théodore Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Levy Frères, 1860), 486–87; also Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 332. Lassabathie: “La Société devra faire entendre, dans chaque Concert, un des Élèves dernièrement couronnés au Conservatoire; elle devra, de plus, fair exécuter, dans chaque Concert, un des morceaux des Élèves lauréats envoyés à Rome ou en Allemagne depuis trois ans.”The winner of the Prix de Rome was awarded a five year scholarship, the first two years to be spent in Rome and/or other “useful” Italian cities. This was followed by a third year in “German” cities (including Vienna, Munich and Dresden) and two final years back in Paris. Béatrice Bouvier and François Fossier, eds., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie des beaux-arts, (1821–1825)*, vol. 3 (Paris: École des chartes, 2003), 376. With thanks to Kerry Murphy for clarification of this point.

opera was, however, also catered for, mostly in the choices of the vocal soloists who often selected works by Pacini, Mercadante, Rossini and unspecified “Italian airs”.

Gallay’s solo performances at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire

Gallay performed four times as a soloist at the Société. In some ways his choice of repertoire, especially for his first two appearances, feels quite “centrist” and is representative particularly of his earlier compositions.

His first solo performance (21 March 1830) featured his *Premier Concerto,* Op. 18.[15] This delineation as a “premier” concerto, which occurred during its publication and in a number of sources during Gallay’s lifetime, is something of a misnomer given no other concertos were written by Gallay. This may indicate that Gallay had at one stage intended return to concerto writing, however Fétis’s inclusion of a “Deuxième concerto pour cor et orchestre, Op. 28” in his biography of Gallay, is an error and such a work does not exist.[16]

[15] *Le Figaro,* year 5, no. 16 (16 January 1830), 4, includes notification of “Musique nouvelle” by Gallay published by Zetter. This article also states that “The first concerto by the same author will be published in February” (“Le premier concerto du même auteur paraîtra dans le courant de février”). No surviving French edition has been traced. A set of parts published c.1831 by Breitkopf und Härtel (Jacques-François Gallay, *Premier Concerto pour le cor* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d.[1831]) Plate 5117) may be a reprint of a Zetter edition.

[16] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249. See Appendix i. Catalogue of Gallay’s works for more information on Op. 28.

Gallay's decision not to return to the concerto in his compositions may also reflect a change in taste away from the genre during this period. Earlier in the century the concerto had been an incredibly popular form in France.

> I have spoken only about violin concertos because they were the first and for a long time the only concertos, and because concertos written afterward for other instruments were based on exactly the same model. Instrumental playing has developed to such perfection that every instrument now wants to shine as a soloist… There even exist some for the French horn and for the sad bassoon.[17]

Their ubiquity, especially for instruments other than a select few, became anathema to some critics:

> Concertos are good only when they are written for the violin, or possibly the piano. God preserve any good musician from being obliged to listen to a bassoon concerto, or one for the flute, clarinet, double bass or Jew's harp, because it is sheer poison. The cello should be given only occasional solo phrases, and the same is true for any wind instrument.[18]

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[17] Pierre-Louis Ginguené, "Concerto" in *Encyclopédie méthodique. Musique*, vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Panckoucke, 1791), 301. Translation from Jean Mongrédien, *French Music from the Enlightenment to Romanticism 1789–1830*, English trans. Sylvain Frémaux (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1996), 286–7.

[18] Jérôme Joseph Momigny, "Concerto" in *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition*, vol. 2 (Paris: de Momigny, 1805), 674. Translation from Mongrédien, *French Music*, 286.

In her analysis of the music criticism of *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, Ellis investigates the attitude towards the concerto and instrumental solo as performed by the musicians of the Société.[19] Ellis suggests that the organisation favoured solo items such as variation sets, rather than traditional concertos, and that this was driven by a "newer concept of the concerto" that stemmed from the differentiation made between "technical" concertos and the more "poetic and symphonic" concertos as discussed in Hoffmann's *Kreisleriana*.[20]

It is not immediately clear as to whether logistics may have had a hand in the drive away from concertos and towards variations and fantasias. Gallay's concerto is scored for a reasonably large orchestra of two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns (in addition to the solo horn), two trumpets, timpani and strings. Gallay composed at least two other works (Premiere Solo pour Cor-Alto Op. 5 and Rondeau pastoral Op. 6) for which the orchestral parts survive but frequently advertised works for horn and piano as being also available for horn and string quartet or horn and orchestra.[21] This makes it difficult to know categorically what instrument or instruments were accompanying Gallay in performances such as those for the Société des concerts du Conservatoire. An orchestra was obviously available for these performances and Gallay was evidently capable of providing orchestral

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[19] Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris' 1834–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 165.

[20] Ellis, *Music Criticism*, 165. See Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, *E.T.A.Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer*, *Music Criticism*, ed. David Charlton and trans. Martyn Clarke (Cambridge, 1989), 101.

[21] See Appendix i. Catalogue of Gallay's works.

accompaniments (as can be seen in Op. 5 and 6) but it is unclear what accompaniment, or what choices, he had.

There appears to have been a significant delay between Gallay's original composition of his concerto and its first performance, which Fétis cites as having taken place six months after commencing his studies with Marie-Joseph Ozi (see Chapter Seven), and the 1830 performance which was "applauded with great enthusiasm".[22] This places the premier a good dozen years before Gallay's performance at the Société which begs the question as to whether the concerto had been revised in the interim or even whether it is one and the same piece.[23] Whilst this piece can be seen as somewhat traditional (a three-movement concerto versus the more fashionable opera fantasias etc.) it does contain some evidence of Gallay's cadenzas (figures 9:1, 9:2 and 9:3) and therefore, again, some pertinent information concerning his potential embellishments elsewhere.



Figure 9:1: First movement "cadenza" (bars 128–129) from Jacques-François Gallay, *Premier Concerto* in F, Op. 18 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1831).

[22] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249.

[23] Elwart, *Histoire de la Société des concerts du Conservatoire,* 144. Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249.

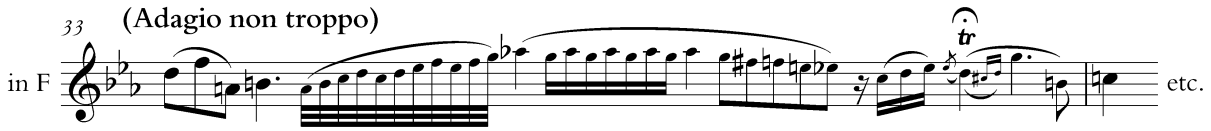


Figure 9:2: Second movement cadenza (bar 33) from Jacques-François Gallay, *Premier Concerto* in F, Op. 18 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1831).



Figure 9:3: Third movement cadenza (bar 71) from Jacques-François Gallay, *Premier Concerto* in F, Op. 18 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1831).

The *Revue Musicale* reported on Gallay's performance:

> For the first time, M. Gallay is heard in these admirable concerts where he made his mark. It was with a concerto of his own composition that he began. This piece contains the greatest difficulties; but who could have doubted it, listening to these sounds so pure, and so equal, that it seemed as if there were no longer any stopped sounds on the instrument. The most difficult passages do not bother M. Gallay; no uncertainty is perceptible in the highest notes that he draws from his instrument but all this is only a small portion of his merit: what is truly admirable is his way of changing [notes] so elegantly and in such a way that one would believe one hears a beautiful voice conducted with art; this ease of breathing which is such that we do not see the moment when the mechanism of this breathing operates; finally, such a taste

that is too rarely encountered in the playing of wind instruments. A unanimous and prolonged applause demonstrated to M. Gallay the pleasure he gave the audience.[24]

Here we see the oft repeated praise for Gallay's balancing of the stopped and open notes, rendered "so pure, and so equal", almost as if the stopped notes did not exist. As explored in Chapter Three, this is of particular note given Gallay's stated aims of explicitly wishing to exploit the timbres of the instrument.[25] Key to this perception of Gallay's playing being "so pure, and so equal" could be the range in which much of the concerto is written. Like the majority of his compositions Gallay does not go below a 4th harmonic middle C and in this work does not go above the 15th harmonic high B with the 16th harmonic top C curiously absent (a note within his range as demonstrated by other works); the majority of the piece falls between the 6th harmonic middle G and 12th harmonic high G, i.e. covering a range of an octave. This range, though it does encounter a number of stopped notes, was described by

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[24] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), "Nouvelles de Paris: Ecole Royale de Musique. Troisième Concert" in *Revue Musicale*, 2nd series, vol. 2 (Paris: Au Bureau de la Revue Musicale,1830), 241. "Pour la première fois, M. Gallay s'est fait entendre dans ces admirables concerts où sa place était marquee. C'est par un concerto de sa composition qu'il a débuté. Ce morceau renferme les plus grandes difficultés; mais qui aurait pu s'en douter, en écoutant ces sons si purs, et si bien égalisés qu'il semblait qu'il n'y avait plus de sons bouchés dans l'instrument. Les traits les plus difficiles n'ont rien qui arrête M. Gallay; aucune incertitude ne se fait apercevoir dans les sons les plus aigus qu'il tire de son instrument mais tout cela n'est qu'une faible portion de son mérite : ce qui est vraiment admirable, c'est sa manière de changer si élégante et si pour qu'on croirait entendre une belle voix conduite avec art; cette facilité de respiration qui est telle, qu'on n'aperçoit pas le moment ou le mécanisme de cette respiration opère; enfin ce goût qu'il est trop rare de rencontrer dans le jeu des instruments à vent. Des applaudissements unanimes et prolongés ont prouvé à M. Gallay le plaisir qu'il a fait l'auditoire."

[25] Jaques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3). 91. "L'emploi des *sons bouchés* est un des plus grands moyens d'expression dont on puisse se servir sur le Cor." "Cette nuance, ce contraste, cette opposition de tous les instans donnent à la musique une immense variété et ajoutent à sa beauté un charme inexprimable."

Dauprat as having a “quality” which “already comes close to that of the natural sounds.”[26]

Despite this exploitation of the “medium” range, i.e. that considered by Dauprat to be closest to the “natural sounds”, Gallay does utilise the higher range of the instrument and always more so than he ever uses the lowest range. Given the question as to whether Gallay should be considered a *cor alto* or *cor mixte* player, the remarks in the review about the security of “the highest notes” suggest a true *cor alto* player.

The author (mostly likely François Joseph Fétis) focuses on the “truly admirable” aspect of Gallay’s playing: his ability to change between notes, potentially given the natural glissando between stopped and open notes, “in such a way that one would believe one hears a beautiful voice conducted with art”. The comparison with a beautiful voice, undoubtedly a singing voice, and one “conducted with art”, is suggestive of the use of a key component of artful singing of this time: portamento.

I believe that the following statements regarding breath and wind players should be considered in the same context as the writer’s comments on Gallay’s “vocality” when changing notes, which I believe to be indicative of portamento. The writer immediately turns to Gallay’s “ease of breathing” and how it is imperceptible “when the mechanism of this breathing operates”, stating that this taste is something rarely encountered in wind players. I would suggest that the implication of this passage is

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[26] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 21. Translation from Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse,* trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994). 29. “[E]t que dans le médium de l’instrument, leur qualité se rapproche déjà beaucoup des sons naturels.”

that the writer identifies portamento on the horn as breath controlled (as it is for singers), that the focus on being unable to perceive the moment at which this "mechanism" of breath control commences is in keeping with the desirability of portamento to be executed in a flowing and graceful fashion and, finally, that this ties in with the premise that, whilst not impossible on wind instruments, this is certainly something more easily executed by string instruments or by voices.

Gallay's second Société appearance garnered another review in the *Revue Musicale*. The author (again, most likely Fétis) focusses on "the most difficult problem in the art of playing the horn", i.e. the balance between stopped and open notes:

> M. Gallay completed the pleasures of this performance with a horn solo of his own composition, in which he made one admire the purity of his sounds, their equality, the precision of his embouchure and the charm of his way of phrasing. This artist has solved the most difficult problem in the art of playing the horn, that of giving stopped sounds the intensity and roundness of open sounds, or at least of approaching this equality as close as possible.[27]

Whilst the author applauds Gallay's aptitude with the stopped notes, he acknowledges that the timbres are "approaching this equality as close as possible", i.e. that there is not complete equality of timbre. Returning to Gallay's approach to

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[27] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), "Nouvelles de Paris: Concerts du Conservatoire" in *Revue Musicale*, 7th year, vol. 13, no. 10 (6 April 1833), 80. "M. Gallay a completé les plaisirs de cette séance par le solo de cor de sa composition où il a fait admirer la pureté de ses sons, leur égalité, la précision de son embouchure et le charme de sa manière phraser. Cet artiste a résolu le problème le plus difficile de l'art de jouer du cor, celui de donner aux sons bouchés l'intensité et la rondeur des sons ouverts, ou du moins d'approacher autant que possible de cette égalité."

hand position and timbre discussed in Chapter Three (i.e. a generally more open hand position and brightening stopped notes to balance with the open notes) rather than the approach of Domnich and Dauprat (i.e. a generally more closed hand position and darkening the open notes to balance with the stopped notes) it is of note that the author praises the "intensity and roundness" of the stopped notes which is in keeping with Gallay's expressed intentions.[28] Gallay believed that "[t]he difference between these two types of notes is so noticeable, in terms of timbre and volume, that the most skilled artist cannot make it disappear entirely."[29] He positioned himself as approaching this issue from a different perspective to Domnich and Dauprat whom he felt compromised the open notes, "sacrificing…the most precious quality of the instrument, the beauty of sound."[30]

Gallay's third appearance turned to repertoire much more associated with the Théâtre-Italien, his *Fantaisie pour le cor sur la Straniera de Bellini*, Op. 30, which he performed on 7 February 1836. As in the case of the *Fantaisie,* Op. 15, this appeared as a set work for the Paris *concours.*[31] Bellini's hugely successful opera *La Straniera* was premiered in 1829 at the Teatro alla Scala, Milan, and from 1832 onwards the opera was frequently in the Théâtre-Italien's repertoire, so would have been well

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[28] Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 5. Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1, 20. Gallay, *Méthode,* 8.

[29] Gallay, *Méthode,* 8. "La différence de ces deux espèces de notes est tellement sensible, quant au timbre et au volume, que l'artiste le plus habilé ne peut la faire disparaître entièrement".

[30] Gallay, *Méthode,* 8. "De nombreux essais m'ont suffisamment prouvé qu'un inconvénient grave résulte de cette manière de procéder, celui de sacrifier au désir d'obtenir une nuance unique, la qualité la plus précieuse de l'instrument, la beauté des sons."

[31] The composition was set four times for the Conservatoire *morceaux de concours;* under Gallay's professorship in 1846, 1849, 1862, plus an excerpt was required for 1890 (under the professorship of his successor and former pupil Jean Mohr). Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 641.

known to Gallay from his work there. Yet regardless of such a post, realistically, there is no way Gallay, or practically any person with ears, could have avoided the melodies of *La Straniera*, as Berlioz's review of Gallay's 1836 Société performance attests:

> M. Gallay then came and played for us a pot-pourri on Bellini themes, for solo horn. The talent of this virtuoso has been known and valued for a long time; the opinion of artists and amateurs is unanimous on this subject. Excellent embouchure, surety of intonation, accuracy, a pure sound, good taste in ornaments, he has all that constitutes a horn player of the first order. We would have much preferred, however, to hear him play a piece composed for him, rather than this collection of cavatinas, the principal fault of which is being overplayed. Vocalists, opera singers, instrumentalists of all kinds, now thrive exclusively on the themes of Bellini. In salons, at concerts great and small, in the very streets as well, thanks to the military bands, one hears only the duo from *I Puritani,* or that of the *Capuletti,* or the air of *Pirate,* or the cavatina from *La Straniera;* despite everything, M. Gallay's horn solo was nonetheless vigorously applauded, and that was justice.[32]

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[32] Hector Berlioz, "Second Concert du Conservatoire" in *Le Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris,* 3rd year, no. 7 (Sunday 14 February 1836), 54–55. "M. Gallay est venu ensuite nous faire entendre un pot-pourri sur des thèmes de Bellini, pour cor solo. Le talent de ce virtuose est connu et apprécié depuis long-temps ; l'opinion des artistes et des amateurs est unanime à son sujet. Embouchure excellente, sûreté d'intonation, justesse, pureté de son, bon goût dans les ornaments, il a tout ce qui constitue le corniste de premier ordre. On eût beaucoup mieux aimé cependant l'entendre dans un morceau réellement composé pour lui, que dans cette collection de cavatines dont le principal défaut est d'être inévitables en ce moments. Chanteurs, cantatrices, instrumentistes de toute espèce, ne vivent plus que sur les thèmes de Bellini. Dans le salons, aux concerts grands et petits, dans les rues même, grâce aux musiques militaires, on n'entend que le duo des *Puritains,* ou celui des *Capuletti,* ou l'air du *Pirate*, ou la cavatine de la *Straniera*; malgré tout, le solo de cor de M. Gallay n'en pas moins été vigoureusement applaudi, et c'était justice."

Berlioz picks up the main features for which critics repeatedly praised Gallay: the quality of sound production, accuracy and his taste.

Gallay's final appearance at the Sociétè was in performing an as yet unidentified *Mélodie* of his own composition on 29 January 1837. Given the date of this performance I would suggest the likelihood is that this was one of his three *Mélodies*: *(1ere) Mélodie sur l'air de Montano et Stéphanie* (Henri-Montan Berton), Op. 21; *2ème Mélodie sur une cavatine d'Anna Bolena* (Donizetti), Op. 25; or the *3ème Mélodie sur une cavatine de La Somnambula* (Bellini), Op. 28.[33]

If Gallay did indeed choose one of the above *Mélodies*, it would appear that he had not taken to heart Berlioz's criticism of his previous performance at the Société given that all three are representative of popular operas. An anonymous review of this performance in *La Phlange* seems to suggest not only that it could well have been of *Montano et Stéphanie* or *La Somnambula* (rather than the tragic *Anna Bolena*):

> M. Gallay performed with admirable skill and taste a melody of his own composition for the horn. This instrument, so limited for ordinary instrumentalists, acquires in the hands of this artist all the resources of the most extensive wind instruments; there are no longer any dull and bad notes for him, and the chromatic scale in its entire scale is at his disposal, with this alternative of open sounds and "touched" sounds which, far from being a

[33] All three published by Alexandre Petit (Paris, pre 1838). Only the final *Mélodie* has been successfully traced as part of this study.

> defect, forms the distinctive character of the horn, and which clumsy attempts have sought to remedy by means of pistons. Despite all this skill, M. Gallay was able to realise that a simple solo played by him in an opéra-bouffe gives more pleasure than this piece, and thereby recognises that the nature of his instrument rejects the concerto genre, which is only really bearable for the violin, and sometimes for the cello…[34]

What is particularly interesting about this review is not only that the writer repeats the frequent comments regarding Gallay (no notes are "dull" or "bad", that he has the capacity to play a full chromatic range) but that the contrast of the open and stopped ("touchés") notes is exactly what gives the instrument its "distinctive character". The author explicitly gives this aspect of the horn, the contrasting open and "touched", i.e. stopped, sounds, as the element of the natural horn that they felt the promoters of, designers of and performers on the piston horn wished to counteract.

Gallay's appearances with the Société des concerts du Conservatoire reveal both his professional standing and his technical authority across a range of genres. Be it in

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[34] Anon.,"Feuilleton de la Phlange: Deuxième Concert du Conservatoire" in *La Phlange, Journal de la Science Social*, vol. 1, no. 22 (10 February 1837), 689–90. "M. Gallay a exécuté avec une habileté et un goût admirable une mélodie de sa composition pour le cor. Cet instrument, si borné pour les instrumentistes ordinaires, acquiert entre les mains de cet artiste toutes les ressources des instruments à vent les plus étendus; il n'y a plus pour lui de notes sourdes et mauvaises, et la gamme chromatique dans toute son échelle est à sa disposition, avec cette alternative de sons ouverts et de sons touchés qui, loin d'être un défaut, forme le caractère distinctif du cor, et à laquelle de maladroits essais ont cherché à remédier au moyen de pistons. Malgré toute cette habileté, M. Gallay a pu s'apercevoir qu'un simple solo joué par lui dans un opéra aux bouffes fait plus de plaisir que ce morceau, et reconnaître par là que la nature de son instrument se refuse au genre concerto, qui n'est vraiment supportable que pour le violon, et quelquefois pour le violoncelle." The review continues: "ce dernier présente bien autant de ressources et offre autant de charme que le violon, mais il est autrement difficile à accompagner convenablement excepté quand on le tient dans les sons aigus près du chevalet, auquel cas il perd tout-à-fait son beau caractère, et ne peut plus que faire valoir l'habileté de l'instrumentiste."

performances of a concerto, fantasia or operatic melody, critics consistently praised his purity of tone, good intonation and secure high register. Above all, his ability to play in a vocal manner was praised. Whether in the *cor mixte* range exploiting the stopped notes or in the brilliance of the upper harmonics, Gallay balanced virtuosity with appropriate taste. These years established him not merely as a leading horn soloist in Paris but as an interpreter whose expressive approach would carry into other collaborative ventures such as his partnership with Friedrich Kalkbrenner, the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter Ten: Gallay and Kalkbrenner (1830)

The Gallay-Kalkbrenner duo partnership

It is thanks to a short-lived local news sheet that we are able to fill in more details concerning Gallay's solo performances during 1830, the year of Gallay's first solo performance at the Société. The Bordeaux daily *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte* provides information regarding three performances in Bordeaux by Gallay and the pianist Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785–1849) during May of that year: these comprised two performances at the Salle de Vincennes (Sunday 2 May and Friday 7 May) and a benefit concert at Waux-Hall (Friday 14 May).[1]

It is not entirely clear how this partnership came about. Gallay and Kalkbrenner were not, for example, contemporaries as students at the Paris Conservatoire, nor would their paths have crossed during Gallay's first few years in Paris as Kalkbrenner was based in London during the early 1820s, returning and settling in Paris only in January 1824.[2] The rationale for this series of concerts in Bordeaux is also not

[1] *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte* (Bordeaux: chez Pierre Beaume, 1830), Thursday, 30 April 1830, no. 169 - Thursday, 20 May 1830, no. 189. Announcements and reviews of these performances can also be found in *L'Indicateur* no. 5511 (30 April 1830), 4*;* no. 5513 (2 May 1830), 3; no. 5116 (6 May 1830), 4; no. 5117 (7 May 1830), 3; no. 5519 (9 May 1830), 3; no. 5523 (13 May 1830), 2; and no. 5526 (16 May 1830), 3. Also in *Le Mémorial bordelais* no 7262 (2 May 1830), 4; no. 7265 (5 May 1830), 3; no. 7266 (6 May 1830), 4; no. 7267 (7 May 1830), 2; no. 7269 (9 May 1830), 1; no. 7273 (13 May 1830), 3; no. 7283 (23 May 1830), 2.

[2] Louis Boivin, "Kalkbrenner" in E. Pascallet ed., *Revue générale, biographique, historique, etc. Le Biographe universel et l'historien*, vol. 4, book 2 (Paris: Revue générale biographique et littéraire, 1842), 266.

apparent. The only conclusion is that the two were operating in the same spheres in Paris, as can be seen by the pair's inclusion in the 1832 Jacques François Gauderique Llanta lithograph, *Les Artistes Contemporains*, thus making it not a surprise that such a collaboration should occur.[3]

These concerts are advertised as "Grand concert vocal et instrumental" and the programmes and repertoire chosen for these concerts are not dissimilar to that of the Société des concerts de Conservatoire: a mixture of orchestral works (Beethoven or Haydn) and vocal works ("airs", "airs italiens" and "chansonnettes").[4] Kalkbrenner performed his *Fantaisie et variations brillantes sur l'air 'Di tanti palpiti',* Op. 83 (on a theme from Rossini's *Tancredi*), his *Variations brillantes pour le piano-forte Sur un thème du Pirate* (Bellini), Op. 98, and an *Introduction et rondeau brillant.*

Together Kalkbrenner and Gallay performed a "duo" which could well have been the former's *Nocturne pour pianoforte et cor*, Op. 95, which its composer had published the year before, and dedicated to Gallay.[5] The *Nocturne* displays a number of elements that suggest it as being very characteristic of Gallay's playing style and Gallay's own compositions. Written for the horn in the key of F, a favoured crook for Gallay, the range required is between the 3rd harmonic low G to the 16th harmonic top C. These extremes are only fleetingly used, indeed the top C only features in the

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[3] Lithograph by Jacques François Gauderique Llanta, *Les Artistes Contemporains* (1832). Collection: Universitätsbibliothek Frankfurt am Main (Germany), s36_g03840. See Chapter Three, figure 3:1, 139.

[4] *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte*, no. 171 (Sunday, 2 May 1830), 4.

[5] Frederic Kalkbrenner, *Nocturne pour pianoforte et cor*, Op. 95, (Leipzig: H.A.Probst, n.d., c.1829), plate number 404. Date of 1829 suggested by its inclusion in Carl Friedrich Whistling, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur* (Leipzig: C.F.Whistling,1829), 1199.

penultimate bar with the octave below given as an *ossia*, and the majority of the work is centred between the 5th harmonic middle E and the 12th harmonic high G, the same range that Gallay would normally focus on. The *Introduzione* presents an Andante theme, first in C minor then in C major. As Kalkbrenner includes many chromatic inflexions in the C major version the *Introduzione* has plentiful opportunities for exploiting the darker timbre of the stopped notes and with it portamento (for example, in bars 36–39, between the repeated 8th harmonic open middle G and the stopped F-sharp a semi-tone below, see figure 10:1), setting up quite a strong contrast with the following Tempo di Marcia theme (see figure 10:2) which is built around bright triadic open harmonics.

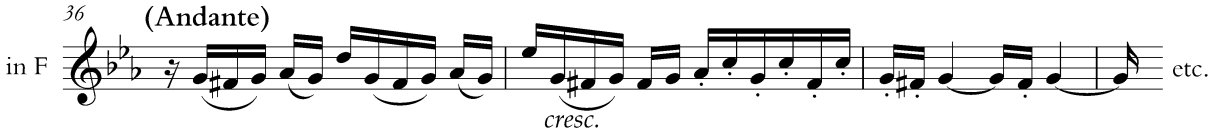


Figure 10:1: Bars 36–39 from Friedrich Kalkbrenner, *Nocturne pour pianoforte et cor,* Op. 95 (Leipzig: H.A.Probst. c.1828).



Figure 10:2: Tempo di Marcia theme from Friedrich Kalkbrenner, *Nocturne pour pianoforte et cor,* Op. 95 (Leipzig: H.A.Probst. c.1828).

Whilst there is no evidence that it was performed as part of the series of concerts in Bordeaux, Gallay's Septième solo pour le cor, Op. 23 is worth noting at this juncture

given its dedication to Kalkbrenner and publication date of c.1831, thus suggesting it was inspired by their collaboration.[6] This composition is very much in line with Gallay's other solos for horn, a set of twelve works published over the course of his life.[7] These works are written in a marginally different way to his other works for horn and piano given that, whilst they are written in an operatic style (often featuring a rousing opening, a stately introduction, a short cadenza, followed by a faster lyrical theme on which a variation or virtuosic figuration is added) they are not explicitly based upon opera or song themes. In terms of technical demands the solos lie between the straightforward song settings (for example the three *Mélodies* Op. 21, 25 and 28 and the *Les chants du cœur* Op. 51 settings of Schubert) and the opera fantasias (for example Fantasie Brillante sur un Motif de *Norma* de Bellini, Op. 40).[8]

What is of note concerning Gallay's Septième solo pour le cor, Op. 23 is his choice of horn in E . As mentioned above, Gallay favoured the F crook, but there are examples, such as this work, of him writing for horns in other keys, particularly in the solos.[9]

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[6] Jacques-François Gallay, Septième solo pour le cor avec piano obligé, Op. 23 (Paris: Petit, c.1833). An earlier edition by Zetter c. 1831 is listed in Fétis, *Revue Musicale,* year 5 no. 16 (Paris: 21 May 1831), 128. For a catalogue of Gallay's compositions and extant sources see Appendix i.

[7] The twelve solos comprise Op. 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 19, 23, 31, 39, 45, 52 and 55. See Appendix i.

[8] Jacques-François Gallay: (1ere) Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano, sur l'air de *Montano et Stéphanie* [de Berton] Op. 21 (Paris: Janet & Cotelle, 1833 or earlier); 2eme Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano, sur une cavatine *d'Anna Bolena*, Op. 25 (Paris: Dauprat/ Gambarro, pre 1814); 3eme Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano sur une cavatine de *La Somnambule,* Op. 28 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1834); *Les chants du cœur* 6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert, Op. 51 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1840/41); Fantasie Brillante pour le Cor avec Acomp. de Piano ou d'Orchestra sur un Motif de *Norma* de Bellini, Op. 40 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1837). See Appendix i.

[9] Op. 12, 23 and 31 being for horn in E and Op. 55 for horn in E-flat.

In all three concerts a Romance for voice entitled *Le Cor* was performed. On the first occasion a singer, Mademoiselle Bernos, a member of a family of local musicians, is advertised, and it is reasonable to assume she performed in all three concerts. Fétis heard her sing two years later and described her as a "young singer of talent", though deemed it due to the work of her teacher, and Gallay's fellow Société musicale member, Bordogni.[10] Whilst the composer is not credited I would suggest this is Panseron's *Le Cor,* a highly popular piece dedicated to Gallay*,* and, in what appears to be canny advertising, the notices in *Le Défenseur* say that the inclusion of *Le Cor* in the second and final concert was due to "public demand" for this piece.[11]

The front page of *Le Défenseur* includes a very long review of the first of these three concerts.[12] After commenting on how "every time a big poster announces a big concert" the unnamed writer finds himself struggling when faced with "unknown artists", even feeling "a little suspicious", but in this case

> [w]hat pianist indeed, what musician who sees a little of anyone would dare to admit that they have not heard MM. Kalkbrenner and Gallay? I ask, is there one? Certainly not; and if, against my expectations, there were any, I pity them

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[10] Anon., (François-Joseph Fétis), "Nouvelles des Départemens" in *Revue Musicale*, 7th year, no. 23 (Saturday, 6 July 1833), 183. "On a entendu dans la même soirée Mlle Bernos, jeune cantatrice d'un talent très pur, qu'elle doit aux leçons de Bordogni."

[11] Auguste-Mathieu Panseron, *Le Cor* (Paris: Philippe Petit, c.1828). This maybe the romance for horn identified in a concert review "S", "Concert donné par Madame Hérault, dans les salons de M. Petzold", *Revue Musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1828), 188.

[12] Anon., "Feuilleton du défenseur. Concert donné à Vincennes par MM. Gallay et Kalkbrenner" in *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte*, no. 174 (Wednesday, 5 May 1830), 1–2.

with all my heart for having voluntarily deprived themselves of what, in their lives perhaps, they could hear that was most sweet and most perfect.[13]

A little surprisingly in light of the popularity of the instrument, the writer offers up the opinion that “the piano is a poor concert instrument” explaining that this is due to “the impossibility of sustaining sounds” given the immediate decay of sound that happens as soon as a finger releases a key.[14] Pertinent to establishing an understanding of the practice of ornamentation at this time, the writer criticises pianists who use "endless embellishments” in order to mitigate this problem, creating a sense of duration to the notes through their ornamentation.[15] The writer further identifies the (ab)use of “chromatic scales always inevitable to fill the distances which exist between those [notes] which require supporting”.[16] In the wrong hands he says that this approach will “always have the effect of being there to fill a void, leave something

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[13] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte*, 1. ““[C]haque fois qu’une grande affiche m’annonce un grand concert ; j’ai de la peine à me décider par de noms d’artistes inconnus, et dont il est permis a quiconque paye sa place de se défier un peu.” “Quel pianiste en effet, quel musicien qui voit un peu de monde oserait avouer qu’il n’a pas entendu MM. Kalkbrenner et Gallay ? Non certainement ; et si contre mon attente, il s’en trouvait, je les plains de tout mon cœur de s’être privés volontairement de ce que, de leur vie peut-être, ils pouvaient entendre de plus suave et de plus parfait.”

[14] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. “Le piano est un pauvre instrument de concert, il faut en convenir ; l’impossibilité de soutenir les sons auxquels on ne peut donner quelque énergie qu’en frappant les touches avec force…”.

[15] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. “Les agrémens sans fin qu’on fait sur cette note pour lui donner plus de durée.”

[16] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. “[L]es gammes chromatiques toujours inévitables pour remplir les distances qui existent entre celles qui demandent à être soutenues.”

uncertain, confused and too vague in the end for the ear to be satisfied."[17] The author concludes:

> These are some of the flaws of this instrument, flaws that most pianists do not know how to hide, and if I had not heard Mr. Kalkbrenner, I would not hesitate to say that they cannot conceal. But, on Sunday, the artist's hands had barely struck a few chords when, to my great astonishment, I heard sustained singing, full of expression. The sounds did not come to me without connection, without nuance between them; I almost found a singing instrument, an instrument that had a voice, a soul; but I was wrong, this soul was that of the performer, and his fingers, faithful to all his inspirations, struck them on the keyboard with a grace and an energy that one would look for in vain in other pianists.[18]

In many ways the opinions here, that the instrument, in this case the piano, is somehow how insufficient or deficient, echo those of many commentators on the horn and Gallay's "conquest" of his instrument, and that a well executed performance, with, for example, appropriate use and performance of embellishments,

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[17] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. "[S]ont toujours l'effet de se trouver là pour remplir un vide, laissent quelque chose d'incertain, de confus et de trop vague enfin pour que l'oreille puisse être satisfaite."

[18] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1–2. "Voilà quelques-uns des défauts de cet instrument, défauts que la plupart des pianistes ne savent pas dissimuler, et si je n'avais entendu M. Kalkbrenner, je ne craindrais pas de dire qu'ils ne peuvent pas dissimuler. Mais, dimanche, à peine les mains de l'artiste avaient frappé quelques accords, qu'à mon grand étonnement j'ai entendu des chants soutenus, pleins d'expression. Les sons ne m'arrivaient pas sans liaison, sans nuance entr'eux; je retrouvais presque un instrument chantant, un instrument qui avait une voix, une âme; mais je me trompais, cette âme c'était celle de l'exécutant, et ses doigts fidèles à toutes ses inspirations les frappaient sur le clavier avec une grâce et une énergie que l'on chercherait vainement chez les autres pianistes."

gives “expression” and creates a “singing instrument”.[19] The criticism levelled here at the piano and pianists is not unique. Henri Blanchard, writing around the same time on the Austrian pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812–1871), stated that:

> No one has ever sung on the piano like Thalberg. The sound is sustained, nuanced by the rinforzando, so that we believe we hear Batta's expressive bow, sliding gracefully over the string of his cello, or the suave note of Gallay's horn, penetrating you with a gentle melancholy.[20]

Here again Blanchard is making the connection between sustained sound and vocality. Again the sound of the horn is associated with melancholy and Gallay is being given as a bench mark of good taste and execution.

If the Bordeaux writer had concerns about the piano being a “poor concert instrument”, he had little doubt regarding the horn, which he describes as having “the most beautiful sounds” of all wind instruments. Key to this is the variety of emotions that the instrument can arouse in the listener. He speaks of:

> [the sounds of the instrument] sometimes resounding and brassy, like the instrument which produces them, they awaken feelings of enthusiasm, feelings of victory, of conquest; sometimes softer, more gentle, more sustained, they are

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[19] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 2.

[20] Henri Blanchard, “Thalberg” in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 3rd year, no.19 (5 May 1836), 153. “Nul n’a jamais chanté sur le piano comme Thalberg. Le son est soutenu, nuancé par le rinforzando, de telle sorte qu’on croit entendre l’archet expressif de Batta, glissant avec grace sur la corde de son violoncelle, ou la note suave du cor de Gallay, vous pénétrant d’une douce mélancolie.”

> imbued with a deep melancholy, they carry the thought into an indefinable and delicious vagueness; and, heard in the distance, they seem like a voice which descends from the heavens and comes to expire on the earth.[21]

Similar to the critique of the piano, the writer refers to Gallay's "sustained" songs, and how he "sings with expression". Reiterating other critics, Gallay is deemed to have avoided all "harsh sounds, stopped and uneven sounds, sounds that lack precision in his playing."[22]

The final concert in Bordeaux on Friday 14 May 1830 included a performance of Gallay's *Fantaisie sur une romance de M. Blangini*, Op. 15, a work he returned to for his second appearance at the Société on the 31 March 1833.[23] The fantasia is based on a simple Romance "La Baiser" by Félix Blangini, a piece popular enough with Gallay himself to have it set twice for the Paris *concours.*[24] It is a simpler piece in

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[21] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. "De tous les instruments à vent, le cor est celui qui possède les plus beaux sons; ils ont quelque chose d'imposant, quelque chose qui va à l'âme; plus ses chants sont soutenus, plus ils s'emparent de l'attention de ceux qui l'écoutent : quelquefois retentissans et cuivrés comme l'instrument qui les rend, ils réveillent des sentimens d'enthousiasme, des sentimens de victoire, de conquête; quelquefois plus doux, plus ménagés, plus soutenus, ils sont empreints d'une mélancolie profonde, ils entraînent la pensée dans un vague indéfinissable et délicieux; et, entendus dans le lointain, ils semblent une voix qui descend des cieux et vient expirer sur la terre."

[22] Anon., *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte,* no. 174, 1. "[P]lus ses chants sont soutenus, plus ils s'emparent de l'attention de ceux qui l'écoutent… Il chante avec expression, fait le trait avec verve et précision, cadence avec vivacité…Pour lui il n'existe pas de difficultés, il sait les rendre sans qu'on puisse s'en apercevoir; son oreille n'admet pas dans son jeu des sons durs, des sons bouchés et inégaux, des sons qui manquent de justesse. Il chante avec expression, fait le trait avec verve et précision, cadence avec vivacité."

[23] *Le Défenseur de la Monarchie et de la charte*, no. 183 (Friday 14 May 1830), 4.

[24] Jacques-François Gallay, *Fantaisie pour cor et piano sur une Romance de Blangini (Le Baiser)*, Op. 15. (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, n.d.). 2234 plate number suggests c.1826/1829. Op. 15 was set twice (in 1855 and 1863) for the Conservatoire *morceaux de concours.* Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National*, 641.

general than his operatic fantasias and is more closely linked to the gentler French Romances popular throughout this period.

Further regional concerts?

Shortly after the duo's final concert, Gallay's home town reported proudly of his success in Bordeaux and that he "continued his triumphs in other large cities".[25] The *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales* quotes at length a review from the *Journal de Nantes* which suggests that Nantes was the next stopping point on what may have been a substantial tour.[26] The review makes no mention of Kalkbrenner but, as it is being related in the Perpignan press, *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales* may have been selecting just the passages which relayed news of their compatriot.

The *Journal de Nantes* repeats the advice of Duvernoy and Tartini which stated, for the former, that "[s]inging with taste, with expression" is one of the "the advantages that one must combine to achieve perfection on the horn", whilst, for later, " [t]o play an instrument well…one must sing well.[27] Thus, from the outset, the review is

[25] "VARIÉTÉS" in *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales,* 15th year, no. 25 (19 June 1830), 235: "Après avoir charmé le public de Bordeaux, M. GALLAY, notre compatriote, a poursuivi le cours de ses triomphes dans d'autres grandes villes."

[26] Appropriate editions of *Journal des Nantes* (i.e. circa 1830) have, as yet, not been traced. Similarly, accounts of Gallay's performances in other cities in France around this time have not been found in other regional press. However the account in *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientales* ((19 June 1830), 235) suggests that continued research might provide accounts of other concerts around this time.

[27] J*ournal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235 ""Chanter avec goût, avec expression, rendre avec grâce toutes les phrases musicales, faire les plus grandes difficultés avec aisance et sans effort, trouver autant de force pour finir une phrase qu'on en a employé en la commençant, tels sont, disait Duvernoy, les avantages qu'il faut réunir pour arriver à la perfection sur le cor. Si c'est là la perfection, que nous reste-t-il a demander à M. Gallay? Pour bien jouer d'un instrument, répétait souvent Tartini, il faut bien chanter. M. Duvernoy vient de nous dire aussi, que c'est la première qualité d'un corniste, et M. Gallay la possède au suprême degré".

focusing on Gallay's vocal style of playing, a quality that he "posses to the supreme degree".[28] The review singles out Gallay's ability to perform "a constantly sustained song, phrased with exquisite taste, and varied by those delicate nuances that Baillot compares, for melody, to chiaroscuro and the play of light for painting."[29]

The reviewer then praises Gallay for his "exquisite purity of intonation", his facility in being able to play "with incredible ease through all the degrees of the scale", but then remarks on Gallay's timbre in a way that appears to jar with their earlier praise concerning the horn player's ability to harness a chiaroscuro-like contrast of light and dark.[30] The reviewer writes that Gallay creates "no brassy sounds in the open notes, no dubious and muted notes in the stopped notes; but a soft and mellow accent which lends the *cantabile* an inconceivable charm."[31] In doing so the reviewer is suggesting a conflict between what Gallay set out to achieve as stated in his *Méthode,* i.e. Gallay's intention of exploiting the timbres of the horn.[32] It appears that the writer's objections lies in inappropriate use of these timbres as Gallay is then

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[28] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: "[C]'est la première qualité d'un corniste, et M. Gallay la possède au suprême degré: son exécution es un chant constamment soutenu, phrasé avec un goût exquis, et varié par ces nuances délicates que Baillot compare, pour la mélodie, au clair-obscure et au jeu des lumières pour la peinture."

[29] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: "[S]on exécution es un chant constamment soutenu, phrasé avec un goût exquis, et varié par ces nuances délicates que Baillot compare, pour la mélodie, au clair-obscure et au jeu des lumières pour la peinture."

[30] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: "M. Gallay, avec une pureté d'intonation exquise, parcourt avec une inconcevable facilité tous les degrés de la gamme".

[31] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: "point de sons de cuivre dans les notes ouvertes, point de notes douteuses et éteintes dans les notes bouchées; mais un accent doux et moëlleux qui prête au *cantabile* un charme inconcevable" mais des sons brillans et soutenus qui jettent d'heureuses oppositions dans le chant.

[32] Jaques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3). 91. For discussion of Gallay's exploitation of the use of timbres on the natural horn see Chapter Four, 173–175, 187–196.

praised for his “brilliant” and “sustained sounds that create happy contrasts” in the music, i.e. contrasting timbres, but appropriate ones.[33]

The *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s concludes with an indication that the concerts in Bordeaux and Nantes were part of a larger tour given that the “same success spread to all the cities that M. Gallay visited and his reputation, already so well established, could only grow.”[34]

Though apparently brief, the partnership between Gallay and Kalkbrenner in 1830 brought together two leading instrumentalists of the era, both of whom received praise based on their ability to perform in a vocal manner. The Bordeaux performances, and the works associated with them, showcased Gallay’s lyrical phrasing, tonal nuance, and technical command, qualities critics repeatedly likened to the human voice. Even without a full record of the tour’s scope, the consistent praise from Bordeaux to Nantes reflect Gallay’s standing and reinforce the horn, in Gallay’s hands, as an instrument capable of expressive subtlety thanks to the timbres available to it.

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[33] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: “mais des sons brillans et soutenus qui jettent d'heureuses oppositions dans le chant.”

[34] *Journal de Perpignan et des Pyrénées-Orientale*s, (19 June 1830), 235: “Ce même succès se propage dans toutes les villes que visite M. Gallay, et sa réputation, déjà si bien établie, ne peut que s’en accroître.”

Chapter Eleven: Gallay and Le Cercle musical / La Société musicale (1835 onwards)

The foundation of Le Cercle musical / La Société musicale (1835)

The second significant organisation founded during this period of Gallay's career was the Parisian Cercle musical, sometimes referred to as the Société musicale. The first reports of this new association are made in late 1834, with Fétis reporting the founder members as the pianist Henri Bertini (1798–1876), harpist Théodore Labarre (1805–1870), violinists Jean-Delphin Alard (1815–1888), Jean-Baptiste-Philémon Cuvillon (1809–1900) and Charles-Philippe Lafont (1781–1839), cellist Jean-Baptiste-Victor Franchomme (1808–1884), flautist Jean-Louis Tulou (1786–1865), oboist Henry Brod (1799–1839), Gallay and the singers Marco Bordogni (1789–1856), and Jean-Antoine-Just Géraldi (1808–1869).[35]

The "Italians" in this ensemble are strongly represented by Franchomme (a member of the Théâtre-Italien ensemble from 1827) and Tulou (a brief, but impactful spell of employment there between 1824 and 1827) plus two significant figures, the singers Bordogni and Géraldi.[36] Henri Brod, whilst spending the majority of his short life in

[35] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), "Cercle musical" in *Revue Musicale*, 8th year, no. 48 (30 November 1834), 379–380.

[36] "Géraldy", *Annuaire dramatique de la Belgique* (Brussels: Chez Tarride Passage de la Monnaie, 1843), 129–132.

the employment of the Opéra, was not inclined to shun the repertoire of the Italians, with a number of his compositions for solo oboe being based on the Théâtre-Italien's repertoire.

The repertoire and mission of Le Cercle musical / La Société musicale

Fétis sets out a prospectus for the new ensemble, placing it in the same spirit as the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in that it was seeking to establish a home and a platform, for serious lovers of music. But whereas the Société des concerts du Conservatoire promoted orchestral repertoire, the Cercle musical was to focus on salon music: chamber music including works by Mozart, Beethoven and Hummel and vocal music popular at the time. It appears that the Cercle musical set out to offer more than just semi-regular performances for its followers since a reading room was proposed offering its audience the opportunity to read the latest musical journals and books and the chance to sit and chat about the cultural scene of the day.[37]

> With the aim of offering lovers of salon music a relative execution as perfect as that of the Conservatoire concerts for orchestral music, the founders have joined forces by making a formal commitment among themselves not to be heard in any other public meeting.
>
> Aided by the support of French and foreign musical notables, they propose to give a series of matinees in which the works of Mozart, Beethoven, Hummel,

[37] Édouard Fétis, "Société musicale, Troisième Concert" in *Revue Musicale*, 9th year, no. 5 (Sunday, 1 February 1835), 37.

> etc., etc., and those of our national authors who follow the route traced by these great models, will be performed alternately with other less severe works and within the reach of a larger number of listeners.
>
> The vocal part will not be more neglected than the instrumental part. Apart from the arias, duets and ensemble pieces, taken from stage masterpieces, we will hear a large number of lesser-known and sometimes unpublished salon pieces.[38]

In comparison to Gallay's role at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, the Cercle musical/Société musicale offered him the possibility of focusing on intimate solo and salon music, the type of fantasias on opera themes that he had been busy writing and publishing, as opposed to the orchestral music and occasional solo opportunities that comprised the repertoire of the Société des Concerts.[39]

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[38] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), "Cercle musical" in *Revue Musicale*, 8th year, no. 48 (30 November 1834), 379–380. "Dans le but d'offrir aux amateurs de musique de salon une exécution relative aussi parfaite que l'est celle des concerts du Conservatoire pour la musique d'orchestre, les fondateurs se sont associés en prenant entre eux l'engagement formel de ne se faire entendre dans aucune autre réunion publique.
Aidés du concours des notabilités musicales françaises et étrangères, ils se proposent de donner une série de matinées dans lesquelles les œuvres de Mozart, Beethoven, Hummel, etc., etc., et ceux de nos auteurs nationaux qui suivent la route tracée par ces grands modèles, seront exécutés alternativement avec d'autres ouvrages moins sévères et à la portée d'un plus grand nombre d'auditeurs.
La partie vocale ne sera pas plus négligée que la partie instrumentale. Indépendamment des airs, duos et morceaux d'ensemble, extraits des chefs-d'œuvre de la scène, on entendra un grand nombre de morceaux de salon moins connus et quelquefois inédits."

[39] For a catalogue of Gallay's compositions see Appendix i.

Concerts in 1835 given by Le Cercle musical / La Société musicale

During its first year the Cercle musical advertised five concerts spread over the January to April period. Concerts included a mixture of repertoire: string quartets, solo instrumental works, and solo or duo vocal works often accompanied by an additional instrument.

Gallay performed regularly: for example, an unidentified Fantasia (most likely of his own composition) and "accompanying" Mademoiselle Lambert in a Mercadante aria ("Se m'abandoni" from *Nitocri*) in the third concert on Sunday, 25 January 1835.[40] The singer Antoina, also known as Antoinette Lambert (1816–1906), appeared a number of times at the Cercle musical in 1835, and a review of her performance in this concert places her as an exponent of the Italian style of singing, complimenting her on her "beautiful voice and an excellent method, which proves that Bordogni is the best Italian singing master."[41]

Édouard Fétis's (1812–1909, son of François-Joseph Fétis) review of a Cercle musical concert hints at problems in establishing this new series, stating that the society had not been dissolved but that some members had "withdrawn" only to be

[40] Anon., "Chronique" in *Le Ménestrel*, 2nd year no.61/9 (Sunday, 25 January 1835), n.p.n.[4].

[41] "Société musicale", *Le Pianiste : journal spécial, analytique et instructif*, 2nd year, no. 7 (Paris: H. Lemoine, 5 February 1835), 57. "…et qu'enfin Mle Lambert, avec une belle voix et une excellente méthode a prouvé que Bordogni est le meilleur maître de chant italien."

replaced by others, and some regulations had been tweaked.[42] The desired confederacy, a cosy place for lovers of salon music to come together and chat, seemed not to have taken off. Édouard Fétis blames artistic standards of the Parisians, stating “there are many artists in Paris, but we only find a small number who deserve to be called that.”[43] Despite this and other reservations, especially regarding the change of programme order, Fétis was full of praise for Gallay’s playing but frustrated at the irregularity of his concert appearances:

> We are too much friends of M. Gallay’s talent not to reproach this excellent artist for the silence he persists in maintaining. Modesty combined with great merit is certainly a very praiseworthy thing; but this modesty must not be pushed to a reprehensible excess. That M. Gallay does not want to tire the ears of the public, as many men who are inferior do, we can understand; but the fact that he is barely heard in two pairs of meetings per winter is something for which he must be seriously admonished. M. Gallay’s supreme skill enables him to conceal all the instrument’s technical difficulties from his audience. No contraction of his facial muscles gives the impression of an

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[42] Édouard Fétis, “Société musicale, Troisième Concert” in *Revue Musicale*, 9th year, no. 5 (Sunday, 1 February 1835), 37. “La Société musicale n'a pas été dissoute ainsi qu'on l'avait annoncé; plusieurs de ses membres se sont retirés de l'association, mais d'autres artistes les ont bientôt remplacés, et sauf quelques modifications apportées au règlement, les choses ont continué de demeurer dans le même état.”

[43] Fétis, “Société musicale, Troisième Concert” (1835), 37. “Il y a beaucoup d'artistes à Paris, mais on n'en trouve qu'un petit nombre qui méritent d'être appelés ainsi.”

> obstacle overcome, and yet the music he performs presents insurmountable challenges for anyone other than himself.[44]

This is a number of years before 1843, which marked (as Chapter Twelve will explore) Gallay's absence from the concert scene; indeed there are numerous concert reviews from around this time, none of which indicate any noticeable reduction in Gallay's performances. It may be, therefore, that Fétis's report of Gallay's "silence" is less a harbinger of the issues that were to arrive from 1843 than an expression of desire, born of Fétis's genuine appreciation of Gallay's work, for him to perform more frequently.

Perhaps in response to the demands of Fétis, Gallay had a bigger share of the next concert, the fourth in the series, in which he performed a Hummel *Grand Septet* (most likely the Septet no.1, Op.74) and his own *Fantasie brillante pour le cor sur La straniera*. This met with greater approval:

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[44] Fétis, "Société musicale, Troisième Concert" (1835), 38. "Nous sommes trop les amis du talent de M. Gallay pour ne pas reprocher à cet excellent artiste le silence qu'il s'obstine à garder. La modestie jointe à un grand mérite est assurément une chose fort louable ; mais il ne faut pas que cette modestie soit poussée á un excès condamnable. Que M. Gallay ne veuille pas fatiguer les oreilles du public, ainsi que le font bien des hommes qui sont inférieurs, nous le concevons ; mais que ce soit à peine s'il se fait entendre dans deux couples de réunions par hiver, voilà de quoi il faut le blâmer sérieusement. On ne saurait éviter avec plus d'art que ne le fait M. Gallay de laisser soupçonner au public la difficulté du mécanisme d'un instrument. Aucune contraction des muscles du visage ne donne chez lui l'idée d'un obstacle vaincu, et cependant la musique qu'il exécute en présent d'insurmontables pour tout autre que lui."

> What I said about M. Gallay in my last article, I will repeat when speaking of the effect he produced in a fantasy on *La straniera*. The name alone of this skilful artist gives the idea of perfection in his speciality.[45]

The Cercle musical's focus on chamber music very much comes to the fore in their fifth concert. This involved the flautist Paul-Hippolyte Camus (1796–1870, a former member of the Odéon ensemble and shortly to be appointed principal flute of the Théâtre-Italien in 1836), oboist Brod, clarinetist Claude-François Buteux (1797–1870, formerly principal clarinet at the Théâtre-Italien orchestra from 1818 until taking the position of second clarinet at the Opéra from 1825), Gallay and bassoonist Jean-François-Barthélémy Cokken/Kocken (1801–1875, formerly principal bassoon of the Théâtre-Italien, the same role at the Opéra from 1829), in a performance of "fragments" of a Brod wind quintet.[46] In the same concert Gallay, along with Bernard, Duvernoy (plausibly François Frédéric Duvernoy (1800–1874) who had been second horn at the Théâtre-Italien from 1831 rather than his more famous uncle Frédéric-Nicolas) and Nagel (a member of the horn sections of the Opéra Comique and the

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[45] Édouard Fétis, Nouvelles de Paris: Société musicale. Quatrième séance - Dimanche 8 février" in *Revue Musicale*, 9th year, no. 7 (Sunday, 15 February 1835), 53. "Ce que j'ai dit de M. Gallay dans mon dernier article, je le répéterai en parlant de l'effet qu'il a produit dans une fantaisie sur *La straniera*. Le nom seul de cet habile artiste donne l'idée de la perfection dans sa spécialité."

[46] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), *Revue Musicale*, 9th year, no. 8 (Sunday, 22 February 1835), 63. Biographical detail from a mixture of Fétis *Biographie* (Camus Fétis *Biographie* vol. 3, 33) and Pierre *Le Conservatoire National de Musique* (Camus, 713; Buteux, 712; Cokken/Kocken, 724).

Garde Nationale de Paris) performed the first two movements of Gallay's Grand quatuor pour quatre cors en différens tons, Op. 26.[47]

Dedicated to Rossini, Gallay's quartet is his largest composition for horn ensemble, and he follows of his teacher Dauprat's works for this combination of instruments in writing for horns in different crooks.[48] By not writing for horns in the same crooks composers are able to modulate into a wider range of keys and have a wider range of timbres (both in terms of the crooks as well as the open versus stopped notes) available to them. Gallay's smaller ensemble works (the duos and trios) are written for horns in the same crook and thus the Grand Quatuor demonstrates more complicated and developed writing for the instruments.[49]

The premier of the Grand Quatuor had been on 19 January 1833 at a soirée held by the piano maker Dietz at his "galerie de musique".[50] On this occasion Gallay once more headed the quartet alongside his fellow Société des Concerts du Conservatoire members; Dauprat on second, Meifred on third and Martin-Joseph Mengal on

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[47] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), *Revue Musicale,* no. 8 (22 February 1835), 63. Biographical detail on Duvernoy from Pierre*, Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 748. Biographical details on Nagel from Planque, *Agenda musical : contenant les noms et demeures de tous les artistes et commerçants en musique,* 8th year (Paris: E. Duverger, 1837), 65, 82, 87 and 184. Jacques-François Gallay, Grand quatuor pour quatre cors en différens tons (Paris: Gambaro, n.d.).

[48] Louis François Dauprat, 6 Trios et 4 Quatuors pour cors en différents tons, Op 8 (Paris: Zetter, n.d.) and Sextuor pour cors en différents tons, Op. 10 (Paris: chez l'auteur, c.1817).

[49] For example: Jacques François Gallay, Trois grands duos, Op. 38 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1837), Trois grands trios pour trois cors en Mi, Op. 24 (Paris: Gambaro, n.d.), and *La St Hubert - 6 Fanfares en Trios sur des melodies favourites* (Paris: Schonenberger, c, 1841).

[50] *Revue Musicale,* 6th year, no. 50 (12 January 1833), 399.

fourth.[51] They shared the concert platform for this performance with a number of other eminent musicians, including Franz Liszt.[52]

The final concert of 1835 included Gallay performing the *Straniera* fantasia once again.[53]

The establishment of Le Cercle musical/Société musicale, marked an important expansion of Gallay's musical engagement beyond the grand orchestral stages of Paris. This salon-focused society provided a distinct platform for intimate chamber and vocal music, allowing Gallay to explore and showcase his skills in solo and small ensemble settings, particularly through his fantasias and original compositions.

Although the society faced some challenges in maintaining membership and consistent attendance, it nevertheless highlighted Gallay's artistry in a more personal, refined environment and earned him critical praise for his technical mastery and expressive subtlety. The Cercle musical's focus on a cultivated audience of music lovers complemented Gallay's broader career, strengthening his artistic identity and visibility. This period of deepening musical involvement at home would soon give way to an expanding international profile, as Gallay's reputation began to resonate well beyond Parisian salons and concert halls.

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[51] *Revue Musicale,* 6th year, no. 50 (12 January 1833), 399.

[52] *Revue Musicale,* 6th year, no. 50 (12 January 1833), 399.

[53] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), *Revue Musicale*, 9th year, no. 14 (Sunday, 5 April 1835), 111.

