

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE CRITICAL WRITINGS OF HENRI  
BLANCHARD ON THE BEETHOVEN  
STRING QUARTETS

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Henri-Louis Blanchard (1791-1858) was the most prolific critic for the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, the most significant French music periodical of the nineteenth century. His writings covered a wide variety of subjects including opera, chamber music, piano virtuosi, music education, vocal music, as well as biographical notices on many musical figures. Viewed by his contemporaries as an important and influential critic, his extensive output in this journal indicates that his writings represent a great deal of what the Parisian public was reading about music at this time. This study examines Blanchard's writings on the music of Ludwig van Beethoven. Blanchard wrote on Beethoven throughout his career, thus allowing us to observe the evolution of Blanchard's aesthetic.

THE CRITICAL WRITINGS OF HENRI BLANCHARD ON THE BEETHOVEN  
STRING QUARTETS

By

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## Chapter 1: Henri Blanchard: An Introduction

Henri-Louis Blanchard was born in April 1791 in Bordeaux. In his earliest years, the groundwork was laid for what would prove to be a significant musical career.<sup>1</sup> At a very young age, his father gave him instruction on the violin. This teaching instilled in Blanchard a lasting love for the instrument and for chamber music in general, which would remain with him for the rest of his life. However, it soon became evident that Blanchard's musical talents required greater guidance than his father could provide. While still in Bordeaux, Blanchard thereafter studied with Franz Beck.<sup>2</sup> Yet his need for greater theoretical training was quickly apparent. Blanchard then went to Paris to study counterpoint with a musician known only as Walter.<sup>3</sup> Blanchard subsequently enrolled at the Paris Conservatoire, where he studied violin with Rodolphe Kreutzer, and composition with Étienne-Nicolas Méhul and Antoine Reicha.

Blanchard's interests were regularly divided between literature and music, however. From his earliest days of professional artistic work, he was known as much for his writings as for his music making. As early as March of 1815, at the age of twenty-four, Blanchard's first creative work premiered at the Théâtre du Cirque Olympique. This work, *Clarisse et Lovelace*, was a pantomime for which the

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<sup>1</sup> Hugh MacDonald, "Blanchard, Henri-Louis," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

<sup>2</sup> Anneliese Downs and Philippe Vendrix, "Beck, Franz Ignaz," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Franz Beck (1734-1809) was a German composer, conductor, violinist, and organist who was active in France throughout his career.

<sup>3</sup> Burton Stimson Carrow, "The Relationship between the Mannheim School and the Music of Franz Beck, Henri Blanchard, and Pierre Gaveaux" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1956). Walter was allegedly a former student of Haydn. Research has, thus far, failed to uncover any further information pertaining to Walter.

composer wrote both the text and the music. Three years later, he was appointed conductor and musical director at the Théâtre des Variétés, a position he held until 1829. During his tenure there, he composed a large number of *airs de vaudeville* for use at the theatre. Several of these, especially “Tra la la” and “Guernadier, que tu m’affliges,” became quite popular.

After his departure from the Théâtre des Variétés, Blanchard pursued his literary interests. In 1830, he became the director of the Théâtre Molière, where thereafter a series of his plays, including *Don Pedre*, *L’Homme libre*, and *Les Milanais, ou les Carbonari* premiered. In May of 1831 his play, *Camille Desmoulins, ou les partis en 1794*—which would become his most popular dramatic work—received its first performance at the Théâtre Français.

Blanchard’s attention also turned to opera during the early 1830s. His most successful operas included *Diane de Vernon*—which received its première on April 4, 1831 at the Theatre des Nouveautés—*Arioste*, first performed in 1831, and *Les précieuses ridicules*, based on a play by Molière.<sup>4</sup> Throughout Blanchard’s career, he also composed non-dramatic musical works, such as quartets, concertinos, and songs. Despite his prolific musical and dramatic output, however, Blanchard was best known for his music criticism.