Chapter Twelve: Gallay's growing reputation (1836 onwards)

> Then Gallay and Madame Rondoneau, the one at the piano with her fine talent, the other with his admirable horn. Oh! when one hears M. Gallay, one begins to believe in all the wonders of which Ariosto and Walter Scott speak; and, say it immediately, these marvellous horns extolled by the poets and the chroniclers, these horns, the sounds of which stopped the most powerful victors in their tracks and whose reverberation made a whole nation rise in arms, were far from having the charm of Gallay's. The others were noise; this is a voice that sighs, a lover who complains, an echo that repeats, it is sweet as a hope that comes; or as the voice of a friend who consoles.[54]

Gallay's international reputation

From the mid 1830s onwards Gallay's reputation and concert schedule continued to grow. Evidence of his impact was the growing community of horn players

[54] Anon., "Modes, salons, concerts, opéra" in *La Mode: revue des monde élégant*, vol. 24 (Paris: Le Mode,1 April 1837), 28. "Puis Gallay et madame Rondoneau, celle-ci au piano avec son beau talent, celui-là avec son admirable cor. Oh! quand on entend M. Gallay, on se remet à croire à toutes les merveilles dont parlent et l'Arioste et Walter Scott; et, disons-le tout de suite, ces cors merveilleux vantés par les poètes et les chroniqueurs, ces cors dont les sons arrêtaient les plus puissants vainqueurs dans leur marche, et dont le retentissement faisait lever en armes toute une nation, étaient loin d'avoir le charme de celui de Gallay. Les autres, c'était du bruit; celui-ci c'est une voix qui soupire, un amant qui se plaint, un écho qui répète, c'est doux comme une espérance qui vient; ou comme la voix d'un ami qui console."

incorporating his compositions into their repertoire, for example Adolph(e) Köning/ Koenig's performance at the Concert Musard series in 1838.[55]

Similarly Gallay appears as the dedicatee of a widening group of composers, including some surprises such as the *Divertissement sur des Motifs de l'Opera Les Hugenots* [sic] by the influential early valve-horn player Joseph Rudolf Lewy (1802–1881).[56] Explicitly written for "cor cromatique" [sic] and piano this work, published c.1842, presents a rather atypical composition "composed and dedicated" to Gallay.[57]

Joseph Rudolf Lewy, along with his older brother Eduard Constantin, were both horn players in the Viennese Imperial Opera. Joseph (the younger of the two) gave the premier of Franz Schubert's song *Auf dem Strom* D.943 in 1828, and the brothers had been part of the horn quartet that premiered Schubert's *Nachtgesang im Walde* D.913 for four horns and four male voices the previous year.

Nachtgesang im Walde appears to be written with a valve horn in mind for at least the fourth horn part, whilst *Auf dem Strom* utilises the new technology (for example the writing below the middle C 4th harmonic in bars 129–34, figure 12:1), but in such a pragmatic way (the octave doubling of bars 129–34 in the voice) that suggests

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[55] *Königliches Hof- und Nationaltheater* (Munich: Wolf, 27 September 1838), 1.

[56] Joseph Lewy, *Divertissement sur des Motifs de l'Opera Les Hugenots [sic] por le Cor cromatique* [sic] *avec Accompagnemt. de Piano. composé et dédié à Monsieur Gallay premier Cor du Français par l J. R. Lewy premier Cor de la Chapelle du Roi de Saxe* (manuscript, n.d.). Stuttgart: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (D-Shsa) Oe 250 Nr 208.

[57] Lewy, *Divertissement,* title page. The work is listed in Freidrich Hofmeister, *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, June 1842), 87.

Schubert may have considered performances of this famous obligato to be equally feasible on the natural horn as on Lewy's new valve horn.[58]



Figure 12:1: Bars 129–34 from Franz Schubert, *Auf dem Strom* D.943 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895).

As can be seen in his *Douze Etudes Pour le Cor chromatique et le Cor simple* Lewy's approach to the new instrument crucially incorporated aspects of hand technique.[59] These include instructions that the studies "are to be played on the chromatic F horn, but the valves are to be employed only when the natural horn is inadequate for the bright and distinct emission of the sounds."[60] Lewy advocates using the valves as a crooking device: for example Etude No. 5 switches between horn in F (no valves), E (second valve) and E-flat (first valve). By using both valves and aspects of hand technique Lewy believed that "the beauty of tone of the natural

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[58] John Humphries, *The Early Horn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 93–95.

[59] Joseph Rudolph Lewy, *Douze Etudes Pour le Cor chromatique et le Cor simple* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d., plate number 8031-8032).

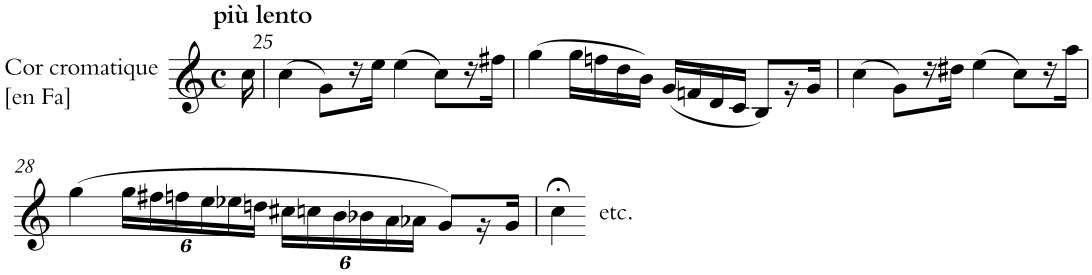
[60] Lewy, *Douze Etudes,* 2. Translation: Walter Fielding Holloway Blandford, "Studies on the Horn - II. Wagner and the Horn Parts of Lohengrin (Continued)" in *The Musical Times*, vol. 63, no. 956 (London: 1 October 1922), 694. "Diese Etüden werden auf dem chromatischen F Horn gespielt; jedoch werden die Ventile nur da in Anwendung gebracht, wo das gewöhnliche Horn nicht ausreicht, die Töne klar und deutlich hervorzubringen. Daher blase man das für das gewöhnliche Horn Geschriebene auf dem chromatischen Horn, und benutze die Ventile nur, um in allen Tonarten spielen zu können, ohne einen andern Bogen aufzusetzen."



Figure 12:2: Bars 25–28, 47–57, 121–137 and 456–486 from Joseph Lewy, *Divertissement sur des Motifs de l'Opera Les* [sic] *por le Cor cromatique* [sic] *avec Accompagnemt. de Piano. composé et dédié à Monsieur Gallay premier Cor du Français par l J. R. Lewy premier Cor de la Chapelle du Roi de Saxe* (manuscript, n.d.). Stuttgart: Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (D-Shsa): Oe 250 Nr 208.

horn" would be preserved whilst the instrument would simultaneously "acquire increased capabilities."[61]

What was Lewy, a leading "chromatic horn" exponent, doing writing for Gallay? Whilst there is interesting information regarding Gallay's connection with cornet à pistons (cornet) playing, no evidence of Gallay having ever taken up the valve horn has come to light.[62] Unlike an early valve horn composition such as Schubert's *Auf dem Strom* or Franz Lachner's *Introduction et Variations,* Op. 12 (composed in 1825 and performed the following year in Stuttgart by Eduard Constantin Lewy on the "newly-invented Viennese chromatic horn"), both works that are easily played on the natural horn, Lewy's *Divertissement* would make for a challenging natural horn work.[63]



Lewy incorporates a lot of chromatic runs; indeed it appears that he is making a feature of such passage work (for example, bars 48 and 50, figure 12:2). Whilst a chromatic scale from high G to middle G (for example, bar 28) is very feasible

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[61] Lewy, *Douze Etudes,* 2. Translation: Blandford, "II. Wagner and the Horn Parts of Lohengrin (Continued)", 694.

[62] Very many of Gallay's compositions were published in versions for cornet. Joseph Forestier (see Chapter Twenty, 535–545) stipulated many of Gallay's works as part of his recommendations for student cornet players. Joseph Forestier, *Méthode complète pour le cornet à pistons* (Paris: Bernard Latte, 1844), 5.

[63] "Nachtrichten" in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, no. 28 (12 July 1826), 461.

(indeed this type of passage is analysed in relation to Rossini's *Otello* in Chapter Eight), the two-octave chromatic scale in bars 469–480 from middle G to the bottom G is exceedingly challenging on the natural horn, due to it being in a lower range of the instrument, therefore requiring far more stopped notes.

Lewy also exploits the lowest ranges of the horn (for example bars 56–57, 471–481), something very much not associated with Gallay and his performance practice.[64] Like the chromatic passage, this is not impossible, but it is somewhat unusual and challenging.

Lewy's *Divertissement* can be viewed as unidiomatic, but not impossible, for the natural horn; furthermore, it contains no material that would suggest the composer's desire to explore or exploit passages that would be feasible and effective on the instrument. As explored in Chapter Five (see figures 5:9–5:13), Gallay would often write for the natural horn in key signatures with multiple sharps or flats and would sculpt the melodies to favour stopped notes. The passage from bars 121–137 in the Lewy mixes up open notes (including the 10th harmonic high E, 9th harmonic high D, 8th harmonic high C and 7th harmonic B-flat) with stopped notes. Again, this is not impossible to play on the natural horn but (as in the examples of specific chromatic passages and use of the lowest register of the instrument) it is indicative of a style of writing that clearly favours rather the newer chromatic instrument associated with Lewy. I would argue that Lewy could be emulating the approach cited above of Schubert in *Auf dem Strom* in creating a piece for Gallay which is not technically

[64] Jacques-François Gallay, *12 études pour 2e cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1847) is a rare example of Gallay writing explicitly for the *cor basse* genre.

impossible on the established natural horn but which capitalises on the capability of Lewy's newer instrument. It may also have been partly a commercial decision, producing repertoire playable on more than one type of instrument and therefore extending the market for sales.

Perhaps the choice of repertoire, motifs on Meyerbeer's opera *Les Huguenots,* premiered at the Opéra in Paris in 1836, was a nod towards Gallay's general working environment (French opera) and his specific style of composition (fantasias on such themes) and that that was a sufficient context against which to make the dedication.

Above and beyond potentially professional mutual respect between Lewy and Gallay, it may be that there is a connection through both of them championing works for solo horn, voice and piano. Joseph Rudolf Lewy's brother Eduard Constantin Lewy similarly collaborated with other composers writing works in this genre, for example the Lachner brothers (Franz, Ignaz and Vinzenz, 1803–1890, 1807–1895 and 1811–1893 respectively), Conradin Kreutzer (1780–1849) and Heinrich Proch (1809–1878).[65]

Schubert and Proch feature in Gallay's settings of vocal works for horn. His choice of such Austro-German repertoire, such as his publication of *Les chants du cœur 6*

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[65] John Humphries, *The Early Horn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 95. The connections between horn players of this era and the Lachners would be worth exploring more. Gallay's dedication of his *Dixième solo*, Op. 45 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839/1840) to Jacques Mayer, the principal horn of the Duke of Nassau, suggests professional connections between these two as well. Mayer was accused of fraudulently publishing and performing Ignaz Lachner's *Nocturne*, Op. 37 (Mainz: Schott, n.d. c.1840) under his own name. *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Nationalvereins für Musik*, 2nd year, no. 40 (Karlsruhe: Groos, 1 October, 1840), 317.

mélodies favorites de François Schubert, Op. 51, c. 1840/41 places him as something of an early adopter in Paris, and perhaps reveals a connection between Gallay and Lewy in the form of mutual links with these composers.[66]

Whilst the Austro-German horn school of the 1830s and 1840s was developing in a different direction to that of the French, the German press recognised Gallay's qualities.[67] Schindler especially marked out Gallay in his listing of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, describing him as "a true singer on his instrument" and noting that he "enjoys the reputation of being the best horn player in Paris."[68] Yet again Gallay is described specifically in vocal terms.

Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso (1808–1871) and her circle

Thus far I have explored a number of comparisons made regarding Gallay and singers and instrumentalists. Curiously his horn playing was also considered in a poem, "Le Sourire" (figure 12:3), which appears to be a type of "Judgment of Paris" in which various arts and artists are discussed.[69] The poet, music critic Henri Blanchard, weighs up Gallay's horn and its "songs of love, war and melancholy"

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[66] For more on the French adoption of Schubert's compositions see Xavier Hascher, "Schubert's reception in France: a chronology (1828–1928)" in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 263–269.

[67] For more on the adoption of the valve horn in Austro-Germany during this period see Christian Ahrens, *Valved Brass: The History of an Invention*, trans. Steven Plank (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2008), 19–28.

[68] Anton Schindler, *Beethoven in Pari*s (Munster: Aschendorff, 1842), f.n., 17.

[69] Henri Blanchard, "Concert vocal et instrumental donné par Mme La Princesse de Belgiojoso" in *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 14th year, no. 25 (12 June 1847), 205.

alongside the artistry of Rubini, Laure Cinti-Damoreau and Thalberg, and decides that none of these artists is as sweet nor beautiful as “the divine smile” of the Princess Belgiojoso.

Voyez ces habitants de la molle Italie	See these inhabitants of soft Italy
Que de Winterhalter nous traça le pinceau	That Winterhalter traced the brush to us
Dans son Décaméron. Quel magique tableau!	In his Decameron. What a magical painting!
Que la nature est là vaporeuse, embellie!	How vaporous and beautified nature is there!
Écoutez Rubini, Thalberg ou Damoreau,	Listen to Rubini, Thalberg or Damoreau,
Ou le cor de Gallay qui tour à tour s'allie	Or the horn of Gallay which in turn combines
Aux chants d'amour, de guerre et de mélancolie;	with songs of love, war and melancholy;
Vous connaîtrez des arts ce qu'ils ont de plus beau.	You will know the most beautiful aspects of the arts.
Mais il est une chose et plus douce et plus belle;	But there is one thing sweeter and more beautiful;
Et qui n'a point encore trouvé de cœur rebelle…	And who has not yet found a rebellious heart...
Charme indéfinissable on te résiste en vain!	Indefinable charm we resist you in vain!
Cette toute-puissance inconcevable, étrange.	This inconceivable, strange omnipotence.
Qui semble à vos regards faire apparaître un ange,	Which seems to your eyes to make an angel appear,
C'est de Belgiojoso le sourire divin.	It is from Belgiojoso the divine smile.

Henri Blanchard

Figure 12:3: "Sonnet - Le Sourire" ("Sonnet - The Smile") from Henri Blanchard, "Concert vocal et instrumental donné par Mme La Princesse de Belgiojoso" in *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 14th year, no. 25 (12 June 1847), 205.

"Indisputably one of the most remarkable women of her age", Cristina Trivulzio was born into a highly influential, affluent and artistic Milanese family which had connections to Rossini and Bellini and which encouraged her broad education

including the arts, the sciences, history and philosophy.[70] Whilst her early marriage to Prince Emilio Belgiojoso (1800–1858) looked promising on paper, given the Prince's wealth as well as his artistic credibilities, it was short-lived due to his notorious philandering, though the two remained amicable. In 1833, the princess, disobeying the orders of the Austrian authorities controlling Milan where she had been convicted of treason, fled to Paris where she set up a famous salon which welcomed "writers such as Heine, Musset, Janin and Balzac, musicians such as Bellini, Chopin and Liszt, as well as leading politicians of the day."[71]

Throughout her life, the princess campaigned for Italian independence and supported other Italians who had fled their homeland for Paris. One of the ways in which she raised both funding and consciousness of the plight of Italian political exiles was in a concert held as part of a two-day event which included commissioning a set of variations entitled *Hexameron*, based on the duet "Suoni la tromba" from Bellini's *I puritani,* as a collaboration between Franz Liszt, Sigismond Thalberg, Frédéric Chopin, Johann Peter Pixis, Carl Czerny and Henri Herz.

As Tunley points out, there is very little information concerning the music-making that took place as part of the Princess's private salons, so it is impossible to categorically place Gallay in attendance but, during this era his stature as one of Paris's leading

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[70] David Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs: A background to romantic French song 1830–1870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 29.

[71] Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs,* 29. Henry Remsen, *A revolutionary princess, Christina Belgiojoso-Trivulzio : her life and times, 1808–1871* (London: Unwin, 1906), 86–87.

players, and his listing as a contributor in numerous, more publicised, events, makes him a probable participant.[72]

The Princess undoubtedly wielded what we would describe as the "soft power" of the arts in order to raise awareness of her political causes. The association "Le Sourire" makes between musicians (such as Gallay) who were linked with the prevalent popular Italian opera in Paris of the 1830s and 1840s and the Princess may be indicative of participants in her salons. Regardless of whether we can authoritatively place Gallay as part of her circle, the political influence of Italian art and music was a key element of the cultural world in Paris at this time.

Gallay's stature as a leading horn virtuoso extended well beyond France, reflected in the dedication of new and challenging compositions by notable contemporaries such as Joseph Rudolf Lewy and the growing adoption of his works across Europe. Gallay's engagement with vocal repertoire and Austro-German compositions further highlighted his versatility and foresight, marking him as an influential figure at a time when horn playing was undergoing significant transformation.

Meanwhile, Gallay's presence within Parisian cultural circles intersected with the artistic and political currents embodied by figures like Princess Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso and her influential salons. These environments fostered both artistic innovation and nationalist sentiment, underscoring the broader cultural significance of

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[72] Tunley, *Salons, Singers and Songs,* 31. Gallay is listed as a participant in the soirees held by individuals including Chevalier de Lagoanère, Henri Herz, Jean-Antoine-Just Géraldy, the duke and duchess d'Orléans, Erard.

music during this era. This period thus paved the way for Gallay's eventual appointment to the Paris Conservatoire, where he would continue to shape the future of horn playing and pedagogy.

Chapter Thirteen: Gallay's appointment to the Paris Conservatoire (1842)

Growth of the Paris Conservatoire in the first half of the 19th century

In the period between Louis-François Dauprat's initial appointment at the Conservatoire (as *adjoint* from 1816) to his student Gallay's own appointment in 1842 the institution expanded greatly in size. Emmanuel Hondré has persuasively argued that amongst the drivers for this growth were the addition of new subjects offered in response to the needs provoked by "the rehabilitation of religious genres and the expansion of the symphonic medium".[1] At the time of Dauprat's appointment, the instrumental subjects available included piano, violin, cello, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon and horn but in the next twenty years subjects were added to tackle these additional needs. Concerning religious music, the organ was added in 1819, and for the symphonic repertoire, harp was added in 1825, double bass in 1827, piston horn

[1] Emmanuel Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de Paris en quête de sa mission national (1795–1848)" in Michael Fend and Michel Noiray, eds., *Musical Education in Europe (1770–1914),* vol. 2 (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 94: "Un premier ordre de mesures prises par le Conservatoire de Paris consiste à augmenter le nombre de matières enseignées, en réponse à deux types de besoins principaux: la réhabilitation des genres religieux et l'agrandissement du médium symphonique."

and trumpet in 1833, and, finally, trombone in 1836.[2] Student numbers rose from 140 in 1816 to 580 in 1848, with Hondré giving the teaching staff as going from 38 to 82 in the same period.[3]

In terms of the instrumental tuition provision, the other expansion was in terms of new "preparatory classes", for example, classes added for violin in 1822, flute in 1831, clarinet in 1835 and oboe in 1839. It is important to note that in terms of the instrumental tuition the numbers of staff remained steady with most subject teachers being replaced, rather than the number of teachers per subject being expanded. A

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[2] The trumpet and trombone classes could be seen as not entirely new entities given the inclusion of a number of brass teachers in the formative years of the Conservatoire employed teaching both solfège and their instruments. Pierre lists Adam-François Guthmann as initially teaching solfège (year III/1795, though employment is implied from 1793) then trumpet (1800–1802), similarly Pierre-François Marcillac teaching solfège (year III/1795, again, implied from 1793) then trombone (1800–1802). Pierre also indicates the presence of trumpeter Nicolas Vauchelet (from 1795 until 1800: trumpet) and serpentists Jacques-Marie Cornu (from 1795–1800) Jean-Baptiste Mathieu (solfège from 1793–1800, serpent 1800–1802). Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 407–412. See also François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, vol. 6 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1837), 23. The reduction of the provision of brass tuition is in keeping with what Hondré has described as the Conservatoire being "unable to keep the egalitarian promises of the Revolution" as the "Conservatory quickly abandoned access to classes to beginners in favour of a selection of students through an entrance competition with age limits." Furthermore Hondré states that this was a "a clear paradigm shift: the revolutionary ambition of the first years - to train all citizens equally, without prior selection, men and women - was succeeded by a purely pragmatic attitude, aimed at training good musicians, in a perspective that would become elitist." Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de Paris", 86: "Incapable de tenir très longtemps les promesses égalitaires de la Révolution, le Conservatoire a rapidement abandonné l'accès des classes aux débutants au profit d'une sélection des élèves par un concours d'entrée assorti de limites d'âge. On assiste alors à un clair changement de paradigme : à l'ambition révolutionnaire des premieres années - former à égalité tous les citoyens, sans sélection préalable, hommes et femmes - a succédé une attitude purement pragmatique, visant à former de bons musiciens, dans une perspective qui allait devenir élitiste."

[3] Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de Paris", 101 and 94. It is not immediately clear as to how Hondré has calculated the number of "Personnel enseignant" given Constant Pierre's listing of 37 teachers in 1816. The 38th could be Milon, tasked with "Maintien du corps" but a plausible 39th (Blanchet père "Accordeur") is then not included? Nonetheless, it is clear that there was a large rise in the number of teaching staff employed by the Conservatoire. All the data in this section is based on such cross-referencing Pierre's work. Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 423, 424, 533–667.

Year	Subject	Outgoing teacher	Incoming teacher
1816	Flute	Johann Georg Wunderlich	Joseph Guillou
1816	Oboe	François Sallantin	Gustav Vogt
1816	Clarinet	Charles Duvernoy	Jean-Xavier Lefèvre
1816	Violin	Jean-Jacques Grasset	Rodolphe Kreutzer
1816	Violin	François-Antoine Habeneck	Pierre Baillot
1816	Piano	Louis Adam	Pierre Zimmerman
1817/1818	Horn	Heinrich Domnich	Louis-François Dauprat
1822	Violin (prep)	—— new class ——	Clavel
1822	Violin (prep)	—— new class ——	Guérin
1824	Clarinet	Jean-Xavier Lefèvre	Louis Lèfevre
1824	Bassoon	Bernard Delcambre	François-René Gebauer
1825	Harp	—— new class ——	Naderman
1826	Violin	Rodolphe Kreutzer	Auguste Kreutzer
1826	Cello	Jean-Henri Lavassuer	Louis-Pierre Norblin
1826	Cello	Charles Baudiot	Olive-Charlier Vaslin
1827	Double bass	—— new class ——	Chenié
1831	Flute (prep)	—— new class ——	Coche
1832	Clarinet	Louis Lèfevre	Berr
1832	Double bass	Chenié	Chaft
1833	Trumpet	—— new class ——	Dauverne
1833	Valve horn	—— new class ——	Meifred
1835	Clarinet (prep)	—— new class ——	Lamour
1835	Harp	Nadermann	A. Prumier
1835	Harp (prep)	—— new class ——	C. Premier
1835	Harp (prep, women)	—— new class ——	Mlle Beltz
1836	Trombone	—— new class ——	Dieppo
1839	Clarinet	Berr	Klosé
1839	Bassoon	François-René Gebauer	Barizel
1839	Oboe (prep)	—— new class ——	Veny
1840	Clarinet (prep)	Lamour	—— class closes ——
1841	Flute (prep)	Coche	—— class closes ——
1842	Horn	Louis-François Dauprat	Jacques-François Gallay

Figure 13:1: Changes of instrumental staff (not including keyboards) at the Paris Conservatoire between 1816 and 1842.

noticeable number of subjects had a change of teacher c.1816–18, for example horn player Domnich ceding to Dauprat, flautist Johann Georg Wunderlich (1755–1819) to Joseph Guillou (1787–1853), oboist François Sallantin (1755–1830) to Gustave Vogt (1781–1870), clarinetist Charles Duvernoy (1766–1845), to Jean-Xavier Lefèvre (1763–1829), violinists Jean-Jacques Grasset (c.1769–1839) and François-Antoine Habeneck (1781–1845) to Rodolphe Kreutzer (1766–1831) and Pierre Baillot (1771–1842), and pianist Louis Adam (1758–1848) to Pierre Zimmerman (1785–1853) (see figure 13:1 for tablature of these changes). After a period of stability there are also a number of further changes in the mid 1820s with clarinetist Louis Lèfevre (1773-1833) replacing Jean-Xavier Lefèvre in 1824, bassoonist François-René Gebauer (1773–1845) replacing Bernard Delcambre also in 1824, violinist Auguste Kreutzer (1778–1832) replacing his brother Rodolphe Kreutzer in 1826, and cellists Louis-Pierre Norblin (1781–1854) and Olive Charlier Vaslin (1794–1889) replacing Jean-Henri Lavassuer (1764–1826) and Charles Baudiot (1773–1849) in 1826 and 1827 respectively.

Whilst there is evidence of singing teachers switching subjects during their employment at the Conservatoire (for example, François-Louis Henry (1786–1855) who started as a *répéiteur*, then *préparation au chant* (1808), *vocalisation* (1816), then singing (1835)), generally the trend remains the same with professors being replaced rather than departments being expanded.[4] When classes closed there is evidence of teachers being repositioned in similar subjects, for example the cessation of the *vocalisation* class in 1835 sees the three teachers (the

[4] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 415–424, 533–667.

aforementioned Henry, Alexis de Garaudé (1779–1852), and Auguste Mathieu Panseron (1796–1859)) re-employed in the singing class.[5]

It is in what we would now view as the "supporting studies" (i.e. the musicianship classes both practical and theoretical that support the instrumental or vocal tuition) that the explosion in teaching numbers is seen, most notably in the preparatory classes for counterpoint and fugue, harmony and practical accompaniment and especially so for all the solfège class. It is in the solfège classes for women that we see both the biggest increase in teaching provision (going from four teachers in 1816, two teachers in 1817 through to c.1821, then to a peak of ten in 1829) as well as a high turnover of staff (31 changes in staff members between 1816 and 1848 with many teachers coming in and out of service).[6] The male solfège classes show similar expansion in terms of more teachers being employed (from three in 1816 to eleven in 1830). Whilst the male solfège classes appear more stable due to the tenure of professors such as Goblin (1818–1830), Fromental Halévy (1799–1862, teaching 1816–27), Aimé Leborne (1797–1866, teaching 1816–1836), Georges Kuhn (1789–1858, teaching 1822–1848) and Émile Bienaimé (1802–1869, teaching 1821–1823) the five changes of staff in one solfège class between 1823 and 1833 show the volatility of employment in this subject.[7]

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[5] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 570 and 572.

[6] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 550, 556.

[7] The five changes in one class were: Adam (Louis?) 1822–1823, Edmond Larivierrre 1823–1828, Félix Le Couppey (1811–1887) 1828–1830, Ambroise Thomas (1811–1896) 1830–1832 and Henri Potier (1816–1879) 1832–1833. Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 550.

The piano class was dominated by Zimmerman in conjunction with, first, Louis-Barthélémy Pradher (1782–1843, teaching 1803–1827), and then Adolphe François Laurent (1796-1867, teaching from 1845). For the female students the tuition was undertaken by Emilie-Marie-Julie Michu (1785–18??, teaching 1816–1828) and Louis Adam (teaching 1797–1842) then Henri Herz (1803–1888, teaching from 1842). In comparison, the piano preparatory class has a high turnover of staff, again, especially so for the female student classes.[8] The status of female education and employment undoubtedly had a hand in the rise in the number of classes available for women during this period as well as the frequency of changes of staff. Additionally some of the maiden or married names suggests many of these female employees were either daughters or spouses of established teachers at the Conservatoire.[9]

During the period up to Gallay's employment, the Conservatoire saw rapid growth in the numbers of students and teaching staff, but in terms of the latter this was represented more by the larger numbers of staff in non-performance subjects (i.e. not instrumental tuition nor vocal), or in supporting/preparatory studies for performance subjects (the piano studies class, preparatory classes for woodwinds, strings and piano). Whilst the brass class gained Meifred teaching his approach to valve horn, which incorporated natural horn technique, in 1833 and resurrected the long dormant classes in trumpet (François Dauverné in 1833) and trombone (Antoine Dieppo in 1836) the natural horn provision, like many other instrumental subjects, was the domain of one professor.

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[8] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 595, 598.

[9] For example Rodolphe, Clavel, Goblin,

The campaign to appoint Gallay to the Conservatoire

In the lead up to Gallay's appointment as the natural horn professor at the Paris Conservatoire late in 1842, there appears to have been a certain degree of agitation in the French press regarding the state of the class. Gallay's former teacher Dauprat had been teaching, as the sole horn professor, at the institution since at least 1818, and prior to this appears to have been teaching in an assistant role.[10] In the context of the earliest cohort of teaching staff, a single horn teacher suggests a very much reduced department, especially if one considers the differing disciplines of *cor alto* and *cor basse* (not to mention *cor mixte*) and Dauprat was only joined by his former student Meifred, who was appointed as the very first valve horn professor, on 1 May 1833.[11]

By 1842, a good twenty-four years after Dauprat's appointment, rumblings were being heard and criticism was made of the "neglected" horn class:

> The departure of Mme. Garcia-Viardot for Spain was delayed by a few days, because of the S[igismond] Thalberg concert, in which she must be heard. We know that this concert will take place on the 12th at eight in the evening at the

[10] Sources are conflicting as to the exact course of events. Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 441 lists him as *adjoint* from 1802 becoming full professor in 1816. Théodore Lassabathie, in his *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique* (Paris: Levy Frères, 1860), somewhat complicates matters by listing the same details on 420, but earlier (369), in his listing year by year of the professors, does not include Dauprat as *adjoint* until 1816, with him becoming full professor in 1818. As can be seen in the case of García, it is not unusual for these exact dates to be somewhat muddled between the sources. See Malcolm Sterling Mackinlay, *Garcia the centenarian and his times: being a memoir of Manuel Garcia's life and labours for the advancement of music and science* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons,1908) 115.

[11] Lassabathie, *Histoire du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique*, 439.

> Théâtre-Italien. Tamburini will sing several pieces, and Gallay will be heard there. And regarding Gallay, we must express our astonishment at not seeing him join the Conservatory as a professor. The horn school is completely neglected in this institution; we only know masters whose spirit resonates as hollow as the horn; Gallay alone could restore its former reputation.[12]

This report in *La France Musicale* positions Gallay alongside a number of names associated with the Italian school, Pauline Garcia-Viardot, Sigismond Thalberg and Antonio Tamburini. In addition to the four being regular fixtures in performances at the Parisian Théâtre-Italien, we can similarly place Garcia-Viadot and Tamburini as performing alongside the Prince Belgiojoso (a respected tenor) in a concert of music by Rossini and Donizetti.[13]

Whilst it is difficult to ascertain whether the anonymous *La France Musicale* article was right to accuse Dauprat and Meifred of having “hollow spirits” or “neglecting” their classes, Gallay was clearly being touted as their successor in arguably the most important position as regards the lineage of horn playing in France.

In his 1838 article on the composer Ferdinando Paër, the writer Castil-Blaze makes the startling and unique claim that Paër’s father, the horn player Giulio Paër, had

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[12] *La France Musicale,* (Sunday, 10 April 1842), no.14, 143. “Le départ de Mme Garcia-Viardot pour l'Espagne a été retardé de quelques jours, à cause du concert de S. Thalberg, dans lequel elle doit se faire entendre. On sait que ce concert aura lieu de 12, à huit heures du soir, au Théâtre-Italien. Tamburini y chantera plusieurs morceaux, et Gallay s'y fera entendre. Et à propos de Gallay, nous devons exprimer notre étonnement de ne pas le voir entrer comme professeur au Conservatoire. L'école de cor est complètement négligée dans cette institution; nous n'y connaissons que des maitres dont l'esprit résonne aussi creux que le cor; Gallay seul pourrait lui rendre son ancienne réputation.”

[13] Anon. “Musical and Theatrical”, *The Examiner* (28 January 1843), 56.

been an early exponent (if not the actual discoverer) of hand technique.[14] Whilst he admits that there is not a direct pedagogical path from Päer to Punto to Duvernoy to Gallay, Castil-Blaze associates Gallay with a sequence of horn players particularly significant to Franco-Italian music:

> Punto, Rodolphe, are the leaders of our horn school so well represented today by Gallay, Dauprat, Meifred, Mengal, etc. These four French masters get their talent from Frédéric Duvernoy, who benefited from the discovery of his predecessors. Paër, Punto, Duvernoy, Gallay: such was, for a century, the lineage of "récitants" horn players. They were not formed by each other, I agree, since Duvernoy sought and found his methods without the help of any teacher. But Duvernoy knew that others were already obtaining the effects he wanted to know; once the discovery of Paër was reported, all the horn players directed their efforts towards the same goal, and several were fortunate enough to achieve it.[15]

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[14] Castil-Blaze (François-Henri-Joseph Blaze), "Paër" in *Revue de Paris*, vol. 10 (October 1838), 43–44. "La découverte de ce corniste fit une grande sensation en Italie". English translation in Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), 162–163. "The invention by this horn player was a great sensation in Italy."

[15] Castil-Blaze, "Paër" in *Revue de Paris*, vol. 58 (Paris: Bureau de la Revue de Paris, 1838), 43–44. "Punto, Rodolphe, sont les chefs de notre école de cor si bien représentée aujourd'hui par Gallay, Dauprat, Meifred, Mengal, etc. Ces quatre maîtres français tiennent leur talent de Frédéric Duvernoy, qui avait profité de la découverte de ses devanciers. Pär, Punto, Duvernoy, Gallay, telle est, pendant un siècle, la filiation des cornistes récitans. Ils n'ont pas été formés les uns par les autres, j'en conviens, puisque Duvernoy a cherché et trouvé ses procédés sans le secours d'aucun professeur. Mais Duvernoy savait que d'autres obtenaient déjà les effets qu'il désirait connaître ; la découverte de Pär une fois signalée, tous les cornistes dirigèrent leurs efforts vers le même but, et plusieurs furent assez heureux pour y parvenir."

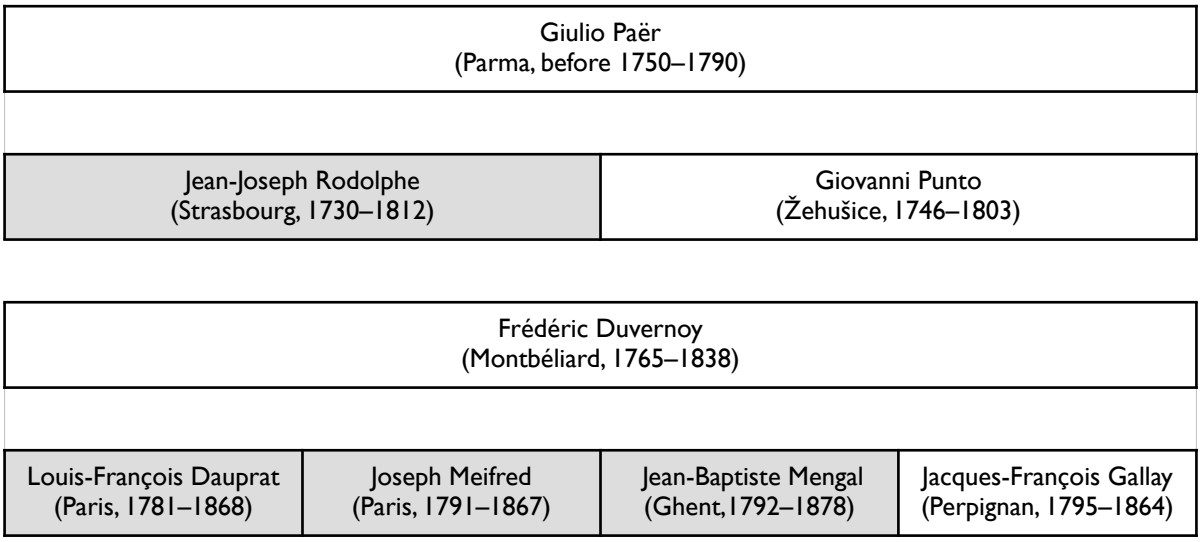


Figure 13:2: Castil-Blaze's lineage of "récitants" horn players (emphasising Paër, Punto, Duvernoy and Gallay). Castil-Blaze, "Paër" in *Revue de Paris*, vol. 58 (Paris: Bureau de la Revue de Paris, 1838), 43–44.

Around the same time (c.1839–40) Gallay is listed as one of the "instrumental celebrities" whom Antoine Elwart believed had "acquired a European reputation", "produced" by Dauprat and the conservatory.

> We would have to name all our instrumental celebrities here if we wanted to cite the names of Conservatoire students who, today, have acquired a European reputation…The horn classes, held by M. Dauprat and Meifreid (sic), produced the inimitable Gallay, and the young Pierret who, on the piston horn, has first-rate talent.[16]

[16] Antoine Elwart, "La Conservatoire de Musique" in *Journal de l'Institut Historique*, vol. 10 (Paris: L'administration de l'institut historique, 1840), 22. "Il faudrait nommer ici toutes nos célébrités instrumentales si l'on voulait citer les noms d'élèves du Conservatoire qui, de nos jours, ont acquis une réputation européenne… Les classes de cor, tenues par M. Dauprat et Meifreid (sic), ont produit Gallay l'inimitable, et le jeune Pierret qui, sur le cor à piston, possède un talent de premier ordre."

This again is positioning Gallay as a natural product of the French school and the Conservatoire, placing him as an obvious choice for professor. It also emphasises the two camps, natural horn versus piston horn.[17]

The campaign for Gallay's appointment did not go unnoticed or unchallenged by Dauprat and his supporters. *La Mélomanie* published three rebuttals, two before and the final one after the announcement of Gallay's appointment. Whilst these are anonymous accounts, Cyrille Grenot has posited that the "ironic" tone points to Dauprat's former student and fellow Conservatoire professor, Joseph Meifred, a frequent writer for *La Mélomanie*.[18]

The timing of the first report of 17 April 1842 suggests that it is in response to the *La France Musicale* article cited above (10 April 1842). Grenot describes this as a "scathing right of reply…defending his master and colleague, without forgetting to tarnish Gallay's reputation in passing."[19]

> M. Dauprat is an artist of rare merit; the services he has rendered and continues to render to the Conservatoire, as a professor and as a composer, are too well appreciated to be put up for discussion; (...) if he has devoted

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[17] Pierret is Charles-Joseph Pierret (1812–1872). A student of Meifred, Pierret was the recipient of the *premier prix* in 1836. In the award winner's concert that year, performed his own arrangement for piston horn of Charles-Auguste de Bériot's *5ème Air Varié pour violon*, Op. 7 (Paris: Troupenas, c.1827). Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 645, 829, 972.

[18] Cyrille Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat au Conservatoire de Paris (Correspondance de 1852 à 1862)" in *La Revue du Corniste*, no. 79 (Autumn 2000), fn. 6, 17.

[19] Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", fn. 6, 17. "Meifred, indigné, avait signé un droit de réponse…défendant son maître et collègue Dauprat, sans oublier d'écorcher au passage la réputation de Gallay :"

himself to teaching, if he does not make the public hear those charming little nothings that make the dowagers of the Faubourg Saint-Germain and the subscribers to free concerts swoon with pleasure, he has written serious, useful, perfectly reasoned works, on which the teaching of the horn has long been based.[20]

Then in the first of the two *La Mélomanie* articles in September the author does not hold back from suggesting a duplicitous and political campaign to appoint the, by implication, unworthy candidate.

M. Gallay, a student of M. Dauprat, has friends in the offices of the Ministry of the Interior whose indiscreet zeal had led them to ask for him, without his knowledge, the position of horn professor at the Conservatory, so worthily held by M. Dauprat. Their efforts were on the point of succeeding when M. Gallay learned of them; immediately this worthy artist went to declare to the Ministry that he would never accept the position of a man who had distinguished

[20] Anon., *La Mélomanie* (17 April 1842) reproduced in Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", fn. 6, 17. "M. Dauprat est un artiste d'un rare mérite ; les services qu'il a rendus et qu'il rend encore au Conservatoire, comme professeur et comme compositeur, sont trop bien appréciés pour être mis en discussion ; (...) s'il s'est voué à l'enseignement, s'il ne fait pas entendre au public ces charmants petits riens qui pâment d'aise les douairières du faubourg Saint-Germain et les abonnés des concerts gratis, il a écrit des ouvrages sérieux, utiles, parfaitement raisonnés, et sur lesquels reposent depuis longtemps l'enseignement du cor."

himself by the most beautiful teaching works of which the horn was the subject, and to whom he owed his talent and reputation.[21]

Grenot is unsure whether the author is being ironic or sincere in the reports of Gallay refusing the position out of respect for his former teacher, Dauprat. Grenot highlights this uncertainty in light of the second, more forceful article:

We do not approve of the appointment of M. Gallay as horn professor either. M. Gallay (...) is a very good performer; we readily acknowledge this; but what has he done for teaching? Nothing! Is he even a professor to any degree? Let us see his students! Besides, why retire a man like M. Dauprat, whose entire life has been a sacrifice made to the teaching of the most thankless of instruments? The most complete obsolescence could alone have served as an excuse for such a measure, and, thank God! M. Dauprat is still in all his strength, in all his vigour. With him the Conservatoire loses the last professor or horn without pistons that France has.[22]

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[21] Anon., *La Mélomanie* (8 September 1842) (BN Mus. Bp 93) reproduced in Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", fn. 6, 17. "M. Gallay, élève de M. Dauprat, possède dans les bureaux du ministère de l'intérieur des amis qu'un zèle indiscret avait portés à demander pour lui, à son insu, la place de professeur de cor au Conservatoire, si dignement tenue par M. Dauprat. Leurs démarches étaient sur le point de réussir, lorsque M. Gallay en eut connaissance ; aussitôt ce digne artiste alla déclarer au ministère que jamais il n'accepterait la place d'un homme qui s'est signalé par les plus beaux ouvrages d'enseignement dont le cor ait été l'objet, et auquel il devait son talent et sa réputation."

[22] Anon., *La Mélomanie* (18 September, 1842) (BN Mus. ; cote : Bp 93) reproduced in Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", fn. 6, 17. "Nous n'approuvons pas davantage la nomination de M. Gallay en qualité de professeur de cor. M. Gallay (...) est un fort bon exécutant ; nous le reconnaissons volontiers ; mais qu'a-t-il fait pour l'enseignement ? rien ! Est-il seulement professeur à un degré quelconque ? qu'on nous montre ses élèves ! D'ailleurs, pourquoi mettre à la retraite un homme comme M. Dauprat, dont la vie tout entière a été un sacrifice fait à l'enseignement du plus ingrat des instruments ? La caducité la plus complète aurait pu seule servir d'excuse à une semblable mesure, et, Dieu merci ! M. Dauprat est encore dans toute sa force, dans toute sa vigueur. Avec lui le Conservatoire perd le dernier professeur de cor sans pistons que la France possède."

If *La France Musicale* was correct in the suggestion that Gallay's appointment was overdue then Gallay may have been exploring other avenues of employment around this time, as a month after *La France Musicale*'s complaint the *Revue et Gazette Musicale* reports that:

> [a] petition with 518 [?] signatures was addressed to the members of the municipal council of the city of Perpignan to request the creation of a Music Conservatory in this city. One of the reasons on which the petition is based is the need to reconstitute the theatre orchestra, which can no longer be completed without recourse to musicians from the regiments. Moreover, the city of Perpignan has seen the emergence from its schools of many amateurs and distinguished artists, among whom is M. Gallay.[23]

Perpignan had not been without some form of musical education in the city thanks to a singing school which had sprung out of the auspices of the Société lyrique but, in 1841, questions were raised as to whether this was sufficient with out complementary instrumental tuition.[24] These concerns appear to have been part of a concerted effort on the part of the city in terms of their musical activities. Gallay, for sure, was their

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[23] Anon. "Nouvelles" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 9th year, no. 20 (15 May, 1842), 215. "Une pétition revêtue de 518 [?] signatures a été adressée aux membres du conseil municipal de la ville de Perpignan pour solliciter la création d'un Conservatoire de musique dans cette ville. L'un des motifs sur lesquels la pétition s'appuie, c'est la nécessité de reconstituer l'orchestre du théâtre, qui ne peut plus se compléter sans recourir aux musiciens des régiments, D'ailleurs la ville de Perpignan a vu sortir de ses écoles beaucoup d'amateurs et d'artistes distingués, dans le nombre desquels se trouve M. Gallay."

[24] "Feuilleton. Musique", in *Journal de département des Pyrenées-Orientales*, 26th year, no. 18 (1 May 1841), 1–2.

leading home-grown musical “celebrity” and seems to have kept contacts alive in his birth town:

> We are currently organising a musical solemnity in Perpignan for the benefit of the poor throughout the Pyrénées-Orientales department. — Artists from Toulouse, Montpellier, Nîmes, Barcelona, Figuières, come to this city; more than 150 musicians will participate in the festival; the artist Gallay, native of Perpignan, must also be heard there.[25]

The citizens of Perpignan’s campaign for a new Conservatoire was successful, and in July 1842 the Parisian press reported the city proudly announcing the foundation of the new school, to be directed by the most famous musical product of their city, Gallay.

> Perpignan - A general assembly of artists and music lovers recently decided to create a music conservatory. A petition which was immediately covered by a considerable number of signatures was addressed to the municipal council, which voted for the necessary funds and provided premises for this establishment. Nearly a hundred students were admitted by the board of directors of the Conservatory, chaired by the mayor of the city. M. Gallay was named director of the Conservatory by acclamation; M. Henry, author of

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[25] Anon. “Nouvelles Diverses” in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 397, 18th year, no.34 (Paris: Heugel, 25 July, 1841), 4. “On s'occupe en ce moment à Perpignan d'une solennité musicale au profit des pauvres de tout le département des Pyrénées-Orientales. — Des artistes de Toulouse, Montpellier, Nîmes, Barcelonne, Figuières, se rendent dans cette ville : plus de 150 musiciens concourront à la fête ; l'artiste Gallay, natif de Perpignan, doit également s'y faire entendre.” Further coverage in

several esteemed works, and the senior artist of Perpignan, was appointed censor, and MM. Lomagne and Fabre, students and laureates of the Paris Conservatory, managers.[26]

The foundation of the conservatoire receives sizeable coverage in the local Perpignan press without mention of any role for Gallay. Instead it appears to be, Joseph Lomagne, Gallay's former collaborator in the Perpignan Société lyrique who is more frequently cited as the primary force there.[27] Lomagne had certainly been a strong musical influence in the years both leading up to and following the formation of the local conservatoire; he is listed as music teacher in the various schools, a driving force behind the festival of music in which both he and Gallay performed, as well as appearing frequently in the local press regarding his performances in the region.[28] In later coverage, obituaries and biographical entries, he is described as the director of

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[26] Anon. "Chronique Départementale" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 9th year, no. 31 (31 July, 1842), 320. "Une assemblée générale d'artistes et d'amateurs de musique, a décidé dernièrement la création d'un Conservatoire de musique. Une pétition qui fut immédiatement couverte d'un nombre considérable de signatures fut adressée au conseil municipal, qui a voté les fonds nécessaires, et donné un local pour cet établissement. Près de cent élèves ont été admis par le conseil d'administration du Conservatoire, présidé par le maire de la ville. M. Gallay a été nommé par acclamation directeur du Conservatoire ; M. Henry, auteur de plusieurs ouvrages estimés, et doyen d'âge des artistes de Perpignan, a été nommé censeur, et MM. Lomagne et Fabre, élèves et lauréats du Conservatoire de Paris, gérants."

[27] "Simple opinion sur le conservatoire de musique" in *Journal de département des Pyrénées-Orientales*, 27th year, no. 27 (2 July 1842), 1–2. "Musique" in *Journal de département des Pyrénées-Orientales*, 27th year, no. 46 (12 November 1842), 1–2. "Premier Concert du Conservatoire de Musique" in *Journal de département des Pyrénées-Orientales*, 27th year, no. 52 (24 December 1842), 1–2.

[28] Jean Capeille, "Lomagne (Joseph)" in *Dictionnaire de biographies roussillonnaises* (Perpignan: Imprimerie-librairie catalane de J. Comet, 1914), 335–6. Listed as a teacher at both the École préparatoire aux professions commerciales et industrielles (part of the Collège Communal de Perpignan) and the École normale primaire à Perpignan in: Anon, *Annuaire Statistique et Historique du département des Pyrénées orientales* (Perpignan: J.-B. Alzine, 1834), 391, 396. Performances listed in issues of the *Journal de département des Pyrénées-Orientales.*

the school and certainly appears to have been acting in that role since its inception.[29] Did Gallay refuse the directorship or was it never even offered? Perhaps it was a purely titular role, something given as a mark of respect; perhaps he had intended to take on this position but opportunities in Paris or his ill health prevented it; or perhaps the "rumours" of Gallay taking this role were part of the effort to press Paris into appointing him?

Whatever the case, the agitation paid off, and in September of the same year the "grands changements" were announced:

> Big changes are taking place at the Conservatoire: MM. Duprez and Manuel García have just been appointed singing teachers; M. Henri Herz and Ms. Farrenc, piano teachers; M. Gallay, horn teacher. MM. Dourlen, harmony teacher; Adam, piano teacher; Henri, singing teacher, and Dauprat, horn teacher, are allowed to retire. In addition, M. Adam, the dean of French pianists and professors, is appointed inspector-general of piano studies at the Conservatory.[30]

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[29] "Conservatoire de Musique" in *Journal des Pyrenées-Orientales,* no. 99 (25 December 1852), 3. "Joseph Lomagne" in *Journal des Pyrenées-Orientales,* no. 99 (31 July 1868), 3. Capeille, *Dictionnaire de biographies,* 336.

[30] Anon., "Nouvelles" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 9th year, no. 38 (18 September, 1842), 383. "De grands changements s'opèrent au Conservatoire : MM. Duprez et Manuel Garcia viennent d'être nommés professeurs de chant ; M. Henri Herz et madame Farrenc, professeurs de piano ; M. Gallay, professeur de cor. MM. Dourlen, professeur d'harmonie ; Adam, professeur de piano ; Henri, professeur de chant, et Dauprat, professeur de cor, sont admis á prendre leur retraite. De plus, M. Adam, le doyen des pianistes et professors français, est nommé inspecteur-général des études de piano au Conservatoire."

La France Musicale wrote, approvingly, of the news; "[w]e had asked for a long time for Duprez, Garcia and Gallay, the places which have finally been granted to them."[31]

"Grands changements" at the Paris Conservatoire

The "grands changements" potentially suggests more than just a "changing of the guard": it appears that Gallay's fellow new teachers are familiar names from his Franco-Italian circle, the soirées, the Théâtre-Italien etc..

The *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* report above only gives a fraction of the details regarding the newly employed teachers.[32] For the singers, native French tenor Gilbert Duprez, renowned for his interpretation of Italian operatic repertoire, was replacing Henry.[33] Manuel García, the most influential teacher and by far the most comprehensive in his exploration and elucidation of the art of singing at this juncture, was filling the place left vacant on Alexis de Garaudé's retirement in 1839.[34] Italian tenor Filippo Galli (1783-1853) had recently returned to Paris and was appointed at the Conservatoire filling Jean-Blaise Martin's (1768–1837) role, vacant since 1837. The three new vocal professors were joining Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801–1863), Marco Bordogni (1789–1856), David Banderali (1789–1849), Antoine Ponchard (1787–1866) and Panseron. This returned the department to the same

[31] Escudier, *La France Musicale*, no. 38 (18 September, 1842), 320. "Il y a long-temps que nous avions demandé pour Duprez, Garcia et Gallay, la place qui vient enfin de leur être accordée."

[32] More information is to be found in Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique,* 572.

[33] For more on Duprez see Chapter Four, 179–182.

[34] For more on García see Chapter Four, 175–177.

number of teachers as in the 1835–1837 period but with a decidedly more Italian vocal school bias.

Returning to Hondré's exploration of the expansion of the Conservatoire during the first half of the nineteenth century cited at the beginning of this chapter, Gallay's appointment on 16 November 1842 was not in order to expand the department.[35] If the Conservatoire had required an additional or supplementary horn teacher there were already precedents for such in the presence of "preparatory classes" for other instruments , and in the horn class previously having had adjunct professors.

Marriage

On 10 June 1843 Gallay married Julie Eléonore d'Herbécourt (1816–18??).[36] His young wife was the daughter of François d'Herbécourt (1783–1837) who, trading under the name d'Herbécourt-Josset, kept "a very extensive collection of ancient China de Sèvres, Bronzes, Gildings, Curiosities of all kinds and fashions".[37] Julie worked at the family firm which was located at 6 place de la Bourse, approximately 400 metres from the Théâtre-Italien. The marriage was to provide one surviving child, daughter Pauline Marie Thérèse Gallay born in 1854.

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[35] Hondré, "Le Conservatoire de Paris", 94–99.

[36] Genealogical data in this section obtained from *Geneanet* (2009), https://en.geneanet.org/ [Accessed 23 July 2025].

[37] "An English Resident", *The Indispensable English vade mecum, or Pocket companion to Paris* (Paris: d'Urtubie and Worms, 1838), 177. The Josset part of the business name comes from Julie's mother, Rosalie Josset (1792–1843).

Gallay's disappearance

From 1843 onwards Gallay encountered health problems that limited his ability to work and therefore there is a marked decline in reviews mentioning Gallay as a performer in any capacity. From the surveys I have undertaken of accessible newspapers nothing appears in 1843 nor 1844. Two reviews in 1845 jump out from the silence, evidencing two concerts in quite quick succession.

The first was given on 1 April 1845 by the Belgian concert pianist Marie Pleyel (1811–1875), accompanied by the orchestra of the Théâtre-Italian. The reviewer in *Le Ménestrel* reports how Pleyel "thanked the orchestra with particular eagerness, as deserved, moreover, a pléiade of virtuosos such as Gallay, Klozé, Lavigne, Camus, Forestier, Vogel, and a host of others who elude us."[38] It is unclear whether Gallay, along with his fellow Théâtre-Italien colleagues, appeared as a soloist or purely as an orchestral musician on this occasion. Gallay and Pleyel, the latter prior to her marriage and appearing under her original name of Marie Moke, had worked together before in 1828 performing a duo by Kalkbrenner.[39]

[38] Anon., "Causeries Musicales" in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 581, 12th year, no.19 (Paris: Heugel, 6 April, 1845), 1. "Aussi Mme Pleyel remerciait-elle l'orchestre avec un empressement tout particulier, comme le méritait, du reste, une pléiade de virtuoses tels que Gallay, Klozé, Lavigne, Camus, Forestier, Vogel, et une foule d'autres qui nous échappent."

[39] Most likely the aforementioned Frederic Kalkbrenner, *Nocturne pour pianoforte et cor*, Op. 95, (Leipzig: H.A.Probst, n.d., c.1829). See Chapter Ten, 308–309 for more on this work. Concert reported in Fétis, *Revue Musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Mesnier, 1828), 116.

The second concert, a celebratory “grand concert annuel” for L'Association des Musiciens given by the Société des concerts du Conservatoire, took place later the same month.

> This evening was most brilliant. The Conservatory orchestra, with its illustrious conductor Habeneck at the head, and Tilmant as first violin conductor, shone in all its glory. There they were; Tulou and Dorus, here Verroust and Yény, then Klozé, Forestier, Gallay, Allard, Franchomme, etc. What a magnificent array of virtuosos, and what a delightful spectacle that of all these valiant captains reducing themselves to the state of simple soldiers to form a sacred battalion![40]

If the review of the Pleyel concert had been ambiguous regarding Gallay’s role, here the description of “valiant captains reducing themselves to the state of simple soldiers to form a sacred battalion” strongly gives the impression of these musicians performing as orchestral rather than solo musicians. The writer may also be toying with the military symbolism as a reference to the origins of the Conservatoire, an institution that grew out of the revolution and which instilled a military-style training in its students.

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[40] Anon., “Causeries Musicales” in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 584, 12th year, no. 23 (Paris: Heugel, 4 May, 1845), 1. “Cette soirée a été des plus brillantes. L’orchestre du Conservatoire, ayant son illustre chef Habeneck en tête, et Tilmant pour premier violon conducteur, rayonnait dans toute fa gloire. Là, c'étaient Tulou et Dorus, ici Verroust et. Yény, puis Klozé, Forestier, Gallay, Allard, Franchomme, etc Quelle magnifique pléiade de virtuoses, et quel ravissant spectacle que celui de tous ces vaillant capitaines se réduisant à l’état de simples soldats pour former un bataillon sacré!”

Gallay had not appeared as a soloist at the Société des concerts du Conservatoire since 1837. In addition to any solo performances, as a *sociétaire* he would have been "expected to appear, when convoked, at rehearsals and Sunday concerts", which could entail as many as "sixty services per year", thus would have very frequently entailed performing as part of the orchestra.[41]

Gallay's performing with the Société orchestra in April 1845 is intriguing as, on the 3 May 1843, he had retired from the Société due to unspecified illness.[42] This suggests that he was appearing in the capacity of a soloist rather than a member of the society. Gallay stepping down from his responsibilities with this ensemble led to the first horn appointment since Gallay and Rousselot themselves had joined in December 1828. Édouard Alexis Bernard (1806–1847) joined the horn section of the Société on 17 December, 1843, which suggests he had been appointed as Gallay's successor.

As mentioned in Chapter Nine, prior to his appointment to the Société, Bernard had twice appeared there when he performed a solo by Munck in 1836, and his own composition in 1840. Berlioz had written of the 1836 performance:

> Do you like horn concertos? No more than me, I bet. However, I must tell you about the horn solo in A flat, composed by Munck, and performed by M.

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[41] D. Kern Holoman, *The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2004), 24.

[42] Data on the members of the Société des concerts du Conservatoire available from: D. Kern Holoman, "The Société des concerts du Conservatoire, 1828–1967" (12 July 2012). Website: https://web.archive.org/web/20180419155307/http://hector.ucdavis.edu/SdC/ [Accessed 13 February 2025].

> Bernard. M. Bernard plays the horn very well: that's a fact. …When a theatre director, a conductor or a composer needs a good first horn, he can confidently turn to M. Bernard.[43]

This was perhaps a directive that the Société kept in mind at the point of Gallay's retirement.

The following year (1846) Gallay appeared briefly in March for a concert featuring the "power couple" of Giulia Grisi (1811–1869) and, a favourite of Princess Cristina Belgiojoso, "Mario" Giovanni Matteo De Candia (1810–1883), in which Gallay and Mario performed *l'Eco di Scozia.* The *Petit Courrier des Dames* reported how "the delicious voice of Mario harmonises so well with the accents of Gallay's horn" and that the pair "received applause which was no less due to the merit of the composition than to the talent of the performers".[44]

1846 marked the retirement of Habeneck from his position as conductor of the Opéra, an event that caused much reflection in the French musical press. *Le Ménestrel* mused on the options for his successor, weighing up the strengths and

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[43] Hector Berlioz, "Septième et Dernier Concert du Conservatoire" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 3rd year, no. 18 (8 May, 1836), 152. "Aimez-vous les concertos de cor ? Pas plus que moi, je le gage. Il faut pourtant que je vous parle du solo de cor en la bémol, composé par Munch, et exécuté par M. Bernard. M. Bernard joue très bien du cor : voilà le fait… Quand un directeur de théâtre, un chef d'orchestre ou un compositeur aura besoin d'un bon premier cor, il peut en toute assurance s'adresser à M. Bernard."

[44] Anon., "Causeries Musicales" in *Petit Courrier des Dames*, no. 18, vol. 1, 25th year (31 March 1846), 144. "A côte des maîtres de l'art, le maestro Tadolini a dignement tenu sa place, et sa cavatine, intercalée dans le Pirate, délicieusement chantée par Mlle Grisi, ainsi que sa mélodie : *l'Eco di Scozia*, dans laquelle la voix délicieuse de Mario s'harmonise si bien aux accents du cor de Gallay, on reçu des applaudissements qui ne s'adressaient pas moins au mérite de la composition qu'au talent des exécutants."

weaknesses of contenders including Tilmant, Diestch, Vidal, Girard, Donai and the "inventor of the romantic school", Berlioz.[45]

The writer took the opportunity afforded by this discussion to question the state of the Opéra orchestra in general and demand "essential reform":

> Why have we neglected this star that was once so brilliant, why pay so miserably for places which should be occupied by the elite of our instrumental luminaries? How is it that Gallay and Allard, for example, do not sit in the Opéra orchestra? Who today replaces the illustrious Baillot at the solo violin desk? Why doesn't Allard shine there with all his brilliance with the auxiliary quality of second conductor? Finally, what poverty in your violinists, cellos, horns and bassoons; When will all this be put on a good footing? — Isn't the advent of a new conductor a favourable moment?[46]

Given that Gallay was notably more rarely seen on Parisian concert platforms from 1843 onwards, I would suggest that the question raised in *Le Ménestrel* as to why he was not performing with the Opéra may be viewed in the context of his more general

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[45] Anon., "Causeries" in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 250, 13 year, no. 33 (Paris: Heugel, 19 July 1846), 2. "M. Berlioz, compositeur et inventeur de l'école romantique".

[46] Anon., "Causeries" in *Le Ménestrel*, 2. "Pourquoi avoir négligé cet astre autrefois si brillant, pourquoi rétribuer si misérablement des places qui devraient être occupées par l'élite de nos sommités instrumentales? Comment se fait-il que Gallay et Allard , par exemple, ne siègent pas à l'orchestre de l'Opéra? qui donc aujourd'hui remplace l'illustre Baillot au pupitre de violon solo ? Pourquoi Allard ne brille-t-il pas là de tout son éclat avec la qualité auxiliaire de second chef-d'orchestre? Enfin, quelle pauvreté dans vos violonistes, violoncelles, cors et bassons ; Quand tout cela sera-t-il mis sur un bon pied ? — L'avènement d'un nouveau chef d'orchestre n'est-il pas le moment favorable ?"

absence. However in the remaining years of his life Gallay's health was going to become a hinderance to his ability to work.

By 1843 Gallay's career was altering. His international standing, combined with the critical acclaim he had earned at home, made his appointment to the Conservatoire a natural progression. Whilst he was becoming less active as a performer, his new role would allow him not only to consolidate his status as the leading horn player of his generation, but also to shape the future of the instrument through teaching and the training of a new school of players.

Chapter Fourteen: Gallay's illness, death and succession at the Conservatoire. (1843 - post 1864)

A change of focus?

As discussed in the previous chapter, from c.1843 onwards Gallay's performing career is markedly quieter than in earlier decades. 1843 saw the publication of his *Méthode pour le cor*, a requisite of his position at the Paris Conservatoire, and it seems likely that a mainstay of the last two decades of Gallay's life was his position at this institution.[1] He appears to have been well regarded as a teacher and, as a review of a performance by Baneaux in 1858 attests, the instigator of a "good school" of horn playing.[2]

As mentioned in the previous chapter Gallay does not entirely disappear from the concert platform, though appearances are very much fewer and farther between than in his previous schedule. In addition to the two benefit concerts discussed in the previous chapter there is mention in the musical press of Gallay performing his *l'Eco*

[1] Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le cor,* op. 54 (Paris: Lemoine, 1843).

[2] "Nouvelles Diverses" in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 645, 25th year no. 19 (Paris: Heugel, 11 April 1858), 4. "M. Baneux, n'est pas seulement avec MM. Mohr, Bonnefoy et Paquis, à la tête de la jeune phalange des cornistes de la bonne école, — de celle de Gallay."

di Scozia with “Mario” Giovanni Matteo De Candia (1810–1883) in 1846.[3] This indicates a marked reduction in his performances.

Honours and plaudits

On the 27th of April 1845 Gallay was appointed Chevalier de la Légion d’honneur. Potentially the portrait of him by Antoine Maurin (1793–1860) was made to mark this event, given the detail of a thin stripe of deep red thread sewn into his jacket lapel, signifying Gallay’s inclusion in the *Légion d’honneur*. Gallay’s choice of artist might also be significant given that both he and Maurin were born in Perpignan. Furthermore, Gallay is depicted with quill in hand, his horn sitting behind him. Is this in order to show that his role had morphed from that of performer to that of teacher and composer?

Gallay continued to be considered fundamental, as the latest in a series of horn players who had raised the playing standards and musical capacity of the horn, as Escudier’s 1854 article on the horn affirms:

> The art of Punta [Punto], Duvernoi [Duvernoy], Dauprat, Gallay, giving [the horn] a new existence, enriched it with a multitude of tones that nature

[3] Anon., “Causeries Musicales” in *Le Ménestrel,* no. 581, 12th year no. 19 (Paris: Heugel, 6 April 1845), 1. Anon., “Causeries Musicales” in *Le Ménestrel,* no. 584, 12th year, no. 23 (Paris: Heugel, 4 May 1845), 1. Anon., “Causeries Musicales” in *Petit Courrier des Dames*, no. 18, vol. 1, 25th year (31 March 1846), 144.

seemed to want to deny it. Brilliant and sonorous in everything that recalls its primitive destination, the horn is tender and pathetic in the cantabile.[4]



Figure 14:1: Portrait of Jacques-François Gallay by Antoine Maurin (c.1845). Musée Rigaud (Perpignan, France).

[4] Marie and Leon Escudier *Dictionnaire de Musique* (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, n.d. c.1854), 157. “L'art des Punta, des Duvernoi, des Dauprat, des Gallay, lui donnant une nouvelle existence, l'a enrichie d'une multitude de tons que la nature semblait lui vouloir refuser. Brillant et sonore dans tout ce qui rappelle sa destination primitive, le cor est tendre et pathétique dans le cantabile.”

Ill health

It is clear from letters between Gallay and the Conservatoire that from at least 1850 onwards until his death in 1864 that Gallay's health had deteriorated to such an extent that he was housebound for months on end.[5] Letters survive from Gallay asking for special dispensation to be given to allow him to teach his students from home.

Gallay's letters indicate that his ailment affected his legs, making them "too weak" to the extent that they "have great difficulty supporting" him.[6] He describes his illness as related to the seasons ("I believe the harshness of the season has a lot to do with it") with his doctor forbidding him "from going out", preferring that Gallay "wait for the warmer weather".[7] It appears that Gallay's illness was "related to rheumatism", rare ("the illness I have is not one of those common"), often misunderstood or misdiagnosed by doctors ("If the doctor I first went to had understood my illness, I

[5] With thanks to Cyrille Grenot for sharing transcriptions of the Gallay letters. "Voilà six mois que je suis enfermé chez moi, c'est fort triste !"; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Alfred de Beauchesne (14 January 1850) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-5). "L'enflure a disparu ; mais il faut que je ne sorte pas encore deux ou trois jours"; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to an unknown recipient (29 October 1856) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-10). "Ma jambe gauche quoique n'ayant pas eu de facture, a été tellement abimée par la pression de la roue de la voiture, que je suis obligé de garder encore le lit une partie de la journée. J'espère cependant être assez bien dans quelques jours, pour pouvoir reprendre mes leçons au conservatoire."; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Daniel Auber ("director") (18 January 1864) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-12).

[6] "Je ne puis me rendre encore au Conservatoire pour y donner mes leçons, mes jambes sont trop faibles mes jambes ont beaucoup de peine à me soutenir"; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Daniel Auber (31 January 1850) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-3).

[7] "[E]t puis mon médecin me défend de sortir, il veut que j'attende la belle Saison"; letter from Gallay to de Beauchesne (14 January 1850) (F-Pn: LA-GALLAY JACQUES-5). "Je crois que la Rigueur de la saison y est pour beaucoup"; letter from Gallay to Auber (31 January 1850) ((F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-3).

would be completely cured by now (“but instead of taking vigorous action, he used small measures that allowed the illness to develop considerably”).[8] At a certain point an operation was recommended but it is unclear if it took place (“rest assured, the operation has not taken place; the doctor wanted to wait for the good weather to perform it.”)[9]

Gallay was permitted to teach his students three times a week from home.[10] In his letters he comes across as a diligent teacher, concerned that his ill-health should not impact upon his student’s learning: “my condition allows me, to my great satisfaction, to bring my students from the Conservatoire to my home and give them as many lessons as they would receive if I were well. In this way, their progress will not suffer, and my illness will not harm their studies in any way”, “I don't think my illness will be felt at my next competition”.[11] Gallay is focused on the students performing to their best abilities in the annual exams:

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[8] “[C]ar mon mal tient du rhumatisme.”; letter from Gallay to Auber (31 January 1850) (F-Pn: LA-GALLAY JACQUES-3). “C’est que le mal que j’ai n’est pas de ceux qui courent les rues…Si le médecin auquel je me suis adressé d’abord avait compris mon mal ; je serais entièrement guéri maintenant. Mais au lieu d’agir vigoureusement il s’est servi de petits moyens qui ont permis au mal de prendre beaucoup de développement.”; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Émile Réty (undated) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-8).

[9] “[M]ais tranquillisez vous, l’opération n’a pas eu lieu, le docteur a désiré attendre la belle saison pour la faire.”; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Alfred de Beauchesne (28 January 1863) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-11).

[10] “Mes Elèves viennent chez moi trois fois la semaine prendre leurs leçons.”; letter from Gallay to de Beauchesne (14 January 1850) (F-Pn: LA-GALLAY JACQUES-5).

[11] “Au surplus, monsieur, l’état dans lequel je me trouve me permet, à ma grande satisfaction, de faire venir mes élèves du conservatoire chez moi, et de leur donner autant de leçons qu’ils ne recevraient si je me portais bien. De cette manière leur progrès n’en souffriront pas et ma maladie ne portera aucun préjudice à leurs études.”; letter from Gallay to Auber (31 January 1850) (F-Pn: LA-GALLAY JACQUES-3). “[E] pense que ma maladie ne se fera pas sentir à mon prochain concours.”; letter from Gallay to Réty (undated) (F-Pn: LA-GALLAY JACQUES-8).

> The illness…will prevent me from attending my students' competition. It is a great deprivation for me not to be able to encourage them at such an important time for them. The pieces they are to play have been carefully rehearsed at my home. I hope that the emotion they may feel will not interfere too much with their performance..[12]

Compounding the challenges faced by Gallay in the 1850s came the death of a child; the news conveyed to the Conservatoire in a heartbreakingly brief, two line letter from 25 January 1851.

> I have lost the most precious thing in the world! My child died this morning!.....
>
> Please be so kind as to inform my students of this terrible misfortune.[13]

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[12] "La Maladie qui m'a retenue chez moi l'année dernière m'a repris il y a une dizaine de jours et m'empêchera d'assister au Concours de mes élèves. C'est une grande privation pour moi de ne pouvoir les encourager dans un moment si important pour eux. Les morceaux qu'ils doivent jouer ont été répétés avec soin chez moi. Je souhaite que l'émotion qu'ils pourront ressentir ne nuise pas trop à leur exécution."; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to an unknown recipient (4 August 1851) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-6)

[13] "J'ai perdu ce que j'avais de plus cher au Monde ! mon enfant est décédé ce matin !.....ayez la bonté de prévenir mes Elèves de cet affreux Malheur."; letter from Jacques-François Gallay to Ferriére (25 January 1851) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-GALLAY JACQUES-2).

Attacks from Dauprat

Whilst Gallay appeared to be fully ensconced in his role at the Conservatoire, serving not only as an instrumental professor but on various advisory committees, his predecessor's displeasure at his appointment was still being made plain, even twenty years after the event. Dauprat made a series of donations to the Conservatoire, including instruments and manuscripts of his own compositions.[14] In his cover letter accompanying one such donation (of manuscripts of compositions including duos op. 14, trios and quartets op. 8 and the sextet op. 10 for horns), addressed to Charles César Leroy (1804–1893), the Conservatoire Librarian from 1830 till 1871, he suggests that Leroy "will perhaps laugh, Sir, at the old Professor who takes so much care of his works, who dresses them up in new clothes and asks you to put them away, for fear that they will be spoiled or lost".[15] Dauprat is clear that the school of horn playing is facing two grave threats: the rise of the saxhorn and the piston-horn (which "everyone seems to be learning more and more") and "a certain Professor", namely Gallay.

In Dauprat's view Gallay is "more presumptuous than clever" and that, whilst gifted by nature "granting him a beautiful quality of sound, great facility and powerful means

[14] These donations are detailed in Cyrille Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat au Conservatoire de Paris (Correspondance de 1852 à 1862)" in *La Revue du Corniste*, no. 79 (Autumn 2000), 15–18 and "Les Dons de Dauprat Conservatoire (Correspondance, suite et fin)" in *La Revue du Corniste*, no. 80 (Winter 2000), 9–23.

[15] Louis-François Dauprat, Letter to César Leroy (16 June 1862) ((Paris, Archives nationales, F-Pan: AJ 37/319/4c). Reproduced in Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", no. 79 (Autumn 2000). "Vous rirez peut-être, Monsieur, du vieux Professeur qui prend tant de soins de ses oeuvres, qui les habille de neuf et vous prie de les caser, dans la crainte qu'ils ne se gâtent ou ne se perdent."

of execution" is, by contrast, afflicted by nature which refused him "taste, style and musical feeling". Gallay has "allowed himself to erase in the Music of his Masters, precisely everything that relates to the qualities that he lacks". Furthermore "[i]n addition, his natural laziness, which is well known to me, would have made him fall back into all the poverty of the mixed genre [i.e. *cor mixte*] from which I had removed him to his great advantage, not only to that of the art itself". Dauprat finishes by defending his gift of manuscripts as "it seemed urgent to me to put before the eyes of young horn players the Music of the aforementioned Masters in its integrity and as they conceived it".[16]

In 1862 Dauprat produced copies of his catalogue of works and wrote to Alfred de Beauchesne requesting that they be distributed amongst the students.[17] Dauprat writes that he does not believe that either of the two horn professors would object to such a distribution. Mentioning Meifred by name, Dauprat states that Meifred has "too much intelligence and good will" to object, however, "as for his colleague" (i.e. Gallay) "simple charity does not want me to suppose him capable of such an action, although

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[16] Louis-François Dauprat, letter to César Leroy (16 June 1862) (Paris, Archives nationales, F-Pan: AJ 37/319/4c). Reproduced in Grenot, "Les Dons de Dauprat", no. 79 (Autumn 2000): "D'une part, certain Professeur, plus présomptueux qu'habile ; auquel la nature, en lui accordant une belle qualité de son, une grande facilité et de puissants moyens d'exécution, mais lui refusant en même temps le goût, le style et le sentiment musical, ce professeur, dis-je se serait permis d'effacer dans la Musique de ses Maîtres, précisément tout ce qui tient aux qualités qui lui font défaut. En outre, sa paresse naturelle et qui m'est bien connue, l'aurait fait retomber dans toute la pauvreté du genre mixte d'où je l'avais retiré à son grand avantage, non-qu'à celui de l'art même. C'est par une double raison qu'il m'a semblé urgent de remettre sous les yeux des jeunes Cornistes la Musique des susdits Maîtres dans son intégrité et telle qu'ils l'ont conçue."

[17] Louis-François Dauprat letter to Alfred de Beauchesne (22 October 1862) (Bibliothèque National de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): LA-DAUPRAT-11). For biographical details of Alfred de Beauchesne see chapter six, 248.

nothing is more ordinary than to hate someone towards whom one has been guilty of the blackest ingratitude."[18]

Even allowing for a resentment born out of what Dauprat seems to have viewed as being "supplanted" by his former student, Dauprat appears never to have relented in his opinion that Gallay represented a notable change of approach in natural horn playing, one that Dauprat clearly found unacceptable. He accuses Gallay of neglecting elements of horn playing in which he did not excel and which, by implication, appear to be anything to do with "taste, style and musical feeling".

Dauprat damns Gallay by accusing him of falling "back into all the poverty of the mixed genre", a style of horn playing that Dauprat railed against.[19] In many ways Gallay's compositions demonstrate aspects of the *cor mixte* genre, in particular his preference for the horn crooked in F, and a range that is centred on the middle octave and a half (roughly between the 4th harmonic middle C and the 12th harmonic high G). In focusing on this range Gallay is ultimately privileging exactly the range that exploits more of the stopped notes and, with them, more opportunities for portamento and timbral contrasts.

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[18] Dauprat letter to de Beauchesne (22 October 1862). "Je ne veux pas croire que les deux professeurs de cor puissent s'opposer à la distribution que je demande : monsieur Meifred a trop d'esprit et un trop bon vouloir à mon égard pour en avoir même la pensée ; et quant à son confrère, la simple charité ne veut pas que je lui que je le suppose capable d'une telle action, quoique rien ne soit plus ordinaire que de prendre en haine celui envers qui l'on s'est rendu coupable de la plus noire ingratitude."

[19] For further on the *cor mixte* genre and Dauprat's opinions on it see Chapter Fifteen, 396.

Death

On 18 October 1864, Jacques-François Gallay died at the age of sixty-eight. His death was announced in numerous publications, many of which alluded to his illness:

> The teaching staff of the Conservatoire has also suffered regrettable losses: during the course of this year, M. Gallay, a renowned instrumentalist and deserving professor, was struck down by a cruel illness and taken from the exercise of his dual mission, while we hoped that he would still render useful services.[20]

Succession and future generations

Amongst Gallay's students at the Conservatoire two of the most notable were Jean-Baptiste-Victor Mohr (1823–1891, *premier prix* recipient in 1847) and Henri-Jean Garigue (1842–1906, *premier prix* recipient in 1862).[21] In 1864, on Gallay's death and Meifred's retirement, Mohr was appointed as the sole horn teacher at the Conservatoire - teaching just the natural horn, not the valved instrument that Meifred had been teaching. Mohr held this position until 1891 when his student François

[20] Moléri and Oscar Comettant, *Almanach musical: pour 1866*, vol. 13 (Paris: Collignon, 1866), 21. "Le personnel de l'enseignement du Conservatoire a fait aussi des pertes regrettables: dans le cours de cette année, M. Gallay, instrumentiste renommé, professeur méritant, a été frappé par une cruelle maladie et enlevé à l'exercice de sa double mission, alors que nous espérions qu'il rendrait encore d'utiles services".

[21] Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 643.

Brémond (1844–1925) took over, and it was at Brémond's hands that the Paris Conservatoire horn class transitioned ultimately to the valved instrument.[22]

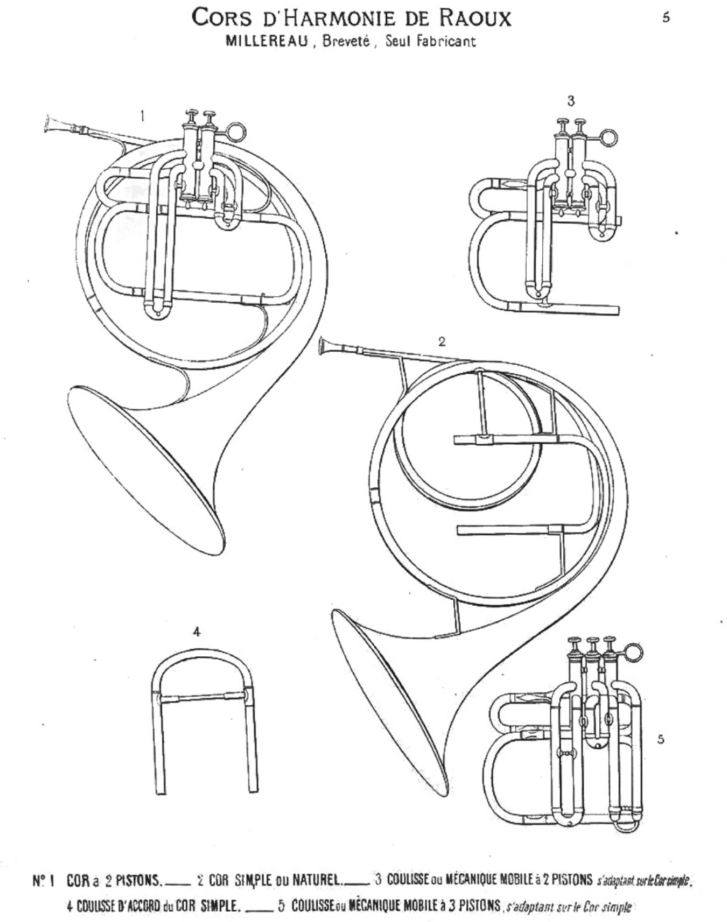


Figure 14:2: "Cors d'harmonie de Raoux" from Henri-Jean Garigue, *Grande Méthode de cor en fa à deux et à trois pistons* (Paris: Millereau, c.1888), 5.

Garigue's c.1888 *Grand Méthode de cor*, whilst ostensibly for the piston horn with two or three valves, includes an illustration of horns available to purchase from

[22] See Jeffrey Snedeker, "Late nineteenth-century developments at the Conservatoire" in *Horn Teaching at the Paris Conservatoire, 1792 to 1903: The Transition from Natural Horn to Valved Horn* (London: Routledge, 2021), 159–193.

Raoux ("Cors d'harmonie de Raoux").[23] This includes a piston horn with a fixed valve block with two valves (no. 1), a natural horn (no. 2), a detachable valve block with two valves (no. 3) and a detachable valve block with three valves (no. 5). The detachable valve blocks fit into the natural horn in a design known as a *sauterelle*.

The existence of this design of instrument, which permitted horn players to switch between the natural horn and the valved horn as their needs demanded is one indicator of the persistence of the natural horn playing in France throughout the nineteenth century.

Gallay's death was followed by Meifred's retirement the same year and Meifred's subsequent death in 1867. Their mutual teacher, Dauprat, died the following year. Within four years three of the most significant figures in the French school of horn playing had passed away, though their influence was to be felt for generations of horn players to come, including my own.

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[23] Henri-Jean Garigue, *Grande Méthode de cor en fa à deux et à trois pistons* (Paris: Millereau, c.1888), 5.

PART FOUR

Obligatos associated with Jacques-François Gallay

Chapter Fifteen: Devienne, “Ô toi dont ma mémoire” (*Les Visitandines*, performed c.1810)

The first obligato considered as part of my survey of such obligatos associated with Jacques-François Gallay comes from an earlier era than the others studied. According to many of his nineteenth-century biographers, the fourteen-year-old Gallay replaced an indisposed horn player in a Perpignan performance of Devienne’s *Les Visitandines*; they claimed that much of his early success was due to his notable performance of the horn obligato for “Ô toi dont ma mémoire”.[1]

As I will explore below, the horn solo in *Les Visitandines* is most likely to have been written for Frédéric Duvernoy (1765–1838). Duvernoy was a highly regarded and successful performer and the status accorded to him can be seen in a poster advertising the premier in 1807 of Gaspare Spontini’s (1774–1851) opera *La Vestale* which fails to credit the composer but gives Duvernoy (“who will execute the horn solos”) top billing, above the singers and dancers.[2]

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[1] For the circumstances of this performance and reviews of Gallay’s performance see Chapter Seven, 266–267 .

[2] Poster reproduced in Bernhard Brüchle and Kurt Janetzky, *Kulturgeschichte des Horns / A Pictorial History of the Horn* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1976),174. “Frédéric Duvernoy exécutera les Solos de Cor”.

Duvernoy was also part of the first generation of horn teachers at the Institut National de Musique, the forerunner of the Paris Conservatoire, alongside Dauprat's teacher, Joseph Kenn (1757–1840), Antoine Buch (dates unknown), and Heinrich Domnich (1767–1844).[3]

Duvernoy was the most highly regarded exponent of a style of horn playing known as *Cor mixte*. Horn players were normally divided into two "genres" of players, those specialising in the high range (*cor alto* players) and those specialising in the low range (*cor basse* players).[4] As I will discuss below, this was a style of horn playing that had many detractors; however it also offers the performer potentially more opportunities to engage with both timbre and portamento.

Issues regarding late eighteenth-century horn clef notation

When exploring horn writing of this era there are a number of factors which can be confusing to modern eyes as: as Louis-François Dauprat points out, the horn was in its infancy and "everyone had their own way of considering and treating the horn."[5] François Devienne uses a typical eighteenth-century approach for notating the horn obligato which differs from that which he uses for the orchestral horn parts. It is not unusual to encounter a variety of different manners of notating horn parts in this

[3] Théodore Lassabathie, *Historie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation* (Paris: Michel Levy Frères, 1860), 239, 241, 341, 368.

[4] For a discussion of *cor alto* and *cor basse* see Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 6–11.

[5] Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 3, 6. "Chacun avait donc sa manière d'envisager et de traiter le Cor."

period. One myth that has evolved is that natural horn parts do not have key signatures, which can lead to the assumption that the existence of a key signature points to a part having been written for the valve horn.[6] The other is a misunderstanding of the use of clefs which can lead to the wrong choice of crook and inappropriate use of hand technique. In the case of this particular obligato, the date of composition should make the use of the natural horn obvious, but the issue remains regarding the understanding of the clefs, as the implication for hand technique, and therefore any discussion of aspects of timbre and portamento, will be impacted by how the clefs are correctly applied.

By using moveable clefs and key signatures, composers are able to notate horn parts in such a way that it is possible to read the part both in concert pitch and as a transposed horn part simultaneously. In this particular example (figure 15:1), Devienne uses the bass clef and the three flat key signature of E-flat. If read as written, i.e. a bass F clef, then the following gives the concert pitch, albeit with an octave displacement, of the horn solo.[7]

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[6] Norman Del Mar, *Anatomy of the Orchestra* (London: Faber & Faber, 1983), 220.

[7] This octave displacement is also seen in the thorny issue of bass clef notation for horn during this period.



Figure 15:1: Opening bars in the original notation of "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from François Devienne, *Les Visitandines* (Paris: Cousineau, n.d.), 106–7. (Audio example 15_01).[8]

The key signature of three flats (i.e. E-flat) will normally indicate to the solo horn player to use an E-flat crook. If the horn player ignores the key signature and clef and reads the horn part as in treble G clef and in the key of C then the part is readable as follows (figure 15:2):



Figure 15:2: Opening bars of "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" in modern notation.

Devienne uses this approach to horn notation in which the clef and key signature can be seen to indicate the appropriate crook in other solo works such as his Sinfonia Concertante No. 2 in F major for winds (figure 15:3). In this work he notates the solo

[8] All audio illustrations in this chapter recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

horn part in F using a mezzo-soprano C clef and the key signature of one flat (i.e. F major).



Figure 15:3: Variation three, Minuetto con variazioni, from François Devienne, Sinfonia Concertante No. 2 in F major for winds. Top: original notation (Sinfonia Concertante No. 2 in F major for winds (Paris: au Magasin de Musique à l'usage des Fêtes Nationales, n.d.), below: modern notation.

As is shown in figure 15:4, crooks could be indicated by choosing a clef in which the tonic note of the crook (F for horn in F, G for horn in G etc.) could be read as a C in treble clef.

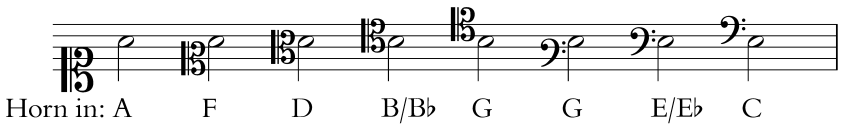
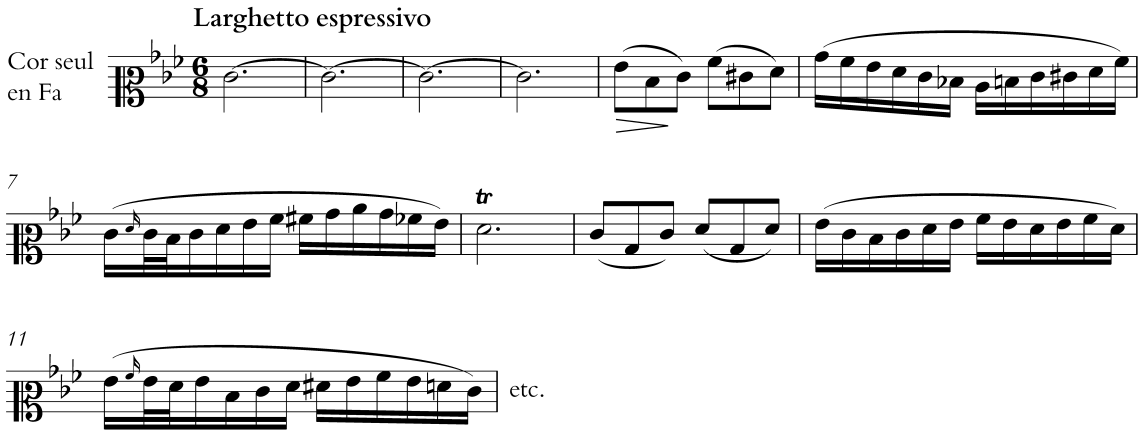


Figure 15:4: Moveable clefs as an indication of horn crooks.

Whilst typically the key signature in conjunction with the clef can help indicate to the horn player the choice of crook, when composers are writing for the horn in a tonality that is not that of the crook the clef becomes the sole indicator of the appropriate crook. A notable example is “Toi que j’implore” from Spontini’s aforementioned *La Vestale* (figure 15:5), a work which will be discussed further below.

Using the logic explained above, the E-flat major key signature could normally suggest the E-flat crook. However the mezzo soprano clef overrides this, indicating that the correct crook is F (see figure 15:4 above).



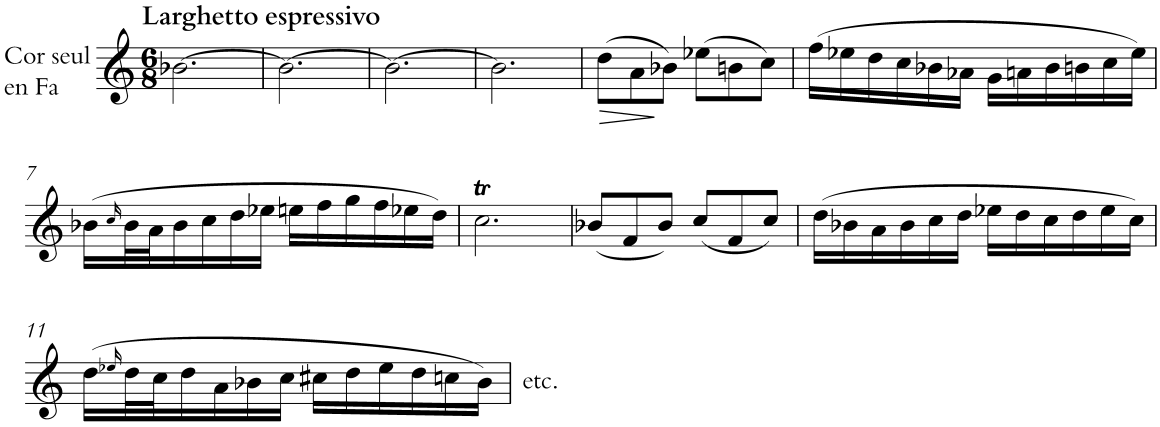


Figure 15:5: Opening eight bars of “Toi que j’implore” from Gaspare Spontini, *La Vestale.* Original notation (Paris: Mesdemoiselles Erard, 1808) and modern notation.

The beauty of this notation is that anyone needing to read the score in concert pitch can do so easily. The vast majority of orchestral horn writing of this era was harmonically fundamental and rarely strayed out of basic tonic/dominant functions, making this “bilingual” approach feel somewhat superfluous. However, in more adventurous horn writing, such as that demonstrated in this aria, one can see the need for other instrumentalists/voices to be able to discern the concert pitch of the horn writing.[9]

[9] During the eighteenth-century, an additional means of indicating the crooks, especially in Italian and Spanish repertoire, was the use of names derived from solmisation (e.g. *Elafa* for E-flat, *Effaut* for F, *Gsolre* for G etc.). An overview of this can be found in the companion website to Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti’s *The Horn*. Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti,“Appendices and Notes”. https://yalebooks.co.uk/book/9780300118933/the-horn/, 9. [Access date: 6 January 2025].

"Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from Devienne's *Les Visitandines*

Castil-Blaze places Frédéric Duvernoy as the original interpreter of Devienne's obligato written for the Théâtre-Feydeau in 1792.[10] Whilst Castil-Blaze is sometimes unreliable this ties in with our knowledge of Duvernoy's employment at the Théâtre-Feydeau from 1788 until his appointment at the Opéra in 1797.[11] Devienne's collaboration with Duvernoy on their joint-composed Concerto No. 5 make Duvernoy the obvious candidate for this particular obligato role in the 1792 premier, and given their history of collaborating together on compositions it is interesting to speculate as to whether Duvernoy even had a hand in the composition of this solo.

The solo (figure 15:6) has many of the hallmarks of Duvernoy's style. Slow tempi, such as the *Largo* of this aria, were viewed as one of the best for horn players as it was possible for them to more fully exploit the use of hand technique.[12] The range (between the 4th harmonic middle C and the 16th harmonic high G) gives the opportunity to utilise both the stopped notes in the middle of this range (with scales and chromaticism between the middle F-sharp and high G, for example bars 40–50) and typical arpeggio passages (for example bars 37 and 51).

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[10] Castil-Blaze, [François-Henri-Joseph Blaze] *L'Opéra-Italien de 1548 à 1856* (Paris Castil-Blaze, 1856), 286, fn. 1. Nicole Wild and David Charlton, *Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique Paris: Répertoire 1762–1972* (Sprimont: Mardaga, 2005), 441.

[11] For Duvernoy's employment at the Théâtre Feydeau see Alessandro Di Profio, *La Révolution des Bouffons. L'opéra italien au Théâtre de Monsieur 1789—1792* (Paris: CNRS editions, 2003), 66, 69, 71. Fétis, incorrectly, places Duvernoy in the Comédie Italienne. Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 3, 370–1.By the late eighteenth century the Comédie Italienne had amalgamated with the Opéra Comique and then combined with the Théâtre-Feydeau in 1801 which may explain Fétis's assertion.

[12] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 20–21. "[B]ons pour les morceaux d'un mouvement lent".


Largo
Corno Obligato (in E♭)
Euphémie
Ô toi dont ma mé-
moi - re a con-ser - vé a con-ser vé les traits en vain a t'-on pu
croi - re qu'i - ci je t'ou - blie - rais. Ô toi dont la mé-
-moir - re a con-ser - vé - les traits hé - las a t'-on pu croi - re qu'i-
ci je t'ou-blie - rais, qu'i - ci je t'ou-blie - rais mal - gré ta per-fi-


52
di - e trop cou - pa - ble Bel - fort la trop fai-ble Eu - phé - mi - e vou-
57
Allegro assai
f
drais te voir en - cor vou drais te voir en - cor re - viens, re -
62
viens et je bri - se ma chaî - ne, re - viens, re - viens et je bri - se ma
68
chaî-ne ton ab-sence en ces lieux seule a pu m'en-traî - ner ton ab-sence en ces
74
lieux seule a pu m'en - traî - ner elle est ma seu - le pein - ne, ma seu - le
80
pei - ne et mon plus grand dé - sir est de te par - don - ner, est
85
de te par - don - ner, est de te pard - don - ner, et mon plus grand dé -
90
sir est de te par - don - ner, est de te par - don - ner, est de te par - don -


96
f
er est de te par - don - ner, est de te par - don - ner.
102
p
Ô toi dont ma me - moi - re a con-ser - vé les traits, en - vain a - t'on pu
108
f
2
2
croi - re qu'i - ci je t'ou-blie - rais, qu'i - ci je t'ou - blie - rais,
115
f
re - viens, re - viens et je bri - se ma chaî - ne, re - viens, re -
121
viens et je bri - se ma chaî-ne ton ab-sence en ces lieux seule a
126
pu m'en-traî - ner elle est ma seu - le pei - ne, elle est ma seu - le pei - ne et
132
mon plus grand dé - sir est de te par - don - ner est de te par-don - er, ton ab-



Figure 15:6: The horn obligato and vocal part to "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from François Devienne, *Les Visitandines* (Paris: Cousineau, n.d.), 106–119.

The only unusual aspect of this solo is the choice of the horn in E-flat. As discussed, the horn was typically written in C major, the player taking the crook of the tonic but it is reported that Duvernoy favoured using the F crook and playing in non-tonic keys, for example his choice of the F crook for the horn in his E-flat major *2eme Nocturne* for horn and harp (placing the horn in B-flat major), or indeed the E-flat major obligato aria "Toi que j'implore" from Spontini's *La Vestale*.[13]

Similarly Daniel Steibelt's (1765–1823) *Roméo et Juliette* was written for the Théâtre Feydeau (1793) thus placing it squarely in Duvernoy's repertoire.[14] Morley-Pegge asserts that he is "pretty certain" that for the horn obligato aria "Capulets Ombres malheureuses" (complete with its tonic arpeggios down to the 3rd harmonic low G) Duvernoy "would have used his F crook in spite of the fact that the part is written for horn in E-flat."[15] The absence of any directions regarding crooks in Duvernoy's *Méthode* (for example, no suggestion of what crook a student should begin with, should use for the exercises, or any discussion of their relative characteristics) plus his ubiquitous use of the F crook in his solo compositions has reinforced the suggestion that he played everything, regardless, on the F crook.

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[13] Quite probably this originates from Domnich's opinion on the *cor mixte* that *"cors mixtes* are obliged to transpose"("Mais les Cors mixtes étant obligés de transposer") though he does not specify just into one key. Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), vii.

[14] Wild and Charlton, *Théâtre de l'Opéra-Comique Paris*, 61.

[15] Reginald Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn: Some Notes on the Evolution of the Instrument and of Its Technique* (London: E. Benn, 1960), 96.

Cor mixte

As outlined above, historically, horn players have been divided into two camps: the high horn players (known as *cor alto* in the French tradition) and the low horn players (*cor basse*) with the former playing the 1st and 3rd parts and the latter the 2nd and 4th parts in a standard section.[16]

Duvernoy typified a style known as *cor mixte* which was seen as something of a compromise between the *cor alto* and *cor basse*. Despite Duvernoy's high status, with special solos written to be inserted into operas displaying his talents, this genre was often criticised for being inferior to the traditional *cor alto/basse* genres.[17] Typical *cor mixte* writing focused on the middle octave and a half (roughly between the 4th harmonic middle C and the 16th harmonic high G) and with a preference for the middle (*cor solo*) crooks of the instrument (i.e. D through to G).

Heinrich Domnich and Dauprat were particularly critical of the *cor mixte*. Domnich viewed it as lazy:

[16] Othon Vandenbroek, *Traité général de tous les instrumens à l'usage de compositeurs* (Paris: Chez Boyer, c. 1794), 2.

[17] For criticism of the *cor mixte* genre see Domnich, *Méthode,* v-viii and Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, ii, both cited below. Additionally Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 13 and vol. 2, 154 expands Dauprats views. See also Othon Vandenbroek, *Méthode Nouvelle et Raisonnée pour apprendre à donner du cor* (Paris: Naderman, c.1797), 2 and François-Joseph Fétis, *La musique mise à la portée de tout le monde,* second edition (Paris: Paulin, 1834), 215–16.

> I am convinced that if one is to secure purity of tone and trueness of pitch in the two extremities of the range of the instrument, several years of unrelenting study and work are required.[18]

Domnich's explanation as to how *cor mixte* players restructured certain music counters the belief that *cor mixte* players only played in F:

> When they are given a piece in B-flat instead of being provided with the proper instruments in this key, the horn in E-flat is employed. They make use of the horn in D if the piece is in A, and if it is in C it is necessary to use the horn in F. Now if a composer has to render a brilliant design in one of these three keys, to express, for example the noise of war, the glory of victory, the pomp of triumph, he arranges the horns in such a manner that they are able to do all without the aid of the hand in the bell. But the *cors mixte* being obliged to transpose as in this operation, the sonorous notes are transformed often to stopped notes and the brilliant to dark and lugubrious accents, the prestige of the illusion vanishes, and with the illusion is destroyed all effect.[19]

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[18] Domnich, *Méthode,* vi. Translation from Birchard Coar, *A Critical Study of the Nineteenth Century Horn Virtuosi in France* (DeKalb, IL: Birchard Coar, 1952), 26. "Je conviens qu'aux deux extrémités de l'étendue, de l'instrument, pour joindre la justesse à la pureté du son, il faut plusieurs années d'étude et de travail opiniâtre."

[19] Domnich, *Méthode,* vii. Translation from Coar, *A Critical Study*, 27. "Lors qu'il se présente un morceau en *si*, au lieu de se servir de l'instrument propre à ce ton, ils emploient le Cor en *mi-bémol*; ils font usage du Cor en *ré*, si le morceau est en *la*; et s'il est en *ut*, ils sont dans la nécessité de prendre le Cor en *fa*. Or un compositeur a-t-il à rendre dans l'un de ces trois tons une intention brillante; à exprimer, par exemple, le bruit de la guerre, l'éclat de la victoire, la pompe du triomphe; il dispose les Cors de manière qu'ils puissent tout faire sans le secours de la main dans le pavillon. Mais les Cors mixtes étant obligés de transposer, comme dans cette opération, les notes sonores se transforment souvent en notes bouchées, et les sons les plus éclatans en accens sombres et lugubres, le prestige de l'illusion s'évanouit, et avec l'illusion s'anéantit tout l'effet."

Dauprat makes a further key point regarding the relative merits and demerits of the *cor mixte* genre, believing it to be "a genre by which we train students well for playing solos, but inadequately for orchestral work".[20]

"Ô toi dont ma mémoire" a solo for *Cor mixte?*

With regards "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" and how a horn player, such as Duvernoy, would have approached performing it, Domnich's account in which he states that *cor mixte* players choose to use a smaller range of crooks (E-flat instead of the "proper instrument" in B-flat, D instead of A, and F instead of C) and therefore need to transpose, which also leads to the timbre of the individual notes (open versus stopped) often changing.[21] Domnich's account raises two essential points. First, he is clearly stating that *cor mixte* players did play in keys outside of F, thus suggesting that both "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" (Devienne, *Les Visitandines*) and "Capulets Ombres malheureuses" (Steibelt, *Roméo et Juliette*) would have been played by Duvernoy (and by implication, the former by Gallay) on the E-flat not F crook; second, he is placing discussion of the *cor mixte* in terms of the timbre of the horn

[20] Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, ii. "[G]enre par lequel on formait des artistes bons pour jouer le *Solo*, mais peu propres au travail de l'orchestre."

[21] Domnich, *Méthode,* vii. Translation from Coar, *A Critical Study*, 27. "Lors qu'il se présente un morceau en *si*, au lieu de se servir de l'instrument propre à ce ton, ils emploient le Cor en *mi-bémol*; ils font usage du Cor en *ré*, si le morceau est en *la*; et s'il est en *ut*, ils sont dans la nécessité de prendre le Cor en *fa*. Or un compositeur a-t-il à rendre dans l'un de ces trois tons une intention brillante; à exprimer, par exemple, le bruit de la guerre, l'éclat de la victoire, la pompe du triomphe; il dispose les Cors de manière qu'ils puissent tout faire sans le secours de la main dans le pavillon. Mais les Cors mixtes étant obligés de transposer, comme dans cette opération, les notes sonores se transforment souvent en notes bouchées, et les sons les plus éclatans en accens sombres et lugubres, le prestige de l'illusion s'évanouit, et avec l'illusion s'anéantit tout l'effet."

and what it loses when contrast between the open and closed notes is reduced due to the “sonorous” and “brilliant” timbres of the open notes being rendered instead as stopped notes. Given that the *cor mixte* approach clearly embraced the use of E-flat crooks, plus, as I will explore below, the subtle use of stopped and open notes in this obligato, which opens up opportunities for portamento and use of timbre, I dispute Morley-Pegge’s assertion that Duvernoy would have automatically used the F crook for such a solo.[22]

Neither Duvernoy nor Gallay even mention the genre in their respective *Méthodes.* A review of a later version of Gallay’s by his former student Nicolas-Baptiste Lichtlé states that Gallay was closer to the school of Duvernoy than of Dauprat in that he prioritised “beauty and fullness of sound” (potentially an indication of Gallay’s exploitation of open notes rather than the generally covered timbre espoused by Dauprat) over “feats of force” that pushed the extremes of the instrument at the expense of tone.[23] The reviewer also comments that whilst Gallay was “in the tradition” of Duvernoy he did not limit himself as much as Duvernoy had done by adopting the *cor mixte* style.[24]

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[22] Morley-Pegge, *The French Horn*, 96.

[23] Ch. B. [Charles Bannelier], “Bibliographie Musicale: GALLAY - *Méthode de cor*, revue et augmentée de six morceaux transcrits, par N. Lichtlé” in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 43rd year, no. 10 (5 March 1876), 75. “L’école de Gallay se rapproche plus de celle de Frédéric Duvernoy que celle de Dauprat, en ce sens qu’elle recherche par-dessus tout la beauté et la plénitude du son, laissant aux amateurs de tours de force les extensions extraordinaires que ne s’obtiennent qu’aux dépens de la bonne émission.” Ch. B. initials included in “Pseudonyms and attributions” in Katharine Ellis*, Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: ‘La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris’, 1834–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 271–272.

[24] Ch. B., “Bibliographie Musicale: *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 43rd year, no. 10 (5 March 1876), 75. “C’est du moins la tradition de son jeu et de son enseignement, bien qu’il n’allât pas aussi loin dans ce sens que Duvernoy, qui se bornait à ce qu’il appelait le *cor mixte*, c’est-à-dire à un nombre relativement restreint de notes, et interdisait à ses élèves d’en étudier d’autres.”

Fétis felt that Gallay was closer to Duvernoy's style, writing in his *Biographie:*

> The only criticism that can be made of him is that he limited the range he covers on the horn, so that he seems to want, like Frédéric Duvernoy, to confine himself to the limits of the *cor mixte*, from which is born a certain monotony…[25]

Performing "Ô toi dont ma mémoire"

"Ô toi dont ma mémoire" is true *cor mixte* writing. Such writing exploits many of the covered stopped notes in the centre of the instrument's range, and in doing so attracted criticism of monotony; but heeding Domnich's admission that *cor mixte* players used a range of crooks I believe this aria is intended for the horn crooked in E-flat as suggested by the clef and use of key signature. A significant factor in me questioning the possibility of Duvernoy playing this obligato in his reported favoured crook of F is bars 37 and 51 which would become, on the F crook, B-flat major arpeggios. The low B-flat, a difficult note to form, is included in Duvernoy's explanation of hand positions but is described as "little used" ("peu usité") and never appears in any of the exercises, etudes, etc. in his *Méthode* suggesting he, wisely, avoided it.[26] In the crook of E-flat a well-constructed solo such as "Ô toi dont ma

[25] Fétis, *Biographie universelle,* vol. 4, 249. "Le seul reproche qui parait pouvoir lui être adressé, c'est d'avoir borné l'étendue qu'il parcourt sur le cor, en sorte qu'il semble vouloir, comme Frédéric Duvernoy, se renfermer dans les bornes du cor mixte, d'où nait une certaine monotonie…"

[26] Frédéric Duvernoy, *Méthode pour le cor, suive de Duo et de Trio pour cet Instrument* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1802), 22.

mémoire” offers many possibilities, incoporating both the timbres of the brighter open notes (for example the opening statement of bars 4–16) as well as the darker stopped notes (for example bars 37–54) which are of distinctly advantageous timbre when accompanying the vocal line.

There are a number of places where portamento could be applied: the octave leaps between the 6th harmonic middle G and 12th harmonic high G in bars 11, 68–69, 70–71 and 102 (traversing six harmonics gives ample “material” to pick up en route) or between the high D-sharp and E of bar 12 or the high C and middle B of bar 16 (both providing portamenti within a harmonic).

Chapter Sixteen: Rossini, “Inutile e quel pianto” (*Otello,* 1821)

Rossini and the horn

Gioachino Rossini’s (1792–1868) writing for the horn, and it is exclusively for the natural horn, is often adventurous: a classic example comes towards the end of his life and in his collection known as the “Péchés de vieillesse” (“Sins of old age”, c.1857–1868),which includes his virtuosic and whimsical *Prélude, thème et variations,* written for another French horn player, Eugène Vivier (1821–1900).[1] This work (figure 16:1) combines cantabile writing (for example the opening *Prélude* bars 11–42) with the acrobatic (for example bars 207–222 from the variations).

Rossini’s relationship with the horn extended right back to his childhood, with his father Giuseppe Rossini (1758–1839) having been a horn player as well as a trumpet player. Rossini père plays a great part in many biographies of the composer, often painted as troublesome.[2]

Henry Sutherland Edwards, in his biography of Rossini published the year after the

[1] Whilst enthusiastic reviews do compare and contrast Eugène Vivier’s playing style to that of Gallay’s he and his career are outside of the scope of this particular enquiry. He appears to have been quite a controversial character even during his lifetime, with his antics perhaps having antagonised some audiences. A flavour of the esteem in which he was held can be found in an extensive article in *The Musical World*, vol. 23, no. 48 (25 November 1848), 753–755. See also Charles Limouzin, *Eugène Vivier: La vie et les aventures d’un corniste - 1817–1852* (Paris: C. Marpon et E. Flammarion, 1888).

[2] Richard Osbourne, “Rossini’s Life” in *The Cambridge Companion to Rossini*, ed. Emanuele Senici (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 11.



Figure 16:1: Bars 11–42 and 207–222 from Gioachino Rossini, *Prélude, thème et variations* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1954).

composer's death, wrote of Rossini's exposure to the horn from a young age and suggests a practical, hands-on knowledge:

> Rossini, while still very young, joined his parents in their musical excursions, and took the second horn in the orchestras where the part of the first horn was assigned to his father. No wonder that in after life he had an affection for wind instruments![3]

Italian horn playing in the early nineteenth century

Edwards expounds upon his understanding of the level of brass playing throughout Europe during Rossini's lifetime:

> Instrumentation has of late years kept pace closely enough with the invention of new instruments, and orchestras are now similarly composed… throughout Europe. This was by no means the case when Rossini began to write for the stage, Italian orchestras by their constitution, if not by the skill of the executants, being at that time inferior to those of Germany, and even (in regard to the variety of instruments) to those of France.[4]

> The horn…was at first looked upon as an instrument to be sounded only in the woods and plains among dogs and horses. The Germans, not the French, made it available for orchestral purposes; but in Italy brass instruments of every description were long regarded as fit only for the use of sportsmen and soldiers.[5]

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[3] Henry Sutherland Edwards, *The Life of Rossini* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1869), 12.

[4] Sutherland Edwards, *The Life of Rossini,* 157–8.

[5] Sutherland Edwards, *The Life of Rossini,* 160.

Rossini would not have been writing the highly challenging horn parts that one can find in early operas such as *Aureliano in Palmira* (figure 16:2: “Cara patria!”, 1813), *L’Italiana In Algeri* (figure 16:3: “Languir per una Bella”, 1813), *Matilde di Shabran* (figure 16:4: “Ah! perché, perché la morte non ascolta i pianti miei”,1821) or *Semiramide* (figure 16:5: Overture, 1823) without able horn players available; thus the opinion that Italian horn playing was somehow “only fit for the use of sportsmen and soldiers” is extremely questionable.



Figure 16:2: Horn part, bars 113–123 and 151–167 from Gioachino Rossini, “Cara patria!”, *Aureliano in Palmira,* (ed. Will Crutchfield, Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 2019), 170–186.



Figure 16:3: Horn part, bars 1–21, 66–69 and 83–89 from Gioachino Rossini, “Languir per una Bella”, *L’Italiana in Algeri,* ed. Azio Corghi (Milan: Ricordi, 1981), 73–84.





Figure 16:4: Horn part, bars 1–24, 33–36 and 82–108 from Gioachino Rossini, Act 1, Scene 9, “Ah! perché, perché la morte non ascolta i pianti miei”, *Matilde di Shabran, ossia Bellezza e cuor di ferro* (manuscript n.d.) (Biblioteca Conservatorio S. Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 31.5.4-5), 30–36v.



Figure 16:5: Horn parts, bars 43–63, from Gioachino Rossini, Overture to *Semiramide* (Lepzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d.).

Meucci and Rocchetti explore a number of well-regarded late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century centres of Italian horn playing, and expunge any suggestion that Italian horn playing was in any way lacking.[6] They focus on Naples “the place in

[6] Renato Meucci and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), 195–203.

which a true hand horn tradition first settled", Rome "a stable school", Venice, Milan and Parma "the most important school".

Rossini would have come into contact with the astounding Parmesan horn player Luigi Belloli (1770–1817), whose "singular mastery…whose manner of singing with the horn could surely be [a] model to those who wish to distinguish themselves among the crowd of singers."[7] Belloli served as principal horn of the Teatro alla Scala from 1803 until his death, and it was in that capacity that Rossini composed the extraordinary solo in *Aureliano in Palmira* (figure 16:2).[8]

Despite his unwarranted perception of the low standard of Rossini's Italian horn players, Edwards's (and Fétis's) opinion of Rossini's impact on brass and particularly horn writing is worth noting:

> With the exception of ophicleides, cornets-à-piston, and the large and constantly increasing family of saxhorns, Rossini, in his latest Italian Operas, used all the instruments that are known in the present day, and used them freely with all sorts of new combinations. It was not for nothing that he and his father had played the horn together when the young Rossini was gaining his earliest experience of orchestral effects. He was always faithful to his first instrument. "The art," says M. Fétis, "of writing parts for the horn, with the

[7] *Il Poligrafo* (15 September 1811), 384, quoted in Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 197.

[8] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 200–201.

> development of all its resources, is quite a new art, which Rossini, in some sort, created."[9]

One of the ways in which Rossini was able to use the "resources" of the horn was in harnessing the harmonic and timbral possibilities that came with a larger section. During the first decades of the nineteenth century the standard horn section went from two horns to four horns, a fact that was exploited by many composers but something that came as a shock to some:

> In looking over the score of "Otello," with Donizetti, 'Sigismondi,' the librarian of the Conservatory at Naples, is said to have complained of the prominence given to the clarinets, and to have exclaimed with horror at the employment of horns and trombones without number. "Third and fourth horns!" He cried; "what does the man want? The greatest of our composers have always been content with two. Shades of Pergolesi, of Leo, of Jommelli! How they must shudder at the bare mention of such a thing! Four horns! Are we at a hunting party? Four horns! Enough to blow us to perdition!"[10]

Gallay and Rossini's operatic repertoire

Rossini's compositions feature prominently in Gallay's career. A mainstay of the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien, a number of Rossini's works could be considered

[9] Sutherland Edwards, *The Life of Rossini,* 161.

[10] Sutherland Edwards, *The Life of Rossini*, 161–2.

with regard to Gallay's career and performance practice. One such example is the opera *Semiramide* which features notable horn writing in the Overture. *Semiramide* was premiered in La Fenice in Venice on 3 February 1823 and is often considered Rossini's "last" Italian opera before he turned his attention solely to the Parisian opera scene.[11] The work was first performed in Paris at the Théâtre-Italien on 8 December 1825, the first year of Gallay's employment in this establishment, and remained a popular mainstay of the repertoire there, as this Castil-Blaze review, almost a decade later, attests:

> The opening was rendered admirably; the ensemble of horns, where Gallay plays the first part, produced a delicious effect…The Italian orchestra is the most powerful of our dramatic orchestras…The overture to *Semiramide* sounds wonderful in the Salle Favart; Gallay, Berr, Camus, are heard in horn, clarinet and flute solos; all these elegant melodies are rendered with rare perfection.[12]

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[11] Whilst criticised for its inaccuracies ("It would be a mistake to take Stendhal's *Vie de Rossini* too seriously", John W. Klein, "Stendhal as Music Critic" in *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 29, no. 1 (January 1943), 25) Stendhal's *Vie de Rossini* (Paris: A. Boulland, 1824) gives an impression of the excitement surrounding Rossini's arrival in the Paris in 1824 and his impact on the cultural scene of the city.

[12] Castil-Blaze "Chronique Musicale" in *Revue de Paris*, vol. 11 (Paris: Au Bureau de la Revue de Paris, 1834), 159–160. "L'ouverture a été dite admirablement ; l'ensemble des cors, où Gallay tient la premiere partie, a produit un effet délicieux…L'orchestre des Italiens est le plus puissant de nos orchestres dramatiques. Les symphonistes de l'académie royale de Musique sont plus nombreux, il est vrai, mais ils manœuvrent dans une enceinte trop vaste, et qui n'est point en rapport avec leur masse vibrante ; l'effet de l'orchestre des Italiens est infiniment supérieur pour l'ensemble et les détails."

Castil-Blaze also picks up on the moment that would be perfect for Gallay to exploit using portamento.[13] In bars 52–53 (figure 16:5) the 12th harmonic top G moving repeatedly to the top F-sharp, eventually resolving to the top (stopped) F, gives an ideal place to enhance the shift in harmony and sense of resolution by using a portamento to travel between the top G and top F in bar 53.