Blanchard contributed music criticism to a large number of journals, including *L’Europe littéraire et musicale de Paris* (beginning in 1833), *Le foyer* (beginning in 1835), *Le monde dramatique* (also beginning in 1835), and *La Pandore* (beginning in 1838). The overwhelming majority of his music criticism, however, was written for

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<sup>4</sup> The date of the premiere of *Les précieuses ridicules* is unknown.

the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* for which he served as contributing editor from 1836 until his death on December 18, 1858. He also functioned as concert reviewer for this journal from 1849 until his death. Henri Blanchard was, in fact, the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*'s most prolific critic, contributing well over 2,500 articles. The second most prolific critic, Edouard Monnais, wrote only half of that number<sup>5</sup>. Other significant critics for this journal included Hector Berlioz, Joseph D'Ortigue, and Ernest Reyer.

The nineteenth-century French musical press, which was far more extensive than that which exists today, provides a resource of great importance for information about French musical life. In fact, it offers a detailed chronicle of musical activities that allows the modern reader to observe musical events as they were perceived by contemporaries. As H. Robert Cohen has noted,

The development of musical romanticism in France coincides with the parallel development of musical journalism and the creation of a very large number of periodicals dealing either entirely or in part with musical activities. Moreover, the extensive attraction of the press to this aspect of French culture, first in the 1830s and 1840s, continues into the twentieth century. These writings constitute a documentary resource of truly monumental proportions, and one of unquestionable importance to the musical historian.<sup>6</sup>

Cohen further elaborates that "nineteenth-century journals offer a detailed and almost daily account of musical activities in France and a variety of opinions about almost every conceivable musical subject."<sup>7</sup> He concludes that "there can be no doubt that

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<sup>5</sup> RIPM's bibliography lists 1015 articles published by Monnais in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, compared to 2776 that Blanchard wrote.

<sup>6</sup> H. Robert Cohen, "The Nineteenth-Century French Press and the Music Historian: Archival Sources and Bibliographical Resources," *Nineteenth-Century Music* 7 (1983): 136.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

the study of the writings of the more perceptive critics will add important new dimensions to our appreciation of musical life in nineteenth-century France.”<sup>8</sup>

The most important French music periodical of the period is clearly the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*. In her volume, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France*, Katharine Ellis described the importance of the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*:

The *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* was the most important and influential music journal in France until its closure at the end of December 1880. As a document of nearly half a century of musical thought it is unsurpassed.... [The journal’s] work spanned all aspects of French musical life: opera and concert reviews, the mainstay of the journal, were supplemented with regular historical essays (encompassing music as early as the Medieval period), source studies, composer biographies and articles on music theory, acoustics, organology, and topical studies. Other contributions, some in the form of short studies, focused directly on philosophical debates or on the relationship of music to other arts.... That contributors frequently referred to articles printed in earlier issues of the *Gazette* illustrates its status, even in its own time, as an important source of opinion and information on musical culture, both historical and contemporary.<sup>9</sup>

The introduction to the Répertoire Internationale de la Presse Musicale (RIPM)’s treatment of the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* further describes the significance of this journal:

[It was] one of the most important music journals published in the nineteenth century. From the outset the journal was hailed as a remarkable source of information on French musical culture – a theme echoed in the literature from Léon Escudier to Pierre Larousse to Arthur Pougin who referred to the journal’s “brilliant existence of almost a century,” during which “its authority and fame [was] most firmly and honorably established, not only in France but abroad.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>9</sup> Katharine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France: La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1-2.

<sup>10</sup> Doris Pyee-Cohen and Diane Cloutier, *La Gazette Musicale de Paris, 1834-1835, La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris, 1835-1880*. In Répertoire internationale de la presse musicale (Baltimore: NISC, 1999).

Henri Blanchard played an important role in this journal, contributing articles for the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* on a wide variety of subjects including opera, chamber music, piano virtuosi, music education, vocal music, as well as biographical notices on many musical figures.<sup>11</sup> He was viewed by his contemporaries as an important and influential critic, and his extensive output in this journal indicates that his writings represent a great deal of what the Parisian public was reading about music at this time.