Rossini's *Otello*

The reasons for suggesting Rossini's *Otello*, rather than any other of the works in repertoire around the time Gallay joined the ensemble, as particularly significant for Gallay lie in the reception of the press to his performances of this work, its ubiquity within his circle, and a shift in focus in his own compositions that occurred at the same time. The *Otello* solo was seen as a "signature" work for Gallay, being cited alongside *I Puritani* as "notably" one of Gallay's "brilliant successes".[14]

Somewhat untypically, both for critics of the nineteenth-century and the present day, Gallay was often "name-checked" as the horn player "accompanying" the singers in this aria:

[13] "This return to D after the modulation in F-sharp minor, a transition all the happier because it is simpler and takes place by the alteration of a single note, the G which loses its sharp, is brought about by the horn player with a particular charm." Castil-Blaze "Chronique Musicale", 159. "Cette rentrée en ré après la modulation en fa dièse mineur, transition d'autant plus heureuse qu'elle est plus simple et s'opère par l'alteration d'une seule note, le sol qui perd son dièse, est amenée par le corniste avec un charme particulier."

[14] Victor Lacaine and Charles Laurent *Biographies et nécrologies des hommes marquants du xixeme siècle*, vol. 7 (Paris: Imp. Lacour et Comp., 1850), 45. "Parmi les brillants succès de M. Gallay, nous devons placer en première ligne ceux qu'il a obtenus aux célèbres concerts de la société du Conservatoire et dans les solos de cor de plusieurs opéras du Théâtre-Italien notamment dans ceux *d'Otello* et des *Puritains*."

> To be brief on the performance of *Otello*, where nothing important was changed in the distribution of the major roles, Mlle Grisi sang very well the cavatina of the first act, in which a horn solo, performed by M. Gallay forced the audience to give extra applause to the accompanist.[15]

The popularity of this opera in Gallay's circle was immense, with several instrumentalists writing their own fantasias and similar compositions on the themes. For example, a Fétis review of a concert which included Gallay, given at the salon of Henri Herz in 1827, recounted that:

> MM. Vogt on the oboe, Gallay on the horn, and Lafont on the violin showed their usual perfection. The latter was delightful in his fantasy of the romance of *Otello*. The way in which he executed the theme caused the greatest emotion in the listeners.[16]

McBeth has queried whether "the latter" is "unclear" and could refer to Gallay's playing rather than Lafont's, but the existence of a *Souvenirs d'Edelmone et Otello* by

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[15] Charles-Louis Lesur,"Chronique Octobre: Paris - Ouverture du Théatre Royal Italien a la salle de l'Odéon" in *Annuaire historique universel pour 1838* (Paris: Thoisnier-Desplaces, 1840), 237. "Pour être court sur la représentation d'Otello, où rien d'important n'a été changé dans la distribution des grands rôles, Mlle Grisi a fort bien dit la cavatine du premier acte, dans laquelle un solo de cor, exécuté par M. Gallay, a forcé le public de donner un surcroit d'applaudissements adressés à l'accompagnateur. Dans tout le rôle de Desdemona, la tragédienne, la cantatrice a soutenu la haute réputation qu'elle s'est acquise."

[16] Fétis, "Concert de M. Henri Herz Jeune. Lundi 12 mars", *Revue Musicale*, no. 5 (March 1827), 143. "MM. Vogt sur le hautbois, Gallay sur le cor, et Lafont sur le violon ont montré leur perfection accoutumée. Ce dernier a été ravissant dans sa fantaisie sur la romance d'Otello. La manière dont il a exécuté le thème a causé la plus vive émotion aux auditeurs."

violinist Charles Philippe Lafont (1781–1839) clearly suggests otherwise.[17] That McBeth could consider the Fétis review to refer to Gallay, though, is not implausible: Gallay composed his own *Souvenirs d'Otello, fantaisie pour cor et piano,* Op. 20. This is likely to have been published by Zetter by at least 1831 but, regrettably, no surviving copy has been traced.[18]

Further muddying the waters is the alleged "Rossini" *Introduction, Andante et Allegro* for horn and piano. Based on themes of *Otello,* the modern edition, "revised and arranged" by the horn player and historian Edmund Leloir (1912–2003), includes a dedication from Rossini to Gallay.[19] Leloir, whilst a great promoter of the horn and its history, regretfully has his own history of publications of works attributed erroneously either to the incorrect composer, as in the case of the "Rossini" *Introduction, Andante et Allegro*, or even to the wrong instrument, as in the case of his publication of a Donizetti "Concerto for horn", which is actually a work for cor anglais.[20] The "Rossini" work is actually the *Fantaisie sur des thèmes d'Otello*, Op. 63, by the horn player and principal horn of the Teatro San Carlo in Naples Antoine Clapisson (1779–1857).[21]

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[17] Amy Jo McBeth, "Jacques-François Gallay: A study of his life and selected works for accompanied horn", DMA dissertation (University of Iowa, 2005), 155. Charles Philippe Lafont, *Souvenirs d'Edelmone et Otello. Morceaux divers pour violon et piano,* (Paris: C. Laffillé, no date). The listing of this work in the *Literarisches Conversations-Blatt* / *Literarischer Anzeiger*, vol. 10 (Leipzig: 1825), 2, and other publications in the same year suggest 1825 as a credible publication date.

[18] The *Souvenirs d'Otello* are listed as "Musique nouvelle pour cor" published by Zetter in *Revue Musicale*, no. 16 (Paris: 21 May 1831), 128.

[19] Gioachino Rossini, *Introduction, Andante et Allegro* editor, Edmond Leloir (Paris: Choudens, 1970.)

[20] Gaetano Donizetti, *Concerto for French Horn,* ed. Edmond Leloir, (Paris: Gérard Billaudot, c.1976).

[21] Daniel Lienhard, "Werke für mehrere Hörner aus Frankreich 1800–1950" in *Romantic Brass. Französische Hornpraxis und historisch informierter Blechblasinstrumentenbau*, ed. Daniel Allenbach (Schliengen: Edition Argus, 2016), 184. For biographical information on Antoine Clapisson see John Sullivan Dwight, "Sketches of French musical History" in *Dwight's Journal of Music: A Paper of Art and Literature*, vol. 19, no. 7 (Boston: 18 May 1861), 50.

Whilst this work, in its choice of themes, has a connection to Rossini, it has no apparent connection to Gallay, but its existence of it indicates further the popularity of Rossini's opera.

Even in the absence of a surviving copy of Gallay's *Souvenirs d'Otello,* Op. 20, it is possible to view it as a change of direction in his compositional output. The *Souvenirs d'Otello* is the earliest of Gallay's compositions to feature explicitly Théâtre-Italien themes: prior to this his fantasias had been based on works by composers associated with simple romances, including Antoine Romagnesi (1781–1850), Felice Blangini (1781–1841) and specifically his romance *Le baiser*, and Ferdinando Paër (1771–1839) and his romance *Une Veuve Grecque au berceau de son fils.*

Whilst Gallay continued to compose similar romances throughout his career, the *Souvenirs d'Otello* marks the point at which he explicitly started to base the majority of his works on themes he would have encountered at the Théâtre-Italien.

Issues with text

As soon as we start to analyse the operatic obligatos associated with Gallay we hit upon a problem in that, for some of these works, it can be particularly difficult to identify exactly what Gallay may or may not have been playing. This is an ongoing problem in much nineteenth-century repertoire for the horn given that it was in the nature of music-making during this period, especially opera, that the compositions

could and would be altered, often making it challenging to pinpoint exactly what the musical content of a particular production would have been. The ramifications of these changes are of great importance as the changes often obscure our understanding of what the musicians would have been presented with and therefore what their options would have been in terms of executing the music. Given the changes in playing technique and instrument technology during the nineteenth century it is often important to interrogate the sources in order to be able to identify the best approach to performing these pieces, hence the need to understand the possible and likely variations that may have occurred.

“Inutile e quel pianto” is just one of several obligatos explored in this thesis which has significant textual challenges and therefore I believe it is important at this juncture to outline the various ways in which the musical texts were altered as this will be a set of issues that will be returned to in light of Gallay and repertoire associated with him.

In the case of “Inutile e quel pianto” it is particularly difficult to deduce when (and where) certain changes may have occurred.

Changes could be caused by a number of factors:

(i) Discrepancies caused by opera houses and their repertoires

The opera houses of Paris had very clear remits as to what repertoire they performed. The restrictions of repertoire at The Odéon are discussed above in

Chapter Eight.[22] The Odéon also became the venue for the compositions written by returning recipients of the prestigious Prix de Rome composition award.[23] At the Théâtre-Italien, where Gallay spent most of his performing career, the remit was strictly Italian opera in its original language.[24]

Whilst the repertoire of the different houses was clearly delineated, over time the same piece of music could be heard in more than one house, for example in different translations (Italian in the Théâtre–Italian and French at the Opéra), with the different houses presenting varying degrees of different versions of the same title.

In the case of Rossini's *Otello,* following the first Théâtre-Italien performance in 1821, Castil-Blaze created his own version of this work, *Othello ou Le More de Venise,* which he premiered first in Lyon in the summer of 1823 and then at the *Odéon* on the 25 July 1825.[25] Castil-Blaze's version does not include the aria "Inutile e quel pianto". Come 1844, yet another version of *Otello* appeared on the Parisian stage, this time at the Opéra in a French language version by Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz.[26]

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[22] See Chapter Eight, pages 279–280.

[23] Everist, *Music Drama,* 3.

[24] For more on the history and repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien see Janet Lynn Johnson, "The Theatre Italien and Opera and Theatrical Life in Restoration Paris, 1818–1827", PhD thesis (University of Chicago, 1988).

[25] Everist, *Music Drama,* 228–9.

[26] Gioachino Rossini, Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz, *Othello : grand opéra en trois actes / paroles de Alph. Royer et Gustave Vaëz ; musique de G. Rossini* (Paris: Heugel, n.d.). This version broadly follows the original Rossini though with some changes such as the addition of a set of dances towards the end of Act 1, inclusion of an aria for Iago (rather than for Rodrigo) in the beginning of Act 2 and a truncated finale to Act 3. See also Mark Everist, "Partners in rhyme: Alphonse Royer, Gustave Vaëz, and foreign opera in Paris during the July Monarchy" in Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Hilary Poriss (eds.) *Opera in Paris from the Empire to the Commune,* (London: Routledge, 2018), 30–52.

When one adds the variations that can emerge between works as they appeared in different opera houses across the world (for example differences between Naples's Teatro del Fondo production of *Otello* on 4 December 1816, and those at Paris's Théâtre-Italien on 5 June 1821, London's King's Theatre on 16 May 1822 and New York's Park Theatre on 7 February 1826), it quickly becomes challenging to ascertain precisely what the "text" in front of the musicians was.

(ii) Discrepancies caused by singers and their repertoires

Maria Malibran was famous for her interpretations of the role of Romeo in at least two different settings: Nicola Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo* (1827) and Vincenzo Bellini's *I Capuleti e i Montecchi* (1830). Her affinity with the Vaccai role will be returned to in Chapter Seventeen in light of her performances with Gallay and an example of her alterations to the works she performed will be the central case in Chapter Eighteen. One such example of Malibran's promotion of the Vaccai's setting can be seen in the common practice, apparently instigated by her, from 1832 onwards, of replacing the last act of Bellini's *I Capuleti* with that of Vaccai's *Giulietta*, with the original Bellini remaining unperformed until as late as 1895.[27]

Malibran became infamous for reappropriating repertoire to fit her voice and, writing shortly after her untimely death, Castil-Blaze questioned her wisdom in doing so. He cites the timbre of Gallay's horn as indicative of part of the problem of transposing vocal parts. Whilst it may have been feasible for Malibran to transpose any work into

[27] Alfred Loewenberg, *Annals of Opera 1597–1940* (London: John Calder, 1978), 725.

something more comfortable for her personal range, any such change of key due to the associated change in crooks will carry with it a change in the timbres and characteristics associated with the new key and crook, the lower crooks being darker, the higher being brighter. Castil-Blaze highlights the implications for the horn players of such changes in key:

> “Madame Malibran sang all the roles in the repertoire, held all the jobs, and surpassed all her present and past rivals.” This is what many newspapers have repeated; it is an exaggeration that can be forgiven by writers who do not know how to hear music, and have no feeling for tone. If Madame Malibran's voice charms you to the point of disguising the artifice of the transposition, at least listen to Gallay's horn, sounding so well with Miss Sontag, so deep and almost dull with Madame Malibran. This horn will tell you that the singer, to bring the cavatina back to her middle voice, and sing it without embarrassment, lowered the pitch in *La Gazza Ladra* as in *Semiramide*, etc. If Tamburini were allowed to transpose, this baritone will sing to you tomorrow *A mio Tesoro*, *di tuoi frequenti palpiti*, and the entire Rubini repertoire.[28]

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[28] Castil-Blaze, “Malibran - Fin” in *Revue de Paris*, vol. 34 (Paris: Au Bureau de la Revue de Paris, 1836), 139–145. ““Mme Malibran chantait tous les rôles du répertoire, tenait tous les emplois, et surpassait toutes ses rivales présentes et passées." Voilà ce que bien des journaux ont répété; c'est une exagération pardonnable à des littérateurs qui ne savent pas entendre la musique, et n'ont aucun sentiment du ton. Si la voix de Mme Malibran vous charme au point de déguiser l'artifice de la transposition, écoutez du moins le cor de Gallay, si bien sonnant avec Mlle Sontag, si grave et presque sourd avec Mme Malibran. Ce cor vous dira que la cantatrice, pour ramener la cavatine à sa voix médiaire, et la chanter sans gêne, en a fait baisser le ton dans *La Gazza Ladra* comme dans *Semiramide*, etc. Si la transposition est permise à Tamburini, ce baryton vous chantera demain *A mio Tesoro, di tuoi frequenti palpiti,*, et tout le répertoire de Rubini.”

The ramifications of a singer such as Malibran shifting the tonality of the music is felt in the timbre of the horn significantly changing as it has to adopt a different crook for the new setting.

Not all agreed that this was problematic. A review expresses the contrary view regarding whether or not Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801–1863) should have been performing the role of Rosine in *Le Barbier de Séville* given that she did not have the necessary range.[29] The writer almost shrugs off the problem, suggesting "[t]ransposition will give you the solution" explaining that "[w]hether M. Dauprat performs a solo with the horn in F or the horn in E, it will always be the same song said with the same expression and the same grace."

This common practice of inserting music from different pieces can make it harder to identify exactly what was being performed, further complicated by reviews of the time often including incomplete or ambiguous reports. Returning to the settings of *Romeo and Juliet*, which version of *Roméo* or *Giulietta* might a singer such as Malibran be singing? Vaccai's? Bellini's? Zingarelli's? All three versions were in her repertoire and appear to have been interchangeable.

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[29] "Échoes et nouvelles" in *Journal des débats et des décrets* (13 October 1821). Cited in Mongrédien, *Le Théâtre-Italien de Paris*, vol. 4, 711. "Si l'Opéra-Italien était soumis au joug de la routine, jamais il n'eût permis à Mlle Cinti de paraître dans Le Barbier de Seville ; on aurait rejeté ses réclamations en se fondant sur ce qu'une voix moins étendue que celle de Mme Fodor ne pouvait atteindre aux traits élevés dont la rôle de Rosine abonde. En effet, comment concevoir qu'une cantatrice fasse entendre l'ut à l'aigu, si ses moyens ont pour limite le la? La transposition vous donnera la solution de ce problème. Que M. Dauprat exécute un solo avec le cor en fa ou le cor en mi, ce sera toujours le même chant dit avec la même expression et le même grace."

(iii) Discrepancies caused by instruments and their development

Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there are many examples of horn writing being retrospectively altered as the valve horn gained ground. Given the fluid attitude often demonstrated towards opera orchestrations, there are many examples of horn parts being reconfigured in such a way that, at first glance, a part can appear to be for valved horn rather than for natural horn.

For example the following three passages (figures 16:7, 16:7 and 16:8) in Bizet's *Carmen* call into doubt whether the horn parts were natural horn parts, given the extensive use of low, particularly indistinct and unidiomatic notes. At some point in the history of this opera some of the bassoon and trombone parts were doubled by the horns, changes which could be for a myriad of reasons, for example inadequate or even absent bassoonists/trombonists, personal preference of a conductor or an ambiguous cue that has been interpreted by later editors as the actual horn part. The date of composition (1875) places *Carmen* in an era when either natural horn or valve horn could be the instrument the composer expected, and these later, incorrect editions obscure crucial information, namely the notes used or avoided for the horns, and which indicate that Bizet was writing for the natural horn


39
57 L'istesso tempo
I in F
II in D
III.IV
in B♭
62
67
rit.
dim.
pp
sf
poco
dim.
molto
pp


57 Un peu moins vite ♩ = 88 (92)
(en FA) 1
(en RÉ) 2
(en SI♭) 3.4
10
10
10

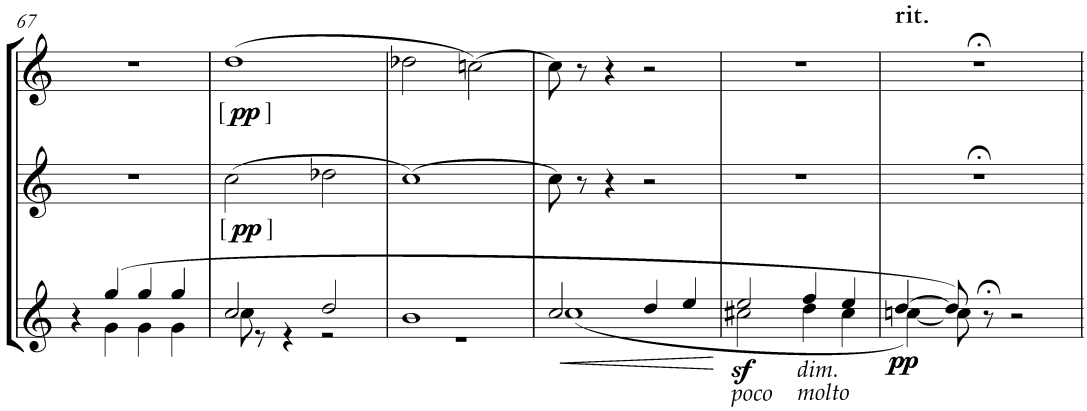


Figure 16:6: Horn parts, bars 57–72 from Georges Bizet, Act 1, Scene 7, No. 6 Duo "Parle-moi de ma mere" (Don José and Micaëla) *Carmen.* Top: incorrect, with horn part incorporating the first trombone part (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 116–119. Bottom: correct version from the Critical Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 147–150.

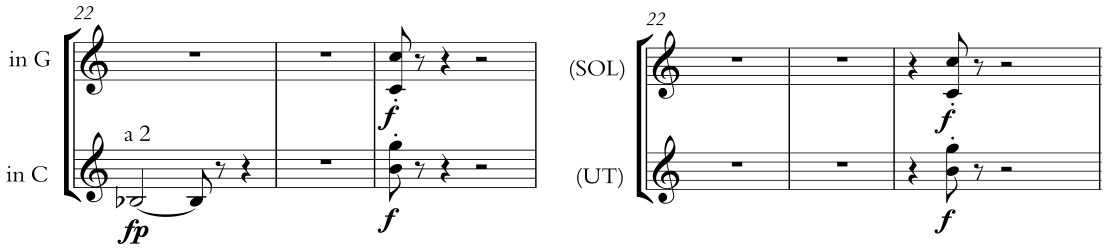


Figure 16:7: Horn parts, bars 22–24, from Georges Bizet, Act 2, No. 17 Finale, "Holá! Carmen! Holá! Holá!" *Carmen.* Left: incorrect, incorporating bassoon parts (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 324. Right: correct version from the Critical Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 381.



Figure 16:8: Horn parts, bars 1–18, from Georges Bizet, Act 4, Scene 1, No. 25 Marche et Chœur "Les voici, les voici!" *Carmen.* Top: incorrect, first horn incorporating some of the first bassoon part, plus erroneous designation of second horn as horn in E-flat (Leipzig: C.F. Peters, c.1920), 505–6. Bottom: correct version from the Critical Edition, eds. Richard Langham Smith and Clair Rowden (Leipzig: Peters, 1999), 566.

In addition to particularly non-idiomatic stopped notes, impossible crook changes (too little or no time to change) can be another pointer towards the valve horn rather than the natural horn, and, for example, at first glance the horn parts in the Act 2 Chorus

"Chi può vederla a ciglio asciutto" from Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830) would suggest the former. Fromental Halévy's *La Juive* (1835) is often given as the "first unquestionable appearance of the valve horn in the orchestra", but, as Meucci and Rocchetti point out, "Spontini began to send valve instruments from Berlin to Paris" in 1823 and composers were writing for other valved brass instruments prior to *La Juive*.[30] Therefore it is prudent to at least consider that compositions from 1820s onwards, such as *Anna Bolena* could be examples of early writing for valve horns, especially when the horn writing is unidiomatic for the natural horn. In the commonly-used 1950 Ricordi and other editions of this opera the first and second horns switch back and forth between F and E-flat whilst the third and fourth horns are consistently switching in the other direction (example 16:9, bars 50–51, 68, 72, 74, 91).[31]

These switches are possible on the valve horn but on the natural horn they are nonsensical. Nothing is gained by the juggling required, hence reconfiguring the parts so that the pairs remain in one crook throughout the movement is the obvious solution. This is borne out by the more recent Ricordi "Edizione Critica", which keeps the first pair in E-flat and the second in F and explains that the error has arisen from Donizetti's lack of discipline in the manuscript in which he himself mixed up the horn staves, and admitted it.[32]

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[30] Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 268.

[31] Gaetano Donizetti, *Anna Bolena* (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi n.d. c. 1950). Plate 129610, 769–779.

[32] Gaetano Donizetti, *Edizione Critica/Critical Edition: Anna Bolena*, vol. 2, ed. Paolo Fabbri (Milan: Ricordi, 2017), 698–708.


48
cambiano in Mi♭
Fa
Mi♭
cambiano in Fa
etc.
66
Mi♭
Fa
f
p
cambiano in Mi♭
72
rall.
cambiano in Fa
Tempo Iº
Mi♭
Mi♭
etc.
89
Fa
Mi♭
cambiano in Mi♭
cambiano in Fa
etc.
48
Mi♭
Fa
etc.
66
Mi♭
Fa
72 rall.
Tempo Iº
Mi♭
Fa
etc.

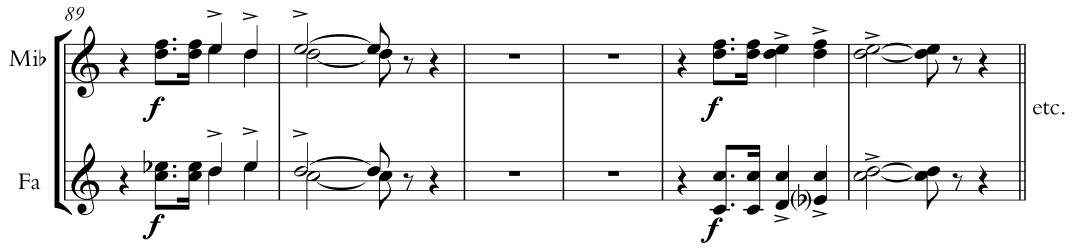


Figure 16:9: Horn parts, bars 48–94, from Gaetano Donizetti, Act 2, Scene 3, Chorus “Chi può vederla a ciglio asciutto”, *Anna Bolena.* Top: incorrect with horn parts switching, (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi n.d. c. 1950) 769–779. Bottom: correct, with horn parts remaining in the right crooks, ed. Paolo Fabbri (Milan: Ricordi, 2017), 698–708.

The regularity with which horn parts were re-written means that often further investigation is necessary in order to ascertain what “generation” of the music may be being presented. Given the number of obligatos discussed in this thesis in relation to Gallay and the conclusions I make regarding his performance style, an understanding of what musicians such as he were being presented with is essential. As much of this music comes from a point in time were composers could be writing for either the natural horn or the early valve horn it is important to interrogate the sources in order to ascertain whether alterations have happened which do not indicate a creative choice on the part of the composer, for example later “re-orchestrations” for potentially logistical reasons (*Carmen*) or errors in reading the sources (*Anna Bolena*).

(iv) Discrepancies caused by composers and their attitudes towards their own/ others’ works

Given the conditions in which they were working, composers often adopted a

pragmatic attitude to the compositions they had created, making frequent alterations to their work when they were involved in the performance process, and permitting alterations by others when they were not. In 1843 in correspondence regarding the forthcoming first performance of his opera *Caterina Cornaro,* the composer, Donizetti, encouraged Mercadante, the musician tasked with supervising this production to:

> [c]orrect all the mistakes in my score, keep a watchful eye on my opera, do anything you deem useful with it – in the strongest sense of the word: add to the instrumentation, rewrite the instrumentation, lighten it, shorten, lengthen, transpose, in short: make it your own work.[33]

Donizetti's willingness for the work to be altered so significantly as to be viewed as someone else's "own work" seems, at first glance, to be contrary to accounts of Rossini's attitude during the same period.

The Rossini "incident" concerned the castrato Giovanni Battista Velluti (known as "Giambattista", 1780–1861) who sang the role of Arsace in *Aureliano in Palmira* (1813):

> This singer, whom Rossini had not previously heard, covered his airs with such a profusion of ornaments that the composer exclaimed, "Non conosco

[33] Robert Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question? Creating a New Repertoire of Idiomatic and Challenging Arrangements for Historical Wind Instruments", Doctoral thesis (Guildhall School of Music and Drama, 2021), 27–28. Originally from Michael Walter, *Die Oper ist ein Irrenhaus* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1997) 235, quoted in Peter Szendy, *Listen: A History of Our Ears* (orig. *Ecoute: une histoire de nos oreilles*) trans. Charlotte Mandell (New York: Fordham University, 2008).

> più la mia musica!" "I don't know my own music!" It was this circumstance… which suggested to Rossini the idea of writing his airs with their embellishments, so as to prevent them from being disfigured by the presumption and bad taste of the singers; but, however richly he himself ornamented his airs, this has not prevented the Davids, and Rubinis, the Grisis and Malibrans, from loading the very embellishments themselves with additional *fiorituri*.[34]

The opera historian Jeremy Commons states this to be one of a number of "mistaken critical commonplaces", "an exaggeration and a distortion of the truth" and that Rossini

> never…wished to force his singers to sing his notes and only his notes. He wrote to the topmost of their abilities, but still expected them to add their own decorations, particularly in cadenzas and in the second verses or repeats of cabalettas.[35]

I agree with Commons and with Clive Brown who states further that around "the second decade of the nineteenth century" that

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[34] George Hogarth "Musical History" in *The Select Library Containing the Best Popular Literature, Including Memoirs, Biography, Novels, Tales, Travels, &c,* vol. 5 (Philadelphia: A. Waldie, 1838), 418.

[35] Jeremy Commons, "Elisabetta regina d'Inghilterra", sleeve notes for Gioachino Rossini, *Elisabetta regina d'Inghilterra*, Jennifer Larmore (Elisabetta), Bruce Ford (Leicester), Majella Cullagh (Matilde), Maneula Custer (Enrico), Antoninio Siragusa (Norfolk), Colin Lee (Guglielmo), London Philharmonic Orchestra, Giuliano Carella. 2010. *Elisabetta regina d'Inghilterra*. CD. ORC 22. United Kingdom: Opera Rara, 40–41.

> Rossini had begun to notate embellishments more fully in his own scores, and he was clearly unhappy to trust his music entirely to the chance of finding a singer with sufficient skill, taste, and understanding to achieve the effects he desired; but there is no reason to believe that either Rossini or the singers with whom he worked would have regarded his embellishments as binding or exclusive.[36]

In order to substantiate his reasoning, Brown cites early recordings of Rossini's repertoire, in particular interpretations of "Una voce poco fa" (from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*) by singers Marcella Sembrich (1858–1935), Luisa Tetrazzini (1871–1940) and Amelita Galli-Curci (1882–1963) as examples of how a performance practice emerged of "invited elaboration" and "traditionally sanctioned changes".[37]

Composers expected their music to be reworked by the musicians performing it, be it either in the compositions being completely re-tailored, as Donizetti tasked Mercadante with *Caterina Cornaro,* or be it in composers such as Rossini writing to the "topmost" of the ability of singers such as Giovanni David, Giacomo Rubini, Giulia Grisi or Malibran and still expecting the musicians to "add their own decorations".

The discrepancies of "text" caused by these various elements—the different houses, the different singers, the different instruments plus a generally less fixed, more fluid

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[36] Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, first edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 419.

[37] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* 419–420.

attitude to the music—all add up to making it sometimes difficult to ascertain what exactly a musician such as Gallay may have been playing.

As will be explored in Chapter Eighteen in relation to Mercadante's aria "Se m'abbandoni" (*Nitocri*), sometimes we are only aware that something was being played because of writings of the time alluding to the existence of a particularly exposed horn part.

Rossini's *Otello* "Inutile e quel pianto" - what exactly should we be playing?

In his critical commentary to the Fondazione Rossini Pesaro edition of Rossini's *Otello*, Michael Collins sheds light on the problems that face anyone wishing to construct an edition of this work. Whilst the autograph score is "complete", there are many places where it is "confused".[38] In addition to the manuscript held in Pesaro, Collins consulted at least twenty-three other sources, which "provide an idea of how Rossini's contemporaries interpreted these passages", as well as helping to clarify changes that happened "during the composition".[39]

[38] Michael Collins, *Commento Critico: Otello ossia Moro di Venezia* (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini Pesaro, 1994), 19. "Sebbene la partitura autografa di Otello sia completa, l'uso dell'autografo per preparare l'edizione critica dell'opera non è privo di problemi... Di grande importanza sono quei luoghi dove, a cause dei cambiamenti introdotti durante la composizione, l'autografo risulta confuso o lacunoso."

[39] Only two of the sources consulted by Collins do not include this particular *Scena;* MI N (Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan (I-Mc): Noseda T-2-13) and RO 695 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica "Santa Cecilia", Rome (I-Rsc): G. Mss 695). Collins, *Commento Critico,* 19. "In molti casi, specie a proposito delle notine di cadenze e abbellimenti, la notazione di Rossini risulta poco chiara; le fonti secondarie forniscono un'idea di come i contemporanei di Rossini interpretassero questi passi. Di grande importanza sono quei luoghi dove, a causa dei cambiamenti introdotti durante la composizione."

Outlining his editorial decisions for the “Inutile e qual pianto” scena, Collins states that the evidence in the manuscript—such as in the main source paper *collettes* obscuring sections, glue marks or stains indicating the addition and subsequent removal of similar *collettes*, music scrubbed out in ink—plus the variety demonstrated in other sources, all suggest that the solo was “altered several times” and raises the question, as a result, as to whether it was ever performed in its entirety.[40] Collins’s edition of the opening horn obligato of “Inutile e quel pianto” is reproduced here in figure 16:10.

In effect, however, there seem to be four versions of the *Scena* scattered amongst twenty-plus sources. This would point to copies having been made at various stages in Rossini’s re-workings of the solo, leading to there being groupings of divergent versions of the aria. This reiterates the earlier points that, firstly, these works were always in a state of flux in the mind of the composer, and, secondly, that a degree of liberty in the performance was expected.

Collins believes that the fullest version of the solo is “musically very effective” but, perhaps hinting as to his own suspicions as to a reason why the solo was rewritten so often, opines that the chromatic scale passage in bar 27 was “rather rare for the period” and “difficult to perform on a natural horn”.[41] Similarly he deems the use of the 16th harmonic top C (cited by him in the commentary in terms of the concert pitch

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[40] Collins, *Commento Critico*, 74. “La cadenza fu modificata varie volte”.

[41] Collins, *Commento Critico*, 74. “[Q]uesta edizione include l'intera cadenza, che musicalmente è molto efficace”. “La scala cromatica a 27, piuttosto rara per il periodo, è difficile da eseguire con un Corno naturale”.



Figure 16:10: Horn obligato, bars 7–30, Gioachino Rossini, Act 1, No. 4, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello,* ed. Michael Collins (Pesaro: Fondazione Rossini, 1994), 248–253.

E-flat equivalent) as "a third above the normal range of the instrument."[42] A cursory glance at compositions by Agostino Belloli (1778–1839) shows many examples of

[42] Collins, *Commento Critico*, 74. "[U]na terza sopra alla normale estensione dello strumento."

chromatic scale passages as well as frequent use of the top C.[43] Given that *Otello* was written for Naples (not Milan) there is no evidence to suggest that the obligato was written for either of the Bellolis, but the existence of such figuration and range in other Italian compositions for horn during this period help establish that Rossini's writing was not out of the question for horn players in his circle.[44]

The manuscript shows signs of alterations, but it is unclear whose hand has made them. The clearest cut is of the final cadenza in bars 27–28 (the descending chromatic scale followed by the ascent to the 16th harmonic top C). Additionally, bars 24–25 (the first two bars of a three-bar sequence of ascending arpeggiated tonic chord sextuplets) have been inked out and remaining red stains suggest that at one point these bars were covered by a *collette,* perhaps suggesting a temporary measure of editing.

Throughout the sources there is an ambiguity of the ornamentation in bar 16. This is sometimes due to poor penmanship but in general three variations exist (figure 16:11):

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[43] For example Agostino Belloli, *Dodici studi progressivi per corno di caccia* (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi, 1843) includes ascending chromatic scales in no. 7 (bar 74, middle A through to high A), no. 9 (bars 2 and 4, middle G through to high F and middle G through to high G respectively), whilst no. 8 (bar 47) contains the top C, with a similar scale "run-up" as the "Inutile e quel pianto" obligato.

[44] The aforementioned Luigi and Agostino Belloli were part of a significant family of horn players spanning three generations. For more information on this family see Meucci and Rocchetti, *The Horn,* 174, 178, 190, 195, 197, 199, 205, 218, 273, 293.



Figure 16:11: Three versions of bar 16, from Gioachino Rossini, “Inutile e quel pianto”, *Otello.* Top from NA 11a (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples, (I-Nc): 22-3-1), 27. Middle from NA 15 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 22-3-14), 52v. Bottom from NA 12, (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 22-3-12), 77v.

The biggest group of sources, which I have termed “Group A”, keep the cut in bars 27–28 but not the cut in bars 24–25.[45] This may point to a wavering in the “compositional process” as to whether bars 24–25 would remain. This version does feel somewhat lopsided. Phillip Gossett points out that “[t]he resulting proportions are all wrong: the labor of the arpeggios brings forth nothing more than the fabled mouse (in this case, the horn trill)”.[46]

[45] Group A includes: BU 57 (Boston University Library, collection of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, US-Bsoa:) Ms. 57, LO (an unidentified private London collection), NA 12 and NA 14 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. I-Nc: 22-3-12 and 22-3-14 respectively), PA E, PA F and PA G (Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris. F-PO: A-544 (E,1 and 2), A-544 (F) and A-544 (G)), PR 9 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma: I-PAc: SL^{b} 9) and WA C (The Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington, D.C. US-Wc: M1500.R86 O7). Listing of manuscripts: Collins, *Commento Critico*, 9.

[46] Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, 423.

The “Group B” sources follow both the cuts in the manuscript.[47] Collins quotes a source (MI 385, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Giuseppe Verdi) which contains a unique variation on the cadential trill in bar 29 (figure 16:12).[48] Given that trills have always been a *bête noire* for horn players, is this variant evidence of the disguising of a failing of one particular horn player? On closer inspection of this source there appears to be a misreading in the critical edition of both in the rhythm of the third beat and final note of bar 24. The critical edition is quoted in figure 16:10 whilst the source is used in figure 16:20 which summarises the options for a performer.

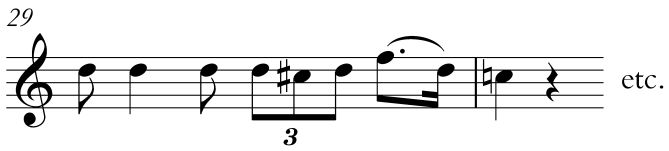


Figure 16:12: MI 385 variation of bar 29 from Gioachino Rossini, “Inutile e quel pianto”, *Otello* (Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan, (I-Mc): 385-18-2) 87v.

The smallest grouping is “Group C”, which includes just two sources bound in the same volume, though these are the most “brutal” of edits of the Scena, offering a shorter version than that of the Pesaro manuscript.[49] Collins suggests that NA 11a is

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[47] Group B includes: MI 385 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan. I-Mc: 385-18-2), NA 15 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. I-Nc: 22-3-15), PA D (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris. F-Pn: D-13090), PR 12 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. I-Pac: SL^{b} 12), VE C (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Venice. I-Vc: LSM 93), VE M (Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice. I-Vnm: Mss. Tr. IV 932, 933, 934)) and WA F (Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C. US-Ws: Mss. W.b.544-546). Listing of manuscripts: Collins, *Commento Critico*, 9.

[48] *Otello* (copyist manuscript, n.d.). Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan. I-Mc: 385-18-2. (Collins MI 385).

[49] Group C includes: NA 11 and NA 11a (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. Both contained in I-Nc: 22-3-1). Listing of manuscripts: Collins, *Commento Critico*, 9.

a copy (perhaps a cleaner copy?) of NA 11.[50] The assimilation of cuts made in pencil or using *collettes* in NA11 and NA 11a bear this hypothesis out. Both sources cut seven bars from 17–23, plus bars 25–26, with NA 11a also removing bars 27–28. The inclusion of bar 24, plus the removal of either bars 25–26 or 25–28 creates a variant unlike that suggested by the manuscript or groups A and B.

The "Group C" sources also offer a unique variant on the jumps in bars 14 and 15 (figure 16:13).



Figure 16:13: Group C (NA 11 and NA 11a) decorated jumps in bars 14 and 15 from Gioachino Rossini, "Inutile e quel pianto", *Otello* (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 22-3-1), NA 11: 128v and NA 11a: 27.

The critical commentary also points out that NA 11 has a rather delightful embellishment (quoted in the commentary and reproduced in figure 16:17) for bar 24 which is in keeping with the sextuplets established in the Pesaro manuscript, but which provides a little more melodic interest rather than merely "riffing" on a tonic arpeggio.

[50] Collins, *Commento Critico,* 74.

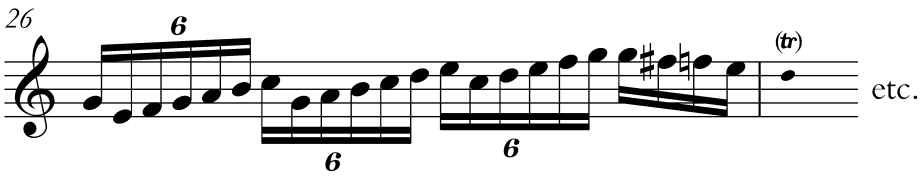


Figure 16:14: NA 11 bar 26 (bar 24 when source has bars deleted) from Gioachino Rossini, “Inutile e quel pianto”, *Otello* (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. (I-Nc): 22-3-1) 130.

The critical commentary implies (by not citing them in the analysis of the cuts above) the existence of the final “Group D”, which appears to contain the whole, uncut Scena, potentially originating from a copy of the manuscript before Rossini’s rehearsal process and re-edits occurred.[51]

Otello at the Théâtre-Italien

Otello was first performed at the Théâtre-Italien in 1821.[52] It remained a popular piece in the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien and was performed twenty times alone in 1825, the year Gallay joined. The likelihood is that Attrapart would have been the horn player who gave the first and subsequent performances of this work at the Théâtre-Italian. Gallay is first indicated as being employed on 1 February 1825, with

[51] Group D includes: BU 9–10 (Boston University Library, collection of the Boston Symphony Orchestra) Mss 9-10, MI N Biblioteca del Conservatorio Statale di Musica Giuseppe Verdi, Milan. I-Mc: Noseda T-2_13), NA 13 and NA 16 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples. I-Nc: 22-3-13 and 22-3-16 respectively), PA A (Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris. F-Pn: A-455a), PR 11 and PR 13 (Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. I-Pac: SL^{b} 11 and SL^{b} 13 respectively), RO 697 and 698 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica "Santa Cecilia", Rome. I-Rsc: G. Mss 697 and G. Mss 698 respectively).

[52] Data on performances available from: Mark Everist and Sarah Gutsche-Miller, “List of Paris Music Drama Performances” https://www.fmc.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/462/2023/05/Paris_Music_Drama_Performances.xls [Accessed 8 July 2025].

the next performance of *Otello* presented on 17 February. The work only dropped out of regular repertoire at this house in 1878. Whilst he may not have given the debut performance, it is clear from reviews during his lifetime and the existence of his *Souvenirs d'Otello, fantaisie pour cor et piano,* Op. 20 that this solo became one very much associated with Gallay.[53]

Performing "Inutile e quel pianto"

With the chronology of the composition established, the multiple sources indicate that the known variations all existed prior to performances at the Théâtre-Italien in Paris, thus there is no evidence to suggest Gallay had any hand in shaping the known variations of this obligato. The obligato does show figurations standard for him and other horn players, however, and there is nothing here that would have been outside his experience.

Plausibly, what might Gallay have been playing in his performances of this aria? In keeping with the vast majority of sources, an undated Heugel piano reduction which credits "words by" Alphonse Royer and Gustave Vaëz, translators associated with the Opéra production of 1844, cuts bars 27 and 28 and may be indicative of what

[53] Lacaine and Laurent, *Biographies et nécrologies*, 45. ""Among the brilliant successes of Mr. Gallay, we must place in the first line those he obtained at the famous concerts of the Conservatoire society and in the horn solos of several operas of the Théâtre-Italien, notably in those of Otello and The Puritans." "Parmi les brilliants succès de M. Gallay, nous devons placer en première ligne ceux qu'il a obtenus aux célèbres concerts de la société du Conservatoire et dans le solos de cor de plusieurs opéra du Théâtre-Italien notamment dans ceux *d'Otello* et des *Puritains*."

Parisian audiences heard or expected to hear.[54] Whilst Collins questions the tessitura of the 16th harmonic top C in Rossini's original (bar 28), we see plentiful examples of music ascending to this height in Gallay's Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés, Op. 27, suggesting it was well within his normal range (figure 16:15).[55] Returning to the question posed in the previous chapter as to whether Gallay was a true *cor alto* player or really more of a *cor mixte*, the regular inclusion of the 16th harmonic top C points more to the former.



Figure 16:15: Examples of top Cs in Jacques-François Gallay, 20me Prélude, from *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés,* Op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8), 18. No crook specified.

Chromatic scales litter Gallay's unaccompanied works, and the descending chromatic scale in bar 14 of his Caprice No. 9 (figure 16:14) suggests that bar 27 of the obligato would have posed no challenge.[56] A similar figuration (figure 16:16)

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[54] Gioachino Rossini, *Othello : grand opéra en trois actes / paroles de Alph. Royer et Gustave Vaëz ; musique de G. Rossini,* (Paris: Heugel, n.d.), 49.

[55] Jacques-François Gallay, *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés,* Op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8).

[56] Jacques-François Gallay, *Douze grands caprices pour le cor, faisant suite aux études et préludes*, Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, 1835).

found in the first cadenza of Agostino Belloli's *Venti-quattro studi per corno di caccia* further proves that such writing was quotidian for horn players of this era.[57]



Figure 16:16: Bar 14 of Jacques-François Gallay's Caprice No. 9 from *Douze grands caprices pour le cor, faisant suite aux études et préludes,* Op. 32 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835), 18. No crook specified.



Figure 16:17: First cadenza (unbarred) from Agostino Belloli, *Venti-quattro studi per corno di caccia*, (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi, 1843), 1. No crook specified.

The turns in line five of Gallay's unmeasured Prelude No. 23 in the Op. 27 set (figure 16:18) provide figuration in line with the most embellished version of bar 16 in the *Otello* obligato.[58]

[57] Agostino Belloli, *Venti-quattro studi per corno di caccia* (Milan: Giovanni Ricordi, 1843).

[58] Jacques-François Gallay, *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés,* Op. 27 (Paris; Petit, 1833), 20.



Figure 16:18: Line five of Jacques-François Gallay, 23me Prélude (unmeasured), from *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés*, Op. 27 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835–8), 20. No crook specified.

It is curiously difficult to find passages in appropriate horn repertoire which feature the figuration found in the NA 11a variation of bar 26 (figure 16:14). It appears to be idiomatic writing but unlike the other examples here it is far harder to point to similar figurations. Whilst not a "verbatim quote" the nearest equivalents (figure 16:19) come from repertoire written for a horn player mentioned earlier in this thesis, Giovanni Puzzi, for example in the *Sonata di Bravura*, Op. 13 by Cipriani Potter (1792–1871).[59]



Figure 16:19: Horn part, bars 41–55, Cipriani Potter, Finale Allegretto, from Sonata di bravura concertante pour Pianoforte e Corno o Fagotto, Op. 13 (Bonn: Simrock, c.1825), 3.

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[59] Cipriani Potter, Sonata di bravura concertante pour Pianoforte e Corno o Fagotto, Op. 13 (Bonna, c.1825).With thanks to Louis-Pierre Bergeron for bringing this to my attention. For more on Giovanni Puzzi see the work of Bradley Strauchen discussed in Chapter Two, pages 109–116 as well as Chapter Eighteen, pages 486–487 and Chapter Nineteen, pages 509–510.

The horn obligato in “Inutile e quel pianto” contains many hallmarks of Rossini’s horn writing; indeed it includes many of the common elements of horn writing from the period. The stepwise, almost cautious, introductory notes in bar 7 open up into a more melodic, vocal line which in turn moves into widely leaping jumps. From bar 18 onwards the obligato weaves its way around scalic and arpeggio passages (known as *batteries de cor*), a type of bravura writing which Rossini returns to to great effect in his *Prélude, thème et variations*.

If anything, I would argue that the rather basic harmonic language of this solo is its drawback. In comparison to much of Gallay’s typical quasi-improvised works (for example the Préludes, Op. 27 and the Caprices, Op. 32) there is not the scope for a horn player to do much other than to decorate tonic and dominant chords.

In figure 16:20 I have produced a “choose your own adventure” version of the solo which allows for the performer to choose between the different variations above. Regarding the themes of portamento and timbral shifts, given the very basic harmony which rarely strays outside the tonic, this solo uses a high number of the open harmonics, with fewer options for intentionally harnessing the stopped notes. One good opportunity comes in the plaintive high E-flats to Ds in bars 22–23. The lack of stopped notes also has implications for portamento, with the best opportunity being in the low F-sharp to G in bars 16–17.

One thing not yet raised, but something I believe is central to the role of this segment of music, is the possibility of this solo being cut according to the length needed for

the “business” on stage to change scene - notably source NA 11 has pencilled in “Cambio Scena”. This suggests that the variations in this solo are not just down to musical tastes but also to the necessities of fitting the music to pragmatic theatrical necessities.





Figure 16:20 Horn obligato to "Inutile e quel pianto" from Rossini's *Otello* with options. (Audio example 16_01).[60]

[60] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

Chapter Seventeen: Vaccai, “È questo il loco” (*Giulietta e Romeo*, 1827)

Whilst Gallay was not present at the Théâtre-Italien for the Paris premier of Rossini’s *Otello* he was *in situ* for the premier of another Italian opera based on Shakespearean tragedy.

Given the popularity with composers of the story of *Romeo and Juliet* it can sometimes be complex at first glance to successfully identify from which particular opera a singer may be singing when reviews merely mention them as performing an aria for “Roméo” or “Giulietta”. In the case of vocalist Maria Malibran (1808–1836) this issue can be further compounded given her predilection for inserting sections from one version (Vaccai’s *Giulietta e Romeo*) into another (Bellini’s *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*).

Vaccai’s *Giulietta e Romeo*

The debut of Nicola Vaccai’s (1790–1848) version of the story, *Giulietta e Romeo* took place at Milan’s Teatro alla Canobbiana on 31 October 1825, with the Paris debut taking place two years later on 11 September 1827. This performance was met with muted reception by the author of the *Journal des débats*, who described the

music as “sometimes despairingly mediocre”.[1] One of the few redeeming features according to this reviewer was “part of the aria accompanied by the harp and the horn” i.e. Roméo’s scena “È questo il loco” section, followed by the aria “Ah se tu dormi”. The writer returns later in the review to explore this further:

> The aria of Romeo, cut by horn solos, is of a pleasant design... The orchestra performed Vaccai's music better, although it does not have great veneration for this work. The horn solo gave a lot of pleasure; from the purity of the *embouchure*, from the elegance of the style, I believe I recognised M. Gallay.

The horn solo was commented upon by other sources such as the *Journal des débats*: “The solo for horn was very well executed by M Gallay.”[2]

Gallay appeared two years later at a benefit soirée concert held at the studio of the piano maker Dietz. On the same bill was Ferdinando Paër (1771–1839), who had recently been reappointed as director of the Théâtre-Italien as a result of Rossini, the previous incumbent, being headhunted by the Opéra. According to Fétis, Paër had been handed something of a poisoned chalice and the appointment was to be brief, as the:

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[1] “XXX”, “Chronique Musicale. Théatre Italien: *Guilietta e Romeo* - Mme Pisaroni” in *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (18 October 1827), 3. “L’air de Roméo, coupé par des solos de cor, est d’un dessin agréable… L’orchestre a mieux exécuté la musique de Vaccai, quoiqu’il n’ait pas peur cet œuvre une grande vénération. Le solo de cor a fait beaucoup de plaisir ; à la pureté de l’embouchure, à l’élégance du style, j’ai cru reconnaître M. Gallay.”

[2] “XXX” “Chronique Musicale. Théatre Italien: *Guilietta e Romeo,* opéra en deux actes, musique de Vaccai” in *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (14 September 1827), 4. “Le solo de cor a été très bien exécuté par M. Gallay.”

> …theatre was in a deplorable state; there were no more singers, and the repertoire was worn out. This period was not favourable to the Opéra-Italien of Paris; the faults of the previous administration were attributed to the author of *Agnése* (i.e. Paër), and his dismissal was sent to him in August 1827.[3]

Also performing were the Belgian violinist Theodore Hauman (1808–1878) and Polish pianist Wojciech (known as Albert) Sowiński (1803/1805–1880). The big draw, undoubtedly, was the presence of Maria Malibran, though all participants were deemed "more than enough to charm the most delicate and severe ears."[4]

Maria Malibran, *Giulietta e Romeo*, and Gallay

Fétis reports further on Malibran's performance:

> It was a curious thing to hear Madame Malibran singing with the same perfection in French, Italian and Spanish that evening. The tune she chose was that of *Romeo* by Vaccai. This tune, quite mediocre, is only composed of

[3] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique,* vol. 7 (Brussels: Meline, Cans et Compagnie, 1841), 118. "Cette époque ne fut pas favorable à l'Opéra-Italien de Paris ; les fautes de l'administration précédente furent imputées à l'auteur de l'*Agnese*, et sa destitution lui fut envoyé au mois d'août 1827". Johnson has, through her analysis of the financial records of the Théâtre-Italien, demonstrated that "all was not so bleak", maintaining that actually the institution had "access to resources beyond the means of most entrepreneurs". Janet Lynn Johnson, "The Theatre Italien and Opera and Theatrical Life in Restoration Paris, 1818–1827", PhD thesis (University of Chicago, 1988), 260.

[4] Fétis, "Soireé Musicale de M. Dietz", *Revue Musicale*, vol. 5 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1829), 161. "…étaient plus que suffisans pour charmer les oreilles les plus délicates et les plus sévères."

> reminiscences; but Madame Malibran's admirable talent lends her a charm that *fascinates the ear*. She had already sung it with great success at the Théâtre-Italien concert; she put no less perfection into it this time. In the obbligato horn accompaniment, M. Gallay showed himself worthy of marrying his accents to those of the siren.[5]

Fétis's reservations regarding this work echo the 1825 review. This aria had been seen as one of the saving graces of the opera, and must have had some merit for an artist of Malibran's stature to have adopted it as part of her repertoire.

As discussed in the previous chapter (417), Malibran's promotion of this aria went further in it having being a component of her preferred finale to Bellini's opera on the same text, *I Capuleti e i Montecchi.* Bellini's opera was premiered in the Teatro La Fenice in Venice on 11 March 1830 with Giuditta Grisi (mentioned in the previous chapter, 412, 428–429, regarding her performance of the *Otello* aria with Gallay in 1840) in the role of Roméo.

The first recorded instance of Malibran "discarding Bellini's unpopular 'tomb scene'" in favour of Vaccai's aria is at the Teatro Communale in Bologna on 27 October 1832,

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[5] Fétis, "Soireé Musicale de M. Dietz", 161. "Ce fut une chose curieuse que d'entendre dans cette soirée madame Malibran chanter avec la même perfection en français, en italien et en espagnol. L'air qu'elle avait choisi est celui de *Roméo* de Vaccai. Cet air, assez médiocre, n'est composé que de réminiscences ; mais l'admirable talent de madame Malibran lui prête un charme *qui fascine l'oreille*. Déjà elle l'avait chanté avec le plus grand succès au concert du Théâtre-Italien ; elle n'y a pas mis moins de perfection cette fois. Dans l'accompagnement de cor obligé, M. Gallay s'et montré digne de marier ses accents à ceux de la sirène."

a performance which “delighted the audience.”[6] Weatherson, in his article on Malibran, points out that Giulio Vaccai “makes the outrageous but by no means improbable proposal that Rossini had suggested this substitution.”[7] Poriss, in her chapter on Malibran’s use of the Vaccai aria, explores Malibran’s impact and why this particular insertion gained so much traction that it became almost *de rigueur*.[8] Poriss also explores how it became specifically associated with Malibran, despite the fact that she was not the first person to make this alteration.[9]

In the review of Dietz’s *Soireé Musicale,* Fétis cannot avoid returning to comment especially on Gallay:

> I spoke of M. Gallay; but I must not finish with him, without saying that it is impossible to hear a purer sound, a more beautiful way of singing on an instrument, nor a surer and more correct execution than in the rondeau which he played towards the end of the evening. With this artist, we are always sure

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[6] Alexander Weatherson, “Lament for a Dead Nightingale: the cantata *In Morte di M.F.Malibran De Bériot*” in *Donizetti Society Journal*, no. 5 (1984), 159.

[7] Weatherson, “Lament for a Dead Nightingale”, f.n. 13, 167 citing Giulio Vaccai, *Vita di Nicola Vaccaj,* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1882), 143.

[8] Hilary Poriss, “Maria Malibran, *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*, and a tale of suicide” in *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009)., 100–134.

[9] “That “honour”… goes to the prima donna Santina Ferlotti, who introduced the new music during a benefit production of *I Capuleti e I Montecchi* at the Teatro della Pergola, Florence, on February 26, 1831”. Poriss, *Changing the Score*, 106.

> of what he is going to do; because it seems to cost him so little that he seems to make light of the difficulties of his hazardous instrument.[10]

Fétis identifies various factors that critics often cited regarding Gallay's performances: the purity of his sound, the security and correctness in his performance, the ease with which he performed on an instrument recognised for its difficulty and, most pertinently to this study, his "singing" style.

The same caveat applies to this obligato that should be applied to the two others thus far studied; this is not an obligato written explicitly for Gallay, but one with which he was often associated as an admired interpreter of this work.

[10] Fétis, "Soireé Musicale de M. Dietz", 162. "J'ai parlé de M. Gallay ; mais je ne dois pas en finir avec lui, sans dire qu'il est impossible d'entendre un son plus pur, une plus belle manière de chanter sur un instrument, ni une exécution plus sûre et plus correcte que dans le rondeau qu'il a joué vers la fin de la soirée. Avec cet artiste, on est toujours en sécurité sur ce qu'il va faire ; car cela paraît lui coûter si peu, qu'il semble se jouer des difficultés de son aventureux instrument."


Andante sostenuto
Niccola Vaccai
Horn in E♭
Romeo
Harp
p
rinf.
p
rinf.
6
9
rallent.
solo
13


17
tr
21
tr
solo
25
etc.
È ques-to il lo - co
43
solo
Giu-liet - ta



Figure 17:1 Horn, vocal and harp parts, bars 1–28, 43–53, Nicola Vaccai, Scena: "È questo il loco"; aria e duetto: "Ah se tu dormi" from *Giulietta e Romeo.* Manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (1–12).

Vaccai's horn writing in the introduction to "È questo il loco"

After an orchestral introduction of five bars, there are two brief bars of harp cadenza: for a moment it appears that this scena will be a feature for flute and harp, but quickly the horn (in E-flat) takes centre stage with an extended obligato accompanied by harp and underscored by the strings. The solo is well constructed for the horn and

the contours of it echo many other classic late eighteenth / early nineteenth-century



solos, as can be seen in figure 17:2.[11]

(a) Bars 10–14 of the "È questo il loco" from Act 2, Scene 11, Nicola Vaccai, *Giulietta e Romeo.* Manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page number (3).



(b) Bars 2–6 of Franz Schubert, *Auf dem Strom,* D.943 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1895).



(c) Bars 12–16 of Ludwig van Beethoven, Sonata in F for piano and horn, Op. 17 (Vienna: T. Mollo, 1801).

[11] With the exception of Schubert's *Auf dem Strom* all these solos are written for the natural horn. *Auf dem Strom* is a special case in that it was written for the nascent valve horn though constructed in such a way that it was still playable on the regular natural horn of the period. For more on this see John Humphries, *The Early Horn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 93-96.



(d) Bars 21–25 of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Concerto in D for horn, KV 412 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1987).



(e) Bars 1–5 of "Languir per una bella" from Act 1, Scene 3, Gioachino Rossini, *L'Italiana in Algeri,* ed. Azio Corghi (Milan: Ricordi, 1981), 73.

Figure 17:2 Comparison of the opening motifs of five solos for horn.

Evidence regarding Malibran's performances of "È questo il loco"

As I explored in Chapters Four, Five and Six, Gallay's reviewers frequently referred to his vocality on the horn and compared him directly with singers of the age. Therefore it can be helpful to study the singers from his circle in order to develop a better understanding of their performance practices which then could be applied to the horn. Reviewers and scholars of Malibran often indicate the many ways in which she made a piece of music her own.

For example Weatherson defends Malibran's decision to use this particular aria instead of other settings as "[t]he simpler, less artful vocal line of Vaccai's exquisitely paced music…was the perfect vehicle for an actress whose vocal command was beyond compare."[12] He expands on the factors that made Malibran such a highly regarded force, as well as her requirements:

> Malibran was supreme in using her voice to illuminate both music and text imaginatively, making the utmost of each dramatic focus as it came to her. All she demanded was a music-in-outline… She would change keys, harmonies, phrasing, themes even at will; imposing subtleties, shadings and interpolating extemporaneous 'cadenze' ad libitum - she liked music she could tamper with and scarcely ever enjoyed singing the more evolved scores of her day and age.[13]

At least two annotated versions of this aria, all connected with Malibran, survive giving an indication of the versatility and complexity of her ornamentation. The first, entitled "with the embellishments of Malibran" was published by Lucca in 1835.[14] A second, whilst not explicitly cited as Malibran's interpretation, is included in her brother Manuel García's *Hints on Singing*.[15] The García version is very similar indeed, though not identical, to the manuscript and Lucca edition. These similarities

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[12] Weatherson, "Lament for a Dead Nightingale", 160.

[13] Weatherson, "Lament for a Dead Nightingale", 160–1.

[14] Nicola Vaccai, *Scena ultima : nell'Opera Giulietta e Romeo / del M.o Vaccaj ; coll'aggionta degli abbelimenti di M.e Malibran* (Milano: F. Lucca, 1835). Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica "Santa Cecilia", Roma (I-Rsc): B.29.33.

[15] Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García,* trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 71–73.

plus the familial relationship lends credence to the suggestion that García's publication is indicative of Malibran's performances.

As is typical of García's pedagogical sources, his annotated version of this aria attempts to transcend the limitations of musical notation with extra indications to the singer: "sigh sustained and cresc.", "equal full notes", "vigorous slur", "Full, smooth, and well-sustained notes", "*p* with tenderness", "slightly undulated" etc. His musical notations (especially in terms of rhythm) are more complicated. Much more use is made of accents and dynamics, plus indications as to places where one can snatch short breaths (using the "V" sign). Despite the great lengths to which García goes, it feels like musical notation, regardless of how highly he annotates, is incapable of fully communicating many of the nuances he is so keen to impart.

It is worth exploring the context in which García includes this aria in his *Hints on Singing.* García's text is constructed around a series of short questions. Having just answered "What is expression?" ("Expression is the manifestation of the feelings") and "What considerations must guide us in the use of expression?" (In summary: choose what is appropriate) he faces the more vexed question "How can a singer transmit his emotions to an audience?"

> By feeling strongly himself. Sympathy is the sole transmitter of emotion and the feelings of an audience are excited by our own, as the vibrations of one instrument are awakened by the vibrations of another. The following example is intended to illustrate the foregoing ideas:

> Romeo has come to bid an eternal farewell to Juliet, who lies upon her bier. Fascinated by the sight, he stands in a sort of ecstasy and speaks as if she could hear him. Exaltation and tenderness must be carried to their utmost limit, and yet, however extreme, do not justify the use of trembling tones. They must be made manifest by the choice of suitable timbres, the vigour of the colouring, and the accentuation. Steadiness of voice is an indispensable quality, and even a momentary abandonment seems quite unjustifiable.[16]

For García the primary means of communicating the emotion of the musical text was via appropriate use of the voice and he did not advocate the use of facial gesture, instead instructing that, in line with other elements of good posture ("[t]he body must be straight, well planted on the feet…the shoulders well back, the head erect") that "the expression of the face" should be "calm".[17] García's approach suggests a rather placid delivery manner which appears to differ to that of, for example, Domenico Corri, who advised that "a Performer should remember that the whole combination of gesture, look, and inflexion of voice, must contribute [to] their various powers to convey the sentiment or feeling he would express."[18]

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[16] García, *Hints on Singing,* 71.

[17] García, *Hints on Singing,* 12.

[18] Domenico Corri *The Singer's Preceptor* (London: Chappell & Co., n.d. c.1810), 71.

Early recordings of “È questo il loco”

As mentioned in Chapter Two, in recent years the field of research into bel canto vocal technique has benefited greatly from the study of early recordings. An example of this is the ongoing Sydney Conservatorium research project “The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900” which has set, as one of its goals, “to explore historical styles for bel canto repertory through implementation of a new multi-modal methodology combining recording emulation, and practical and collaborative active experimentation”.[19]

Three early recordings survive of this aria and are discussed in Will Crutchfield’s short essay “Ancient Vaccai”.[20] These recordings are:

- Guerrina Fabbri (1866–1946), made in 1903. (Audio example 17_01).[21]
- Armida Parsi-Pettinella (1868-1949), made in 1904. (Audio example 17_02).[22]
- Elisa Petri (1869–1929), made in 1912. (Audio example 17_03).[23]

[19] Neal Peres da Costa and Helen Mitchell, “The shock of the old: Rediscovering the sounds of bel canto 1700–1900”, *The Sydney Conservatorium Discovery Research Project* (2024) https://www.sydney.edu.au/music/our-research/artistic-research/the-shock-of-the-old.html [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[20] Will Crutchfield, “Record of the week: Ancient Vaccai”, *Teatro Nuovo* (publication date unknown), https://www.teatronuovo.org/record-of-the-week-3/ancient-vaccai [Accessed 9 April 2025].

[21] Guerrina Fabbri, (contralto), Salvatore Cottone (piano). 1903. *Romeo e Giulietta: Cavatina.* 78 rpm record. G&T GC-53318. United Kingdom: Gramophone Concert Record.

[22] Armida Parsi-Pettinella, (mezzo soprano). 1904. *Giulietta e Romeo (Vaccai). Ah! se tu dormi, svegliati.* 78 rpm record. 39702. Italy: Società italiana di fonotipia (Milan).

[23] Elisa Petri, (mezzo soprano) with “large orchestra”. 1912. *Giulietta e Romeo. Ah, se tu dormi / Vaccai.* 78 rpm record. 92622. Italy: Società italiana di fonotipia (Milan).

All three recordings start at the aria “proper”, i.e. “Ah, se tu dormi, svegalti” rather than with the opening scena “È questo il loco”, which contains the horn obligato therefore, regrettably for the focus of this study, do not provide evidence of the horn playing of this era. In the case of Parsi-Pettinella and Fabbri, the singers are accompanied by piano rather than orchestra, thus offering no concrete information about instrumental style. In the case of Petri the accompaniment is a mixed ensemble (piano, winds, strings, and tuba on bass), demonstrating a typical re-orchestration scored for maximum effect with the recording technology of the time. Despite these limitations all three recordings are invaluable in helping us to understand aspects of performance that can be challenging to notate, especially elements such as rubato and portamento. Given the quality of the recording it is harder to comment on aspects of timbre.

In his analysis Crutchfield points out many of these important nuances. Parsi-Pettinella is described as a “classic model, practically a lesson” with “[e]legant, lingering diminuendos; effortlessly fluid scales and mordents; chiseled pronunciation; vocal poise that never falters; and the flexibility to sing middle G with equal firmness and ease in head register or (at the end) in chest”.[24]

Fabbri had a track record with this aria, having sung the role of Romeo in the Bellini/ Vaccai version of *I Capuleti e i Montecchi/Giulietta e Romeo* in Barcelona (1893),

[24] Will Crutchfield, “Record of the week: Ancient Vaccai”, https://www.teatronuovo.org/record-of-the-week-3/ancient-vaccai (publication date unknown). [Accessed 3 March 2024].

Lisbon (1895), and Florence (1902).[25] Whilst she may have had plenty of experience in the role itself, her recording (1903) displays one of the hazards of some early recordings:

> It doesn't help that the arias were obviously not rehearsed with the accompanist - it took a while for record companies to learn that this was a necessary precaution. Salvatore Cottone, who played perfectly well for other singers in more familiar music, is easily confused by Fabbri's decorations and rubato, and in "Ah se tu dormi," just before the cadenza, he interrupts a spacious ornamental arpeggio with a premature chord, turning what could have been a beautiful moment into a chaotic scramble. It's a reminder of the limitations we face in interpreting primitive audio. If she had tried again, would she have left something more in line with her real-life reputation? We'll never know, but if we listen with a certain care to get past the surface faults, these discs are souvenirs of a major artist from whom we can still learn a lot.[26]

Crutchfield recognises Fabbri's "grand and powerful" voice and her "noble legato and fluent ornamentation" but regrets that she "sometimes pushes the tone to the point of scratchy or ungainly sounds, and the accentuation has a "verismo" flavor that may strike us as emotionally exaggerated". Returning to García's advice for this aria, are

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[25] Michael Aspinall, sleeve notes for *The Contralto Voice: Eugenia Mantelli, Marianne Brandt, Guerrina Fabbri and Rita Fornia*. CD. 52053-2. United States of America: Marston Records. Will Crutchfield, "Record of the week: Ancient Vaccai", https://www.teatronuovo.org/record-of-the-week-3/ancient-vaccai (publication date unknown). [Accessed 3 March 2024].

[26] Will Crutchfield, "Record of the week: Ancient Vaccai", https://www.teatronuovo.org/record-of-the-week-3/ancient-vaccai (publication date unknown). [Accessed 3 March 2024].

Fabbri's pushed tones and her "scratchy or ungainly" sounds an emotionally coherent expression of García's "exaltation and tenderness…carried to their utmost limit"? Are the timbres "suitable"? The colourings "vigorous"?[27] Or has she gone too far and abandoned the necessary steadiness of voice in an "emotionally exaggerated" fashion? It is challengingly difficult for modern ears to judge.

Crutchfield queries Petri's performance, finding it "disappointing compared to Petri's best" given that, to him, "it sounds like a good musician reading a piece she hasn't lived with in performance". His evidence for this is the absence of ornamentation and of "the personal shadings and rubatos" of Fabbri and Parsi-Pettinella, but he praises her for the "even smoother legato line".

Crutchfield restricts himself to mainly commenting on ornamentation, legato line, rubato, timbre and rubato. One of the elements he does not discuss is the use (or absence) of portamento. Given that the nuances of portamento (for example the speed at which a portamento is performed, or whether a singer switches syllable before or after performing the portamento) are particularly difficult to notate, early recordings, such as these, are an exceedingly useful way of learning more about their use and execution.

[27] García, *Hints on Singing,* 71.

Fabbri, Parsi-Pettinella and Petri's use of portamento in "Ah, se tu dormi, svegalti"

The methodologies of Nicholas Cook, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, Kai Köpp, Emma Williams and Emlyn Stam and their use of "Sonic Visualiser" software have been essential in analysing these three recordings.[28] By using the Spectrogram facility in this programme it is possible to obtain a graphic realisation of the audio which can help detect aspects of the performance that are hard to perceive purely by ear.

In the opening phrase, "Ah, se tu dormi" ("Ah, if you sleep", figure 17:3) all three singers could be viewed as following García's direction to "sigh sustained and cresc.". The simplest version is that of Petri, who lingers slightly on the downbeat of bar 5 and switches from the E-flat ("tu") to the following syllable ("dor") in order to slide to the subsequent note. Both Parsi-Pettinella and Fabbri use portamento between the F ("se") and the E-flat ("tu") carrying the original syllable, and similarly Fabbri and Petri use portamento between the E-flat ("tu"), through to the C ("dor-") and concluding D ("mi"). Fabbri's use of portamento in this bar is far more noticeable and she in effect uses a leaping grace (changing syllable before sliding) in switching from the E-flat ("tu") to the next syllable ("dor-"), carrying the syllable to the next note (C) and continuing to use this syllable to slide to the final note and concluding

[28] Nicholas Cook and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "A musicologist's guide to Sonic Visualiser". Website: https://charm.rhul.ac.uk/analysing/p9_1.html. [Access date: 15 March 2025]. Kai Köpp, "Die Hohe Schule des Portamento: Violintechnik als Schlüssel für die Gesangspraxis im 19. Jahrhundert" in *dissonance*, vol. 132 (2015), 16–25. Emma Williams, "The Singing Violin: Portamento use in Franz Schubert's violin music", Master's thesis (Royal Conservatoire The Hague, 2019). Emlyn Stam, "In Search of a Lost Language: Performing in Early-Recorded Style in Viola and String Quartet Repertoires", PhD thesis (Leiden University, 2019).

syllable of the bar (“mi”, D). Fabbri’s decoration of the word “dormi” with both a rising and falling portamento evokes a yawn, a particularly appropriate effect for the text: “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” (“Ah, if you sleep wake up”). Petri uses the same effect but more subtly. In comparison, all three use an anticipation grace (slide and change) when they carry the syllable “tu” from the E-flat to the C and then switch to the new syllable (“dor-”).

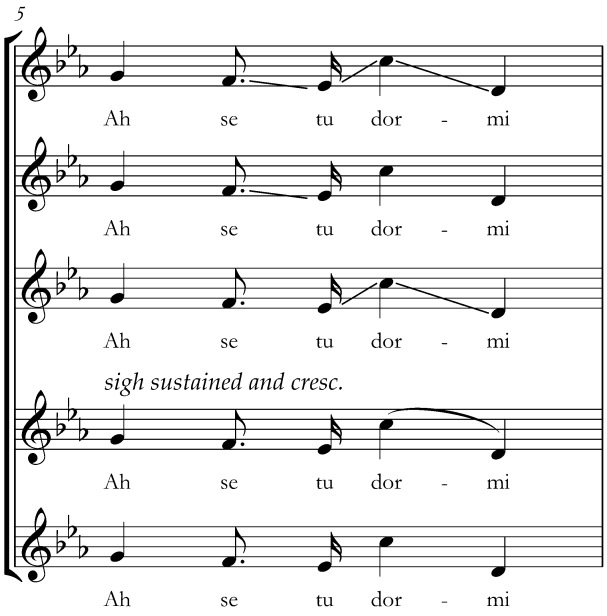


Figure 17:3: Bar 5, Nicola Vaccai, “Ah se tu dormi” from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García,* trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 71 (4th line) and manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (16) (5th line).

All three include a noticeable portamento in the rising tenth (“speme”) of bar 8 (figure 17:4), a moment where García calls for a “vigorous” slur. These rising portamenti contrast with the descending scale, which is sung with precision by all three. All three pause on the E-flat. Petri’s pause is the briefest, with a more rapid descending scale.

Parsi-Pettinella and Fabbri hold the E-flat for longer, with Parsi-Pettinella executing a similar descending scale to Petri, and Fabbri a much longer one. García marks this scale as requiring “full, smooth and well-sustained notes”.

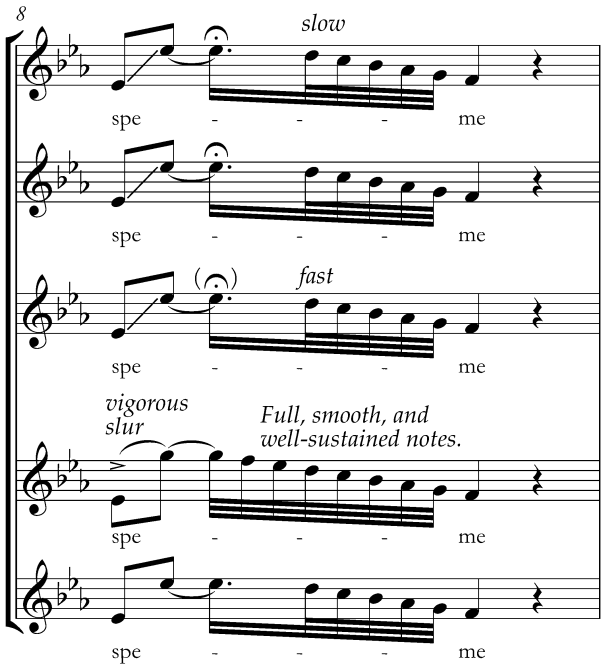


Figure 17:4: Bar 8, Nicola Vaccai, “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García,* trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 71 (4th line) and manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (16) (5th line).

The repeated, entreating “vieni, vieni” (“come, come …”) in bars 10 and 11 (figure 17:5) is enhanced with first descending and then ascending portamenti in keeping with the contours of the melody, Fabbri changing the rhythm in keeping with the Malibran version. All three, maybe counterintuitively given the text imploring for action (“vieni, vieni fuggiamo insieme”, “come, come let's flee together”), noticeably linger in bar 11. The simplest, again, is Petri, who slows the tempo considerably on the last

beat of the bar. Parsi-Pettinella similarly slows the tempo and raises the melody by a sixth. Fabri is the most florid, following the García and Lucca/Malibran versions at the beginning of the bar, adding further decoration and ultimately descending and further decorating the bar, descending to a B-flat at the beginning of bar 12.



Figure 17:5: Bars 10–12, Nicola Vaccai, “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), Manuel García, *Hints on Singing by Manuel García,* trans. Beata García (London: E. Ascherberg & Co., 1894), 72 (4th line), Nicola Vaccai, *Scena ultima : nell'Opera Giulietta e Romeo / del M.o Vaccaj ; coll'aggionta degli abbelimenti di M.e Malibran* (Milano: F. Lucca, 1835), Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica "Santa Cecilia", Roma (I-Rsc): B.29.33, 5 (5th line) and manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (17).

The repeated, beseeching, descending “amore, amore” in bars 12 and 13 (figure 17:6) is a natural place for portamento, and all three take full advantage of the

opportunity. Fabbri's conclusion of the previous phrase is linked, without break or breath, via an ascending octave portamento to the new phrase ("amore…") in which she changes to the new syllable before sliding to the associated note, thus again using a form of leaping grace (change syllable and then slide). All three favour use of a form of anticipatory grace (slide and then change syllable) in the descending portamento on the repeated "amore", the portamenti emphasising the sobbing pangs of love.

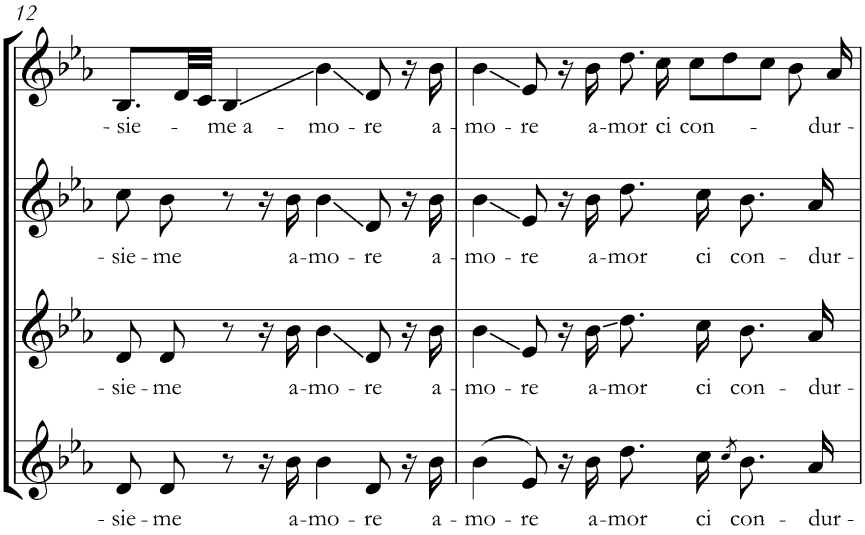


Figure 17:6: Bars 12–13, Nicola Vaccai, "Ah, se tu dormi svegliati" from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), and manuscript score, manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (17) (4th line).

In the subsequent bars (figure 17:7) all three follow mostly the same patterns of portamenti: descending intervals using an anticipatory grace such as on the third to fourth beat of bar 14 ("-gi mio"), the first to second and third to fourth beats of bar 15 ("spe-me" and "-mo-re"), with Parsi-Pettinella emphasising the "amore" in bar 15 even more by lingering on the D. This continues in the first to second beats of bar 17

(“-mo-re”) and second to fourth beats of bar 19, with all three executing a long octave portamento (“vie-ni”). Ascending portamenti are rarer, though we hear Petri include one at the beginning of bar 15 (“be-ne”), Fabbri similarly from the end of bar 17 into 18 (“-dur-rà”), and Petri includes a hint of a semitone swoop into the second beat of bar 18 (“vie-“) with all three emphasising this moment by a noticeable break after the previous syllable (“-ra”).



Figure 17:7: Bars 14–18 Nicola Vaccai, “Ah, se tu dormi svegliati” from *Giulietta e Romeo*. As sung by Fabbri (1st line), Parsi-Pettinella (2nd line), Petri (3rd line), and manuscript score (Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid (E-Mn): MC/4621/4), no page numbers (18) (4th line).

Performing the introduction to “È questo il loco”

The introductory horn obligato to “È questo il loco” offers plentiful opportunity for exploiting portamento both by utilising the hand (stopped to open or open to stopped portamento) and by traversing multiple harmonics. If Vaccai was writing with a particular horn player in mind I would suggest that this solo was for Agostino Belloli (1778–1837) who was regularly listed as the principal horn for other operas performed at the Teatro alla Canobbiana, Milan around this period.[29] Belloli’s own writing for the instrument is discussed in comparison to Gallay’s and Rossini’s in Chapter Sixteen.[30] The similarities between Gallay’s and Belloli’s writing suggests a very similar level of technical ability and musical taste.

One can execute a portamento from the high G to high C (end of bar 11 to beginning of bar 12, crossing from the open 13th high G to the open 8th harmonic high C), which can be mirrored by a similar portamento from the high A to the high C (end of bar 13 to beginning of bar 14, crossing from the stopped 14th harmonic A to the open 9th harmonic).

[29] The libretto published for the 1825 Teatro alla Canobbiana performance of *Giulietta e Romeo* (Felice Romani, *Giulietta e Romeo, tragedia per musica da rappresentarsi nell'I. R. Teatro alla Canobbiana l'autunno del 1825* (Milan: Antonio Fontana, 1825) n.p. 4) does not list musicians further beyond the “Maestro al Cembalo” (Vincenzo Lavigna) and the “Primo Violino, Capo d’Orchestra” (Alessandro Rolla) but later in the decade the full orchestra is listed and includes Agostino Belloli for example in Felice Romani, *Il pirata, melodramma in due atti, da rappresentarsi nell'I. R. Teatro alla Canobbiana l'estate del 1829* (Milan: Antonio Fontana,1829), n.p. 5.

[30] See Chapter Sixteen, 432.



Figure 17:8: All the options for horn portamenti in bars 11–22, Nicola Vaccai, Scena: "È questo il loco"; aria e duetto, *Giulietta e Romeo*. (Audio example 17_04).[31]

The larger intervals are particularly conducive to portamenti, such as that between the high F and middle A in bar 15 (crossing from the high F resulting from the stopping of the 11th harmonic, to the middle A resulting from the stopping of the 7th harmonic), high E to middle A in bar 16 (crossing from the open 10th harmonic E to the middle A) and high A to high C (crossing from stopped 14th harmonic to open 8th harmonic) from bar 16 into bar 17. The large interval from the high G (open 12th) to middle E (open 5th) in bar 19 is particularly effective given the crossing of so many harmonics.

Vaccai does not explicitly exploit the timbres of the instrument, for example there are no contrasting passages in which a high number of stopped notes are used, but the use of the stopped high D-sharp to the open high E in bar 18 gives the opportunity for the stopped timbre, plus the resulting portamento (the D-sharp resulting from the

[31] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

stopping of the 10th harmonic E, so a portamento within a harmonic) enhances the dissonance and therefore also the sense of yearning.

In this obligato if a horn player wishes to emulate vocal portamenti, as demonstrated in the early twentieth-century recordings analysed above, there are very many opportunities (see figure 17:8 above) and therefore, as with any expressive effect (for example vibrato), it requires selective use rather than continual use in order to be most effective. Vocal pedagogy reiterates the importance of singers understanding the emotion and character of the text in order to choose appropriate use of portamento and timbre, hence words such as “amore” and “vieni” being obvious words to emphasise, to colour, to sigh on. The opening horn obligato does not quote directly from the aria but the contours of the melody are not dissimilar. The horn player does not have a text to embellish but certainly has a role in establishing the atmosphere of the scene which can be done through using portamenti, particularly on the descending, sighing, intervals. and timbre, particularly on the D-sharp in bar 18.

Chapter Eighteen: Mercadante, “Se m’abbandoni” (*Nitocri*, 1835)

Maria Malibran in Paris

Following an American concert tour, Malibran returned to Paris in late 1827, making her Paris debut in a benefit concert for the singer Philippe Galli (1783–1853) in mid-January 1828.[1] The press speculated on whether the Académie Royale de Musique (the Opéra) would snap her up, potentially replacing the recently departed Laure Cinti-Damoreau, warning that if they did not, “Italy will soon have covered the auction.”[2] Speculation increased in the following months, especially with the forthcoming departure of Henriette Sontag for the London stage. *Le Courrier français* warned that “if the *impresario* [Émile Laurent] does not succeed in hiring another virtuoso capable of attracting the crowd, M^me^. García-Malibran for example, the Salle Favart could well appear in the spring as vast as it seems small now.”[3]

[1] Anon., “Chronique Musicale: Académie Royale de Musique (Représentation au bénéfice de M. Galli)” in *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (18 January 1828), 1.

[2] Anon., “Chronique Musicale: *Otello* - M^lle^ Sontag” in *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (11 January 1828), 2. “[L]’italie aura bientôt couvert l’enchère.”

[3] Anon., “Théâtre-Italien. *Tancredi* - M^me^ Pisaroni et M^lle^ Sontage - Solde d’arriéré” in *Le Courrier français*, no. 57 (26 February 1828), 3. “[S]i l'impresario ne réussit pas à engager une autre virtuose capable d'attirer la foule, M^me^ García-Malibran par exemple, la salle Favart pourrait bien au printemps paraître aussi vaste qu'elle semble petite maintenant.”

In early March it was announced that Malibran would “temporarily” be employed by the Théâtre-Italien in order to cover a two-month absence by Sontag.[4] The outgoing and incoming singers appeared in the same billing of a “Grand concert vocal et instrumental” at the Théâtre-Italien on 16 March 1828 in which Malibran sang a trio from Cimarosa’s *Il Matrimonio segreto,* a duet from Meyerbeer’s *Crociato in Egitto* (with Marinoni), the duet “Ebbene a te ferisci” from Rossini’s *Semiramide* (with Cinti-Damoreau) and closed the concert with Desdemona’s Romance “Assisa al piè d'un salice” from Rossini’s *Otello*.[5]

In the subsequent months Malibran became a regular feature of the Théâtre-Italien, performing the title role in *Semiramide* on 8 April, Desdemona in *Otello* on the 15 April, Rosina in *Il barbiere di Siviglia* on 22 April and the title role in *Cenerentola* on 1 May.[6]

It is worth noting how Malibran is discussed in terms of the nationalistic and xenophobic commentary often levelled at singers and musicians in general in the Paris press of the time, often tying in with the designation of some musicians and singers as part of the “Italian” community rather than the French community of

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[4] Anon., “Théâtre-Italien. *Engagement temporaire de Mme García-Malibran.* La Cenerentola*, pour la continuation des débuts de M. Balfe. Départ de Mm^e^ Mainvielle-Fodor*” in *Le Courrier français*, no. 64 (4 March 1828), 3.

[5] Anon., “Spectacles du 16 Mars” in *Journal des débats, politiques et littéraires* (16 March 1828), 4. *Journal des débats et des décrets.* “Le Dilettante”, “Bulletin Lyrique: Reprise de *Don* Giovanni - Concert donné dans la salle Chantereine, au bénéfice d’une famille malheureuse - Mme Malibran-García, Milles Marinoni et Cinti - MM. Kalkbrenner, Lafont et Balti” in *Nouveau journal de Paris et des départemens*, no. 230 (17 March 1828), 1–4.

[6] Arthur Pougin, *Marie Malibran: The Story of a Great Singer* (London: Eveleigh Nash, 1911), 43. Arthur Pougin, *Maria Malibran* in *Le Ménestrel*, no. 23 (Paris: Sunday, 4 June 1893), 177–178. Roles verified in editions of *La Pandora:* Semiramide, no 1785 (10 April 1828), 2; Desdemona, no. 1796 (21 April 1828), 2; Rosina, no. 1799 (24 April 1828), 2; Cenerentola, no. 1808 (3 May 1828), 2.

musicians in Paris. In an article in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* on sopranos and contraltos, Edouard Monnais asserted that “different voices are like different fruits of the earth: the tenor and the bass, the soprano and the contralto do not come everywhere in equal quality and in equal abundance.”[7] Regarding the leading contraltos performing in Paris at the time, he comments:

> …if we move from soprano to contralto, we touch on the true superiority of Italy. France has nothing to oppose to the Pasta, to the Pisaroni, because we do not know in which nationality to classify the Malibran, the Pauline García, and we only see one amateur, Madame Dubignon, who would be worthy of sitting next to of these great artists.[8]

The perceived superiority of Italian singers is again being emphasised, and Malibran, a musician operating in the same circles as Gallay is considered one of the leading exponents of her art. The “amateur” Dubignon, a native French singer, will be discussed further below in light of her performances with Gallay and her Italian pedigree.

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[7] “P.S.” Paul Smith (Edouard Monnais): “Soprani et contralti” in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 8th year, no. 22 (Thursday, 18 March 1841), 1. Pseudonym identified by Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: ‘La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris’, 1834–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 271. “Il en est des voix différentes comme des divers fruits de la terre : le ténor et la basse, le soprano et le contralto ne viennent pas partout en égale qualité et en égale abondance. Chez nous, par exemple, on sait que Toulouse et ses environs fournissent les plus belles voix de ténor, et que c'est en Picardie qu'il faut chercher les plus solides voix de basse. En Italie, on a fait les mêmes remarques, et Bergame est renommée entre toutes les autres villes, non seulement comme la patrie d’arlequin, mais comme celle des ténors incomparables.”

[8] Smith, “Soprani et contralti”, 2. “En revanche, si du soprano nous passons au contralto, nous touchons à la vraie supériorité de l'Italie. La France n'a rien à opposer aux Pasla, aux Pisaroni, car nous ne savons dans quelle nationalité ranger les Malibran, les Pauline García, et nous ne voyons qu'une amateur, madame Dubignon, qui fût digne de s'asseoir à côté de ces grandes artistes.”

Malibran and Mercadante's *Nitocri* "Se m'abbandoni" (1835)

Later in May 1828, Malibran sang the role of Romeo in Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo* (1796).[9] Fétis reported on her performance and her actions:

> M^me^. Mallibran was rather hoarse…but her strength of nerve and her genius made nothing of this hindrance, especially in the second and third act. In place of *Sigismondo*'s air, which had been taken by M^me^. Pasta in this piece, she sang a song of *Mercadante*'s so perfectly as to deserve the highest praise.[10]

Malibran's biographer described this *coup de théâtre* as "a bold venture, after the vivid recollection, which some deemed ineffaceable, which Mme. Pasta has left behind her in playing this character".[11] Malibran had kept with the practice of her predecessor Giuditta Pasta in replacing an aria, though instead of Pasta's practice of using an unidentified aria from Rossini's *Sigismondo*, Malibran chose to insert the scena and cavatina from Mercadante's *Nitocri*, a work never performed in Paris.[12]

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[9] *La Pandora*, no. 1831 (Paris: Tuesday, 27 May 1828), 1.

[10] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), in *Revue Musicale*, vol. 3 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1828), 421. English translation from Pougin, *Marie Malibran,* 49. "M^me^ Mallibran [sic] avait de l'enrouement ; mais sa volonté nerveuse et son talent ont triomphé de cet obstacle, surtout dans le second et dans le troisième actes. Au lieu de l'air de *Sigismondo*, qui avait été placé dans cet ouvrage par M^me^ Pasta, elle a chanté au second acte un air de *Mercadante* avec une perfection digne des plus grands éloges."

[11] Pougin, *Marie Malibran,* 48–49.

[12] Castil-Blaze verifies Pasta's insertion of this aria, and dates the practice as from 1821. Castil-Blaze, *L'Opéra-Italien de 1548 à 1856* (Paris: Castil Blaze, 1856), 367. Poriss covers Pasta's aria insertions in great depth but does not include the Zingarelli *Giuliette e Romeo* / Rossini *Sigismondo* switch. Hilary Poriss, "Giuditta Pasta's trunk and favourite insertions" in *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 71–82.

Despite not having had a working relationship with Mercadante in terms of creating a role, Malibran frequently performed this particular scena and cavatina, returning to it in concert at the Théâtre-Italien later the same year when Fétis was even more fulsome in his praise:

> The *recitatif* of this air suits the manner of Mme. Malibran's fine expression remarkably well. Almost all through the vocal part comes out clearly, and this demands from the singer a great certainly of intonation, and plenty of presence of mind, a necessary quality which Mme. Malibran possesses to the full. A superbly fine voice, with a long range, and very even and pure, perfect intonation, faithful expression, lofty style, and great inventiveness in the *fioriture*, such are the blandishments she scattered through this air to secure her this triumph.[13]

Mercadante's "Se m'abbandoni" became such a central part of Malibran's repertoire that compositions by other composers based on her "hits" often incorporated it, for example Ignaz Moscheles's (1794–1870) "dramatic fantasia for the pianoforte", *Gems à la Malibran,* which is described as including "the admired embellishments & cadences as sung by Mad. Malibran" and therefore offers an opportunity similar to that discussed in Chapter Seventeen regarding the evidence of her performance

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[13] Anon. (probably François Joseph Fétis), "Nouvelles de Pars. Théâtre-Royal Italien. Concerts des 1er et 4 Novembre" in *Revue Musicale*, vol. 4 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1829), 350–1. English translation from, *Marie Malibran*, 58.

practice.[14] Another example of the association between Malibran and this particular cavatina is *Les Brilliants de Malibran: The Admired Aria "Se M'Abbandoni" arranged for the harp* by the harpist Nicolas-Charles Bochsa (1789–1856).[15]



Figure 18:1: Bars 45–54, Saverio Mercadante, "Se m'abbandoni" from *Nitroci* in ed. Josiah Pittman, *The Contralto Album: a collection of 50 celebrated songs or mezzo-soprano and contralto voices* (London: Boosey & Hawkes, n.d.), 158. The British Library, London (GB-Lbl): F.635.

[14] Ignaz Moscheles, *Gems à la Malibran* (London: Mori & Laverne, n.d. c.1829). The British Library, London (GB-Lbl): R.M.25.k.4.(1.). Work listed in Hofmeister *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* (Leipzig: C.F. Whistling, 1829), 76. Other instrumental versions of this Cavatina give further information about ornamentation for this period. For example: Jean-François-Barthélémy Cokken/ Kocken: *Cavatine de Mercadente* [sic], Op. 13, for bassoon and piano (Paris: Petit, n.d. c. 1835) Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): VM9-146 and Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombonne* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 71. Both Cokken/ Kocken and Dieppo can be considered as particularly relevant for ornamentation by Malibran and/or Gallay given their professional proximities. See Chapter Eleven, 325 for further information on Cokken/Kocken and Chapter Five, 218–221 and Chapter Twelve, 346 for Dieppo.

[15] Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, *Les Brilliants de Malibran: No. 2. The Admired Aria "Se M'Abbandoni" arranged for the harp* (London: Goulding, c. 1830).

Both Bochsa and Moscheles alter the structure of the original Mercadante. Moscheles omits the recitative (“Numi, che intesi mai?”) entirely as well as the 3/8 Andante opening to the cavatina (“Se m’abbandoni”, reproduced in figure 18:1 above), instead offering a pianistic prelude style introduction followed directly by the common-time Allegro moderato section (“Ah! balena un raggio ancora di speranza in tal dolor”). In the Bochsa version a truncated version of the opening recitative is followed by the 3/8 Andante con espressione (figure 18:2), removing the orchestral six-bar introduction, thus starting directly at the point the voice would enter (“Se m’abbandoni…”). These reconfigurations indicating, yet again, a willingness of musicians of this period to alter the musical material they had to hand.



Figure 18:2: Bars 1–8, Nicolas-Charles Bochsa, Cavatina, *Les Brilliants de Malibran: No. 2. The Admired Aria* “*Se M’ Abbandoni” arranged for the harp* (London: Goulding & D’Alamaine, c.1823), 2. International Harp Archives, Provo, UT (US-PRVhp): M 119 .M244 B63 1823 vol.1.

An unknown extra horn obligato in Mercadante's "Se m'abbandoni" from *Nitocri*

The fact that Gallay is often reported as performing "Se m'abbandoni" is perplexing, given that the original Mercadante only has a couple of bars of slightly exposed horn writing, containing nothing that would normally warrant a critics' attention or comment. My discovery of an additional obligato for horn found in a set of parts and in a version for voice, horn and piano by Gallay provides the explanation.

Gallay performed the aria "accompanying" Antoina Lambert in the third concert of the Cercle musical on Sunday, 25 January 1835 cited above, and I would suggest it is the same "cavatina by Mercadante" with which he "perfectly well accompanied" Madame Dubignon in 1837.[16] The Danish writer Nicolai Christian Levin Abrahams attended a concert reporting that "[a]t Mme Dubignon's I also heard the excellent waldhornist Gallay, who accompanied her in a Romance with a ravishing tone, delicacy and delivery".[17] Madame le baronne Dubignon (du Bignon) was known as having been "gifted with a contralto voice which has no equal in France and which would hardly find rivals in Italy".[18] She sang with "all the treasures of a method worthy of the famous Crescentini, who is said to have inspired it" and therefore had both the

[16] "Concert au bénéfice des ouvriers lyonnais" in *Revue et gazette musicale de France*, year 4, no.19 (Paris, Sunday, 7 May 1837), 161. "[P]arfaitement bien accompagnée sur le cor par Gallay".

[17] Nicolai Christian Levin Abrahams, *Meddelelser af mit Liv* (Copenhagen: Forlagsbureauet, 1876), 430. "Hos Mme Dubignon hørte jeg ogsaa den ypperlige Valdhornist Gallay, der med en henrivende Tone, Delicatesse og Foredrag ledsagede hende til en Romance".

[18] L.V.", "France: Concert en Faveur des Grecs" in *Le Globe, Journal Littéraire*, vol. 3, no. 56 (Paris: Tuesday, 2 May 1826), 297. "Madame Dubignon, douée d'une voix de contralto qui n'a pas d'égale en France et qui trouverait à peine des rivales en Italie…".

required voice type in terms of register (contralto) and style (Italian school) for this cavatina.[19] "L.V." writing in *Le Globe* in 1826 praised Dubignon for "the purity, the sweetness, the energy, of this beautiful voice, this marvellous art by which it is guided", the same credentials by which Gallay is similarly often judged.[20] Dubignon is listed as an "amateur" in the 1837 *Agenda musical*, and often performed at salons alongside other singers of noble extraction for example the Countess de Spare, María de las Mercedes Santa Cruz y Montalvo the Countess of Merlin (1792-1852), and Countess Alice Thorn de Ferussac (1825–1874).[21] Her amateur status is presumably in part due to her noble status.

The Bibliothèque Nationale de France has in its collection a set of manuscript parts for the Mercadante scena ("Numi di me cha fia dunque il mio bene") and cavatina ("Se m'abbandoni bella speranza") from *Nitocri*.[22] This set of parts has been badly fire-damaged, and many parts are marked in red crayon/pencil including cuts, and the comments "No. 6" and "Mad. Malibran".

François-Pierre Goy of the Département de la Musique, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, has concluded that this set of parts was one of the manuscripts rescued from

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[19] "L.V.", "France: Concert en Faveur des Grecs", 297. "…a déployé, dans un air de Nicolini, tous les trésors d'une méthode digne du célèbre Crescentini, qui la lui a, dit-on, inspirée."

[20] "L.V.": "France: Concert en Faveur des Grecs", 297. "Comment rendre avec des mots le pureté, la douceur, l'énergie, de cette belle voix, cet art merveilleux par laquel elle est guidée."

[21] Planque, *Agenda musical : contenant les noms et demeures de tous les artistes et commerçants en musique* (Paris: E. Duverger, 1837), 211.For performances with fellow aristocrats see: *La Quotidienne,* no. 120 (30 April 1826), 2; *L'Indicateur,* no. 6470 (27 January 1833), 4; M. Miel, *Annales de la Société libre des beaux-arts,* vol. 6 (Paris: Société libre des beaux-arts, 1836), 135; *Mémorial des Pyrénées* 29th year, no. 48 (6 April 1843), 2.

[22] "Scena e Cavatina de Mercadante" Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Département de la Musique, Paris (F-Pn): L-18758.

the devastating Théâtre-Italien fire on the evening of 14 January 1838, hence its condition.[23] Furthermore, Goy has highlighted the changes to the recitative text as indicative of this being the version Malibran inserted into the May 1828 performance of Niccolò Antonio Zingarelli's *Giulietta e Romeo*, whilst the "No. 6" is in keeping with the order of the pieces performed in concert at the Théâtre-Italien on 1 November 1828, thus establishing the likelihood of a dating of 1828 for this source.[24]

Whilst the original Mercadante is scored for oboe, two clarinets, bassoon, two horns and strings, the BNF source is scored for a larger ensemble of two flutes, two oboes, two clarinets, two bassoons, two horns, two trumpets, three trombones plus the standard strings, and the wind writing in the BNF version is more florid and involved. The first horn part includes more soloistic writing, incoporating some of the first violin melodic material in bars 60–65 of the 3/8 cavatina and similar violin material in the opening of the Allegro moderato in bars 81–83 (figure 18:3).

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[23] François-Pierre Goy (private email correspondence, 5 August 2025). "Nous n'avons pas d'informations directes sur la provenance de ce manuscrit (hormis le fait qu'il fait partie des collections de l'ancienne bibliothèque du Conservatoire), mais par recoupements je suis arrivé à la conclusion qu'il provenait du Théâtre-Italien de Paris, qui a effectivement brûlé dans la nuit du 14 au 15 janvier 1838. D'autres partitions du fonds du Conservatoire, dont certaines portent son cachet, proviennent du reste de ce théâtre." Further information on the fire can be found in *Journal des artistes* (7 January 1838), 30–1 and Anik Devriès and Francois Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique français*, vol 1 (Geneve: Editions Minkoff, 1979), 332.

[24] François-Pierre Goy (private email correspondence, 5 August 2025): "Le texte du récitatif, modifié par rapport au livret original, permet de déterminer qu'il s'agit de la version insérée dans le pasticcio Romeo e Giulietta d'après Zingarelli dans les reprises de cet opéra en mai 1828 et la numérotation "No 6" figurant sur certaines parties correspond à l'exécution en concert le 1er novembre 1828." Further information on the May 1829 performance can be found in *Le Courrier français*, no. 150 (29 May 1829), 1. Further information on the 1 November 1829 performance can be found in "Théâtre-Italien" in *Le Courrier français*, no. 307 and 308 (2 and 3 November 1829), 3. For further information on Gallay's working relationship with Malibran see Chapter Seventeen, 447–449, 455–457.

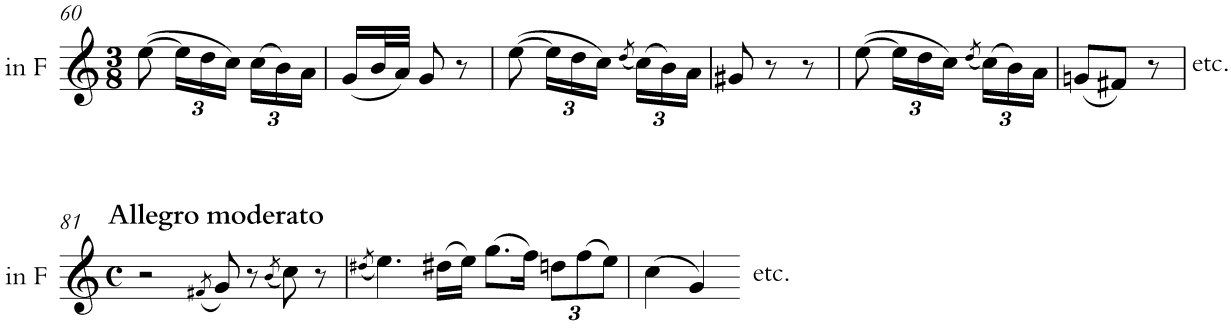


Figure 18:3: Horn part, bars 60–65 and 81–83 from Saverio Mercadante, “Scena e Cavatina de Mercadante” (manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, (F-Pn): L.18758).

The largest, and in light of this enquiry, most significant difference is the different opening to the 3/8 Andante, achieved by a manuscript insertion into most of the parts.



Figure 18:4: Bars 45–52 of horn obligato (notated at concert pitch) inserted into “Violino Principal” part in Saverio Mercadante, “Scena e Cavatina de Mercadante” (manuscript, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, (F-Pn): L.18758).

Unlike the original, the new Andante no longer starts with six bars of orchestral introduction but launches straight into a decorated version of the forthcoming theme, scored for solo horn and strings. The only evidence of this horn solo is in the leader's part, which includes cues for the soloist at concert pitch (figure 18:4). As the alteration only affects the string parts they are the only parts with the insertion; the orchestral horn parts do not contain the additional bars.

The presence of this source in the BNF collection, the knowledge that Gallay was likely to have been the horn player in Malibran's performance of this aria in 1828, plus the regularity in which this aria became part of Gallay's own repertoire leads me to suggest that this obligato was an insertion fashioned with Gallay in mind. This is borne out by my discovery of a version by Gallay of the scena and cavatina "as sung by Mme Malibran" arranged with accompaniment for horn which contains the same eight bars (figure 18:4) as well as the violin material re-distributed to the horn part (figure 18:3) as in the BNF manuscript.[25] Unlike the BNF manuscript with the altered recitative lyrics, changed to fit the Zingarelli libretto, Gallay's version includes the original Mercadante text for this section.

This transcription for horn, voice and piano by Gallay is the first in a series of such arrangements and was followed by his settings of Donizetti's "Una furtiva lagrima"

[25] Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra Nitocri. Musique de Mercadante, arrangée avec accompagnement de Cor" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436. This version is reproduced in Appendix v.

(*L'élixir d'amour*). "Da che tornasti" (*Roberto Devereux*) and Mercadante's "Alla caccia" (*Soirées italiennes*), which will be considered in Chapter Nineteen.[26]

Performing "Se m'abbandoni"

Given its construction around the middle octave (6th harmonic middle G up to to 12th harmonic high G) these "new" eight bars contained in both Gallay's and the BNF's version offer plenty of opportunities for portamento, for example the falling high G to F in bar 47, the falling high C to middle B in bar 56 and the falling middle G to middle F-sharp in bar 65.

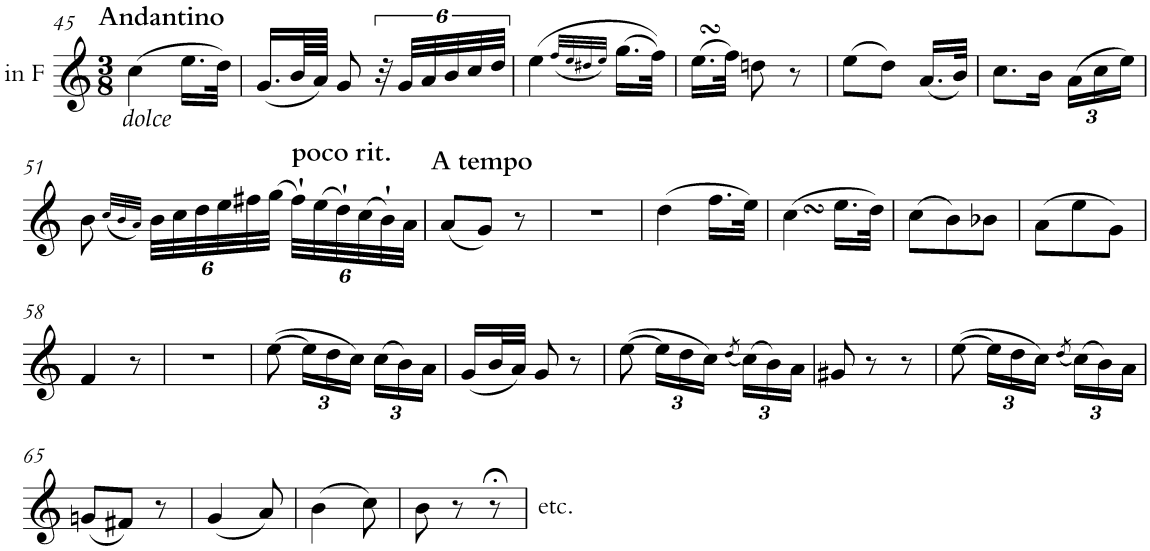


Figure 18:5: Bars 45–68 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436. (Audio example 18_01).[27]

[26] Gaetano Donizetti arr. Jacques-François Gallay, *Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* ("Una furtiva lagrima" / "Une Larme Furtive" from *L'élixir d'amour* / *L'elisire d'amore*; "Da che tornasti" / "Fuis Laisse Moi" from *Roberto Devereux* / *Robert Devereux*) (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839). Saverio Mercadante arr. Jacques-François Gallay, "Alla caccia" / "L'appel du chasseur" from *Soirées italiennes* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839). For more on Mercadante's "Alla caccia" (Soirées italiennes) see Chapter Nineteen, 510–515.

[27] All audio illustrations in this chapter recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

The opening motif of the Allegro moderato in Gallay's version (bars 81–86, figure 18:6) extends the new material found in the BNF version. This motif falls perfectly as a stopped to open pattern: stopped middle F-sharp rising to open middle G, stopped middle B rising to open high C, stopped high D-sharp rising to open high E. This would be a further opportunity for portamento, plus the overriding structure of the open notes favours the brighter timbre of the instrument.

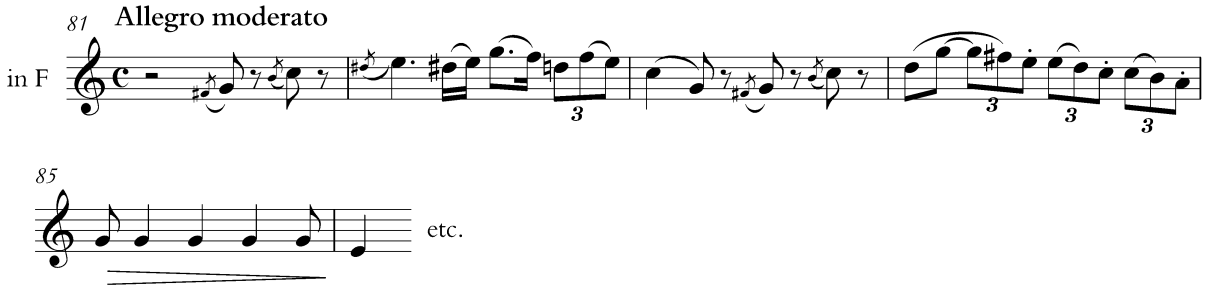


Figure 18:6 Bars 81–86 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436. (Audio example 18_02).

Finally, the "panting" gesture in bars 116–119 (figure 18:7) repeats an open - stopped - open pattern: open high E to stopped high D-sharp and back, open high D to stopped high C-sharp and back, open high C to stopped middle B and back. Noting the text "no capace il cor non ha" ("no my heart is not capable"), the use of portamento here can heighten the sense of breathlessness and desperation.



Figure 18:7: Bars 116–119 from Jacques-François Gallay, "Se m'abbandoni, Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra *Nitocri*" (Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835). Het Utrechts Archief. (NL-Ua): 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436. (Audio example 18_03).

Maria Malibran and Giovanni Puzzi

There is evidence that Gallay did not have any particular exclusivity in performing "Se m'abbandoni". Malibran performed regularly in London and is known to have shared the platform with a predecessor of Gallay's from the Théâtre-Italien, Giovanni Puzzi.[28] In a concert given by one Miss Wilkinson at the King's Concert Rooms, Hanover Square, London in 1829, Malibran sang the recitative and air and "did ample justice to the beautiful and expressive music of the composer."[29] Her performance was deemed to have been "given with the utmost feeling and tenderness, and pourtrayed [sic] a degree of sorrowful abandonment which bordered on reality."[30] Whilst the unknown author of this review was obviously impressed by Malibran's artistry they were less complimentary about the music that preceded the Mercadante:

> Signor Puzzi's Concerto on the French horn was a performance of extraordinary ability, but, like Concertos in general, too long and too laboured,

[28] Francois-Joseph Grille, *Les théatres* (Paris: Alexis Eymery, 1817), 91.

[29] "Miss Wilkinson's Concert", *The Athenæum and Literary Chronicle*, no. 81 (London: Wednesday, 13 May 1829), 302.

[30] "Miss Wilkinson's Concert", 302.

> and calculated to excite sympathy for the exertions and sufferings of the performer, rather than delight in the auditor.[31]

Whilst it is not possible to state conclusively that Puzzi joined Malibran in her performance of the scena in the same manner as I believe Gallay would have, the juxtaposition of Puzzi's performance immediately before Malibran's plus the practice of extemporisation and improvisation on famous themes during this period makes me wonder whether this would have been likely.

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[31] "Miss Wilkinson's Concert", 302. John Humphries has pointed out (private email correspondence, 16 March 2025) that the author of this review, Henry F. Chorley, may have not been favourably disposed towards solo horn repertoire. Chorley had given similar negative critiques of horn players Henry Platt ("Mr Platt failed in his horn concerto…the instrument is hardly adapted for solo performance", and further that Platt "is so efficient as an orchestral performer that we regret to have to report his want of success", *The Athenæum and Literary Chronicle*, no. 379 (London: 31 January 1835), 92) and James Catchpole Senior ("Mr Catchpole's horn concerto was a total failure." *The Athenæum and Literary Chronicle*, no. 377 (London: 17 January 1835), 58).

Chapter Nineteen: Mercadante, “Perche non posso” and “Ove a me rivolgi un guardo” (I Briganti, 1836) and Gallay’s settings of Mercadante

The commissioning of Saverio Mercadante’s *I Briganti* (1836)

Whilst the opera discussed in the previous chapter, *Nitocri*, was never performed in Paris, its author, Saverio Mercadante, was well known to French audiences. This was in part thanks to the success of his *Elisa e Claudio*, which was in the repertoire of the Théâtre-Italien from its Parisian premier in 1823 until 1828, thus making it a work very much “in vogue” at the time Gallay joined the ensemble.

By 1835 Parisian audiences were becoming excited at the prospect of Mercadante writing an opera specifically for the stage of their Théâtre-Italien:

> The music is the work of M. Mercadante, a famous composer whom dramatic Paris only knows through *Elisa and Claudio*, but whose works are everywhere where first-rate talents are appreciated. We are already talking about the finale of the first act as a magnificent piece. The success that awaits this is the only thing missing from the glory of M. Mercadante, one of the men most admired

> for his genius and most esteemed for his virtues. It is up to our capital to place the last flower on this crown.[1]

Mercadante's remit from Rossini was clear:

> The work had to be comic but clearly differentiated from the other pieces on the bill for the same season, it was to make the interpreters shine equally, and it was to contain a *Duetto a due Bassi*, another duetto between the Prima Donna and the tenor, three solos for Rubini, Grisi, Tamburini, and a Chorus both of men and of women. Finally it was to last no more than two hours and a half.[2]

Mercadante was tasked with writing for the four singers, Giulia Grisi (1811–1869), Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794–1854), Antonio Tamburini (1800–1876), and Luigi Lablache (1794–1858), who had recently created the lead roles in Bellini's highly successful *I Puritani*.[3]

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[1] "Nouvelles de Paris" *Courrier des théâtres*, 14 March 1836, 4. Cited in Francesca Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris (1835–36): The Critical View" in *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap*, vol. 66 (2012), 158, but under the incorrect date of 14 March 1835. "La musique est l'ouvrage de M. Mercadante, compositeur célèbre que Paris dramatique ne connaît que par *Elisa e Claudio*, mais dont les œuvres sont partout où l'on aime les talents de premier ordre. On parle déjà du final du premier acte comme d'un morceau magnifique. Le succès qui attend celle-ci manque seul à la gloire de M. Mercadante, l'un des hommes les plus admirés pour son génie et les plus estimés pour ses vertus. Il appartient à notre capitale de poser la dernière fleur sur cette couronne."

[2] Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris", 153–4.

[3] Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris", 152–3.

The compositional process was compromised by Mercadante's challenges with the librettist Giuseppe Felice Romani (1788–1865), who was incredibly slow to deliver on the promised text based on Schiller's *Die Räuber,* known to French audiences as *Robert*, *chef des brigands.* In order to save the production, Rossini intervened, and a new librettist, Jacopo Crescini (1794–1848), was brought on board. Much of the negative press criticism of the new opera acknowledged that the libretto had been a rushed job, with audiences advised that "they will not learn without surprise that barely two months ago, there was not only not a written note of the score, but that the poet had not even written a single line of the poem".[4] The musical content was much more positively received, "conceived with clarity and written with great art and elegance… Few composers know as well as this author the scope and effect of instruments combined with voices", and Mercadante was described as "among the number of skilful composers of our day."[5]

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[4] Jean-Toussaint Merle (?), "Revue dramatique. Théâtre Italien", *La Quotidienne* (28 March 1836), 2. Quoted in Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris", 163–4. "Les personnes qui ont entendu la première représentation d'I *Briganti*, ont pu apprécier l'ampleur et la grandeur de cette partition, et rendre justice à la conscience musicale avec laquelle cette grande composition est traitée ; et quelle que soit leur opinion sur la facilité prodigieuse des maîtres italiens, elles n'apprendront pas sans surprise qu'il y a à peine deux mois, il n'y avait pas non seulement une note écrite de la partition, mais que le poète même n'avait pas fait un seul vers du poème. En rendant hommage à l'inconcevable fécondité du compositeur, il est juste de le mettre à l'abri du reproche qu'on pourrait lui faire d'avoir, en quelques sorte, travaillé en poste." Crescini was "a Venetian lawyer who lived in Paris and gravitated towards the circle of Italian intellectuals in exile: Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris", 157, fn. 28.

[5] D. [Delécluze], "Théâtre royal italien", *Journal des débat*s (24 March 1836), 1–2. Quoted in Placanica, "Mercadante in Paris", 164. "La musique des *Brigands*, comme toute celle de Mercadante, est conçue avec netteté et écrite avec beaucoup d'art et d'élégance. Peu de compositeurs connaissent aussi bien que cet auteur la portée et l'effet des instrumens combinés avec les voix. C'est ce que prouve surtout l'opéra dont nous venons de parler. Au surplus, ce mérite, vivement apprécié, n'a point empêché l'auditoire d'être très sensible aux beautés d'invention que renferment les *Brigands*. L'introduction, le chœur des femmes, le chœur religieux et le finale du premier acte, ainsi que la prière à la Vierge et le duo de la reconnaissance au second, et le trio de la fin du troisième, placent M. Mercadante au nombre des habiles compositeurs de nos jours."