Nineteenth-century sources offer a cursory view of Blanchard, and generally describe him as an excellent critic without elaborating on the reasons for such praise. Fétis, in his *Biographie universelle*, provided the most thorough nineteenth-century evaluation of Blanchard. Fétis admired Blanchard's writing style, and noted that his criticism reflected a vast technical knowledge of music. However, Fétis also criticized Blanchard for spreading his talents in too many directions without concentrating exclusively upon music.<sup>12</sup> Fétis also stated that the quality of Blanchard's writings was not consistent, and that "vers la fin de sa vie, son talent de critique s'était beaucoup affaibli."<sup>13</sup>

Twentieth-century sources offer a similarly cursory view of Blanchard. Carrow's *The Relationship between the Mannheim School and the Music of Franz Beck, Henri Blanchard, and Pierre Gaveaux* describes Blanchard as an important music critic, but focuses primarily on his musical compositions. However, Carrow does underscore the importance of Blanchard's criticism, referring to him as "a music

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<sup>11</sup> These include Beck, Berton, Chérubini, and Garat.

<sup>12</sup> François-Joseph Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1873. Reprint, Brussels: Culture et Civilization, 1963), 435.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 435. "Toward the end of his life, his critical talents weakened considerably."

critic of considerable prestige.”<sup>14</sup> And while Cooper in *The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris: 1828-1871* does not comment on Blanchard’s criticism in any great detail, he does refer to him as “the main critic for the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*” and describes his criticism as important documentation of musical life at the time.<sup>15</sup> Jean-Marie Fauquet’s *Les Societes de Musique de Chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* briefly refers to Blanchard’s chamber music criticism as significant, but without commenting on it.<sup>16</sup> Katharine Ellis, in her *Music Criticism in Nineteenth Century France: La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, describes Blanchard as an important critic, but her commentary is not extensive, which is somewhat curious given Blanchard’s immense contributions to the journal. She states only that Blanchard was “of particular importance in the *Gazette*’s criticism of the Germanic tradition after 1780.”<sup>17</sup> Moreover, little has been written about Blanchard’s criticism and even less about his biography and literary works. Several *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* critics, however, have been treated, including Hector Berlioz,<sup>18</sup> Joseph d’Ortigue,<sup>19</sup> and Ernest Reyer.<sup>20</sup>

A study of Blanchard’s music criticism entails an investigation of an extensive amount of material, which clearly surpasses the confines normally associated with a master’s thesis. Therefore, I propose to deal with one aspect of Blanchard’s writings,

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<sup>14</sup> Carrow, 239.

<sup>15</sup> Jeffrey Cooper, *The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris: 1828-1871* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1983), 4.

<sup>16</sup> Joel-Marie Fauquet, *Les Societes de Musique de Chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1986), 78.

<sup>17</sup> Ellis, p. 78.

<sup>18</sup> There is an enormous amount of literature available on Hector Berlioz as critic and composer.

<sup>19</sup> See Sylvia L’Écuyer, “La vie et l’oeuvre de Joseph d’Ortigue, 1802-1866: Critique Musicale,” (Ph.D. diss., Université Laval, 1992).

<sup>20</sup> Elizabeth Lamberton’s 1988 dissertation from the University of British Columbia, *The Critical Writings of Ernest Reyer*, treated yet another significant critic.

namely Blanchard on Beethoven. There are several reasons why such an investigation is useful. First, Blanchard's writings on the reception of Beethoven in France have not been treated.. Second, Blanchard wrote on Beethoven throughout his career, thus allowing us to observe the evolution of Blanchard's aesthetic. Third, Blanchard writes extensively about Beethoven's late string quartets, whose reception history was quite interesting and controversial in France.

France became acquainted with Beethoven's music later than other Western European countries. Conductor François-Antoine Habeneck began to study the early symphonies in 1802. Between 1806 and 1815 he was in charge of the Conservatoire students' orchestra, whose concerts were known as the *Exercises Publics*. This provided him with a venue to present publicly Beethoven's compositions, and Habeneck took full advantage of this opportunity. In 1807, he conducted the Parisian premiere of Beethoven's Symphony No. 1. Later that year, Habeneck conducted the premiere of the second symphony, and in 1811 the premiere of the third. In 1818, Habeneck took over the Concerts Spirituels at the Opéra, which provided him with yet another opportunity to promote Beethoven's music. As a result, he programmed the allegretto movement of the seventh symphony and several of Beethoven's overtures. In 1826, Habeneck performed the Symphony No. 3 with a group of invited musicians who then began to meet regularly to perform. These musicians, consisting of eighty-six orchestra members and seventy-nine chorus members, developed into a formal body known as the *Société des Concerts de Conservatoire*. On March 9, 1828, this organization presented its first public concert, which included the Symphony No. 3. Their third concert premiered the Symphony No. 5, and in 1831 they premiered

the Ninth Symphony. The success of these performances inspired other performers to program Beethoven's music in their own concerts. However, publications of Beethoven's music in France had little commercial success during the first few decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>21</sup>