Mercadante's horn writing in *I Briganti* - The use of timbre in "Perche non posso"

Mercadante's *I Briganti* makes great use of the horns, writing solos as well as extended passages that exploit the four-part horn section. The main examples come right at the beginning of the opera, with the horn quartet in the Act 1, Scene 1 recitativo "Perche non posso", which is followed by the solo horn obligato in the Act 1, Scene 1 aria "Ove a me rivolgi un guardo". These sections accompany the character of Corrado, a role which was sung by Antonio Tamburini.

According to Castil-Blaze's biography, Tamburini had brought "base [sic] singing to its utmost perfection".[6] As in the case of a number of other musicians featured in this study (e.g. Rubini, Rossini, Paër…), Antonio Tamburini's father, Pasquale Tamburini, had been "a professor of music" and a performer on the clarinet, the trumpet and the horn. Antonio Tamburini learned the horn from his father and "played this instrument very well, though it never pleased him".[7] As a result of "the fatigue attendant" on practising the instrument, Tamburini became seriously ill, which forced his father "to

[6] Castil-Blaze, "A biographical notice of Tamburini" in *The Harmonicon* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1833) 125–126.

[7] Castil-Blaze, "A biographical notice of Tamburini", 125.

change the object of his son's musical studies" from the horn to the voice.[8] Having developed a voice described as "at once sonorous and flexible - full of expression and pathos, and, at the same time, capable of executing with ease rapid and brilliant passages", Tamburini embarked on a successful career in his native Italy. In particular, he was noted for his interpretations of Rossini, and it was in one of his "favourite" roles, Dandini in *La Cenerentola*, that he made his Paris debut on 7 October 1832.

Castil-Blaze emphasises the key elements of Tamburini's voice: "round, rich and clear", "wonderful flexibility, and with "astonishing firmness", and compares him in terms of "neatness and precision of execution" to the clarinetist Frédéric Berr (1794–1838) and bassoonist Charles Barizel (1788–1850).[9]

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[8] Castil-Blaze, "A biographical notice of Tamburini", 125. According to John Edmund Cox, Tamburini was more than just "fatigued" from playing the horn: "That instrument very nearly killed him, causing an illness from which he was scarcely expected to have recovered." John Edmund Cox, *Musical Recollections of the Last Half-century*, vol. 1 (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872), 236. The exact nature of this illness is not clear though in the nineteenth century the implications of wind playing on health was often discussed. Dauprat wrote on both the health benefits ("the good health of all who play wind instruments attests to the fact that their pursuit could not be harmful as long as the effort used is moderate") of playing the horn plus cautionary tales of over-exertion ("it is a known fact that, among those who insisted on combining the high and the low ranges in a compass beyond human capacity, one met his death and another suffered an infirmity that has obliged him to stop playing the instrument") in his *Méthode*. Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 8–9, 10. Translation from Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse,* trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994). 16–17, 18. "Enfin, il est à notre connaissance, que parmi ceux qui se sont obstinés à rassembler les sons aigus et les sons graves, dans une étendue que les facultés humaines ne comportent pas, l'un___ y a trouvé la mort, à l'autre, il est survenu une infirmité qui l'a obligé de cesser l'exercice de cet instrument." "Enfin la santé de tous ceux qui jouent les instrumens à vent témoigne que leur exercice ne saurait être nuisible, quand le travail en est modéré".

[9] Castil-Blaze, "A biographical notice of Tamburini", 126.

The opening scene of *I Briganti* is set in the wake of the funeral of Corrado's father. Whilst the chorus sing of their hopes for the future, they also comment on Corrado's silence and groans, and how the newly inherited throne fails to satisfy him.[10]

Corrado has good reason to be perturbed: he has killed his father in the hope that this can force his marriage to his father's ward, Amelia, who is still in love with Corrado's older brother, Ermano, who is thought to be dead. Corrado's opening recitative touches upon some of these issues, but much of the dark, foreboding atmosphere comes from Mercadante's orchestration.

Mercadante takes the rather unusual approach of writing for four horns all in the same crook (in this case, that of E-flat), which composers normally avoid as it is viewed as offering them a more limited palette.[11] In his *Grand Traité d'Instrumentation et d'Orchestration* Berlioz includes an example of the contrary: a composer using a range of crooks in order to get as many of the stopped notes as possible, an effect he describes as particularly appropriate "in certain scenes of silent horror".[12] In his example (figure 19:1), an extract taken from Act 1, Scene 8 of Étienne Nicolas Méhul's (1763–1817) *Mélidore et Phrosine* (1794), a section of four horns is used, with two instruments (1st and 3rd) in D, one in G and one in F. At this

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[10] "Tace e geme, né il trono l'appaga."

[11] For example, Hector Berlioz warned that "a composer who takes four horns in the same key, almost always gives proof of egregious want of judgment". He advises that "[i]t is incomparably better" to have one pair in one key and the second pair in another, with the option of a pair in one key with the third in another and the fourth in a third key as "still preferable". His final suggestion is that "four horns in four different keys" be used "especially when a large number of open sounds is wanted". Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration*, Op. 10, tr. Mary Cowden Clarke (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1858), 2nd edition, 139.

[12] Berlioz, *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation*, 138.



Figure 19:1: Horn parts, Étienne Nicolas Méhul, Act 1, Scene 8, "Jules, tu seras mon vengeur", from *Mélidore et Phrosine.* Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration*, Op. 10, tr. Mary Cowden Clarke (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1858), 2nd edition, 138.

point in the opera the character Aimar has been mortally wounded and, with his last breath, makes his brother Jules vow to take revenge on his killer, Mélidore.

Berlioz's example cuts out short of what follows: Aimar naming his killer, promptly dying, and his brother Jules repeating the name he has just been told. This is accompanied by a scream of a fortissimo chord in the orchestra, with the horns (now all in D) directed to play octave open Gs and "levez les pavillons" (raise their bells), thus creating an extremely different timbre to the proceeding passage (figure 19:2).

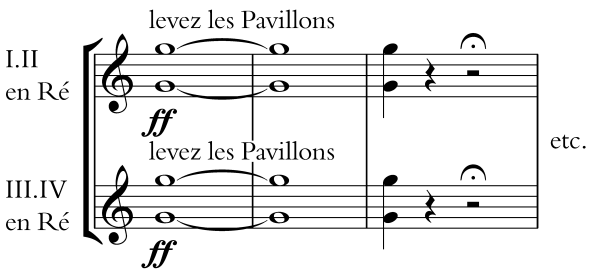


Figure 19:2: Horn parts, Étienne Nicolas Méhul, Act 1, Scene 8, "Mélidore", from, *Mélidore et Phrosine* (Paris: Cousineau, 1794).

Mercadante's method of scoring for four horns in E-flat, whilst unlikely to meet Berlioz's approval, appears to be setting out to achieve a similar sense of foreboding and uncertainty in his use of the stopped horns in the opening scena of *I Briganti,* "Perché non posso a tutti" as in Méhul's use in *Mélidore et Phrosine* (figure 19:1). The sonic effect of the stopped horns also serves to warn the audience not to trust "the tyrant Corrado", a character they have only just encountered.[13]

[13] Édouard Monnais, "Première représentation d'I Briganti, opéra seria en trois actes, libretto de M. Crescini, musique de Mercadante" *Le courrier Français* (26 March,1836), 1.



Figure 19:3: Horn parts, bars 7–13 and 18–22, from Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Perché non posso a tutti", *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 14–15.

The stopped passage in Méhul's *Mélidore et Phrosine* underscores the dying breaths of Aimar. Mercadante similarly uses the stopped notes of the horns to emphasise the unsettling undertones of the "Perché non posso a tutti" scene which, as outlined above, deals with patricide and unrequited love.



Figure 19:4: Horn parts, bars 75-87, Hector Berlioz, Act 2, Scene 1, *Les Troyens*, H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 211.

Berlioz himself includes his own demonstration of stopped horns being associated with “silent horror” in Act 2, Scene 1, Hector’s Ghost scene of *Les Troyens* (1856–8), in which the composer writes for a piston horn in F, a natural horn in E, a piston horn in E-flat and a natural horn in D. The parallel of the recently killed Hector and Méhul’s dying Aimar, both characters tasking the living with avenging their fate (in the case of Hector, the command to Énée to avenge the Trojan deaths by founding a flourishing new empire in Italy), is enhanced by Berlioz using a similar approach to the earlier composer.

While the higher horns (1 and 3) use pistons, Berlioz desires all the notes to be stopped and had he used natural horns in this range, the tessitura of these parts would mean that the players would encounter many open notes: by using an instrument with pistons the player is able to play anything stopped. By contrast, the lower horns (2 and 4) automatically encounter more stopped notes being in a range of the instrument with far fewer open harmonics.

Berlioz creates a sinister effect with the horn section all playing (excluding one note; the middle C of the fourth horn in bars 85 and 86, figure 19:5) “les notes bouchées”, creating a ghostly march as Hector arrives to warn the hero Énée of his fate.

As Hector delivers his sombre news he is still accompanied by the horns (figure 19:8). They play in turn, accented, and with swelling crescendi and diminuendi on notes all still played *son bouché*, they evoke a sense of foreboding and uncertainty.



Figure 19:5: Horn parts, bars 107–135, Hector Berlioz, Act 2, Scene 1, *Les Troyens*, H13, ed. Hugh Macdonald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969), 215–218.

Berlioz creates an ever-continuing chromatic descent, incorporating many of the notes he himself had labeled in his *Treatise* as “dull” (the F) and “bad” (the D, D flat, B-flat and A): in this passage only the B and F-sharp are exceptions, considered “good” and “very good” respectively.[14]

Mercadante’s horn writing in *I Briganti* - The use of portamento in the opening to “Ove a me Rivolgi un guardo”

After the recitativo including the horn quartet Mercadante then requires the first horn to change to the crook of F, and writes for them a nine-bar solo and cadenza that introduces the following aria “Ove a me rivolgi un guardo”. The horn solo continues once the vocal part has entered, creating a countermelody to the vocal part.

The reviews of the premiere were positive concerning Gallay’s role in this aria, describing it as “very well executed” and “a beautiful horn ritornello, superlatively performed by M. Gallay”.[15] He is praised as playing with “this sureness of intonation

[14] Berlioz, *A Treatise upon Modern Instrumentation*, 131.

[15] Hippolyte Prévost, “*I Briganti*, par Mercadante” in *Revue du Théâtre* (April 1836), 7–11. Édouard Monnais, “Première représentation d’*I Briganti*, opéra seria en trois actes, libretto de M. Crescini, musique de Mercadante” in *Le courrier Français* (26 March,1836), 1.“Le solo de cor, dont est précédé l’andante de cet air, a été fort bien exécuté par M. Gallay” and “puis, une belle ritournelle de cor, supérieurement exécutée par M. Gallay,” Source available via Katharine Ellis and Mark Everest, *France: Musiques, Cultures, 1789–1918*, (2016) https://www.fmc.ac.uk/ [Accessed 16 April 2025]. https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/5098/1/Revue_du_Th%C3%A9%C3%A2tre_avril1836.pdf

and this charm of expression that this skilful instrumentalist knows how to add to everything he plays."[16] Elsewhere we read that the aria "begins with a horn solo, said with the sureness, melodic grace and good style that characterises the talent of M. Gallay."[17]



Figure 19:6: Horn part, bars 1–21, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Ove a me Rivolgi un guardo", *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 17–18. (Audio example 19_01)[18].

Opinion was divided as to the merits of both the music and Tamburini's performance of it. Monnais deemed the cavatina "weak and without character" and as a result

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[16] Anon., "Théâtre Italien: Première Représentation, *I Briganti*, melodramma-serio, musique de M. Mercadante, libretto de M. Crescini, décors de M. Ferri" in *L'Entr'acte : journal des théâtres et des salons* (23 March 1836), 2. "Dans l'introduction de cet air on a distingué aussi un solo de cor en fa exécuté par M. Gallay avec cette sûreté d'intonation et ce charme d'expression que cet habile instrumentiste sait mettre à tout ce qu'il joue."

[17] J. J. J. Diaz (Henri Blanchard), "*I Briganti*, Melodramma serio; musique de M. Mercadante, libretto de M. Crescini (Première représentation)" in *Revue et Gazette Music de Paris,* no. 13 (Sunday 27 March, 1836), 99. "Il commence par un solo de cor, dit avec la sûreté, la grace mélodique et le bon style qui caractérise le talent de M. Gallay."

[18] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

believed that that “the admirable singer” had “to enhance the peroration with an incredible luxury of roulades or gorgheggiamenti.”[19] The anonymous author of the *L’Entr’acte* review stated that the aria was “beautiful” and that Tamburini “deployed” a “vocalisation so firm, so pure and so brilliant”, thus reinforcing many of the descriptions of Tamburini’s vocal style as outlined by Castil-Blaze above.[20]

Henri Blanchard, writing under the pseudonyme of “J. J. J. Diaz” in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, views the preceding chorus as “only there to prepare, to announce a beautiful tune in F by Tamburini”, which Blanchard goes on to describe as

> full of verve and…distinguished by a brilliant vocalisation that Tamburini renders admirably. We will note on this subject that Tamburini, a pure, correct singer, of whom all the traits are marked by taste, who is full of expression and soul, produces less effect than Rubini. Could this come from the lack of finesse of appreciation of our French dilettanti for what is delicate and truly

[19] Édouard Monnais, “Première représentation d’*I Briganti”*, 1. “[L]a cavatine faible, sans caractère; aussi l’admirable chanteur s’est il efforcé d’en relever la péroraison par un luxe inouï de roulades ou gorgheggiamenti.”

[20] Anon., “Théâtre Italien: Première Représentation”, 2. “Tamburini avait chanté un bel air dans lequel il avait déployé cette vocalisation si ferme, si pure et si brillante.”

> artistic, and from their penchant for what brings us back to the 'French howl'? It should not be this way, if only out of national spirit.[21]

Hippolyte Prévost, writing in the *Revue du Théâtre*, holds a quite contrary view. Flagging up doubts about the "weakness of libretto", a fault levelled by many regarding *I Briganti*, Prévost believes that Mercadante's music does little "to redeem" these problems.[22] Whilst Blanchard believed Tamburini to be tasteful, Prévost suggests his art is empty:

> The tune by Tamburini-Conrad, written entirely in the Rossinian style, is very difficult; the roulades do not stop from the first to the last note; Tamburini deploys this marvellous vocalisation of which he alone has the secret. But what does this prove? We are far from proscribing rolls and flourishes; we know too well how much the genius of Rossini drew from it; however, we only give them second place: they are brilliant embroideries, very precious accessories; but, above all, we want a beautiful and solid garment that can

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[21] Blanchard, "*I Briganti*, Melodramma serio", 99. "Le cantabile…est plein de verve et se distingue par une vocalisation brillante que Tamburini rend admirablement. Nous remarquerons à ce sujet que Tamburini, chanteur pur, correct, dont tous les traits sont avoués par le goût, qui est plein d'expression et d'âme, produit moins d'effet que Rubini. Cela viendrait-il du peu de finesse d'appréciation de nos dilettanti français pour ce qui est délicat et vraiment artistique, et de leur penchant pour ce qui nous ramène à l'*urlo francese* ? Il n'en devrait pas être ainsi, ne fût-ce que par esprit national." Pseudonym identified in Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: 'La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris', 1834–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 271. Blanchard, "*I Briganti*, Melodramma serio", 99. "[M]ais cette introduction n'est là que pour préparer, announcer un bel air en fa de Tamburini."

[22] Prévost, "*I Briganti*, par Mercadante", 7–11. "La musique jusqu'ici n'a pas beaucoup racheté la faiblesse du libretto."

> support them, that is to say a frank and well-designed melody that we can grasp through all the ornaments, which is not absorbed by their profusion.[23]

Mercadante exploited many of the fine musicians in the orchestra. The Parisian press frequently singled out Gallay's contribution, but praise was also awarded to his colleagues, in particular the clarinetist Berr and cellist Auguste-Joseph Franchomme (1808–1884):

> The orchestra vigorously assisted the singers, and several horn and cello solos provided the audience with the opportunity to applaud MM. Galley [Gallay] and Franchome [Franchomme]"[24]

> The horn and clarinet solos had their share of bravos, collected by MM. Gallay and Berr.[25]

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[23] Prévost, "*I Briganti*, par Mercadante", 7–11. "L'air de Tamburini-Conrad, écrit tout-à-fait dans le style Rossinien, est des plus difficiles; les roulades ne cessent pas depuis la première jusqu'à la dernière note; Tamburini y déploie cette merveilleuse vocalisation dont il a lui seul le secret. Mais qu'est-ce que cela prouve? Nous sommes loin de proscrire les roulades, les fioritures; nous savons trop tout le parti qu'en a tiré le génie de Rossini; cependant nous ne leur accordons que la seconde place; elles sont de brillantes broderies, des accessoires bien précieux; mais, avant tout, nous voulons un bel et solide vêtement qui puisse les supporter, c'est-à-dire une mélodie franche et bien dessinée que l'on puisse saisir au travers de tous les ornemens, qui ne soit pas absorbée par leur profusion."

[24] Étienne Jean Delécluse, "Théâtre Royal Italien: Première représentation de *I Briganti*, opéra en trois actes, paroles de M. Crescini, musique de M. Mercadante" in *Journal des débats, politiques et litteraires* (24 March 1836), 1. "L'orchestre a vigoureusement aidé les chanteurs, et plusieurs solos de cor et de violoncelle ont fourni au public l'occasion d'applaudir MM. Galley [Gallay] et Franchome [Franchomme]."

[25] François-Henri-Joseph Blaze (Castil-Blaze), "Revue du Monde Musical: Theatre Italien - *I Briganti*", in *Revue de Paris* (27 March 1836), 258. "Les solos de cor et de clarinette ont eu leur part des bravos, recueillis par MM. Gallay et Berr."

> Gallay's admirable horn and Berr's suave clarinet solos also worked wonders.[26]

Performing “Perche non posso” and “Ove a me rivolgi un guardo” from Mercadante’s *I Briganti*

The horn quartet writing in “Perche non posso” offers the players many opportunities to exploit the timbre of the stopped versus open notes, as well as portamento.

In the first statement (bars 7 to 13, figure 19:3), the only moments when all four parts have open notes are the first half of bar 10 and first half of bar 11, these are both places where I, as a musician, would naturally phrase towards. This is for a number of reasons which includes the modulation of the music from (written) A minor in bar 7 to C major in bar 10 with a reiteration of the new harmony in bar 11. Additionally, in bar 10 the first horn rises to the highest note of the phrase and the fourth horn, which had been descending chromatically from the beginning of the phrase, reaches its lowest note thus far which, in addition to the harmonic progression, makes it the apex of the phrase and, thus, encouraging direction towards this point. The open notes used in these two places reinforce this phrasing. The *forte* in bar 20 followed by the *smorzando* direction can be enhanced by using the natural softer timbres of the stopped notes. Bar 20 balances two open notes (high E and middle G in the 1st and

[26] Jean-Toussaint Merle, “Revue Dramatique Théâtre-Italien: 1er représentation d’*I Briganti*” in *La Quotidienne* (28 March 1836), 1–3. “L’admirable cor de Gallay et les suaves solos de clarinette de Berr, ont aussi fait merveilles.” Source available via Katharine Ellis and Mark Everest, *France: Musiques, Cultures, 1789–1918*, (2016) https://www.fmc.ac.uk/ [Accessed 16 April 2025]. https://sas-space.sas.ac.uk/5096/1/Quotidienne_28mars1836.pdf

3rd horns respectively), bar 21 is predominantly stopped (with only the high C and middle E in the 1st and 3rd horns as open). All four horns resolve onto a written B major chord in bar 22, with all four requiring stopped notes. This passage, going from 50/50 stopped/open to majority stopped, concluding on a four-part stopped chord, helps realise the *smorzando* effect Mercadante demands, as well as heightening the sense of unease and darkness required in this scene.

This effect could be further emphasised through use of portamento: figure 19:7 below marks all the opportunities available. These include portamento with harmonics (for example in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th horn parts in bars 7–9) as well as portamento that goes over multiple harmonics (for example the 4th horn part in bars 11–12). Markings here indicate all the places where portamento would be possible. As mentioned elsewhere in this study, as portamento is an expressive effect, I would not advocate using it at every juncture; however, I believe judicious use in bars 7–9, in bars 20 into 21, and bars 21 in to 22 would fully be in keeping with the atmosphere of this scene.



Figure 19:7: Horn parts, bars 7–13, 18–22, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, "Perché non posso a tutti", *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32), 14–15, with my added portamenti markings. (Audio example 19_02).[27]

This would also further heighten the impact of the strident open "fanfare" of bars 26–27 (figure 19:8) which uses the same effect as the Méhul *Mélidore et Phrosine* extract quoted in figure 19:2, i.e. the stark timbral contrast between the open notes in

[27] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Marcel-Auguste Raoux cor d'orchestre (Paris, post 1820) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009).

that example and the stopped notes in the preceding Act 1, Scene 8, “Jules, tu seras mon vengeur” (figure 19:1).



Figure 19:8: Horn parts, bars 26–27, Saverio Mercadante, Act 1, Scene 1, “Perché non posso a tutti”, *I Briganti.* Manuscript score, c.1840 (Biblioteca del Conservatorio San Pietro a Majella, Naples (I-Nc): 28.2.31-32) 15.

In the aria that follows, “Ove a me Rivolgi un guardo” (figure 19:6 above), the opening horn solo exploits the range between middle and top G, the range favoured by Gallay in his own compositions. This range gives many opportunities for the use of stopped notes (the middle As and Bs in bar 1, high C-sharp and D-sharp in bar 5 etc.). The open harmonic upward flourish decorating the tonic chord in bar 8 is answered by a more chromatic (and therefore more stopped) descending pattern. Bar 2, with the open high E to D-sharp, and the equivalent passage in bar 11 (middle G to F-sharp), offer on opportunity for almost sighing/sobbing portamenti which would be in keeping with the imploring nature of the text.

Puzzi… again…

Less than half a year after the 1836 premiere of *I briganti* in Paris the four lead singers (Lablache, Rubini, Tamburini and Grisi) were performing the work for the London stage. This particular scena and aria appears to have been picked up by the local horn virtuoso, Giovanni Puzzi, who came out of semi-retirement in order to perform it in a salon concert which also featured Malibran alongside Rubini, Grisi and Tamburini:

> Signor Puzzi's horn accompaniment to Tamburini's air from Mercandante's "I Briganti," was beautiful. It was a real regret that we saw this most perfect of horn players withdraw some years ago from professional activity; and it is with equal pleasure that we now see him resuming that active profession which he should never have quitted…. Signor Puzzi's horn solo was what his playing always is, beautiful…[28]

Mercadante's "La Caccia" (1836) and Gallay's setting "L'appel du Chasseur" (1839)

Given that it adds further details concerning Gallay's performance practice, of significance to this study is a subsequent collaboration in the same year as the premier of *I Briganti* between Crescini and Mercadante. "La Caccia", a text written by Crescini with Count Pepoli was set by Mercadante in his "Romanza No. 12" from

[28] "Mr. Benedict's Annual Morning Concert", vol. 9, *The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée* (London: Edward Churton, June–December, 1836), 44.

Soirées italiennes, also known in its original Italian form as the *Serate Italiane.*[29] The model of Mercadante's *Serate Italiane* appears to have been Rossini's *Serate musicali* published the previous year.[30]

"La Caccia" might not be seen as a typical *Romanza*. Written for two tenors*,* Giovanni Battista Rubini (creator of the role of Ermano in *I Briganti*) and Nicola Ivanoff (1810–1880), the melodic content for the two voices very much emulates hunting horn calls, mirroring a text celebrating the hunt. The text and the idiomatic horn melodies incorporated by Mercadante made it a highly appropriate work for Gallay to claim for his own version for voice, horn and piano. Published in 1839 along with his settings from Gaetano Donizetti's *L'elisir d'amore* and *Robert Devereux*, for French versions of the Italian texts Gallay turned to Louis-Ernest Crevel, (1806–1882, also known by the nom de plume of Crevel de Charlemagne), a noted translator of both Italian and German libretti.[31] His translations of these three works are quite "loose" and diverge considerably from the originals.

In Mercadante's original version for two tenors the voices call and respond to one another, emulating the calls and responses expected on the hunting field. In Gallay's version the two original voices are often incorporated into the single vocal part, with the horn acting as more of a commentary, or punctuating role. However, in passages

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[29] Saverio Mercadante, "La Caccia" *Serate Italiane* (Novara: F. Artaria e Comp., 1836).

[30] M. A. Smart, "Parlor Games: Italian Music and Italian Politics in the Parisian Salon", *19th century Music,* vol. 34 (2010), 43–49.

[31] Gaetano Donizetti arr. Jacques-François Gallay *Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839). The works are: "Une larme furtive" ("Una furtiva lagrima") from *L'elisir d'amore* and "Fuis laisse moi" ("Da che tornasti") from *Robert Devereux.*

such as the reflective “Quant’è poi dolce fra buoni amici” / “Ah ! quel plaisir, le soir près d’amis intimes” (bars 76–91, figure 19:1 “How sweet it is to be among good friends” / “Ah! What a pleasure, in the evening with good friends”, figure 19:9) the two are put on a more equal footing by much more closely reproducing the two vocal lines of the original Mercadante (figure 19:10).



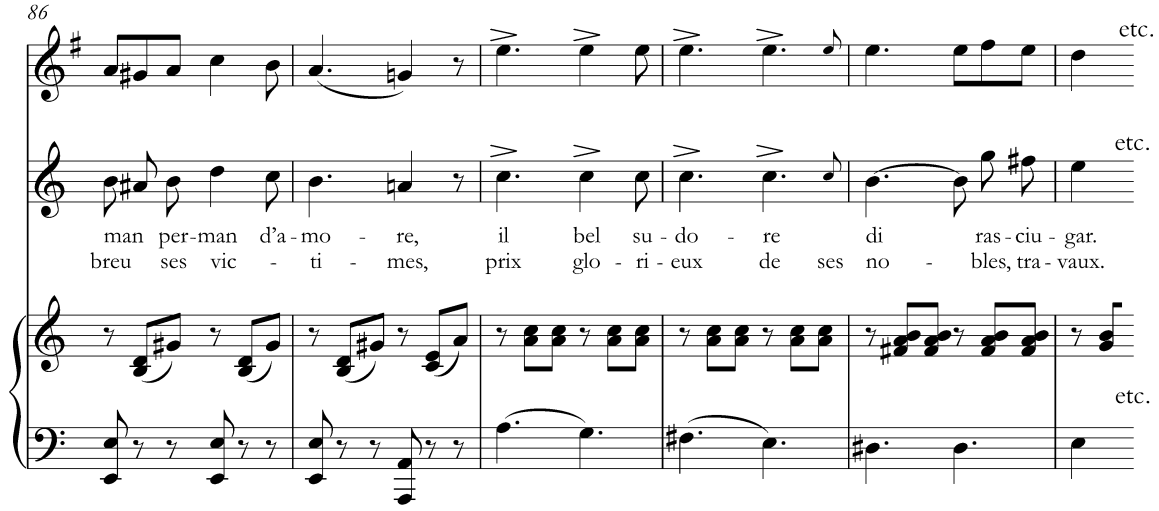
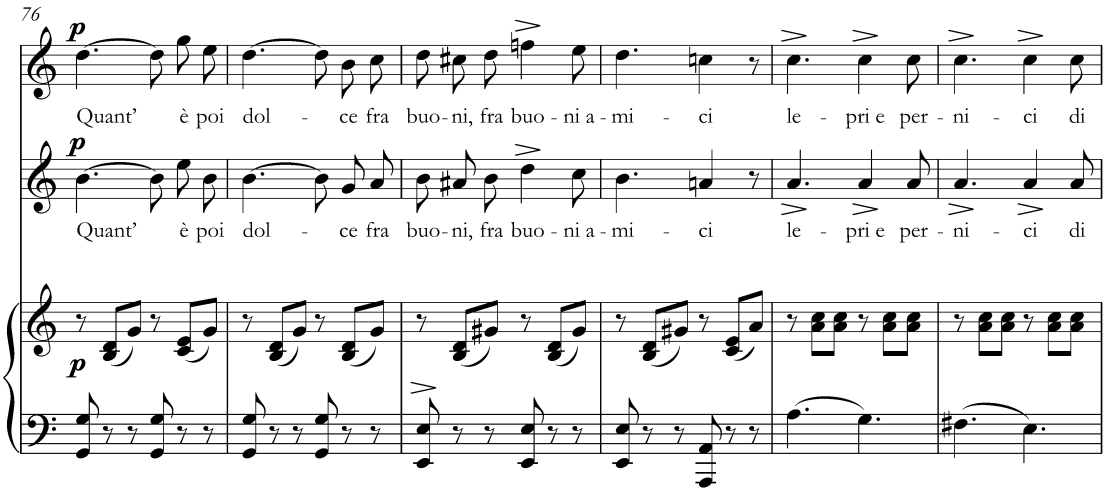


Figure 19:9: Bars 76–91 from "La Caccia" (Saverio Mercadante, "L'appel du Chasseur") from Jacques-François Gallay, *Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 4–5. (Audio example 19_03).[32]



[32] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux cor solo (1823) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009). Instrument loaned by The Bate Collection, Oxford. This audio illustration is taken from Anneke Scott (horn), Lucy Crowe (soprano), Steven Devine (piano). 2015. *Songs of Love, War and Melancholy: Operatic Fantasias by Gallay*. CD. RES10153.



Figure 19:10: Bars 76–91 from Saverio Mercadante, "La Caccia" from *Serate Italiane* (Novara: F. Artaria e comp, n.d.) 3–4.

Gallay capitalises little on the opportunity to weave into his version the sort of typical horn idioms that could be considered appropriate for a genre piece like this, but which would have sounded unusual had Mercadante exploited such clear mimicry in his original vocal parts. An exception is Gallay's addition of the extended trill passage in bars 104–112 (figure 19:11).



Figure 19:11: Bars 104–112 from “La Caccia” (Saverio Mercadante, “L’appel du Chasseur”) from Jacques-François Gallay, *Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor* (Paris: Schonenberger, 1839), 6. (Audio example 19_04).[33]

Along with his “Chanson du Chasseur” (a combination of Schubert’s “Jagdlied” D. 521 and “Am Meer” from *Schwanengesang*, Op. post., D. 957) in his *Les chants du cœur: 6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert*, Op. 51 (1842), “L’appel du Chasseur” is the most explicitly tantivic composition by Gallay.[34] As such it is a somewhat unusual piece, especially for an instrument whose associations with the hunt are so often musically exploited.

[33] See footnote 32 for details of the instruments and recording.

[34] Franz Schubert, arr. Jacques-François Gallay, *Les chants du cœur: 6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert*, Op. 51 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842).

Chapter Twenty: Donizetti, Overture to *Don Pasquale* (1843)

The final opera obligato is unlike the preceding cases in that this is one that is connected to Gallay not by dint of his having been known to have performed it but, potentially, in light of his not performing it and the ramifications that has had for this particular work. As I explored in Chapter Fourteen, from 1843 onwards Gallay's health deteriorated preventing him from performing and I believe that Donizetti's *Don Pasquale* was one of the earliest indicators of this, thus leading to a notable re-orchestration in the Overture to this opera.[1]

Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*

In September 1842, the new director of the Théâtre-Italien, Jules Janin, wrote to Donizetti inviting him to write a new *opera buffa* in which to showcase the stars of the house; Giulia Grisi, Mario, Antonio Tamburini and Luigi Lablache.[2] By October, Donizetti was writing to a friend "My *opera buffa* will go into rehearsal after the giving of *Linda*. Title, *Don Pasquale*", thus suggesting the composition of the new opera during September through November 1842.[3]

[1] See Chapter Fourteen, 370–372.

[2] Herbert Weinstock, *Donizetti and the world of opera in Italy, Paris and Vienna in the first half of the nineteenth century* (New York: Pantheon, 1963), 188.

[3] Letter 8 October 1842 from Donizetti to Leo Herz. Quoted in Weinstock, *Donizetti and the World of Opera in Italy*, 188. "Linda" was *Linda di Chamounix,* performed at the Théâtre-Italien in November 1842.

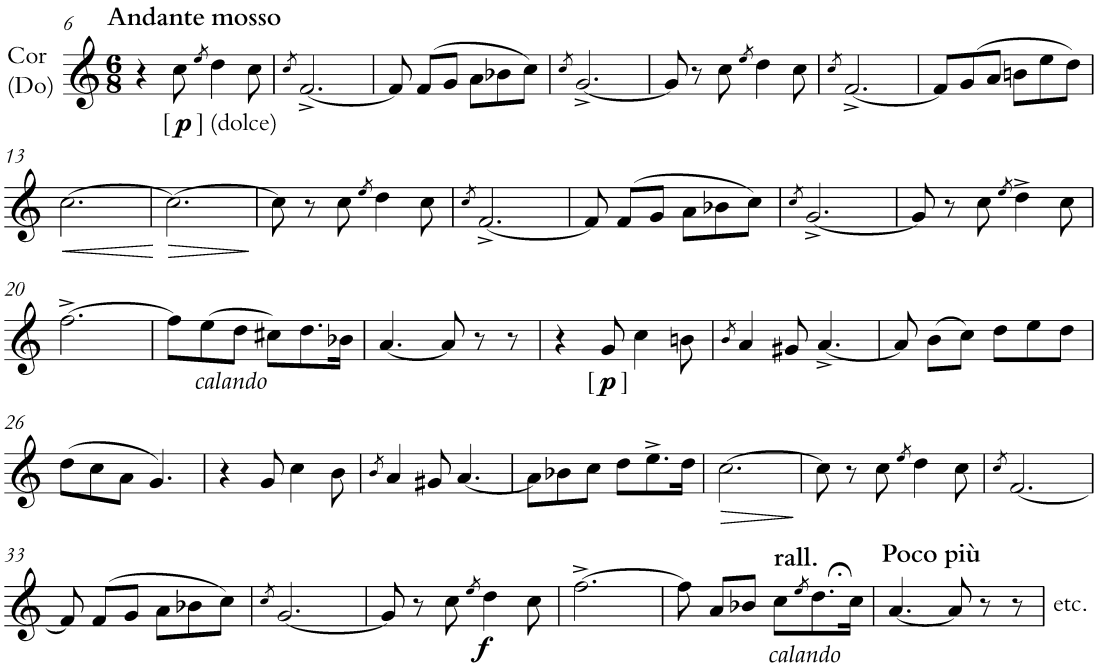


Figure 20:1: Horn solo bars 6–38 from Gaetano Donizetti, Overture to *Don Pasquale*, eds. Gabriele Dotto and Roger Parker (Milan: Ricordi, 2024), 2–3. (Audio example 20_01).[4]

Don Pasquale was premiered in Paris early in 1843 to great success. However, one issue was raised concerning the overture. The premier featured an extensive solo for horn, remarked upon in many reviews:

> After a charming overture in *Re* [sic] whose adagio, played by the horn, announces well the subject of the story, there is a romance for Tamburini [Doctor Malateste].[5]

[4] Audio illustration recorded by the author on an original Marcel-Auguste Raoux *cor d'orchestre* (Paris, post 1820) with a replica mouthpiece ("Rodolphe" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2009).

[5] *Le Corsaire,* 9 January 1842. Quoted in Philip Gossett, *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 437. NB the overture is in C not in D.

> The clarinet [sic] and the horn begin the adagio, whose theme is the first phrase of a melody full of tenderness and originality that Mario [Ernesto] sings in the third act.[6]

Very shortly after the premier Donizetti cut much of the horn solo (figure 20:1).[7] In his original version the horn plays first with the solo cello (bars 3–14), then with the cello and bassoon (bars 15–22). This is followed by (bars 23–30) the horn alone, while finally the horn is joined by the solo cello and flute (bars 31–38). The alteration cut the vast majority of the solo, leaving in effect only the truly solo section in bars 23–30, plus the final cadence in bars 35–38.

It has been standard practice to perform the overture to *Don Pasquale* in this altered version; however, a recent critical edition of the work seeks to restore the original horn solo.[8] The justification for this decision is rooted in an explanation as to why Donizetti altered it in the first place.

Les Coulisses of 5 January 1843, in a review described by Gossett as "distinctly hostile", refers to the passage as being "played by the bassoon, and all askew by Forestier's horn…" leading to the suggestion that Joseph Forestier (1815–1882), the

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[6] *La France Musicale,* January 1842. Quoted in Gossett, *Divas and Scholars,* 437. The reviewer's identification of the solo instrument as a clarinet (rather than bassoon) is incorrect. Gossett points out "while the reviewer might have confused the ensemble of wind instruments, he is unlikely to have mistaken a solo violoncello for a horn", (Gossett, 437).

[7] Gossett dates the alteration as "before leaving Paris on 7 January for Vienna." Gossett, *Divas and Scholars,* 437.

[8] Gaetano Donizetti, *Gaetano Donizetti: Don Pasquale,* Gabriele Dotto and Roger Parker, eds. (Milan: Ricordi, 2024).

horn player on this occasion, mishandled the extended solo to the extent that the composer was forced to reconsider the writing for the instrument in the Overture.[9] I will argue in this chapter that the solo is idiomatic, fitting in with what we know of Gallay's capabilities, however in Gallay's absence, likely caused by his ill-health, Forestier was likely not best placed to perform the solo to the best of his abilities, thus leading Donizetti to undertake a pragmatic re-write.

Establishing what is idiomatic on the natural horn

Philip Gossett has maintained that the *Don Pasquale* horn solo was less than ideally constructed:

> In its original form as a horn solo, this is not a simple melody to play, largely because of its insistence on the written melodic *f* in the middle register, already in m. 7, a "stopped note" on the natural horn, obtainable, according to Berlioz, only by "closing the bell (the lower aperture of the horn) to a lesser or greater extent with the hand." While some of these notes are of "good" or very good" quality, according to Berlioz, this *f* "is muffled," an unfortunate quality for a note to which the melody returns again and again.[10]

[9] 'Théatre Royal Italien: 1re representation de DON PASQUALE, opéra buffa en trois actes, musique de M. Donizetti', *Les Coulisses : petit journal... : programme des théâtres* (Paris: Impr. Boulé et Cie), 5 January 1843, n.p.,[.2]. "Apres une introduction jouée par le basson, et tout de travers par le cor de Forestier." Gossett translates this as "very badly by the horn of Forestier". Philip Gossett: *Divas and Scholars: Performing Italian Opera* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 437.

[10] Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, 437.

As a result of this Gossett believes that “Donizetti apparently decided that a prominent passage for unaccompanied horn at the very beginning of his opera was simply too risky and hence introduced the modification”.[11]

The decision by Parker in the new critical edition to restore the horn solo is backed by Gossett, who suggests that “with the knowledge that this change was made after the premier, a modern production might certainly consider experimenting with Donizetti’s original orchestration, especially with the availability of a horn with valves.”[12]

The argument that something was not simple for the natural horn and could be more easily rendered today thanks to the availability of a horn with valves is one that is often levelled at nineteenth-century repertoire for the instrument. Such prejudice accounts, for instance, for the curiously still stubborn myth which argues that Beethoven must have written the fourth horn solo in his Ninth Symphony for the nascent valve horn. Blandford tackled this subject in his series of articles in 1925.[13]

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[11] Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, 437.

[12] Gossett, *Divas and Scholars*, 437.

[13] Walter Fielding Holloway Blandford, “III. The Fourth Horn in the ‘Choral' Symphony” in vol. 66, no. 983 (1 January 1925), 29–32; “III. The Fourth Horn in the ‘Choral' Symphony (Continued)” in vol. 66, no. 984 (1 February 1925), 124–129; “III. The Fourth Horn in the 'Choral' Symphony. III (Concluded)” in vol. 66, no. 985 (1 March 1925), 221–223 in *The Musical Times* (London).

Yet a century later horn players are still arguing that “there is no doubt Beethoven was experimenting with the new valve horn in this passage”.[14]

Questions as to whether something is viable on the natural horn become extremely important in ascertaining whether some nineteenth-century works were written for this instrument or for the emerging valve horn. The lower part of orchestral paired horns will typically indicate that an ambiguous work is for early valve horn rather than the natural horn if it uses of the written D below the stave in octaves with a higher part. An example concerns the opening bars of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21 (figure 20:2), which has the 2nd horn jump to a unison D in bar 3, in comparison to the octaves written for the bassoons throughout this passage.

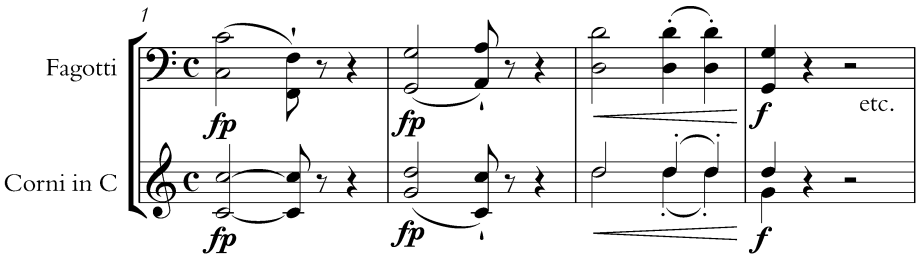


Figure 20:2: Bars 1–4, i. Allegro ma non troppo e un poco maestoso, Ludwig van Beethoven, Symphony No. 1 in C major, Op. 21, ed. Jonathan Del Mar (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1997), 3.

Composers writing for pairs of natural horns would require the lower part to jump to unisons with the high part in order to avoid having to play unidiomatic notes out of

[14] Matthew John Anderson, “Modern Horn Playing in Beethoven: An Exploration of Period Appropriate Techniques for the Orchestral Music of Beethoven for the Modern Horn Player”, DMA dissertation (University of Washington, 2016), 67–68. For a fuller exploration of the circumstances surrounding this enduring myth see Anneke Scott, “The Revisionist History of the Fourth Horn Solo from Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony”, paper presented at Historic Brass Society Conference (July 2017, New York University/Metropolitan Museum).

nowhere (i.e. not prepared by an immediately adjacent open harmonic), for example figure 20:3:



Figure 20:3: Bars 146–149, i. Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso, Ludwig van Beethoven Symphony No. 9 in d minor, Op. 125, ed. Jonathan Del Mar (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1996) 23.

Composers writing for the valve horn, for example Robert Schumann in figure 20:4, have no such restrictions and therefore the lower horn part will more frequently be in parallel octaves without the need for large interval leaps to avoid particularly demanding notes.



Figure 20:4: Bars 149–151, Robert Schumann, *Manfred* Overture, Op. 115 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1862), 22.

In fathoming the answers in these ambiguous works “some have even resorted to statistical analysis to try to establish whether or not they are playable on the hand-horn and have come up with rather confused conclusions”.[15]

[15] Anneke Scott, “Brahms and the Orchestral Horn: A Study in Inauthentic Performance?” in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 23 (2011), 130. See the example of Stephen Lyons Seiffert, “Johannes Brahms and the French Horn”, DMA Dissertation (University of Rochester, 1969).

The technique of hand stopping on the horn will always follow the same essential pattern. Looking at pedagogical sources of the time reveals that the means via which practitioners tried to explain the approach often feels crude and lacking in crucial information. Different means of expressing this information are attempted, and fall into four categories. Some writers use fractions (for example Émile Lambert), some attempt the same effect with filled-in circles (Victor Cornette), some construct individual charts for notes that share the same characteristics (Franz Strauss), while others write long texts explaining each note (Frédéric Duvernoy).[16]

The problem with many of the above methods is that none of them adequately incorporates the following issues:

- The hand position for individual notes can vary in small ways from crook to crook and from instrument to instrument.
- Hand positions can also subtly vary from player to player due to the size of the player's hand.
- The hand position you use for a note may vary depending on the tempo of the piece and the context in which the note appears.
- The hand position you use may vary depending on the function of the note in the harmony or melody as you may need slightly to alter the pitch of the note

[16] Émile Lambert, *Méthode complète et progressive de cor chromatique suive d'exercices pour cor simple d'harmonie* (Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie., 1922), 50; Victor Cornette, *Méthode de cor* (Paris: Colombier, 1855), 6; Franz Strauss, *Übungen für Naturhorn zum täglichen Studium* (Leipzig: Ernst Eulenburg, 1900), 3; Frédéric Duvernoy, *Méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, c.1802), 15.

accordingly. Similarly, enharmonic notes may also have different positions. This is a distinct advantage.[17]

The final two issues are particularly crucial. We can study the "fingering charts" of the era and the explanations by and for composers such as that of Berlioz in the first case and Dauprat in the second. But in order to state whether a note is viable or not "[f]or the horn, context is all."[18] It is not so much the note *per se* but where the note comes in the context of the notes preceding and following. It is a mistake to point to rare instances of a particular note, often in very specific contexts, in order to bolster the argument that something is or is not for the natural horn. An example of such an approach can be found in Douglas Robert Ross's belief that Richard Strauss's Concerto No. 1 for Horn, Op. 11, was written for the natural horn and that "contrary to the claims of successive performers and scholars, the advanced hand-horn techniques in use in the late nineteenth century would have made it entirely playable on the natural horn by expert performers."[19] Ross "cherry picks" instances of the middle D being used in arpeggio or melismatic passages in solo natural horn works by Danzi and Ries in order to argue that Richard Strauss's use of the note would be "entirely playable".[20]

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[17] The above points are taken from Anneke Scott, *Historic Horn Handbooks - Volume I: Natural Horn, An Introduction* (London: Plumstead Peculiar Press, 2019), 64.

[18] Robert Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question? Creating a New Repertoire of Idiomatic and Challenging Arrangement for Historical Wind Instruments", Doctoral thesis (Guildhall School of Music and Drama, 2021), 75.

[19] Douglas Robert Ross, "Richard Strauss's Concerto for Horn, Op.11 and the Natural Horn", Master of Music (Performance) thesis (Sydney Conservatorium, 2017), iii.

[20] Ross, "Richard Strauss's Concerto for Horn", 88–89.

The most thorough investigation of this issue comes in the bassoonist and arranger Robert Percival's research into developing "a new approach to writing for historical wind instruments", in which he focuses on almost seventy compositions which include writing for the horn.[21] His stated aim "was not just to understand *which* pitches were used, but more importantly *how* they were used, what the *context* is in which a given pitch is 'allowed' in historical practice."[22]

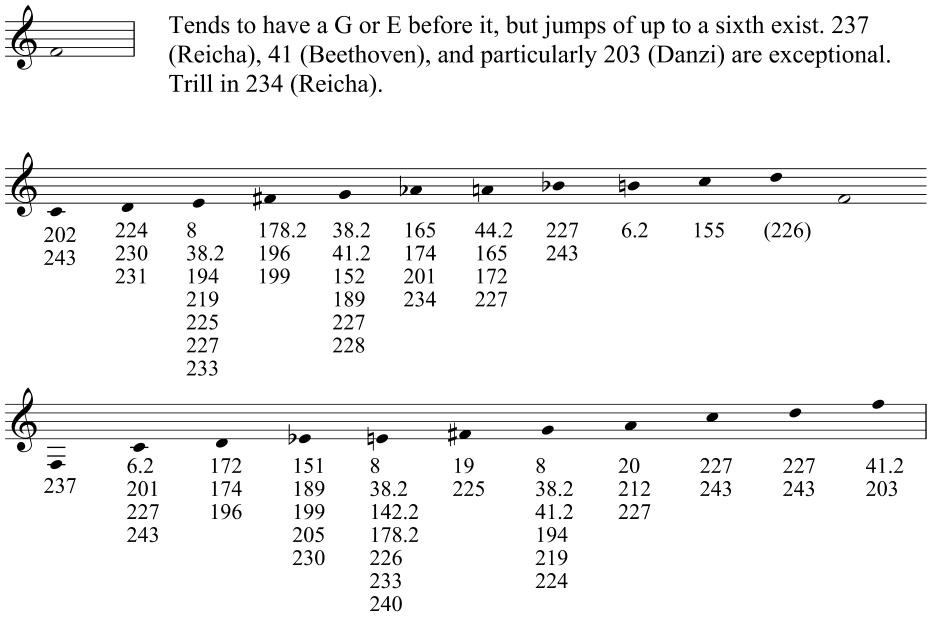


Figure 20:5: Middle F from "An Index of Horn Pitch Adjacencies", Robert Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question? Creating a New Repertoire of Idiomatic and Challenging Arrangement for Historical Wind Instruments", Doctoral thesis (Guildhall School of Music and Drama, 2021), 434.

In Percival's illustration of the middle F (figure 20:5) the staves of black notes represent examples of that particular note being used before (in the case of all notes preceding the white headed middle F) or after (in the case of all notes following the

[21] Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question?", i.

[22] Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question?", 66.

white headed middle F) the middle F. The numbers below refer to an index of examples, therefore it is possible, for example, to extrapolate that jumps from the middle F to the low F are very rare with only one example in Percival's survey (237 representing a segment from the fourth movement Allegro assai of Reicha's Wind Quintet in D, Op. 99, no. 4).

The written first space F in question, the note Berlioz describes as "muffled" and whose quality Gossett finds "unfortunate", is frequently found in writing for the natural horn. However, as Percival outlines, like most notes on the natural horn, this is a note which does occur normally in certain contexts. Percival's study is not centred on the same geography or timescale as mine, but his methodology is pertinent to the question as to whether Donizetti's original overture was "risky" and thus required re-writing.

The one example of a falling fifth from C to F in Percival's study is found in Carl Maria von Weber's acrobatic Concertino for Horn, Op. 45 (figure 20:6, Percival's "155") placing it not commonly used, but viable.[23] It is important to note that this is written for horn in E, in comparison with Donizetti's overture in the more lugubrious crook of C basso.

[23] Percival, "Top B, or Not Top B, and Is That the Question?", 474.



Figure 20:6: Bars 250–251 from Carl Maria von Weber, Concertino in E for Horn, Op. 45 (autograph manuscript score, n.d.), (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin (DB): J 188; WeV N.5b), 26.

It is beyond the scope of this enquiry to do a similar statistical study of music associated with the French school of horn playing during the period in question; but a cursory glance at the *Méthodes* of Duvernoy, Dominch, Dauprat, Gallay (see figure 20:7) etc. will furnish the reader with plentiful typical instances of the note, most often used in scalic or arpeggio-based exercises.



Figure 20:7: Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54*, Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 67 and 69.

Outside of these didactic exercises it is rarer to see such high numbers of written Fs in Gallay's compositions, but it is clearly not a note he strongly avoids. Normally it is

“good practice” to approach the more “muffled” notes from secure open harmonics (such as the descending C-F jump in *Don Pasquale*), in a stepwise manner (as in the scale exercises above) or in arpeggios (as in the *accords brisés* exercises above).

To start “cold” with no such “anchor” note (a safer note, normally an open harmonic) is challenging but an approach clearly within Gallay’s purview, such as at the opening of his setting of Schubert’s “Gretchen am Spinnrade” (figure 20:8).

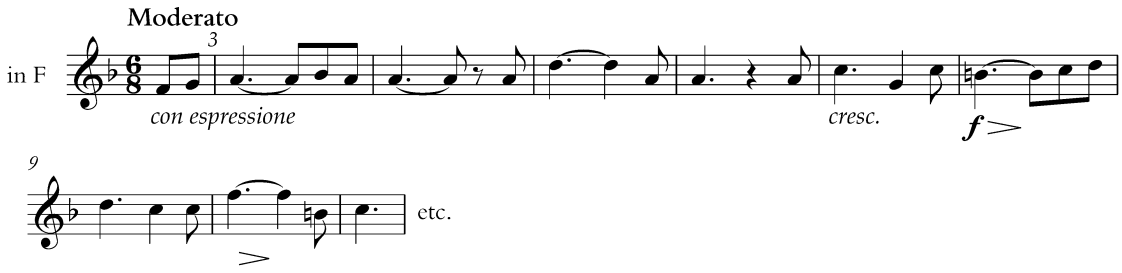


Figure 20:8: Bars 2–11 from “Marguerite” from Jacques-François Gallay. *Les Chants du Cœur*, *6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert*, Op. 51 (Paris: Schonenberger, 1842).

The falling fifth from *Don Pasquale* is found in Gallay’s 3me Mélodie (figure 20:9). The Andante non troppo lento tempo of the Mélodie lends itself to comparison with the Andante mosso of the Donizetti. As it is not specified for a particular crook, conceivably it can be played in a range of keys, again making a comparison with the Donizetti more pertinent.

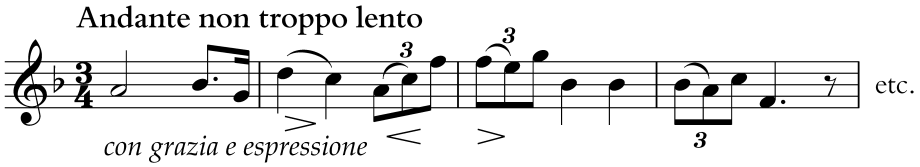


Figure 20:9: *3ème* Mélodie from Jacques-François Gallay, *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54, (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 94.

Donizetti has no qualms about using the first space F, let alone descending to it from a higher, open harmonic, in another of his vocal works incorporating horn. With the caveat that his *Le départ pour la chasse* is scored for horn in F, rather than horn in C basso and therefore is not an identical comparison, we see a falling sixth from the D above (figure 20:10):



Figure 20:10: Bars 42–45 from Gaetano Donizetti, *Le départ pour la chasse,* A 291 (manuscript, n.d.), 1. Naples: Bibloteca del Conservatorio di musica S. Pietro a Majella, (I-Nc): IT-NA0059.

When considering how "risky" is the original solo in Donizetti's Overture to *Don Pasquale* it is worth also bearing in mind the "underpinning" of the original horn line firstly by the solo cello, then by the addition of the bassoon. This is not the place for an in-depth discussion into Brahms's conceptions in writing for the natural horn, but in many of his more exposed solos for the instrument, for example the solo in bars 17–32 of the slow movement of Symphony No. 2 in D major, Op. 76 (scored for the

remarkable horn in B basso), or bars 57–65 of the first movement of Symphony No. 4 in E minor, Op. 98, the horn is doubled by the bassoon and the cellos respectively.[24] Similarly the third horn solo (in D) of Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 3 in A minor, Op. 56 ("Scottish"), is in unison with the cello section.[25] Therefore it can be seen that a number of composers chose to "shore up" horn solos with a similar doubling of the line.

A written F is totally within the realm of French horn players of this period. It is more rare, but still viable, in the context of a falling fifth C to F. A final, important, consideration in light of this particular enquiry is Dauprat's use of it in his *Méthode.*



Figure 20:11: Portamento from Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 54.

[24] Johannes Brahms, Symphony No. 2 in D major, Op. 76 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1878), 33–34. Johannes Brahms, Symphony No. 4 in E minor, Op. 98 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1886), 8–9. For Brahms and the natural horn see Anneke Scott, "Brahms and the Orchestral Horn: A Study in Inauthentic Performance?" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 23 (2011),119–133.

[25] Felix Mendelssohn, Symphony No. 3 in A minor, Op. 56 ("Scottish") (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. c.1842), 140–145. Today, in HIP ensembles, Mendelssohn's horn parts are typically played on natural horn. However it is worth noting that Gaevert cites the third horn solo from this symphony as written for "cor chromatique" in E (rather than the typical natural horn part in in D) which may indicate an alternative approach to this solo during the nineteenth century. François-Auguste Gaevert, *Cours Méthodique d'orchestration*, vol. 1 (Paris/Brussels: Lemoine & Fils, n.d. c. 1890), 178.

As explored in Chapter Five, Dauprat identifies two types of portamento in his Méthode which accord with the two found in the *Méthode de chant.*[26] Here we see these falling intervals, including the C-F (found in bar 7 of the solo) and C-G (found in bar 9) which Dauprat directs to be played "by linking the sounds, by means of the portamento of the 2nd species", i.e. what he describes as "true portamento", an extended appoggiatura playable on a rising or descending interval of a semi-tone or more.[27]

Extra-musical considerations regarding the overture

The horn solo in the overture is a precursor to Ernesto's Act 3 aria "Com'è gentil la notte a mezzo April!".

Com'è gentil la notte a mezzo april!	How lovely is a mid-April night,
È azzurro il ciel, la luna è senza vel.	the sky is blue, the moon clear and bright.

[26] See Chapter Five, 234–238.

[27] Louis-François Dauprat, *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse*, vol. 1 (Paris: Zetter, 1824), 71 and 145



Figure 20:12: Vocal solo bars 6–15 from "Com'é gentil la notte a mezzo April!", Act 3, Gaetano Donizetti, *Don Pasquale* (Milan: G. Ricordi, n.d. c.1920), 460.

With the information from Dauprat's *Méthode* regarding these intervals as potential places to perform portamento, and the reiterated statements regarding Gallay's playing as particularly akin to the singing of the period, it feels natural to consider the falling leaps in bars 7 and 9 as places in which to incorporate this effect.

A further consideration as to why Donizetti may have intuitively first scored this opening solo for the horn may be seen in the text of the aria: a serenata evoking the April night sky.

Historically, the physical appearance of the horn has also had an impact on its musical associations. Pre-historic instruments and horns of antiquity such as the karnyx, lituus, cornu and salpinx and their circular shapes were associated with fertility and therefore the moon.[28] Figure 20:13 shows a typical depiction of Luna, the moon goddess holding a crescent moon in her right hand and a horn in her left.

[28] Peter Holmes, *Horns and Trumpets of the European Iron Age*, vol. 1 (London: ABCo Design, 2022), 21.



Figure 20:13: *Luna, the Moon, and her children*, by Harmen Jansz Muller (?–1617), after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574). Rijksmueum (Amsterdam, Holland): RP-P-1891-A-16486.

The link between the horn, its visual curves, and its association with fertility and the moon could be the origins of the instrument's association with night time, as can be heard in works such as the Overture to Weber's *Oberon* (1826), the "Nocturne" from Mendelssohn's *Ein Sommernachtstraum* Op. 61 (1826), Verdi's nocturnal off-stage horn calls in Falstaff (1893) all the way through to Benjamin Britten's *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings,* Op. 31 (1943).[29]

Having established that this solo is playable, that it affords the player an opportunity to indulge in incorporating stylistic portamento in a similar manner to the singer when the material returns in the aria in Act 3, plus the possibility that the horn may have been chosen due to its associations with the night-time, what might have led to

[29] Carl Maria von Weber, Overture to *Oberon,* J306 (Berlin: Schlesinger, n.d. c.1874). Felix Mendelssohn, *Ein Sommernachtstraum,* Op. 61 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. c.1848). Benjamin Britten, *Serenade for Tenor, Horn and Strings*, Op. 31 (London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1944).

Forestier's performance going "all askew", thus leading Donizetti to re-write this solo?[30]

Joseph Forestier

As outlined above Joseph Forestier was the horn player criticised for his "all askew" performance of the solo in the *Don Pasquale* Overture. A horn player by training, Forestier is commonly known today as a champion of the cornet à pistons (cornet) and I would argue that this, plus the likelihood of Gallay's ill health as explored in Chapter Fourteen were significant contributing factors in the "askew" performance, rather than Donizetti's bad writing for the instrument.[31]

Today, performers on the cornet invariably come from a trumpet playing background and vice versa - many highly renowned professional trumpet players of the twentieth and twenty first century, especially in the UK, having received their initial training through the brass band movement.[32] Around the time the instrument first emerged its players could equally have come from a horn playing background.

Examples of such players who transitioned from the horn to the cornet are illustrated by the dedications given by Jean François Bellon (1795–1869) in his twelve quintets for petit bugle, cornet à pistons, cor à pistons (piston horn), trombone and ophicleide.

[30] See footnote 9.

[31] See Chapter Fourteen, 370–372.

[32] For example Maurice Murphy (1935–2010), John Wallace (b. 1948), James Watson (1951– 2011).

The earliest of these was first performed in its entirety at the Société Calco-Philharmonique in Paris in 1854.[33]

Each of the twelve quintets is dedicated to a different person (for example the first is dedicated to Prince Louis Napoléon Bonaparte) or, in the case of five of the quintets (2nd, 5th, 9th, 10th and 12th), to brass players.[34] These dedications offer a snapshot of the situation regarding the crossover of horn and cornet players.

The second quintet is dedicated to the players involved in the premier performance (Jean-Jacques Edmond Dubois (1820–1863), Louis-Alfred Boulcourt (1826–1881), Donatien Urbin (1809–1857), Edouard Dantonnet and Charles-Philippe Alfred Lahou), and it is reasonable to assume that the other groupings of five also represent a brass quintet's worth of players who may well have similarly played Bellon's works. The listing of names in the dedication does not seem to follow a set configuration, for example they are not listed in either alphabetical order or in a form of score order (i.e. highest to lowest instruments).

The reason a sense of order could be helpful is that a number of these groups contain a horn player who transferred to cornet, thus it often appears that these

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[33] Henri Blanchard, "Séances musicales" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 14 May 1854, 160. Coffin points to evidence of individual movements having been performed in concert as early as 1850. Sandy Coffin, "Auguste Mimart and His Brass Chamber Music in 1850s Paris" in *Historic Brass Society Journal,* vol. 34 (2022), 77. Sandy Coffin, "*Égalité* and *Fraternité*: Discoveries in brass chamber music in Paris,1848–1870". PhD dissertation (Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, forthcoming).

[34] The musicians are identified in: Jean François Bellon *Collection de 12 Quintettes* (Paris: S. Richault, c.1850), frontispiece; Marie-Pierre-Yves Escudier "Musique pour les instruments de cuivre" in *La France Musicale*, 15th year, no. 22 (1 June 1851), 176; and Sandy Coffin (private email correspondence, 5 April 2020).

quintets were formed of one “trumpet”, two horns, one trombone (or in the case of the 12th quintet potentially two trombones - therefore suggesting a trombonist who switched to ophicleide) and ophicleide. The existence of horn players who switched to cornet obscures the identification of the configuration of these ensembles as does the fact that many of these musicians came from families of brass players which makes identifying which generation or sibling difficult.

In the case of the second quintet, we have Louis-Alfred Boulcourt, who started as a horn player before transferring to cornet. Boulcourt was a former student of Dauprat (*second prix* in 1842) and one of Gallay’s first generation of students (*premier prix* in 1844). In the fifth quintet we have another of Gallay’s students, Frédéric-Antoine Schlotmann (1822–1898), who started as a horn player (*premier prix* in 1846) and then switched to cornet. Forestier appears as a dedicatee of the 10th quintet. The 12th quintet potentially identifies a Chertier; Albert-Édouard Chertier (1848–18??), who started on horn as part of Mohr’s horn class and then switched to cornet, is far too young to be the recipient of the dedication, which possibly points to a yet to be identified member of the previous generation of the same family.

Joseph Forestier studied with Dauprat in the 1830s and was awarded the *second prix* in 1833, achieving the *premier prix* the following year.[35] It is unclear at what point he transferred totally from the horn to the cornet, though it was on the cornet that he certainly excelled and became best known.

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[35] Constant Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents historiques et administratifs* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1900), 642.

Fétis suggests that Forestier had become curious about the “new” cornet à pistons and implies that Forestier was self-taught on this instrument.[36] Forestier’s listing in Pierre’s compendium indicates that he was a member of the Théâtre-Italien orchestra and, given that later Pierre is explicit about Forestier being a “trumpeter” in the Opéra orchestra whilst not including any specifics about his role at the Théâtre-Italien, it may be that Forestier’s role at the Théâtre-Italien was as a horn player.[37]

By At least 1837 Forestier was established as a cornet player, sufficiently for there to be considered a “Forestieristes” camp of cornet lovers:

> For two years, however, Dufresne has also seen the rise of a rival, and Forestier's laurels from the Musard concerts must sometimes prevent him from sleeping; because, if Dufresne's cornet is distinguished by the brilliance and ease of its playing, that of Forestier is no less remarkable for its expression and its velvety tone: there are already two camps among the lovers of the cornet, the Dufresnistes and the Forestierists. As for the public, it is less exclusive and is content to share its bravos equally between these two skilful artists.[38]

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[36] François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique*, vol. 3 (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1866–1868), 292.

[37] Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 755.

[38] Anon., *Musee Dantan. Galerie des charges et croquis des célébrités de l'époque, avec texte explicatif et biographique* (Paris: Delloye 1839) 48. “Depuis deux ans cependant, Dufresne a vu aussi s’élever un rival, et les lauriers de Forestier du concert Musard doivent quelquefois l’empêcher de dormir ; car, si le cornet à piston de Dufresne se distingue par le brillant et la facilité de son jeu, celui de Forestier n’est pas moins remarquable par son expression et par son velouté: aussi compte-t-on déjà deux camps parmi les amateurs de cornet à piston, les *Dufresnistes* et les *Forestiéristes*. Quant au public, il est moins exclusif et se contente de partager également ses bravos entre ces deux habiles artistes.”

I believe that there is something important to note about the "two camps" of timbre being associated with, on the one hand, Jean-Louis Dufrène (1810–1866, also known as Dufresne) and on the other Forestier. The comparison of the "brilliance" and "ease" of Dufrene and the "expression" and "velvet" tone of Forestier corresponds with similar comparisons made between cornet player Jean-Baptiste Arban's (1825–1889) "brighter tone" and Forestier's "rounder, more velvety" tone.[39] Arban's brighter tone is suggestive of the instrument having shifted from the domain of horn players to that of trumpet players. I would argue that cornet players coming to the instrument from a background as horn players are more likely to be associated with both expression and a darker tone, whilst those (such as Dufrène and Arban) who came from a background of trumpet playing were associated more with brightness and elan.

Forestier was professor of cornet at the Gymnase de Musique Militaire and the author of several chamber works for brass as well as a number of pedagogic texts for cornet or saxhorns. In addition to being a member of Musard's orchestra, where he was "enthusiastically applauded every evening", he was appointed to the Opéra on 10 May 1844, and he remained a member until 30 April 1868.[40] His appointment, as a cornet player, to the Opéra was warmly welcomed and applauded: barely months

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[39] Géry Dumoulin, "Cornet" in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Brass instruments* ed. Trevor Herbert, Arnold Myers and John Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 125. Here Dumoulin is citing Forestier's own *Méthode* of 1844 and Arban's of 1859.

[40] Fétis, *Biographie Universelle,* vol. 3, 292: "il était applaudi chaque soir avec enthousiasme par le public nombreux et sans cesse renouvelé qui assistait à ces concerts." Pierre, *Le Conservatoire National de Musique*, 755.

after his joining the ensemble there the local press singled him out as “M. Forestier, the excellent instrumentalist who shines so brightly in the Opera orchestra.”[41]

Like many instrumentalists of this time Forestier was busy composing, and the number of advertisements concerning his compositions for cornet in the 1840s is another way in which we can establish his firm transition to this instrument during this period. Clearly the debacle with *Don Pasquale* was not enough to prevent him from writing his own *Fantaisie sur Don Pasquale* for cornet and piano, advertised in 1843.[42]

One of the earliest accounts of the origins of the cornet comes from Forestier’s *Méthode complète pour le cornet à pistons.* Forestier states that his history of the instrument was based on documents afforded to him by his former horn teacher, Dauprat, and recounts how, in the first instance, the early “cor chromatique” came to Paris from Stölzel in Prussia.[43] The story of the early adoption and perfection of the valve horn by Forestier accords with Meifred’s own explanation in his *Méthode* and other accounts of the period.[44]

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[41] Charles Rosny, “Nouvelles diverses” in *La France théâtrale* (29 August 1844), 6. “M. Forestier, l’excellent instrumentiste qui brille d’un si vif éclat à l’orchestre de l’Opera.”

[42] “Bulletin Musical”, *Bulletin de l’ami des arts* (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1843), 29. Also *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 11th year, no. 15 (14 April 1844), 136

[43] Joseph Forestier, *Méthode complète pour le cornet à pistons* (Paris: Latte, 1844), 1.

[44] Joseph Meifred, *Méthode pour le cor chromatique ou à pistons* (Paris: Richault, 1840), i. Louis-François Dauprat, *Du cor a piston: Extrait d’un Traité théorique et pratique de cet Instrument* (Paris: Zetter, c.1828), 2–5.

Forestier places the cornet as an offshoot of the technology and improvements made to the “cor chromatique” in that Halary (Jean Hilaire Aste, 1788–1861, known as Halary) decided to apply the same “mechanism thus perfected” (i.e. valves and tuning slides) to the German post-horn, thus creating a proto-cornet.[45] The idea of the instrument having been a development of the “post-horn des Allemands”, i.e. a small horn (or “cor-net”) with valves (“à pistons”) may explain the roots of the name of this instrument.[46]

Throughout his *Méthode* Forestier cites horn pedagogy. In order that a student should develop a “musical sentiment”, he suggests incorporating the small duets by Kenn, the small duets by Gallay, the harder duets by Gallay arranged by Forestier himself, duets by Duvenoy, the twenty duets in different crooks by Dauprat, solos and concertos by both Gallay and Dauprat, *airs variés* and fantasies by Forestier, finally culminating in the *grandes études* of Gallay. Dauprat is cited regarded breathing and the formation of notes and Domnich on the choice of crook when practising.[47] This shows how deeply embedded in the horn pedagogy, the musical language and therefore expressive devices of the horn’s repertoire, was the early cornet of Forestier.

Forestier’s *Méthode* is structured around a range of scales and their composite intervals, with each lesson being based around one scale: for example the third

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[45] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 1.

[46] The idea of the instrument being a development of the “post-horn des Allemands” and other aspects of the early history are discussed in depth in Niles Eldredge, “A Brief History of Piston-valved Cornets” in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 14 (2002), 337–361.

[47] Forestier, *Méthode complète*, 6 and 8.

lesson focusses on A minor and intervals of a third; the fourth lesson on G major and intervals of a fifth. Early on Forestier explains that, for brevity, he has "only indicated one way of working the intervals, which is that with the Italian Portamento" (Forestier's underlining) and that it will be the student's responsibility to ensure they practise the intervals in this way, articulated and with "sons filés" and the portamento together.[48]

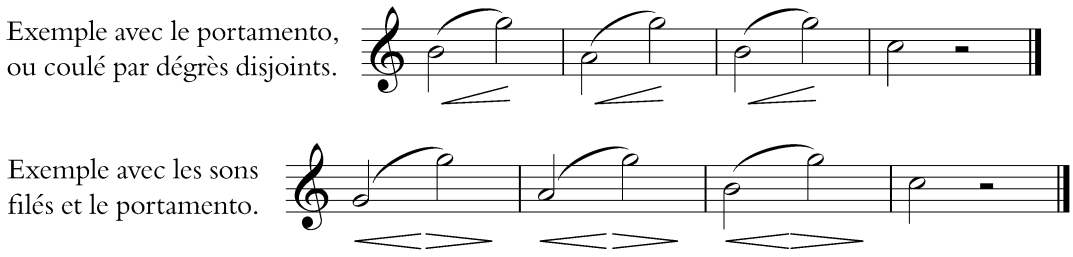


Figure 20:14: "Le portamento ou coulé" and "les sons filés et le portamento" from Joseph Forestier, *Méthode complète pour le cornet à pistons* (Paris: Latte, 1844), 14–15.

Regarding portamento Forestier warns that:

> [t]he use of the pistons allows you to move from one sound to another, without moving the lips: you should not, however, overuse this means, as the lips will then become lazy. *Portamento* for disjointed notes will always be preferable.[49]

Suggesting a change between an earlier era and his own, Forestier maintains that "there are two styles in music, the classical or severe style, and the romantic or free

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[48] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 14–15.

[49] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 6.

style".[50] In addition, and "independently of these two general styles" he states that there is also the French, the Italian and the German style, though he does not expand on what the differences might be.[51] Reiterating the arguments of Spohr and others outlined here in Chapter Three (see 147–154), Forestier believed that

> [w]e distinguish, and rightly so, correct execution from beautiful execution. Correct execution is relative to playing, to everything that has to do with notation. Beautiful execution is relative to roundness, to grace, to the taste that consists in executing each piece and each phrase with precision, mainly the embellishments and everything that is only susceptible to a vague indication.[52]

This assertion that "beautiful execution" is "only susceptible to vague indication" amplifies the argument that many nuances of "beautiful execution" of music from this era are un-notated or un-notateable.

Throughout his *Méthode,* Forestier the cornet player is establishing the instrument in light of his training as a horn player. The pedagogy of his teacher and his colleagues is upheld, and the new valves are flagged up as a potential cause of a "laziness" that

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[50] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 8. "Il y a deux styles en musique, le style classique ou sévère, et le style romantique ou libre."

[51] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 8. "Indépendamment de ces deux styles généraux, il y a encore le style français, le style italien, le style allemand."

[52] Forestier, *Méthode complète,* 8. "On distingue, et avec raison, l'exécution correcte de la belle exécution. L'exécution correcte est relative au jeu, à tout ce qui tient à la notation. La belle exécution est relative à la rondeur, a la grâce, au goût qui consiste à exécuter chaque morceau et chaque phrase avec précision, principalement les agréments et tout ce qui n'est susceptible que d'une indication vague."

will prevent one of the essential elements of artistic cornet playing derived both from artistic horn playing and, in turn, from artistic singing, i.e. portamento.

As mentioned in Chapter Eight, re-orchestrations and changes of the texts of operas were common. Very much in a spirit of "the show must go on", plenty of examples exist of musicians taking a pragmatic approach to situations they found themselves in.[53]

Forestier was a well-regarded musician with an important career as a cornet player around the time of the *Don Pasquale* 'incident'. Even if Forestier was exclusively performing on the cornet by this time there is clearly nothing in the solo outside of the experience of a Gallay, let alone a Forestier, given his training with Dauprat.

Gallay certainly starts to noticeably fades from contemporary concert reviews from early 1843 onwards. He retires due to ill health from the Société des concerts du Conservatoire in May of that year and perhaps this suggests another hypothesis as to what may have happened with the *Don Pasquale* overture. Given the large number of reports of Gallay's excellent performances in 1842 I think it is reasonable to suggest that Donizetti would have been expecting the Théâtre-Italien's regular *cor solo* to be in place for the premier of his new opera in January 1843. The horn writing is eminently playable and indeed the construction of the falling intervals would

[53] For example, the Rossini obligato horn part (see figure 8:4) that precedes the aria "Ah! Perché, perché lá morte" (Eduoardo in *Matilde di Shabran*) was originally conceived for the Roman horn player Giacomo Casacci (1796–1848). The first performance was beset by two key figures being suddenly unavailable: the leader (and therefore director) Giovanni Bollo suddenly died, and Casacci was subject to a "last-minute indisposition". Fortunately Rossini's friend Niccolò Paganini was present and stepped in to direct the opera, and covered the horn solo on the viola. Meucci and Rocchetti, "Appendices and Notes". https://yalebooks.co.uk/book/9780300118933/the-horn/, 142. [Access date: 16 January 2025].

encourage a horn player to use what Forestier describes as the “preferable” portamento.

Gallay should have been there. That he was not may well be linked to the illness that was to become more of an issue in the coming years, leading to his retirement from the Société des concerts du Conservatoire and markedly fewer concert performances from then on. Forestier, in turn, whilst a horn player by training was more established as a cornet player by 1843, and certainly by 1844, and his appointment at the Opéra was firmly in this new world. If Gallay had been suddenly indisposed due to ill health and Forestier was drafted in at short notice it is unsurprising that his performance was less than ideal. Donizetti’s reworking of the solo may be viewed less as a result of him realising he had not written an idiomatic horn solo than as a result of his not having had the musician he expected (Gallay), and instead a last-minute replacement who was now a specialist on a different instrument (Forestier).

Chapter Twenty One: Conclusion

Given the belief that good singers were the epitome of taste, it is not surprising that it is considered the ultimate compliment to compare an instrumentalist to a singer. I have demonstrated in my thesis the consistency with which Gallay's performances were compared with singers of his era, often specific singers associated with the Italian opera being performed in Paris, most particularly Rubini who, in turn, described Gallay as "*primo tenore"* telling the horn player "we both sing; only the instrument is different."[1] Praise went both ways, with singers and other instrumentalists being commended for sounding like Gallay's horn.[2] These accounts led me to ask the following question: if critics and musicians of the time were comparing Gallay directly with the singers of the era, often expressly those associated with the Italian school of singing, what constituted the various elements of the prevalent vocal style of this time, and what aspects of it might be particularly pertinent to horn playing?

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[1] For comparisons of Gallay's horn playing to Rubini's singing see Henri Blanchard, "Sigismond Thalberg" in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 9th year, no. 16 (17 April 1842), 168–9. "M. Gallay, qui s'est chargé de nous prouver que Rubini ne nous a pas quittés, en nous faisant entendre cette autre voix humaine qu'on appelle le cor, nous a joué un suave solo sur cet instrument d'une façon ravissante." Rubini, letter to Gallay (Paris: 18 March 1838). Private collection of Daniel Lienhard (Bern, Switzerland), "vous aussi mon cher Gallay, vous êtes *primo tenore*. Nous chantons tous deux; l'instrument seul est différent."

[2] For comparisons of other singers to Gallay's horn playing see *La France Musicale*, no. 20 (15 May 1842), 183. "La voix d'Elleviou était un ténor volumineux, un peu sombré, imitant le son du cor, mais du cor de Gallay, d'une agilité remarquable." For comparison with another instrumentalists see the following review of a performance by cellist Carlo Alfredo Piatti *Revue de Paris*, 4th series, vol. 27 (3 March 1844), 220. "The human voice has no more vibrant, more pathetic inflections; at times you might even think you were hearing Gallay's horn." "La voix humaine n'a pas d'inflexions plus vibrantes, plus pathétiques; par moments aussi vous croiriez entendre le cor de Gallay."

In **Part One** of my study I investigate the present state of historic horn performance and scholarship. In **Chapter One** I trace the development of the natural horn as part of the period instrument or historically informed performance movement of the twentieth century. I demonstrate how the modern horn aesthetic of the late twentieth century valued a homogeneity of timbre and a cleanliness of legato articulation, qualities in which the valve horn was designed to excel and argue that these criteria determined how the performance practice of the natural horn was inappropriately re-established. **Chapter Two** focusses on the sources available for this study as well as the scholarship on my subject.

Part two turns to important elements of performance practice, with **Chapter Three** (style) investigating what was considered appropriate style and how it was taught, with the emphasis being in first establishing a “correct” way of playing before graduating on to aspects of “beautiful” playing, elements closely linked with vocality. The two main elements that I believe to be essential to both the vocal school of the time and applicable to horn playing were singers’ use of timbre and portamento as expressive effects. In **Chapters Four** (timbre) and **Five** (portamento) I have demonstrated how these were elements used by all instruments that could incorporate them, that they are notoriously difficult effects to explain in text or musical notation (hence the edict “listen to good singers and emulate”) and that, whilst it can be complicated or impossible to directly map use of timbre or portamento directly from the voice to any instrument (e.g. voice to horn) or from one instrument to

another (e.g. violin to horn) they were effects that were a significant part of tasteful and affective performance.

Through analysis of over forty pedagogical sources regarding six particularly important pitches (figure 4:3 and Appendix iii) it can be demonstrated that on the horn the French were more likely to value the option to play these notes either open or stopped, whilst other geographical areas (especially Austria and Germany) favoured a single option which offers the open timbre. When we apply the approach of viewing these six notes as potentially being either open or stopped to appropriate repertoire, options emerge suggesting passages where composers, such as Gallay, have crafted phrases exploiting a particular timbre.

Portamento is feasible on the natural horn and can be highly effective, but is only possible between certain notes.

- It is possible from an open to a stopped note or vice versa **within a harmonic**. When closing the hand in the bell of the instrument a pitch descends to a semitone above the harmonic below, thus giving the potential for both ascending and descending portamenti within this range..[3]
- Given harmonics can be **bent down through the use of the hand and, to a certain extent through the use of the embouchure**, a descending portamento

[3] This is similar Dieppo's second approach to portamenti (slowly using the slide). Antoine Dieppo, *Méthode complète pour le trombone* (Paris: E. Troupenas & Cie, c.1844), 53. "Lorsque le second son se trouve dans une autre position il faut y arriver en faisant glisser légèrement les coulisses au lieu de les lancer comme on fait pour détacher."

effect, not dissimilar to a string player sliding and then changing finger, or Corri's anticipation grace, is feasible.

- It is possible between **any combination of notes that traverse more than one harmonic**: the more harmonics crossed the more viable is this effect. This utilises aspects of Dieppo's first approach to portamento between notes on the same slide position on the trombone (i.e. between notes from the same harmonic series) which he describes as being executed by using the lips "sliding slightly" between the two notes and "anticipating a little."[4]

- It is possible on the **lower harmonics** (2nd harmonic low C, 3rd harmonic low G and 4th harmonic middle C in particular) **by bending the note upwards** using a mixture of air and embouchure. This embraces an approach to these notes that is advocated primarily by the French school of natural horn playing during this era.[5] These are the only examples of the potential for a portamento to and from a semitone above an open harmonic.

- Between certain notes it is possible to **change from an open harmonic to the stopped note a semitone above and then, from there, perform a portamento to the final pitch** in a manner similar, but not identical, to a string player changing finger and then sliding, or Corri's leap

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[4] Dieppo, *Méthode complète,* 53. "Si le second son est dans la même position il faut y arriver par le jeu des lèvres en glissant légèrement sur l'espace qui le sépare du premier et en l'anticipation un peu."

[5] Jean-Antoine Blanc, *Nouvelle méthode de cor* (Lyon: Cartoux, n.d. c. 1828), 15 and *Grande méthode pour le cor* (Paris: Grus ainé, 1845), 15. Heinrich Domnich, *Méthode de Premier et de Second Cor* (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire Impérial de Musique, 1808), 17–19. Edouard Guilbaut, *Méthode très facile pour le cor d'harmonie* (Paris: E. Gérard et Cie, c. 1870), 7. François Jacqmin, *Méthode complète de premier et de second cor,* Op. 20 (Paris: Alexandre Petit, 1832), 28. Jean-Georges Kastner, *Méthode élémentaire pour le cor* (Paris: Troupenas, 1844), 10. Jean-Baptiste Victor Mohr, *Méthode de premier et de second Cor* (Paris: L. Escudier, 1870), 1.

What is more difficult, and sometimes impossible is **ascending** portamenti. The most successful ascending portamenti are those which traverse many harmonics, but when the starting and the ending note of a portamento are next-door harmonics it is not possible to perform a portamento without adding some type of "station" note en route and I maintain that this is the least effective way of performing a portamento.[6]

If this is how one can perform portamento on the horn, then the next questions is where might it be particularly appropriate to use it? Portamento is an expressive device that can be used to imbue a passage with a sense of longing, it is challenging to notate, hence the directions given to learn appropriate use by emulation of able practitioners plus the importance of understanding the character and emotion of the music being executed which can suggest use. I also maintain that one key aspect of vocal technique, the use of portamento to move between different timbres, is particularly applicable to expressive natural horn playing and should be used.[7] Additionally, there is both an expectation and desire that individual performers will use their own judgement as to what is appropriate. Use of this type of portamento may well explain what appears to be a confusing discrepancy between Gallay stating he was setting out to exploit the different timbres and his critics praising his ability to blend them.[8]

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[6] See Chapter Five, figure 5:12a, 229.

[7] Manuel García, *Garcia's Treatise on the art of singing,* ed. Albert Garcia, vol. 1 (London: Leonard & Co., n.d. c.1924), 8. Original material in Manuel García, *École de Garcia. Traité complet de l'art du chant en 2 parties*, vol. 1 (Paris: Garcia, 1857), 29–30.

[8] See Chapter Four, 173–175.

After an overview in **Chapter Six** of the three most the important horn players and teachers in early-nineteenth century France (i.e. Dauprat, Meifred and Gallay) **Part Three** of my thesis presents a biography of Gallay. Throughout these chapters I investigate the importance of Gallay's workplaces and their repertoires; including, but not restricted to, the Théâtre-Italien (**Chapter Eight**), the Société des concerts du Conservatoire (**Chapter Nine**), the Le Cercle Musical / La Société Musicale (**Chapter Eleven**) and the Conservatoire (**Chapter Thirteen**), other musicians in his circle (Kalkbrenner, Levy, Rubini, etc., **Chapter Ten** and **Twelve**) and explored reviews of his playing.

After 1843 there are noticeably fewer sources regarding Gallay's performances, and it appears that the last two decades of his life were centred more around his roles at the Conservatoire than on the concert platform. In **Chapter Fourteen** I highlighted Gallay's legacy in terms of two significant students (Jean-Baptiste-Victor Mohr and Henri-Jean Garigue) and the continuing importance of the natural horn in France into the twentieth century.

Having established the importance of Gallay through this biography I then focus on repertoire associated with him in **Part Four**. Gallay's initial breakthrough as a musician came through an emergency performance of the horn obligato "Ô toi dont ma mémoire" from François Devienne's *Les Visitandines.* In **Chapter Fifteen** I demonstrated that this solo includes many of the hallmarks of French writing for the instrument typified by the Frédéric Duvernoy, a master of what is known as the *cor*

mixte. Devienne frequently collaborated with Duvernoy and this obligato favours the use of stopped (therefore softer) notes in passages where the horn is accompanying the voice. The number of stopped notes also leads to opportunities to exploit both timbre and portamento.

Rossini's horn obligato "Inutile e quel pianto" in *Otello* is virtuosic but in keeping with his writing for the instrument in general, for example in *Aureliano in Palmira* (1813), *L'Italiana In Algeri* (1813) and *Matilde di Shabran* (1821). Although Gallay was certainly not the horn player that Rossini had in mind for this obligato, in **Chapter Sixteen** I showed how this solo is indicative of the standards and performance practices of horn players in early nineteenth-century Italy. The existence of multiple versions of this obligato has often been explained as due to Rossini needing to rein in his horn writing, and that what he was asking was too challenging, but, in fact, there is nothing in this solo that would be outside of the abilities of the Bellolis or indeed Gallay.[9] The rather basic harmonic structure of the *Otello* obligato means that there are few opportunities for a horn player to incorporate varied timbre or portamento, and also points to what I believe was part of the role of this obligato: as an accompaniment to a scene change. This music more or less comprises decoration of a tonic chord whilst the scene change takes place, and on that account it is possible to extend or reduce the musical material according to the time needed. Alongside this particular obligato I also examined a number of other examples of

[9] The three brothers Agostino (1778–1839), Giuseppe (1775–c.1845), and Luigi (1770–1817) Belloli were leading horn players in Italy. See Renato Meucci, and Gabriele Rocchetti, *The Horn* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2023), 197–199.

horn writing where the original concept and expected execution has been obscured by changing performance and editorial priorities over the centuries.

"È questo il loco" from Vaccai's *Giulietta e Romeo* is the first obligato investigated in my study which plausibly could have been written with Gallay in mind. Gallay performed the introductory obligato alongside Maria Malibran and in **Chapter Seventeen** I established that this was a significant piece in her repertoire and, as such, we have a number of important sources that can help us reconstruct aspects of her performance practice including her use of timbre and portamento. These sources include the highly annotated score created by her brother Manuel García II and early recordings by Armida Parsi-Pettinella, Guerrina Fabbri and Elisa Petri. García's, and others', attempts to notate the nuances of vocal performance (including timbre and portamento) highlight just how tricky it is to communicate this information through text or musical notation, and the existence of these important early recordings clearly indicates how prevalent the use of these expressive effects were. This chapter furthers my argument that the critics' direct comparison of Gallay's performance in this obligato with that of Malibran (how he married "his accents to those of the siren") is suggestive of a performance practice in which both the voice and horn were exploiting the same expressive devices.[10] Evidence of Malibran's performance practice, whilst impossible to map directly onto that of the horn, nonetheless suggest close analogies to it.

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[10] François-Josep Fétis, "Soirée Musicale de M. Dietz", *Revue Musicale,* vol. 5 (Paris: Au Bureau du Journal, 1829), 161. "Dans l'accompagnement de cor obligé, M. Gallay s'est montré digne de marier ses accents à ceux de la sirène."

Discussion of common ground between Malibran and Gallay continues in **Chapter Eighteen** with what, for me, had been a perplexing example of a significant obligato related to Gallay. Mercadante's *Nitocri* "Se m'abbandoni", a piece Gallay is praised for performing, contains no particularly exposed writing for the horn. My discovery not only of a set of parts including evidence of an additional obligato, but also of a version for voice, horn and piano by Gallay enforces the connection between Malibran and the horn player, and my analysis of Gallay's setting of this scena gives examples of how aspects of portamento and timbre enhances the emotional effect of the text.

Thus far the focus has been on solo obligatos. In **Chapter Ninteen** I explore how Mercadante's writing for both the whole orchestral horn section and the solo principal horn in the opening scenes ("Perche non posso" and "Ove a me rivolgi un guardo") of *I Briganti* can be seen both as examples of clever orchestration (the systematic use of stopped notes when accompanying the voice or in *smorzando* passages) as well as alluding to the character and actions of Corrado, the role of the singer.

In **Chapter Twenty** I offered a counter-argument regarding Donizetti's re-orchestration of his Overture to *Don Pasquale,* which has often been viewed as a necessary intervention due to a badly written and badly performed horn part. This work was written for the Theâtre-Italien shortly after a period in which Gallay was

particularly prominent on numerous concert platforms. Gallay's absence from this production coincides with him stepping back from many of his regular commitments with indications that this was due to ill health, and Forestier replacing Gallay for the premier is likely to have been an unforeseen situation. Unlike Gallay's famous substitution for an indisposed older colleague in Devienne's *Les Visitandines*, Forestier's rendition of the original solo did not go well, possibly exacerbated by Forestier's change of focus from the horn to the cornet at this point in his career. As can be seen by my comparison with Gallay's own compositions, Donizetti's writing for the instrument is completely in keeping with many aspects of Gallay's performance practice and gives a number of opportunities to incorporate what Dauprat describes as "true portamento".

Both this biography (Part Three) and the associated repertoire discussed (Part Four) clearly position Gallay as a significant performing musician in the Italian opera circles in Paris from the 1820s through to, at least, the early 1840s, with the last two decades of his life centred more on his role as a teacher at the Conservatoire.

The use of varied timbre and portamento are essential elements in the vocal technique that would have been heard on the stage of the Théâtre-Italien, and many key works associated with Gallay offer a natural horn player ample opportunity to exploit both effects, but how should one go about using them? To explore this I wish to utilise a core piece of the horn's repertoire, Camille Saint-Saëns's *Romance*, Op. 36 (1874). In the UK this is often one of the first pieces of original horn repertoire

students learn and is included for the grade five syllabi for both the Association Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM) and Trinity. Given that it is written for horn in F, and therefore a particularly recognisable tonality for horn players coming from the modern horn, it is also often one of the first pieces modern horn players attempt on the natural horn.

This piece was therefore a good choice as the central work for a workshop given by the American natural horn player and teacher Sadie Glass at the 2024 International Horn Society Conference, entitled “Natural Horn: Getting started on the right Foot (Hand). Learning fundamental techniques of the natural horn by studying Saint-Saëns’ Romance, Op. 36”.[11] Glass’s objective was to use a mainstay of our repertoire as a means to share the basic techniques necessary for successful performances on the natural horn. In her presentation, given to a room full of modern horn players of mixed ability and experience, Glass explicitly warned the students to avoid certain slurs, specifically the ones which were likely to result in portamento, making it clear how for many practitioners today the approach of “cleaning up” slurs is viewed as obvious and necessary.

In her handout for this session (figure 21:1), Glass systematically strikes out any slurs between stopped and open notes, which are most likely to result in portamento. The following are removed:

[11] IHS 56 “Horns on the Horizon”, Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado.

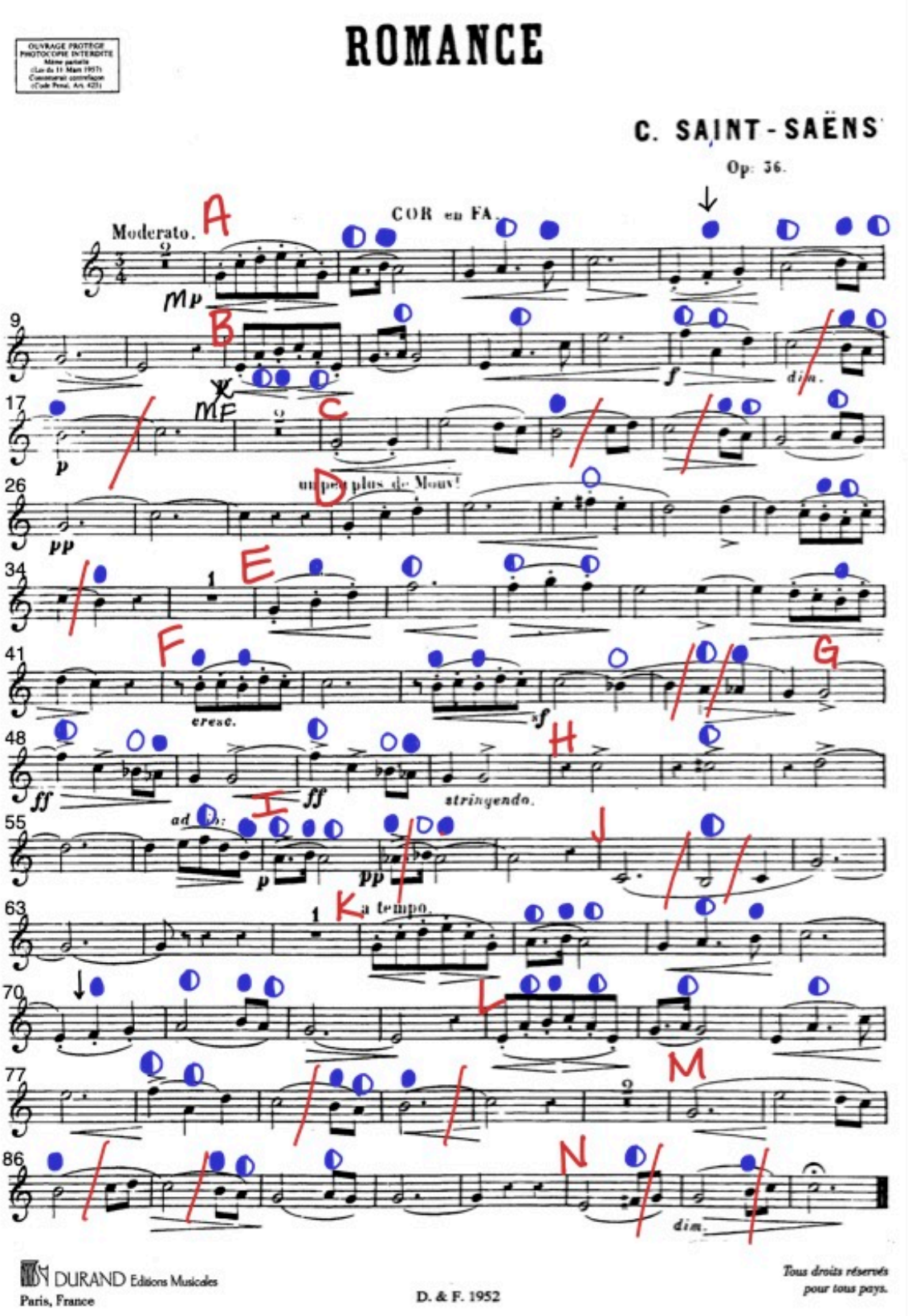


Figure 21:1: Sadie Glass, annotated horn part for Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance,* Op. 36 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874).

- **Notes within the high C (8th) harmonic;** i.e. high C to middle B (which is the result of hand stopping the high C) or vice versa: bars 16, 17, 23, 24, 34, 79, 80, 86, 87 and 92.
- **Notes within the middle B-flat (7th) harmonic;** i.e. middle B-flat to middle A-flat, and middle A-flat (the result of partially hand stopping the middle B-flat) to middle A (the result of fully hand stopping the middle B-flat) or vice versa: bars 46 and 58.
- **Notes within the middle G (6th) harmonic;** i.e. middle G to middle F-sharp (the result of partially hand stopping the middle G) or vice versa: bar 81.
- **Notes within the middle C (4th) harmonic;** i.e. middle C to low B (the result of partially hand stopping the middle C): bars 60–61.

Glass's guidance, verbally given at the 2024 conference, was in keeping with that of Paul Austin quoted in Chapter Five: i.e. to use a soft legato tongue similar to that used by modern trombonists.[12] Doing this interrupts the airflow sufficiently to prevent a seamless portamento between the notes, something viewed by Glass as undesirable.

By contrast she leaves the following slurs unchanged:

- **Any slur between two open notes.** For example bars 9, 22, 26–27, 41, 45, 72–73, 84–85.

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[12] Richard Chenoweth, "Orchestral Notes: Performing on Natural Horn for Valve-horn Players. An Interview with Paul Austin" in *The Horn Call*, vol. 41, no. 1 (October 2010), 44.

- **Any slur between two stopped notes formed from two different harmonics.** For example between middle A (being formed from the hand stopped 7th harmonic middle B-flat) and middle B (being formed from the hand stopped 8th harmonic high C): bars 4, 8, 16, 57, 67, 71, 75, 79; between high F (being formed from the hand stopped 11th harmonic sharp high F/flat high F-sharp) and the aforementioned middle A: bars 15 and 78.
- **Any slur between an open and a stopped note that traverses one or more harmonics.** For example stopped middle A to open high D (bar 16), open middle G to stopped high F (bars 47–48 and 49–50), open middle G to stopped middle A (bar 12, 25 and 75), and the open high E, stopped high F, open high D, stopped middle B passage (bar 56).

Glass's approach is methodical. She removes any slur which requires moving from a stopped note to an open one or vice versa within a harmonic, but leaves all the rest. By avoiding "passing from a stopped note to an open note" within a harmonic Glass is avoiding Dauprat's "easiest [slur] to play", the one he considered the "best sounding on the horn" but the one that modern horn players have been taught to avoid at all costs.[13]

Instead, I would advocate actively incorporating portamenti and have found places such as bars 17–18, 60–61, 80–81 particularly effective.

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[13] Dauprat, *Méthod*, vol. 1, 72. "Le passage d'une note factice à une note naturelle est, de toutes les liaisons, la plus aisée à bien rendre sur le cor."

In contrast Glass does retain the slurs that traverse more than one harmonic, for example the open middle G to stopped high F in bars 47–48 and 49–50 which crosses from the 6th to a note resulting from the 12th, or the stopped high F to stopped middle A, a note resulting from the 12th harmonic to a note resulting from the 7th. Through efficient use of the embouchure it is possible to play these intervals slurred without any sense of portamento, something more akin to García's *son liés* than his *sons portés*; however, in order to emulate vocal practices I would argue that these opportunities for portamento traversing more than one harmonic should be also exploited.[14]

Returning to the premise that the French school of hand horn playing favoured an approach to certain notes (often enharmonics) which allowed the performer to choose either an open version or stopped version, there are two places in Glass's approach to the Saint-Saëns which I believe fail to recognise this as an option.[15]

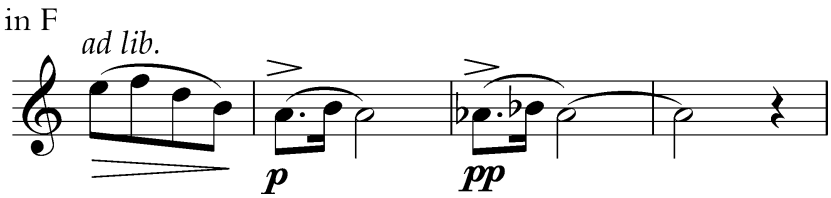


Figure 21:2: Bars 56–59 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance,* Op. 36 (Paris: L Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874). (Audio example 21_01).[16]

[14] García, *Garcia's Treatise*, vol. 1, 9. Original material in García, *École de Garcia,* vol. 1, 31.

[15] See Chapter Three and figure 3:3 Six notes which can be played stopped or (very) open.

[16] All audio illustrations in this chapter recorded by the author on an original Lucien-Joseph Raoux *cor solo* horn (Paris, c.1810) with a replica mouthpiece ("Gallay" by L'Olifant, Paris, 2018).

In bars 56 through to 59 (figure 21:2) the horn has an *ad lib* passage in which the accompaniment is silent. The drop from *piano* (bar 57) to *pianissimo* (bar 58) is challenging to accomplish when the middle B-flat is played with the hand out of the bell. If, however, it is played as a stopped note then the dynamic effect, plus the relationship between the two bars (bar 58 repeating the material from bar 57 down a semitone) is easier to achieve. The intonation of the stopped middle B-flat can be a problem but, given that there is no accompaniment at this point which might make the sharpness of this note clear, not only is it is possible to mitigate this issue but I would argue that Saint-Saëns' scoring lends further credence to my suggestion of playing this as a stopped note.

Further evidence in support of this hypothesis can be heard in the 1929 recording of the *Romance* by piston horn player Édouard Vuillermoz (1869–1939) (Audio example 21_02).[17] Vuillermoz studied natural horn at the Paris Conservatoire under Gallay's successor Jean Mohr, graduating in 1889, but was of a generation of horn players destined to make their careers as piston horn players. In this recording Vuillermoz uses hand stopping for bars 58 and 59 which may be indicative of a performance practice learnt as part of his natural horn training in the 1880s.

The stopped bars (57–59) are immediately followed by a passage which, if one chooses to play the low B as an open note rather than a stopped note, can be

[17] Édouard Vuillermoz (horn), G. Haas (piano). 1929. *Camille Saint-Saëns, Romance en Fa Op. 36*. LP. L 753, 78 t. France: Voix de son maître.

rendered as a totally open phrase (bars 60–64, figure 21:3). Given the flexibility of the 4th harmonic middle C (bar 60) it is possible to use portamento to and from the low B (regardless of whether a player chooses to play the B as a stopped or open note), but given that the rest of the phrase incorporates only open notes I would favour the latter approach.

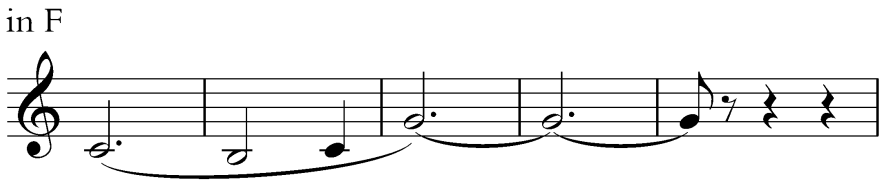


Figure 21:3: Bars 60–64 from Camille Saint-Saëns, *Romance,* Op. 36 (Paris: L Durand, Schoenewerk & Cie., c.1874). (Audio example 21_03).

Saint-Saëns dedicated the *Romance,* Op. 36, to one of Gallay's pupils, Henri-Jean Garigue (1842–1906), who, it has been suggested, performed it for the first time in early February 1874.[18] This was swiftly followed by a performance given by another of Gallay's former pupils, Nicolas-Baptiste Lichtlé (fl. 1854–c.1900), who performed the work on 14 February 1874 at the Salle Herz, Paris.[19] Two years later Lichtlé published a version of Gallay's *Méthode,* thus making it credible that he was advocating a performance style that utilised the expressive devices discussed in this thesis.[20]

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[18] Camille Saint-Saëns, ed. Dominik Rahmer *Romances for Horn and Piano* (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 2013), v. *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, year 41, no. 7 (15 February 1874), 55.

[19] "Concerts et auditions musicales" in *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, year 41, no. 8, 62 (22 February 1874)

[20] Ch. B. [Charles Bannelier], "Bibliographie Musicale: GALLAY - *Méthode de cor*, revue et augmentée de six morceaux transcrits, par N. Lichtlé" in *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 43rd year, no. 10 (5 March 1876) 75.

The study I have undertaken suggests many further avenues for research. Given that timbre and portamento are just two of the many appropriate expressive devices associated with the vocal schools of the nineteenth century, there are other such devices that could be similarly applied to the horn. I touch upon elements of ornamentation and improvisation, but, given the focus of this particular study, this subject has not been covered in depth.

Exploiting portamento and timbre appears to be anathema to some modern-day horn players and, outside certain geographic areas, the use of vibrato is also highly controversial, if not taboo. Given the difficulty in notating or explaining the technique in text, a potential study of the use of vibrato in nineteenth-century horn playing would encounter similar challenges to that of timbre and portamento and would require a similar methodology, i.e. exploring reviews of horn players' performances plus turning to other instruments and voices in order to establish how and when the technique was used by them.

In this study I have used the central figure of Gallay, a musician recognised during his lifetime as "[a] true singer on his instrument" and one who enjoyed "the reputation of being the best horn player in Paris", in order to focus on horn playing associated with the Italian vocal school in Paris,[21] but very different things were happening for horn playing elsewhere in Europe in the nineteenth century. I would suggest that part

[21] Anton Schindler, *Beethoven in Paris,* (Munster: Aschendorff, 1842), fn. 17. "Ein wahrer Sänger auf seinem Instrumente, und geniest des Rufes, der beste Hornist in Paris zu seyn."

of the reason the French valued and continued to write for the natural horn was due to the instrument being better placed to emulate the prevailing style of singing. By contrast, in German-speaking nations different criteria were desirable in singing, to which the early valve horn was more closely analogous. Further study of singing in these regions is required in order to fully establish this hypothesis.

I have argued here that there is very strong evidence to support the incorporation of portamento and exploitation of the timbres offered by the stopped and open notes of the natural horn for French and Italian repertoire of the long nineteenth century and that doing so today in HIP ensembles would be particularly desirable.

To conclude this thesis I feel it is fitting to finish with Gallay's words from his essay "On taste, on style, the nuances, the expression and the effect of the stopped notes" from his *Méthode,* advice which I believe to be pertinent to horn players looking for guidance as to how to incorporate timbre and portamento into their playing.[22] Here Gallay reiterates how performers are tasked with "bringing life and movement" to the notated music, what he describes as the "inanimate painting" that a performer has "in front of him".[23]

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[22] Jacques-François Gallay, "Du gout, du style, des nuances, de l'expression et de l'effet des sons bouchés" in *Méthode pour le Cor,* Op. 54 (Paris: Schonenberger, c.1842/3), 91.

[23] Gallay, *Méthode*, 91. "La second tient à l'exécutant, c'est à lui de donner de la vie, du movement à ce tableau inanimé qu'il a sous les yeux".

Our task, he states, is to understand the emotions, the character that the composer wishes to convey and to use the expressive devices our instrument has in order to communicate them.

> With tact and instinct one can give each piece the expression that is appropriate for it: this is what truly constitutes the artist, this is how he can reach the sublime in art.[24]

Gallay closes his *Méthode* by paraphrasing advice from “the famous Garat” (Pierre-Jean Garat, 1764–1823) and the “great maestro Rossini” who “once told us: that the best school for an instrumentalist was that of a good singer”.[25] “In our turn”, Gallay suggests “we will be allowed to reverse the phrase: the best school for a singer is that of a good instrumentalist.”[26]

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[24] Gallay, *Méthode*, 91.”Avec du tact et de l'instinct on arrive à donner à chaque morceau l'expression qui lui convient: voilà ce qui constitue véritablement l'artiste, c'est ainsi qu'il peut atteindre au sublime de l’art."

[25] Gallay, *Méthode*, 91.”En assimilant l’élève qui veut jouer du Cor à l’élève qui apprend à chanter, nous rappellerons ici ce que nous disaient un jour et le célèbre Garat et le grand maestro Rossini: que la meilleure école pour un instrumentiste était celle d’un bon chanteur”

[26] Gallay, *Méthode*, 91. “[À] notre tour, on nous permettra de renverser ainsi la phrase: la meilleure école pour un chanteur est celle d’un bon instrumentiste.”

APPENDICES

i. Catalogue of Gallay's works
ii. Baumann Competition winners
iii. Hand position charts regarding key notes
iv. Dauprat Portamenti studies
v. Gallay's "Scène & Cavatine de Nitocri"

i. Catalogue of Gallay's works

During the nineteenth century Gallay's compositions were published by a number of firms. It is clear, that at the beginning of his career, his works were being distributed by many different publishing houses with a certain amount of crossover due to firms and their stock being bought up by other companies, for example Jules Colombier (formerly an apprentice to Janet et Cotelle) acquiring Alexandre Petit's company in 1838 with Colombier later being subsumed into Henry Lemoine's business. Therefore often late editions show evidence of the earlier, or earliest edition.

For the dating of many of the plate numbers I have consulted Anik Devriès and François Lesure, *Dictionnaire des éditeurs de musique française,* 2 vols. (Geneva: Editions Minkoff, 1979) and lists on International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP) / Petrucci Music Library (https://imslp.org/).

The following catalogues have also proven useful in suggesting dates and publishers of Gallay's works:

CMC	Jacques-François Gallay, "Catalogue de Musique Pour le Cor", in *Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés,* Op. 27 (Paris: A. Petit, c.1833).
COC	Jacques-François Gallay, "Catalogue des ouvrages composés par Mr. Gallay" in 2eme Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano, sur une cavatine d'Anna Bolena Op. 25 (Paris: Dauprat, pre 1833).
HOF	Friedrich Hofmeister, *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1830–1830).
GMP	*Gazette Musicale de Paris* no. 27 (Paris: 6 July 1834), 220.
PC1	*Catalogue des ouvrages composant le fonds de Pacini, compositeur et éditeur de musique,* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1821).
PC2	"Premier supplément" to *Catalogue des ouvrages composant le fonds de musique de Pacini, compositeur, éditeur de musique à Paris* (Paris: Dondey-Dupré, 1821).
RM1	Fétis, *Revue Musicale,* year 5 no. 16 (Paris: 21 May 1831), 128.
RM2	Fétis, *Revue Musicale*, year 7, no. 6 (Paris: 9 March 1833), 48
WHI	Carl Friedrich Whistling, *Handbuch der musikalischen Literatur oder allgemeines systematisch-geordnetes Verzeichniss der in Deutschland und in den angrenzenden Ländern gedruckten Musikalien* (Leipzig: C.F. Whistling, 1828).
WHS	Carl Friedrich Whistling, *Ergänzungsband zum Handbuch der musickalischen Literatur* (Leipzig: C.F. Whistling, 1829), 1188.

Surviving sources have been found in the following collections:

B-Ac	Koninklijk Conservatorium - Artesis Hogeschool, Bibliotheek, Antwerpen Belgium.
B-Gc	Koninklijk Muziekconservatorium, Muziekbibliotheek, Gent, Belgium.
D-Bim	Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Bibliothek, Berlin, Germany.
DK-Kk	Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen, Denmark.
F-Pn	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, France.
GB-Lbl	British Library, London, United Kingdom.
I-CAcon	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, Cagliari, Italy.
I-Gl	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Niccolò Paganini, Genova
I-Mc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi di Milano, Milan, Italy.
I-PESc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio Gioachino Rossini, Pesaro, Italy.
I-PAp	Biblioteca Palatina, Parma. Italy.
I-Nc	Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Majella, Napoli, Italy.
I-REim	Biblioteca Armando Gentilucci del Conservatorio di musica di Reggio Emilia e Castelnovo ne' Monti, Reggio nell'Emilia, Italy.
I-SASc	Conservatorio di Musica L. Canepa, Biblioteca, Sassari, Italy.
NL-Ua	Het Utrechts Archief, Utrecht, Netherlands.
PC-AR	Private collection, Artescripta, Holland.
PC-DL	Private collection, Daniel Lienhard, Switzerland.
PC-JB	Private collection, Jeroen Billiet, Belgium.
PC-MR	Private collection, Meir Rimon archive, Israel.
PC-RO	Private collection Robert Ostermeyer, Germany.
PC-YT	Private collection Yves Tramon, France.
US-Cum	University of Chicago, Music Collection, Chicago, IL, USA.

Op. 1 **Douze duos concertans pour deux cors**
Dedication: M. François de Vilar Ainé (élève de Frédéric Duvernoy)
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: c.1813 (plate number O 156)
Source: IMSLP

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Pacini edition)
Date: Lemoine address suggests 1854–1876
(plate number "156HL", plus O156)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 2 **Douze duos concertans pour deux cors**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: 1821 or earlier (listed in PC1, 27)
Source: D-Bim (VIII Gallay 3/2)

_____

Publisher; Schonenberger
Date: 1842 (plate number S.963)
Source: I-CAcon (2062)

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Schonenberger edition)
Date: unclear (plate number 11436 HL, plus S.963)
Source: I-CAcon (2062)

Op. 3 **Douze petits airs en duos faciles pour deux cors /**
Douze nocturnes brillants et faciles
Dedication: unclear - "A. Tastu/Gastu? Laubert?"
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: 1821 or earlier (listed in PC1, 27)
Source: not found (listed in PC1, 27)

_____

Publisher; Schonenberger
Date: 1842 (plate number S.964)

Source: IMSLP

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Schonenberger edition)
Date: unclear (plate number 11437 HL, plus S.964)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 4 **Fantasie**
Dedication: M. Breton
Instrumentation: horn and piano, or horn and orchestra

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: 1821 or earlier (listed in PC1, 27)
Source: I-PESc (20792)

_____

Publisher; Schonenberger
Date: 1842 (plate number S.966)
Source: IMSLP

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Schonenberger edition)
Date: not clear (plate number 11438 HL, plus S.966)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 5 **Premiere Solo pour cor-alto avec accomp. de piano ou d'orchestre**
Dedication: Louis-François Dauprat
Instrumentation: horn and piano or horn and orchestra (1200/2000/strings)

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: pre 1821 (listed in PC2, 10)
Source: F-Pn (K-2005). Orchestral parts only, missing solo part.

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: pre 1828 (listed in WHI, 325)
Source: not found (listed in WHI, 325)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c.1833 (plate number 809 A.P., also listed in CMC)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163652)

_____

Publisher: Gallet (successor to Colombier, reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: post c. 1892
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163652)

Op. 6 **Rondeau pastoral**
Dedication: Son Ami L.(?) Hilbert
Instrumentation: horn and piano or horn and orchestra (2202/2000/timpani/strings)

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: pre 1821 (listed in PC2, 10)
Source: not found (listed in PC2, 10)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: 1828 (plate number Z.50, also listed in WHI, 325)
Source: F-Pn (VM26-170, VM26-170 (A))

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

Op. 7 **Deuxième solo pour le cour avec piano obligé**
Dedication: M. de Lachambre
Instrumentation: horn and piano or horn and orchestra (2202/2000/timpani/strings)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: pre 1825 (plate number Z.52)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-796, VM9-796 (A))

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1835 (811 A.P., also listed in CMC)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163651)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: 1838 or later
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163651)

_____

Publisher: Gallet (successor to Colombier, reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: post c. 1892

Source: I-Mc (MUS0163651)

Op. 8 **Romance favorite de M. Romagnesi ("Depuis longtemps j'aimais Adèle") et air varié avec accomp.t de piano ou harpe**
Dedication: Martin Ancessy
Instrumentation: horn and piano, horn and harp

_____

Publisher: Mme Leduc
Date: 1828 or earlier (plated number 1331, listed in WHI, 325)
Source: D-Bim (55 NB 16903)

Op. 9 **Troisième solo pour le cor avec piano obligé / Troisième solo avec piano ou harpe**
Dedication: M. [François] Jaubert de Passa
Instrumentation: horn and piano / horn and harp

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c. 1828 (plate number 990 A.P., listed in WHI, 325)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163650)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: 1838 or later
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163650)

_____

Publisher: Gallet (successor to Colombier, reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: post c. 1892
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163650)

Op. 10 **Douze duos pour deux cors**
Dedication: N. Mourin
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Pacini
Date: 1830 or earlier (HOF (March and April 1830), 22)
Source: not found (included in COC and HOF as above)

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1842–43 (plate number S.965)
Source: I-CAc (2061) (Henry Lemoine reprint)

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Schoenberger edition)
Date: post 1893 (plated number 14439HL)
Source: I-CAc (2061)

Op. 11 **Quatrième solo pour cor, avec accompagnement d'orchestre ou de piano**
Dedication: M. P. Langlois
Instrumentation: horn and piano, or horn and orchestra

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: included in COC, 1833 or earlier?
Source: not found (listed in COC)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c.1833 (plate number 813 A.P. also listed in CMC).
Source: F-Pn (K-2006)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: 1838 or later
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163649)

_____

Publisher: Gallet (successor to Colombier, reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: post c. 1892, reprint of the Petit edition
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163649)

Op. 12 **Cinquième solo pour cor, avec accompagnement d'orchestre ou de piano**
Dedication: M. Domnich
Instrumentation: horn and piano, or horn and orchestra

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: c. 1829 (plate number Z 79)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163648)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Zetter edition)
Date: c. 1829 (plate number Z 79)

Source: I-Mc (MUS0163648)

Op. 13 **Trente études pour le cor précédées d'une gamme enharmonique avec des signes indiquant les mouvemens de la main du pavillon**
Dedication: Monsieur Victor de Vaufleury amateur.
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: 1829
Source: not found (listed in WHS and COC)

_____

Publisher: Ricordi
Date: 1828
Source: I-Mc (MUS0254973)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c. 1835 (plate number 815 A.P.)
Source: GB-Lbl (h.2308.b.)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of Petit)
Date: 1838 or later (plate number 815 A.P.)
Source: GB-Lbl (h.2308.b.)