Leo Schrade, in his book *Beethoven in France*, discusses the controversy regarding the introduction of Beethoven's music to France:

Two essential traits, then, appear to mark the entrance of Beethoven's genius into France, or rather to bar him from admission. The musical form of this new composer apparently bewildered the Parisians and overturned their familiar ideas of art. It did not fit into the tradition they had come to look upon as their own, one in their opinion so well suited to their mental habit as to have become a native disposition. A new and foreign form was now about to intrude into their range of custom and tradition, and it offended a firmly established ideal of musical beauty. For any such intruder is bound to be judged by the test of aesthetic beauty, and here there is no standard save that to which custom has given authority. All that goes beyond the limits of an ideal that has been venerated over a sufficiently long period of time is cast aside into the category of aesthetic ugliness. The issue does not depend upon rational understanding. The newcomer merely assails custom or tradition, and this suffices to condemn him instantly, if for no other reason than to make sure that everything is still in perfect order. We must not attribute this to a common "misapprehension." For it is never on the strength of being understood that the irksome intruder is treated well or ill; it is not in accordance with merits ascertained through intellectual insight that he is judged worthy or unworthy of acceptance. The new musical genius attempts to upset the existing order, and the ideal of artistic "beauty," however vague it may be, has not by any means been acquired at low cost. The intruding genius is to the native artist an apparition that disturbs his peace of mind. The disturbing elements may involve at the same time style, form, craftsmanship, aesthetic value, ideal, nay, the very existence of music. Artists who face new genius face the danger of sacrificing a tradition which they have deemed secure. Any assault upon tradition works mischief. What confronts the genius is not so much unwillingness or sterile misapprehension on the part either of musicians or of the public; what he encounters is rather an instinct, sound or unsound, which warns others to be on their guard and prepared, since their whole existence is at stake. Their first reaction is utter indignation at the ugliness of the new form. The history of art tells the same story over and over again. Thus, when Beethoven's music entered France, its form was

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<sup>21</sup> See Hugh MacDonald's "Habeneck, François-Antoine," in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

immediately branded with the stigma of ugly proportions. Labeled as “Germanism,” it became even less acceptable. The outward appearance of this attitude was dictated by nationalism; not, however, its inner reason. The allegedly new compass of musical form hindered the acceptance of the genius. The French could not and would not reconcile it with their traditional ideas.<sup>22</sup>

These arguments are further compounded by differing opinions on Beethoven’s compositions from different phases of his career. While Beethoven’s music expanded the repertory, it also met with strong reactions, both favorable and unfavorable. There were a number of “conservative” musicians, critics, and listeners who vehemently opposed Beethoven’s deviation from accepted harmonic norms and practices popularized during the Classical era. Proponents of “Romantic” music, on the other hand, admired the expansion of form and harmony to include new sounds and ideas beyond those practiced by such eighteenth-century composers as Haydn and Mozart. As a result, Beethoven’s music met with polarized reactions in France. Conservatives fiercely opposed this music, while Romantics fervently supported it.

Commentators traditionally divide Beethoven’s music into three stylistic periods, referred to as early, middle, and late. The early period compositions are typical of the Classical period. The middle period compositions become somewhat more complex, and deviate from expected Classical practices in terms of structure and harmony. The late period works, by contrast, depart from traditional Classical expectations in a striking and dramatic fashion – their length is expanded, traditional tonal practices are often suspended, and they are far more introverted in content and difficult to grasp on an initial hearing. French critics, for the most part, accepted the early period works without much difficulty. The middle period works, however,

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<sup>22</sup> Leo Schrade, *Beethoven in France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942), 4-5.

often met with increased criticism from conservative critics. Yet, as time progressed, conservative critics grew to understand and accept the musical aesthetic of the middle period works. However, it was the late works that created the greatest conflict of all. Using arguments similar to those initially employed to discredit the middle period compositions, conservative critics often dismissed the late works as nonsensical, while Romantics hailed them as expressing new and exciting compositional ideas.

These divergent opinions are perhaps best exemplified in the critical writings of François-Joseph Fétis and of Hector Berlioz. Fétis wrote several influential articles disdaining Beethoven's compositions for deviating from accepted practices exemplified in the music of Haydn and Mozart.<sup>23</sup> Fétis's discussions centered on theoretical grounds. He accepted innovation in music only if it could be justified by harmonic theory as demonstrated in the music of the high classical era. By contrast, Hector Berlioz opined that if a musical idea worked creatively, then its conformity to theoretical standards was irrelevant.<sup>24</sup> In an analysis of Berlioz's music criticism Katherine Kolb Reeve comments, "With Fétis, the 'lapses' in Beethoven serve ultimately to prove the superiority and the perfection of Mozart. With Berlioz, these moments diminish not one iota the stature of his idol."<sup>25</sup> Fétis and Berlioz inspired a polarization of opinion regarding Beethoven's music in which conservative critics, including Henri Blanchard in the earlier stages of his career, Edouard Monnais, and Adolphe Botte, modeled their writings on Beethoven after Fétis, whereas Romantics

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<sup>23</sup> These articles include an important series of critiques entitled "Bulletin d'analyses: Les derniers quatuors de Beethoven," which appeared in the *Revue musicale* between April 3 and April 17, 1830.

<sup>24</sup> See, for example, Berlioz's *A travers chants*, in which he discusses and applauds a number of Beethoven's compositions in spite of their unconventional qualities.

<sup>25</sup> Reeve, Katherine Kolb. "The Poetics of the Orchestra in the Writings of Hector Berlioz." Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1978, p. 208.

such as François Stoepel, Jules Janin, and A.B. Marx followed the example of Berlioz. As time passed, a new view of Beethoven's music developed in France; namely, the early and middle works became accepted by conservatives, whereas the late works remained controversial and often disdained.

Most detractors of Beethoven's music of any of his three stylistic periods followed the practice of negatively comparing these compositions to the "ideal" music exemplified in the works of Haydn and Mozart. These critics maintained that Beethoven was too much of a renegade, and failed to express himself within the expected musical forms. An 1860 article by Adolphe Botte, for example, offers a comparison between Beethoven's earlier music and his late compositions, stating, "Combien nous préférons leur ampleur et leur beau naturel à ces successions de petites phrases qui, si elles peignent le désordre et la fougue, annoncent le parti pris d'étonner par des transitions toujours uniformes!"<sup>26</sup>

Supporters of Beethoven's music, on the other hand, argued that the idealized music to which detractors compared it was no longer able to be creatively expanded. Such writers asserted that the music produced by Haydn and Mozart, for example, had already reached its summit, and for that reason it was appropriate for music to develop. Furthermore, the supporters stated that beauty, not form, was the purpose of art. For example, Berlioz in an article on Beethoven's second symphony, wrote:

Elle fait ressortir de la manière la plus évidente l'erreur assez répandue que ces deux ouvrages avaient un type commun et que Beethoven était encore tout entier, quand il l'écrivit, sous l'influence du style mozartique. Rien de plus dissemblable, au contraire, de forme, de pensées, de tout. Mozart se montre aimable, doux, gracieux, spirituel, il vous attire à lui, on l'aime sans songer à

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<sup>26</sup>Botte, Adolphe, *RGM* 27, no. 5 (29 Jan., 1860): 35. "How we prefer their expansiveness and their natural beauty to these successions of little phrases which, if they portray disorder and fire, indicate the choice to effect surprise by the use of constantly uniform transitions!"

l'admirer; l'autre au contraire, par la force et l'imprévu de chacun de ses mouvements, par la majesté de sa stature, imprime un respect qui n'est pas sans mélange de terreur."<sup>27</sup>

The late music of Beethoven generated further controversies. Detractors again negatively compared this music to the ideal music of Haydn and Mozart, but went further to compare it to Beethoven's own earlier compositions, which they had finally come to accept. They again criticized Beethoven for not conforming to formal expectations, but now went even further to describe these works as the output of a madman, or of one whose compositional abilities had tragically deteriorated.<sup>28</sup> The supporters of Beethoven's late music, however, argued again that as Haydn and Mozart's music had reached its summit and could no longer be expanded upon creatively, so too had Beethoven's early music reached its pinnacle. Such writers often refuted the detractors' statements by arguing that only the "chosen few" were able to comprehend this music. These arguments are markedly similar to those that critics used to defend or detract from the early and middle period works.