_____

Op. 14 **Douze duos faciles pour deux cors**
Dedication: M. Emile Cournest
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: included in COC, 1833 or earlier?
Source: not found (listed in COC)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

Op. 15 **Fantaisie pour cor et piano sur une romance de M. Blangini ("Le baiser")**
Dedication: Vicomte de La Ferté

Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Janet et Cotelle
Date: 1826–1829 (plate number 2234 J.C.)
Source: PC-DL

Op. 16 **Vingt-quatre duos pour deux cors**
Dedication: Alphonse Jame
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: c. 1829 (Z.99)
Source: PC-Artescripta

_____

Publisher: Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel
Date: c. 1829 (plate number 4950)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0153967)

_____

Publisher: Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

_____

Publisher: Colombier
Date: 1844
Source: not found

Op. 17 **Fantaisie pour cor et piano sur une romance de Mr. Paër ("La veuve grecque")**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Heu
Date: included in COC, 1833 or earlier?
Source: not found (listed in COC)

Op. 18 **Premier Concerto pour le cor**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and orchestra (2222/2200/timpani/strings)

_____

Publisher: Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel

Date: 1831 (plate number 5117)
Source: D-Bim (DMS 50682)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: pre c. 1833 (COC)
Source: not found (listed in COC)

_____

Publisher: Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

Op. 19 **Sixième solo pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano ou 2 violons, alto, basse et contrebasse ad lib.**
Dedication: M. de Boischevalier
Instrumentation: horn and piano, or horn and strings

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (plate number 819 A.P., also listed in CMC)
Source: I-PAp (11608, F. Rari.B.0073)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of Petit)
Date: 1838 or later (plate number 819 A.P.)
Source: I-PAp (11608, F. Rari.B.0073)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: included in COC, 1833 or earlier?
Source: not found (listed in COC)

Op. 20 **Souvenirs *d'Otello*, fantaisie pour cor et piano**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: c. 1831 (RM1)
Source: not found (listed in RM1)

_____

Publisher: Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found CMC (listed in CMC)

Op. 21 **[1ere] Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano, sur l'air de *Montano et Stéphanie* [de Berton]**
Dedication: Mr Tinseau Amateur
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Janet & Cotelle
Date: Included in COC, 1833 or earlier? (plate number 2359 J.C.)
Source: PC-DL

Op. 22 **Trois récréations pour le cor avec accompagnement de basse**
Dedication: F. Fraisse.
Instrumentation: horn and bass

_____

Publisher: Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel
Date: 1831 (HOF (September/October 1831) 75)
Source: D-Bim (DMS 50683)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: c. 1831 (RM1)
Source: not found (listed in RM1 and COC)

_____

Publisher: Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

Op. 23 **Septième solo pour le cor avec piano obligé**
Dedication: M. Kalkbrenner
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (plate number 822 A.P., also listed in CMC)
Source: I-Mc (MUS0163647)

_____

Publisher: Zetter
Date: c. 1831 (RM1)
Source: not found (listed in RM1 and COC)

Op. 24 **Trois grands trios pour trois cors en Mi**
Dedication: Anton Reicha
Instrumentation: three horns

_____

Publisher: Gambaro
Date: pre 1814 according to the plate number (G. 15), however address suggests 1828–1833.
Source: B-Ac (MM-BH-GALLA-grands1–3)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: B-Ac (MM-BH-GALLA-grands1–3)

Op. 25 **2eme Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano, sur une cavatine d'*Anna Bolena* [Donizetti]**
Dedication: F. De Montricher
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (CMC)
Source: not found (listed in CMC)

_____

Publisher: Dauprat (using an earlier Gambarro edition).
Date: pre 1814 (plate number G. 16)
Source: PC-DL

Op. 26 **Grand quatuor pour quatre cors en différens tons**
Dedication: Rossini
Instrumentation: four horns

_____

Publisher: Gambaro
Date: G.26
Source: B-Gc (II 1375)

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit (reprint of Gambaro)
Date: pre c. 1833 (plate number G.26, listed in CMC)
Source: B-Gc (II 1375)

_____

Publisher: Zetter (reprint of Gambaro)
Date: (plate number G.26 see above)
Source: PC-Artescripta

_____

Publisher: Colombier (after Petit)

Date: 1838 or later
Source: B-Gc (II 1375)

Op. 27 **Quarante préludes pour le cor mesurés et non mesurés**
Dedication: Charles Courcier
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: pre c. 1833 (plate number 826 A.P., listed in CMC, RM2)
Source: GB-Lbl (h.2163.(1.))

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of Petit)
Date: 1838 or later (plate number 826 A.P.)
Source: I-PAp (11597, F. Rari.B.0052)

Op. 28 **3eme Mélodie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano sur une cavatine de *La Somnambule* [Bellini]**
Dedication: Monsieur P Rogier
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c.1834 (plate number 828 A.P., listed in GMP)
Source: PC-MR

Op. 29 **Souvenirs du *Pirate* de Bellini, Fantaisie pour le cor, avec accompagnement de piano**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c. 1834 (listed in GMP)
Source: not found (listed in GMP)

Op. 30 **Fantaisie brillante pour cor et piano sur la *Straniera* de Bellini**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c.1834 (plate number 830 A.P., listed in GMP)
Source: B-Ac

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: 1838 or later
Source: B-Ac (MM-BH-GALLA-fanta-2)

Op. 31 **Huitième solo pour le cor avec piano obligé**
Dedication: M. Couppé de l'Isle
Instrumentation: horn and piano, or horn and orchestra

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: 1835 (plate number 803 A.P.)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-797)

_____

Publisher: Gallet (successor to Colombier, reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: post c. 1892, reprint of the Petit edition
Source: F-Pn (VM9-797)

Op. 32 **Douze grands caprices pour le cor, faisant suite aux études et préludes**
Dedication: Ami E. Poignié
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: 1835 (plate number 802 A.P.)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-786)

Op. 33 **20 Mélodies Gracieuses d'Adam, Bellini, Rossini, Weber etc., arrangées pour le cor**
Dedication: Al. de S. Mor
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1835 (plate number S.348)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-795)

Op. 34 **Fantaisie sur la romance "Ma Normandie" de Frédéric Bérat pour cor avec accompagnement de piano ou d'orchestre**
Dedication: Étienne Rolland
Instrumentation: horn and piano, horn and orchestra

_____

Publisher: Bernard Latte
Date: c.1836–1838 (plate number B.L.1249)
Source: PC-RO

Op. 35 **Trois nocturnes pour cor et piano sur les motifs des opéras *La Juive, L'éclair* et *Les Huguenots***
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

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Publisher: not known
Date: c. 1836? (premiere of *Les Huguenots*)
Source: not found

_____

VERSION FOR CORNET
Publisher: M. Schlesinger
Date: 1836 (plate number M.S. 2143)
Source: I-Nc (13037)

Op. 36 **Premier nocturno concertante pour cor et piano**
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Alexandre Petit
Date: c.1835 (plate number 902 A.P.)
Source: PC-DL

Op. 37 **Vingt-quatre exercices dans tous les tons**
Dedication: Fromental Halévy
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1842/1843 (plate number S.999)
Source: GB-Lbl (h.2308)

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of Schonenberger)
Date: c.1893 or later (plate number 14522HL)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 38 **Trois grands duos**
Dedication: Léon Gigot

Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1837 (plate number S.420)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-789)

Op. 39 **Neuvième Solo de cor avec accompagnement de piano**
Dedication: son ami Eugéne Bazile
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1838 (plate number S.737)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-798)

Op. 40 **Fantasie Brillante pour le cor avec Acomp. de piano ou d'Orchestra sur un Motif de *Norma* de Bellini.**
Dedication: I. (?) Moppert
Instrumentation: horn and piano, horn and orchestra

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1837 (plate number S.398)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-792)

Op. 41 **6 duos faciles (2 suites)**
Dedication: M. Couppé de l'Isle
Instrumentation: two horns

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1838/1839 (plate number S.491.1, S.491.2)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-788 (1-2))

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of Schonenberger)
Date: c.1893 or later (plate number 13708HL)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-788 (1-2))

Op. 42 **Fantaisie sur une cavatine de *Belisario* de Donizetti**
Dedication: B. de Taxò
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger

Date: 1838/1839 (plate number S.493)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-793)

Op. 43 **12 grandes études brillantes**
Dedication: Messieurs les Artistes et Amateurs de la Ville de Perpignan
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel
Date: 1831 (HOF (October/November 1839) 131)
Source: not found (listed in HOF as above)

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1839 (plate number S. 528)
Source: F-Pn (VM8 K-13)

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of the Schoenberger edition)
Date: post 1893 (plated number 14439HL)
Source: PC-AS (REA0179101)

Op. 44 **Récréations musicales sur des motifs italiens pour cor seul (2 suites)**
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1839 (plate numbers S. 554.1, S. 554.2)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2738)

Op. 45 **Dixième solo**
Dedication: Jacques Mayer 1er cor de la chapelle de S.A.S. le Duc de Nassau
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1839/1840 (plate number S. 600)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-799)

Op. 46 **Fantaisie sur *L'elisir d'amore* de Donizetti**
Dedication: M. Mainnemare
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1838 (plate number S. 461)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2735)

Op. 47 **3 Fantaisies**
No. 1 Fantaisie sur *Les Treize* [Halévy]
No. 2 Fantaisia sopra un motivo della *Bianca e Fernando* [Bellini]
No. 3 Fantaisie sur *Le Shérif* [Halévy]
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

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Publisher: M. Schlesinger
Date: unknown
Source: not found

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NB whilst no horn versions of Op. 47 have been traced a version of the no. 2 for cornet (Milan: Ricordi, no date, plate number 12578) is in the I-Mc collection (A.36.25.8)

Op. 48 **Harmonies du soir 3 mélodies favorites de H. Proch**
No. 1 "Aux étoiles" [Proch, "An die Sterne", Op. 6]
No. 2 "La batelière du Rhin" [unidentified]
No. 3 La nostalgie" [Proch, "Schweitzers Heimweh", Op. 38]
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1840/1841 (plate number S. 704)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2739)

Op. 49 **Fantaisie brillante pour le cor avec accompagnement de piano sur l'opéra *Les martyrs* de Donizetti**
Dedication: À Monsieur le Marquis de Bellissen
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1840/1841 (plate number S. 738)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2736)

Op. 50 **12 duos faciles pour deux cors**
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: c.1841 (plate number S. 763)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2734)

Op. 51 ***Les chants du cœur* 6 mélodies favorites de François Schubert (3 suites)**
Suite No. 1:
No. 1 "Ave Maria" ["Ave Maria", Op. 52, no. 6, D.839, from *Ellens dritter Gesang*]
No. 2 "Barcarolle" ["Auf dem Wasser zu singen", Op. 72, D.774]
Suite No. 2:
No. 1 "La truite" ["Die Forelle", Op. 32, D.550]
No. 2 "Les plaintes d'une jeune fille"
["Das Mädchens Klage", Op. 58, no. 3, D.191]
Suite No. 3:
No. 1 "Chansons des chasseurs" [a combination of *Jagdlied* D. 521 and "Am Meer" from *Schwanengesang*, Op. post., D.957].
No. 2 Marguerite ["Gretchen am Spinnrade", Op. 2, D.118]
Dedication: son ami Georges Henry
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1840/1841 (plate number S.787)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-2737)

Op. 52 **Onzième Solo de cor avec accompagnement de piano**
Dedication: Louis Brulé (son élève)
Instrumentation: horn and piano

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1842/1843 (plate number S. 994)
Source: IMSLP

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of Schonenberger)
Date: c.1893 or later (plate number 14516HL)

Source: IMSLP

Op. 53 **Dix-huit mélodies élégantes (2 suites)**
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1843 (plate number S. 1047)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 54 **Méthode pour cor**
Dedication: Auber
Instrumentation: horn (inc. duets)

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1843 (plate number S. 990)
Source: F-Pn (VM8 K-12)

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine (reprint of Schonenberger)
Date: c.1893 or later (plate number 14512 HL)
Source: GB-Lbl (h.2308.a.)

Op. 55 **Douzième Solo de cor avec acc. de piano**
Dedication: Auguste Raoux
Instrumentation: horn and piano

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1844 (plate number S. 1055)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-800)

Op. 56 **Souvenirs et regrets, mélodies pour cor et piano**
Dedication: Augustin Gandais
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1844 (plate number S. 1102)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-801 (1) and (2))

Op. 57 **Douze études pour second cor**
Dedication: Conte de Farrobo

Instrumentation: horn

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1847 (plate number S. 1380)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-791)

Op. 58 **Vingt-deux fantaisies mélodiques (2 suites)**
Dedication: None
Instrumentation: horn

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1850 (plate number S. 1581)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-794 (1-2))

_____

Publisher: Henry Lemoine
Date: c.1893 or later (plate number 15247 HL)
Source: IMSLP

Op. 59 **Les échos, 3 petites fantaisies**
No. 1 "Le cor des Alpes" [Proch, Das Alpenhorn, Op. 18]
No. 2 "Les combats du cœur"
No. 3 "Je pense à toi"
Dedication: Monsieur Armand de Melotte de Lamalle
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1855 (plate numbers S. 2180.1, S. 2180.2, S. 2180.3)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-790 (1-3))

Op. 60 **3 Caprices**
No. 1 "Le Cor" [Panseron, "Le Cor"]
No. 2 "Les Zéphirs" [Mercadante, "Le Zéphir"/"Il Zeffiro" from *Soirées Italiennes*]
No. 3 "Te dire adieu" [Donizetti, *L'amor funesto*, A 286]
Dedication: Monsieur Armand de Melotte de Lamalle
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1854 (plate numbers S. 2181.1, S. 2181.2 and S. 2181.3)
Source: F-Pn (VM9-787 (1-3))

Op. 61 **13eme Solo pour cor en F** "inédit"
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: horn (piano part, if one exists, not included)

_____

Publisher: manuscript
Date: c.1895
Source: PC-JB
Part of a collection of handwritten horn parts made by Léon Dubois (1859–1935). As Dubois made a number of his own arrangements the authenticity of this and Op. 62 has been questioned.

Op. 62 **14eme Solo de Concours pour cor basse en F** "inédit"
Dedication: none
Instrumentation: horn and piano

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Publisher: manuscript
Date: 1899
Source: PC-JB
Part of a collection of handwritten horn parts made by Léon Dubois. See Op. 61 regarding questions of authenticity.

Works without opus numbers

["Se m'abbandoni"] Scène et Cavatine de l'Opéra de *Nitocri,* Musique de Mercadente chantée par Mme Malibran, arrangée avec accompagnement de cor
Dedication: Monsieur Henry de Rualz
Instrumentation: horn, voice, piano

_____

Publisher: A. Petit
Date: c. 1835 (plate number 827 A.P.)
Source: NL-Ua (1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436)

_____

Publisher: Colombier (reprint of the Petit edition)
Date: 1838 or later
Source: NL-Ua (1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436)

Deux morceaux de concert pour chant et cor

[Donizetti, “Una furtiva lagrima” / “Une Larme Furtive” from *L'élixir d’amour / L’elisire d’amore.* Donizetti, “Da che tornasti” / “Fuis Laisse Moi” from *Roberto Devereux / Robert Devereux*]
Dedication: Théodore Mertian, Amateur
Instrumentation: horn, voice, piano

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Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1839 (plate number S.N.538)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-50627)

“L’Appel du Chasseur” pour chant et cor avec accompag.t de piano [Mercadante, “Alla caccia” / “L’appel du chasseur” from *Soirées italiennes*]
Dedication: Théodore Mertian, Amateur
Instrumentation: horn, voice, piano

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: 1839 (plate number S.N.539)
Source: F-Pn (VM7-3369)

La St Hubert - 6 Fanfares en Trios sur des melodies favourites
Dedication: None
Instrumentation: three horns

_____

Publisher: Schonenberger
Date: c.1841 (plate number S.N.789)
Source: F-Pn (VM17-347)

Romance *Bianca e Fernando*
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and piano

_____

Publisher: Bernard Latte
Date: c. 1835
Source: US-Cum (f M1.M83)

Canon d'octave
Dedication:
Instrumentation: two horns

_____

Publisher: manuscript
Date: ?
Source F-Pn (MS-11576)

Deuxième Nocturne pour harpe et cor ou violon
NB Co-authored with Nicholas Charles Bochsa (1789–1856)
Dedication:
Instrumentation: horn and harp

_____

Publisher: unknown
Date: c. 1821 (listed in PC2, 8)
Source: not found (listed in PC2)

Prélude pour cor en fa in *Album d'autographes*
Dedication: Dantan jeune
Instrumentation: horn

_____

Publisher: manuscript
Date: 29 March 1839
Source: F-Pn (RES VM7-537)

Fragment d'une mélodie pour voix et cor ("Le bal") in *Album d'autographes*
Dedication: Alfred de Beauchesne
Instrumentation: horn, voice, piano

_____

Publisher: manuscript
Date: 6 January 1841
Source: F-Pn (W-24 (103))

ii. Baumann Competition winners

Prize winners	Jury	Set works
1984	12 candidates, under 30, from 9 countries in Europe, the USA and Canada.	
1st prize: Knut Hasselmann 2nd prize: Claude Maury and Thomas Müller 3rd prize: Ulrich Hübner	Hermann Baumann (chair), Lowell Greer, Ab Koster, Bernard Le Pogam, Jan Schroeder, Peter Stamm	Round 1: Compulsory: Gallay, Caprice no. 10 in G, Op. 32 Britten, "Prologue" from the *Serenade*. Choice**:** Beethoven, Sonata in F, Op.17 Danzi, Sonata in F [sic] Mozart, Concerto in E-flat, KV447
		Round II: Choice: Francesco Raselli (1948–1983) (passed away before completion) replaced by Hermann Baumann, *Elegia für Naturhorn* (in memory of Raselli) * Hans George Pflüger (b.1944), *Kaleidoskop für Naturhorn **
		Final Round: Mozart, Quintet in E-flat for horn and strings KV407/386c, Brahms, Trio, Op. 40, 3rd & 4th movements
1987	10 candidates from "West Germany and other countries"	
No. first prize awarded. 2nd prize: Wilhelm Bruns 3rd prize: Ulrich Hübner and Teunis Van Der Zwart	Hermann Baumann (chair), Prérad Detick, Horace Fitzpatrick, Lowell Greer, Ab Koster, Bernard Le Pogam, Thomas Müller	Round I: Compulsory: Gallay, Etude no. 1 from 12 Etudes, Op. 57 Berhard Krol (1920–2013), *Moment musical für Naturhorn**
		Choice: Haydn, Concerto no. 2, 1st movement Mozart, Concerto in E-flat KV447, 1st movement. Beethoven, Sonata in F, Op. 17, 1st movement
		Round II: Compulsory: Vitali Buyanovsky (1928–1993) *Ballade für Naturhorn.**
		Weber, Concertino 1st movement plus cadenza Choice: Mozart, Rondo in D KV412 Mozart, Rondo in E-flat KV 3761 Baumann *Elegia*, Pflüger *Kaleidoskop*

		Final Round: Mozart, Quintet in E-flat for horn and strings KV407/386c.
13th-17th June 1990		
1st prize: Javier Bonet 2nd prize: Clemens Wieck 3rd prize: Eva Marie Görres	Hermann Baumann (chair), Lowell Greer, Bernard Le Pogam, VItaly Buyanovsky, Knut Hasselmann	Round I/II Set works: Gallay, Caprice no. 10, Op. 32 Ries, Sonata, Op. 34 Mozart, KV417 and KV 317, Haydn, Concerto no. 1, plus Vincent Grüger (b.1962) *Brevi loquens; 4 Exerzitien für Naturhorn** Alun Francis (b.1943)*, The Dying Deer**
		Final Round: Haydn, Concerto no. 2 in D
16th-20th June 1993	No age limit, 12 participants representing Canada, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden, Italy, Spain and Germany	
1st prize: Ulrich Hübner No 2nd prize awarded 3rd prize: Gunilla Wancke	Ab Koster (chair), Bernard Le Pogam, Francis Orval, Adriaan van Voudenberg, Wilhelm Bruns	Round 1: Gallay, "Etude", Mozart, Concert in E flat, KV417, 1st movement, Vladimir Djambazov (b.1954), *LovenCoren**
		Round II: Compulsory: Jean-Luc Darbellay (b.1946) *Spectrum für Naturhorn** Britten, Prologue to the Serenade. Choice: Haydn, Concerto no. 1,1st movement Beethoven, Sonata in F, Op. 17 Ries, Sonata, Op. 34, 2nd & 3rd movements.
		Final round; Mozart Horn Quintet for horn and strings, 1st movement. Brahms, Trio, Op. 40, 3rd & 4th movements

Data collected from: Hella Baumann and Hermann Baumann, "Concours International de Cor Ancien a Bad Harzburg" in *La Revue du Corniste,* trans. C. Durand, vol. 34 (December 1987), 15–16; Hella Baumann, "Second International Competition for Hand-horn, Bad Harzburg, West Germany, June 17–20, 1987", in *The Horn Call*, vol. 18 (October 1987), no. 1, 19–20; Lowell Greer, "Third International Horn Competition" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 2 (1990), 210–211; Francis Orval, "Fourth International Hand-Horn Competition at Bad Harzburg, Germany" in *Historic Brass Society Journal*, vol. 5 (1993), 322–323; Jan Schroeder, "Premier Concours International de cor simple a Bad Harzburg" in *La Revue du Corniste,* trans. Martine Raveneau, vol. 24 (February 1985), 26–28.

* New commission.

iii. Hand position charts regarding key notes

1 = fully stopped, 2/3, 3/4, 1/2, 1/3, etc = degrees of stopping, 0 = open, OUT = hand out of the bell.															
	Nationality	Low F-sharp		Low G-flat		Low G-sharp		Low A-flat		Middle C-sharp		Middle D-flat			
BLJ	FR					1		OUT		1		1			
BLA	FR														
BOA	FR					1		1		1		1			
CAE	FR	1/2		1/2		1		1		1		1			
CLP	FR	2/3		2/3		1		1		1		1			
COV	FR														
COM	FR														
DAL	FR	3/4	OUT	3/4		1		0		1		1`	1		
DOH	FR (AU/DE)	1/2	0	3/4	0	1		1	0	1		1	0		
DUF	FR	2/3		2/3		1		1		1		1			
FOL	FR	1						1				1			
FLJ	FR	0													
GA1	FR									1		1			
GA2	FR									1		1	0		
GIL	FR	1/2				1				1					
GUE	FR					OUT				1		1			
HAA	FR/AT/DE	*													
JAF	FR	1/2	OUT					0		1		1	0		
KJG	FR	3/4		3/4		1	OUT	1		1		1			
LAA	FR	1/2				1				1					
LAE	FR	1/2								1					
MEJ	FR	3/4	0	3/4		1		1		1		1			
MEZ	FR	1/2		3/4		1		1		1		1			
MOJ	FR	1/2		3/4		1		0		1		1	0		
ROV	FR	1													
VAO	FR	1/2	OUT												
KH1	FR/DE/CH	1/2						1				1			
KH2	FR/DE/CH	1/2		1		1	OUT	1	OUT	1		1			
GUF	AT/DE	1/2		1/2		1	0	1	0	1		1			
HOR	AT/DE	3/4		3/4		1		1		1		1			
KLC	AT/DE									1		1			
FRO	AT/DE	3/4		3/4		1		1		1		1			
FRG	AT/DE			3/4				1		1					
FRF	AT/DE	1/2						1	0			1			
NEA	AT/DE	1/2		1/2		1		1		1		1			
PRA	AT/DE	1/2								1					
ROL	AT/DE	1/2		1/2		1	0	1	0	1		1	0		
STF	AT/DE	1/2	3/4	1/2		1		1		1					
WIA	AT/DE	1/2								1					
ROA	ES	2/3						1		1					
FRL	IT					0		0							
KJA	GB									1					
TUC	GB	1													
LAO	US	1/2		1/2		1		1		1		1			
PEJ	US	1/2						0				1			
AUP	US			1								1			
ORF	FR/US/DE	1/2								1					

* Included in the range of the instrument but no information given as how to play the note.

1 = fully stopped, 2/3, 3/4, 1/2, 1/3, etc = degrees of stopping, 0 = open, OUT = hand out of the bell.						
	Nationality	Middle A-sharp	Middle B-flat	High F-sharp	High G-flat	High A
BLJ	FR	OUT	OUT	1	1	1
BLA	FR					1
BOA	FR	0	0	1/2	1/2	
CAE	FR	1	1	1/2	1/2	1/2
CLP	FR	OUT	OUT	1	1	1
COV	FR	0	0	0 1		1
COM	FR	0	0	0 1		1
DAL	FR	0 1	0	1	0	1
DOH	FR (AU/DE)	1	OUT	1/2	3/4	1/2
DUF	FR	OUT	OUT	1	1	1
FOL	FR		0	1		0
FLJ	FR		0	0 1		0 (avoid)
GAJ	FR	OUT	OUT	1	OUT	3/4
GIL	FR		0	1/2		1/2
GUE	FR	OUT	OUT	1	OUT	3/4
HAA	FR/AT/DE		*	*		*
JAF	FR	0	0	1	OUT	1
KJG	FR	0	0	3/4 1/2	3.4 1/2	1
LAA	FR	0	0	1		3/4
LAE	FR		0	1		1/2
MEJ	FR	0	0	3/4	0	1
MEZ	FR	1	0	1/2	3/4	1/2
MOJ	FR	1 0	0	1	0	3/4
ROV	FR			1		0 (avoid)
VAO	FR		OUT	1	1	1
KH1	FR/DE/CH		0	1		3/4
KH2	FR/DE/CH	OUT	OUT	1/2	1/2	1
GUF	AT/DE	0	0	3/4 0	3/4 0	1
HOR	AT/DE	0	0	1/2	1/2	1
KLC	AT/DE	1 0	0	1	0 1	1
FRO	AT/DE	0	0	0	0	1
FRG	AT/DE	0		OUT		1
FRF	AT/DE		OUT	1/2		1/2
NEA	AT/DE	0	0	1/2	1/2	1/2
PRA	AT/DE	0		0		1 0
ROL	AT/DE	0	0	3/4 0	3/4 0	1
STF	AT/DE		0	1		1
WIA	AT/DE	0		3/4		3/4
ROA	ES		0	1		1/3
FRL	IT	0	0	0	0	0
KJA	GB	0	0	1/4 0	0	3/4
TUC	GB	OUT	OUT	OUT		0
LAO	US	0	0	1/2	1/2	1
PEJ	US		0	1		1
AUP	US		0	OUT 1		1 0
ORF	FR/US/DE	OUT		OUT		OUT
* Included in the range of the instrument but no information given as how to play the note.						

Author		Title	Publisher	Pages
Austin, Paul	AUP	*A modern valve horn player's guide to the natural horn*	(Bloomington: Birdalone, 1993)	31, 35, 42, 51
Blanc, Jean-Antoine,	BLJ	*Grande méthode pour le cor / Nouvelle méthode de cor*	(Paris: Grus ainé, 1845 / Lyon: Cartoux, n.d. c. 1828).	15
Blancheteau, A.	BLA	*Petite méthode de cor*	(Paris: Margueritat, c. 1863)	11
Boscher, A.	BOA	*Méthode de 1er cor en mi bémol*	(Paris: V. David, 18??).	24
Cam, Ebrems (Abraham),	CAE	*Méthode de premier et second cor*	(Lyon: Arnaud, c. 1827).	16
Clodomir, Pierre-François,	CLP	*Méthode élémentaire pour cor d'harmonie*	(Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1886).	13, 17
Cornette, Victor,	COV	*Méthode de cor*	(Paris: Colombier, c. 1854).	6
Corret, Marc-Antoine-Jules,	COM	*Petite méthode de cor*	(Paris: J. Meissonnier, c. 1830).	5–7
Dauprat, Louis-François,	DAL	*Méthode de cor alto et cor basse*	(Paris: Zetter, 1824)	Vol. 1 30, 31,Vol 3, 29–39, 56.
Domnich, Heinrich	DHE	*Méthode de premier et de second cor*	(Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, 1808).	16–19
Duvernoy, Frédéric	DUF	*Méthode pour le cor*	(Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire, c. 1802)	15, 22–23
Fontbonne, Leon,	FOL	*Méthode complète*	(Paris: Costallat & Cie, c.1908)	20
Francoeur, Louis-Joseph and Alexandre-Étienne Choron	FLJ	*Traité général des voix et des instruments d'orchestre*	(Paris: publisher unknown, c.1813)	36, 44–45
Franz, Oscar	FRO	*Grosse theoretisch-practische Waldhorn-Schule*	(Dresden: J.G.Seeling, c. 1880).	35
Freiburg, Gottfried von	FRG	"Das Horn" in *Der Weg zu den Blechblasinstrumenten*	(Potsdam: Akad. Verl.-Ges. Athenaion, 1938)	106
Fröhlich, Franz Joseph,	FRF	Horn-Schule', Vollständige theoretisch-practische Musikschule	(Bonn/ Cologne: Simrock, 1811), vol. III,	14–16

Frontori, Luigi,	FRL	*Metodo per corno da caccia si semplice che a pistoni*	(Rome: Litografia Tiberina, 1849	3
Gallay, Jacques-François,	GA1	*Méthode pour le cor,* Op. 54	(Paris: Schoenberger, 1843)	13
Gallay, Jacques-François,	GA2	*30 études pour le cor précédées d'une gamme enharmonique avec des signes indiquant les mouvemens de la main du pavillon*	(Paris: Alexandre Petit, c.1835)	1
Girard, L.	GIL	*Petite méthode de cor sans pistons*	(Paris: Gautrot ainé, 1866).	2
Guilbaut, Edouard,	GUE	*Méthode très facile pour le cor d'harmonie*	(Paris: E. Gérard et Cie, c. 1870)	7
Gumbert/Gumpert, Friedrich	GUF	*Praktische Horn-Schule*	(Leipzig: Rob. Forberg, 1879)	16
Hampel, Anton, edited "and perfected" by Giovanni Punto	HAA	*Seule et vraie méthode*	(Paris: Naderman, c. 1798)	
Hofmann, Richard	HOR	*Hornschule,* Op. 17	(Leipzig: Carl Merseburger, 1883)	16
Jacqmin, François,	JAF	*Méthode complète de premier et de second cor,* Op. 20	(Paris: A. Petit, 1832).	27–28
Kappey, Jacob Adam	KJA	*Complete Tutor for the French Horn*	(London: Boosey & Co, 1887)	8
Kastner, Jean-Georges,	KJG	*Méthode élémentaire pour le cor*	(Paris: Troupenas, 1844).	10
Kling, Henri,	KH1	*Méthode de cor d'harmonie*	(Paris: Choudens, c. 1890–1900)	12
Kling, Henri,	KH2	*Horn-Schule*	(Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1879)	21
Klotz, Carl	KLC	*Praktische Schule für das einfache und chromatische Horn*	(Offenbach: André, 1863)	17
Lagard, Adrien,	LAA	*Méthode de cor d'harmonie*	(Paris: Ikelmer Frères, 1877)	9
Lambert, Émile,	LAE	*Méthode complète*	(Paris: Henry Lemoine & Cie, 1922).	50
Langey, Otto,	LAO	*Newly revised tutor for the French horn*	(New York: Fischer, 1890)	22

Mengal, Jean-Baptiste,	MEJ	*Méthode de cor*	(Paris: Meissonnier, 1835).	7–8
Mezières	ME Z	*Méthode pour le cor,*	(Paris: Richault, 1832)	9
Mohr, Jean-Baptiste,	MO J	*Méthode de premier et second cor*	(Paris: Escudier, 1870)	1
Nemetz, Andreas	NEA	*Horn-Schule,* Op. 18	(Vienna: Diabelli et Cie, 1829)	7
Orval, Francis	ORF	*Method for Natural Horn*	(Crans-Montana: Marc Reift, c. 1992).	11
Pepper, James Welsh	PEJ	*J.W.Pepper's Self instructor for French Horn*	(Philadelphia: J. W. Pepper, 1882)	13
Prée, August,	PRA	*Theoretisch-Praktische Waldhornschule*	(Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1912).	48
Roeser, Valentin	ROV	*Essai d'Instruction à l'usage de ceux qui composent pour la clarinette et le cor*	Paris, c.1764	
Romero y Andía	RO A	*Metodo de Trompa*	(Madrid: Antonio Romero, 1871)	57–8
Rossmann, Louis	ROL	*Horn-Schule: Kurze u. praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung des Hornes*	(Augsburg: A. Böhm & Sohn, 1884).	10, 12
Strauss, Franz	STF	*Übungen für Naturhorn zum täglichen Studium*	(Leipzig: Eulenburg, 1909)	3–4
Tully, Charles	TUC	*Tully's tutor for the French Horn*	(London: R. Cocks & Co, c.1840)	6–7
Vandenbroek, Othon-Joseph	VAO	*Méthode nouvelle et raisonnée pour apprendre à donner du cor*	(Paris, Naderman, c. 1797).	4–13
Wirth, Adam,	WIA	*Méthode pratique de cor avec les explications nécessaires pour apprendre à jouer du cor simple et du cor à pistons*	(Offenbach: Andre, 1877).	12

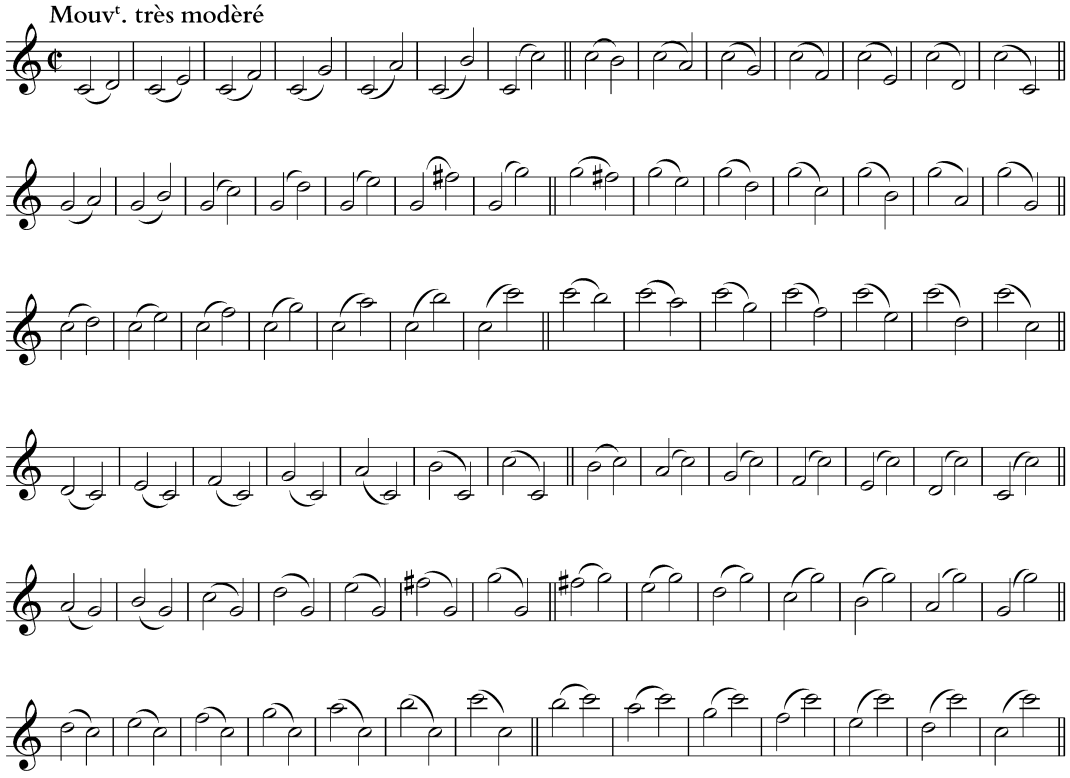
iv. Dauprat portamento exercises

All examples taken from Louis-François Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse* (Paris: Zetter, 1824). Translations taken Louis-François Dauprat, *Method for Cor-Alto and Cor-Basse,* trans. Viola Roth (Bloomington: Birdalone Music, 1994).

1. 8e Leçon (cor alto), Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 54 and 56.
   "Second way: connecting the notes by means of the second type of portamento" followed by "Third way: using the *messa di voce* and portamento". "The second type of portamento is used to connect two notes that make a more or less wide interval, and move only in a disjunct fashion. This method involves making the sound slide rapidly on a very slight slur which, when leaving the first note to move to the second anticipates the beat slightly." Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 52 taken from Mengozzi.
2. 8e Leçon (cor basse), Dauprat *Méthode,* vol. 1, 55 and 57.
   "Second way: connecting the notes by means of the second type of portamento" followed by "Third way: using the *messa di voce* and portamento".
3. 8e Leçon (cor alto and cor basse), Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 56–7.
   Duet: "Slow. Connecting the notes by means of portamento".
4. Etude No. 1, Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 153–4.
   "Etude on the flat scales and the second kind of portamento"
5. Etude No. 2, Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 154–5.
   "Etude on the sharp scales and the first kind of portamento".
6. Etude No. 3, Variation 1, Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 157.
   "By dynamics and the slurs of both kinds of portamenti".
7. Etude No. 9, Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 176–8. "The sort of ornament that follows has been called a *portamento* because it can span all intervals, which the true grace note, or appoggiatura, does not. It is always short, as the notation makes clear, but not as short as the grace note in the Fifth Etude. In any case, its speed is proportional to the tempo. In general it calls for lightness, but without loosing grace and sweetness. The note that follows must be sustained: that is, it must retain nearly all of its full value. Etude on a kind of portamento written only in regular notes." NB: "One will sometimes see ornamental notes spanning intervals larger than a whole step from below or above. These are the true portamenti of the sort given for practice in the Ninth Etude", Dauprat, *Méthode*, vol. 1, 145.

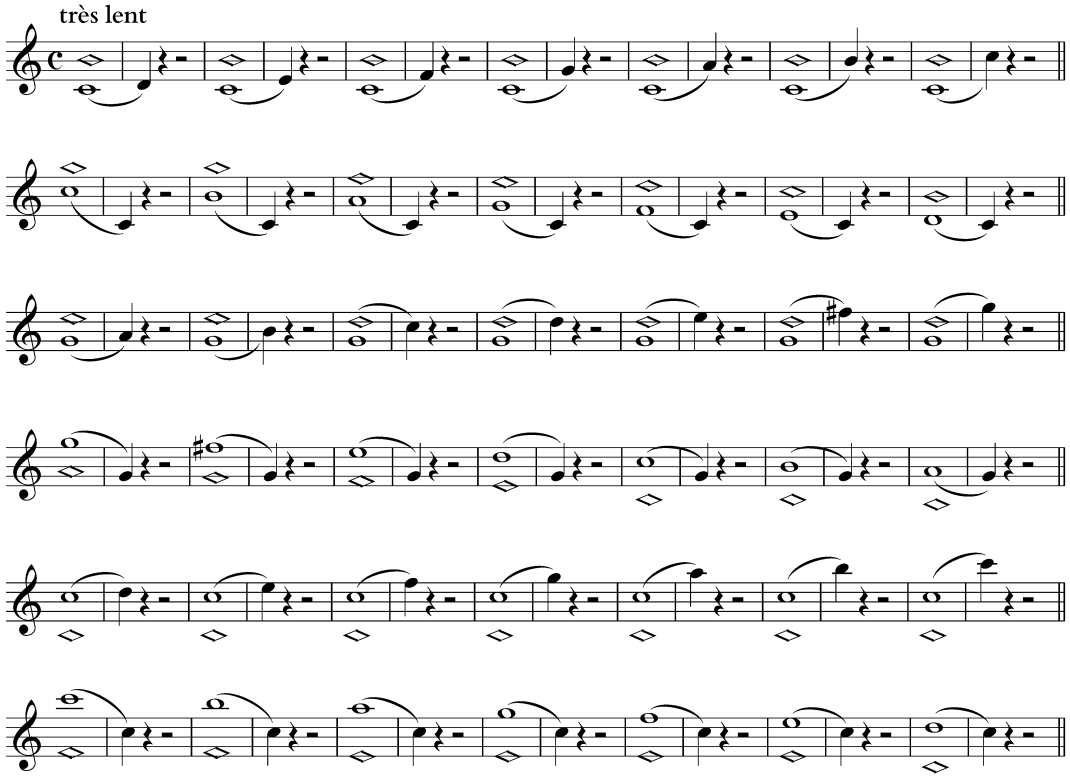
2ᶜ. moyen, en liant les sons, au moyen du *Portamento* de la 2ᶜ espèce

Mouvᵗ. très modèré



3ᶜ. moyen. Emploi de la mise de son, et du *Portamento*

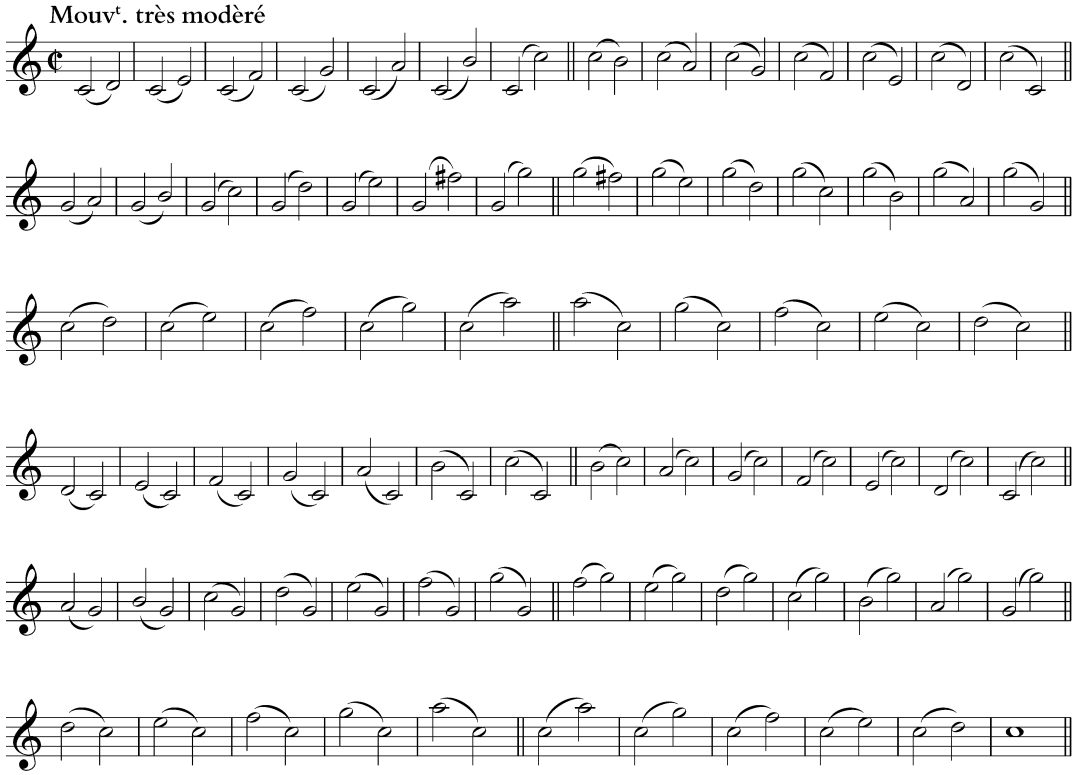
très lent



1. 8ᵉ Leçon (cor alto), Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 54 and 56.

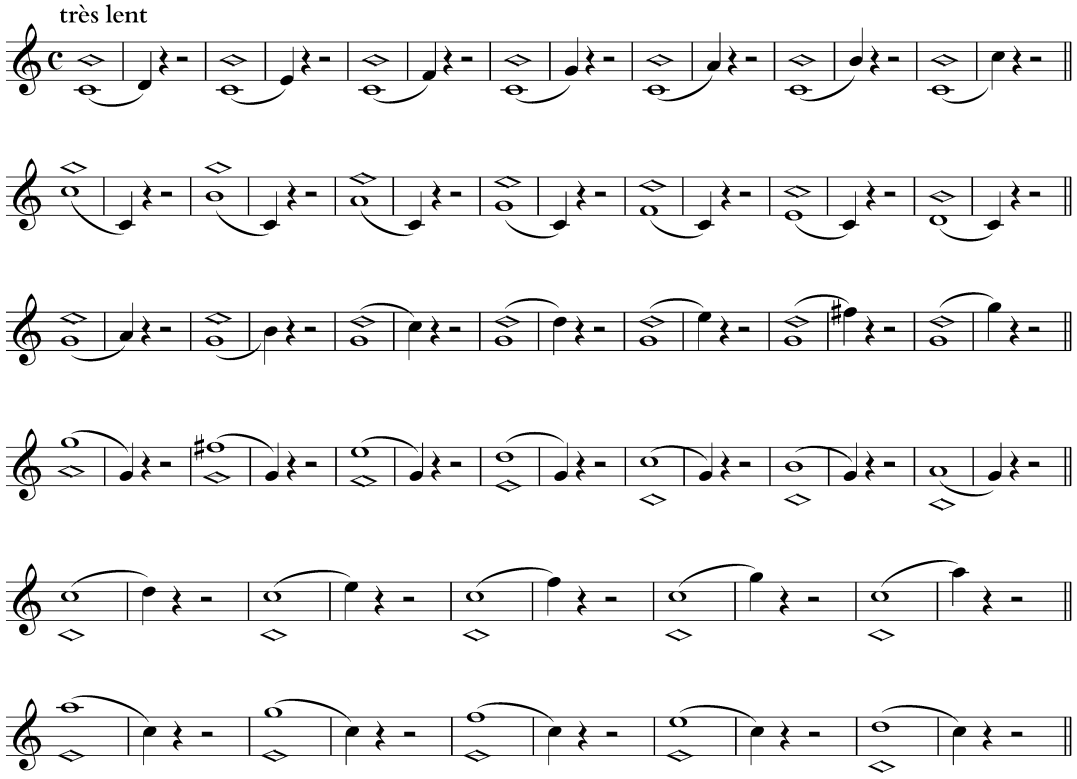
2ᵉ. moyen, en liant les sons, au moyen du *Portamento* de la 2ᵉ espèce

Mouvᵗ. très modèré

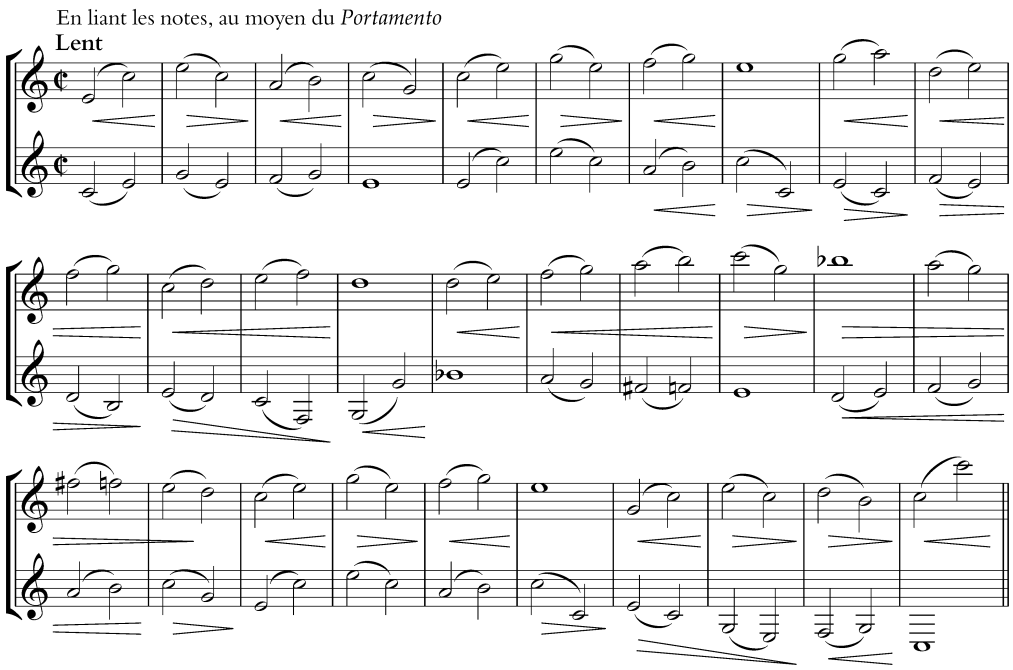


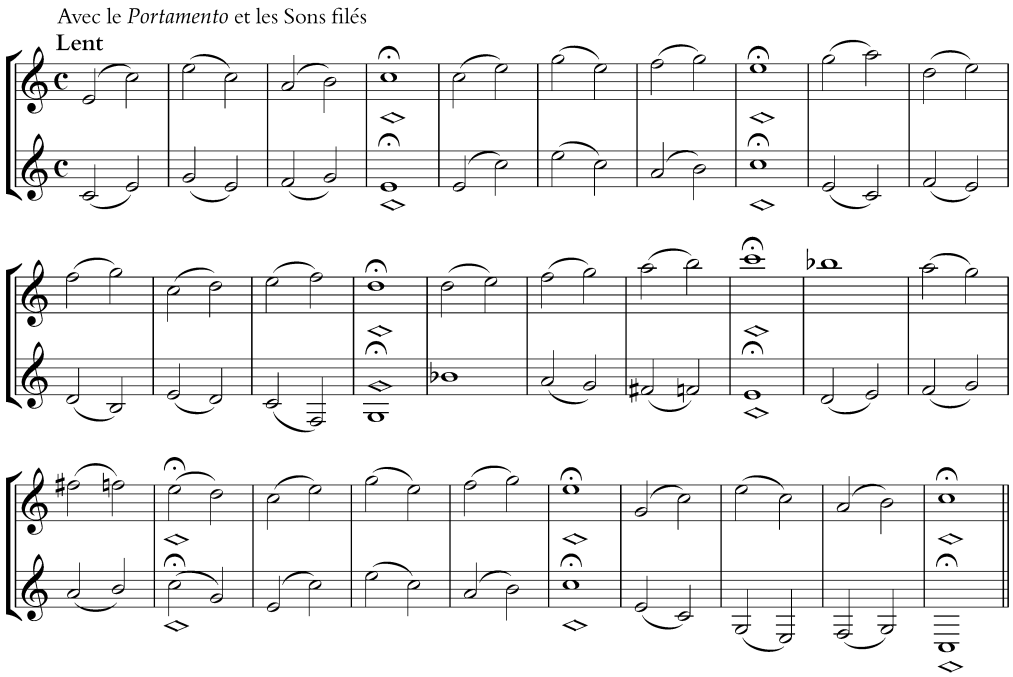
3ᵉ. moyen. Emploi de la mise de son, et du *Portamento*

très lent



2. 8e Leçon (cor basse), Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 55 and 57.





3. 8e Leçon (cor alto and cor basse), Dauprat, *Méthode,* vol. 1, 56–7.

Etude sur les gammes avec plusieurs bémols, et sur la 2e. espèce de Portamento

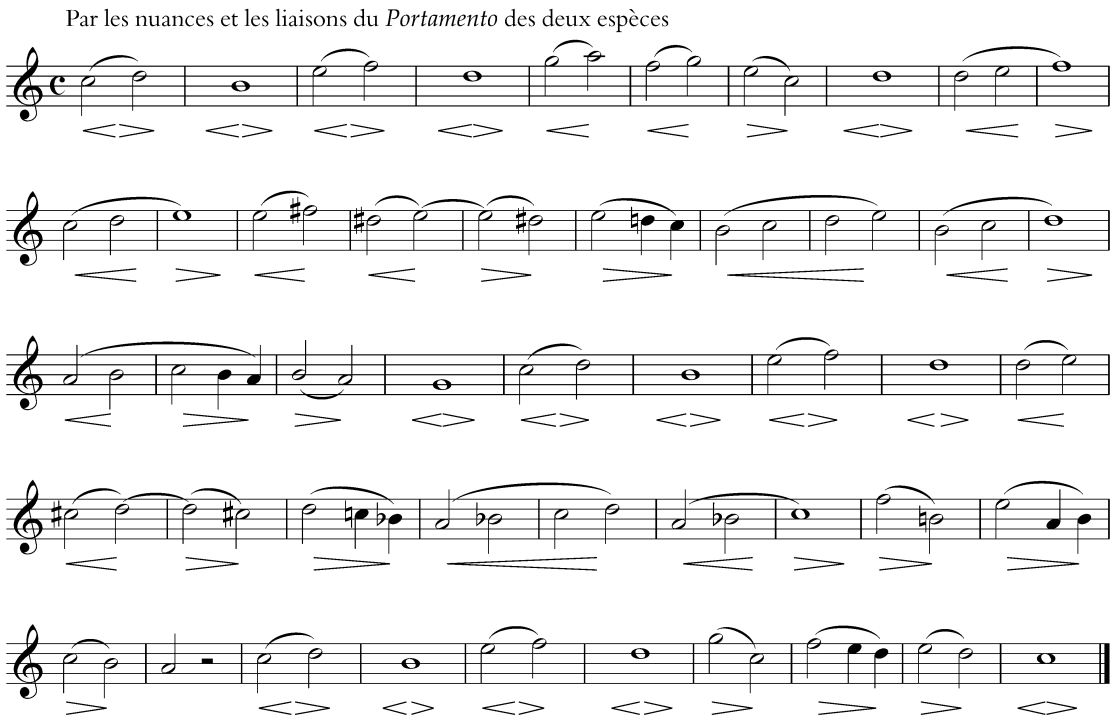




4. Etude No. 1, Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 153–4.



5. Etude No. 2, Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 154–5



6. Etude No. 3, Variation 1, Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 157.

ÉTUDE sur une espèce du *Portamento* qui ne s'écrit qu'en note commune





7. Etude No. 9, Dauprat *Méthode de Cor-Alto et Cor-Basse,* vol. 1, 176–8.

v. Gallay's "Scène & Cavatine de Nitocri"

Scène & Cavatine de l'Opéra de
Nitocri
arrangée avec accompagnement de Cor

Paris: A. Petit, c. 1835
Source consulted: NL-Ua: 1183 Muziekbibliotheek van Huis Amerongen / 436.

Saverio Mercadante
arr. Jacques François Gallay
ed. Anneke Scott




19
si mai? Dun-que il mio be-ne sa-rà d'al - tri con-sor - te? Oh sven
p
23
A tempo
p
tu-ra! Oh mar-tir peg-gio di mor-te!
A tempo
p
cresc.
27
Oh, a-mi-ci-zia! Oh do-ver! cos-tan-za! a-mo-re!
f
31
A tempo
ra-du-na-te-vi tut-ti in-tor-no al cor.
A tempo
p
cresc.


35
Fa - to cru - del!
più non ti
f
f
38
te - - - - - - - mio
or - mai.
Al - fin non puoi
più mi - se - ro
41
far - mi
se mi to - gli il po - ter
fin di lag - nar - mi.
45
Andantino
dolce
6
Andantino
p


49
poco rit.
A tempo
poco rit.
A tempo
53
Se m'ab - ban - do - ni, bel - la spe - ran - za,
57
la mia co - stan - za sen - to lan - guir, sen - to lan - guir! sen - za il mio
62
be - ne vi - ve - re, oh de - i! nò, non po -


66
tre - i,
me - glio mo - rir!
Se m'ab - ban
70
do - ni,
bel - la spe - ran - za,
la mia co-
74
stan - za sen-to lan-guir,
sen-to lan-guir!
La mia cos -
78
tan - za
sen - - - - to lan - guir!


81
Allegro moderato
Allegro moderato
p
85
Ah! ba - le - na un rag - gio an - co - ra di spe -
p
89
ran - za in tal___ do - lor.
di spe -
93
-ran - za in tal___ do - lor! quan-to è fi - do il mio te - so - ro, chi non_


97
più vivo
p
l'a - ma an-cor non sà: di tra - dir mi il ben che a - do - ro, nò ca -
più vivo
101
-pa - ce il cor non ha, nò, nò, nò, ca - pa - ce il cor non
104
Tempo Iº
con grazia
p
3
a piacere
ha. Quan-to è fi - do il mio te - so - ro chi non l'a - ma an-cor non
Tempo Iº
108
più vivo
sà. di tra-dir - mi
più vivo
p


111
il ben che a - do - ro, nò ca-
114
pa - ce il cor non ha,
f
ff
117
f
f
f
f
forte
nò, ca - pa - ce il cor non ha, no!
121
[Tempo Iº]
dolce
pp
Ah! ba - le - na un rag - gio an - co - ra di spe - ran - za in tal do -
[Tempo Iº]
pp


125
lor. di spe - ran - za in tal do -
129
lor! quan-to è fi - do il mio te - so - ro, chi non l'a - ma an-cor non
133
più vivo
p
sà: di tra - dir mi il ben che a - do - ro, nò ca - pa - ce il cor non
più vivo
137
poco
ritardando
con grazia
ha, nò, nò, nò, ca - pa - ce il cor non ha. Quan-to è fi - do il mio te -
con grazia
poco
ritardando


141
Tempo Iº
cresc.
a piacere
-so - ro chi non l'a - ma an - cor non sà: di tra
colla parte
Tempo Iº
144
p
cresc.
f
dir - mi il ben che a - do - ro, nò ca - pa - ce il cor non
cresc.
f
147
pp
pp
cresc.
ha, nò ca - pa - ce il cor non ha, di tra
pp
150
cresc.
f
dir - mi il ben che a - do - ro, nò ca - pa - ce il cor non
cresc.
f


153
pp
pp
ha, nò ca - pa - ce il cor non ha, nò ca -
pp
f
fp
fp
156
pa - ce il cor non ha, nò ca - pa - ce il nor non ha, il cor non
fp
fp
f
160
ha, il cor non ha, il cor non
163
ha!
ff

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