In light of this information, there are pivotal reasons why Henri Blanchard's writings on Beethoven in the *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* merit particular attention. First, Henri Blanchard was the most prolific music critic of France's most important music journal. Second, Blanchard wrote extensively on the works of Beethoven. Third, Blanchard's writing offers new insights into the reception of

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<sup>27</sup> Berlioz, *RGM* 3, no. 10 (6 Mar. 1836): 79. "It highlights most conspicuously the relatively widespread error that these two works are of a similar type and that Beethoven, when he wrote it, was still entirely under the influence of the Mozartian style. On the contrary, nothing is more dissimilar in form, in thought, in all respects. Mozart is likeable, gentle, gracious, spirited; he draws one to him, one likes him without dreaming of admiration; conversely, by the force and the unexpectedness of each of his movements, by the majesty of his stature, the other instills a respect which is not unmixed with terror."

<sup>28</sup> See, for example, Blanchard's own review of one of the late Beethoven quartets published in *RGM* 13, no. 21 on 24 May 1846, page 165.

Beethoven's music in France. And finally fourth, Blanchard's writings on Beethoven's late period offer, as we shall see, a view of Blanchard's aesthetic and its evolution throughout his career.

## Chapter 2: Blanchard on Beethoven's Early and Middle Period

Henri Blanchard wrote a total of sixty-three concert reviews and theoretical studies dealing entirely or in part with Beethoven's music. Collectively, these comprise ninety-two pages of text. The average length of each text is approximately 1650 words. Thirty-nine texts address early and middle period works, and the remainder deal with works of Beethoven's late period.

Blanchard wrote about the works of Beethoven's early and middle period between 1838 and 1858. During this period, Blanchard's statements regarding the positive and negative aspects of this music tend to be extremely homogenous, and reveal a great deal about his aesthetic.

Blanchard frequently admired the works from Beethoven's early and middle period. For example, in an 1841 review of a performance which included Beethoven's Op. 59, no. 2 string quartet in E minor, Blanchard stated that "toute séance musicale qui s'ouvre par un morceau de Beethoven dispose bien ses auditeurs."<sup>29</sup> Also, in a different review that year, Blanchard applauded another of Beethoven's compositions from this period, lauding its construction:

L'auditoire d'une intelligence avancée, qui était accouru à cette solennité, a compris, saisi toutes les nuances, tous les délicieux caprices du compositeur, qui a le mieux su, jusqu'à ce jour, résoudre ce grand problème de l'union de la méthode et de l'imagination.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 8, no. 64 (19 Dec. 1841): 570-71. "All musical evenings that begin with a Beethoven composition put the listeners into a good mood."

<sup>30</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 8, no. 64 (19 Dec. 1841): 570. "The audience, one of an advanced intelligence, who have acquired the seriousness to understand and have grasped all of the nuances, all of the delicious caprices of the composer, who has known them best, finally this evening solved the great problem of the union of methodology and imagination."

A further example of Blanchard's praise for works of the early and middle period is found in an 1842 concert review in which he makes the following statement in reference to Beethoven's Op. 70 pianoforte trio:

Enfin un beau trio de Beethoven, l'oeuvre 70, exécuté par MM. Hallé, Alard, et Chevillard, a terminé cette séance de bonne et sérieuse musique, dite si consciencieusement que Gluck, Mozart, Sacchini, Hummel, et Beethoven ont du s'en féliciter et en frémir de joie en leur tombeau, comme l'auditoire en a fréquemment tressailli d'admiration.<sup>31</sup>

Blanchard readily applauded compositions that he believed had a universal appeal. For example, he stated in an 1846 article: "on peut donc dire que Beethoven a écrit en langue universelle une oeuvre sociale, humanitaire, et qui contribue à la civilisation..."<sup>32</sup> Blanchard observes that such music, understandably, appeals to both professional musicians and to amateurs, reflecting that:

Si Corneille alimente toujours le Théâtre-Français; si l'une de ces pièces est encore la pièce de boeuf, comme on dit en style gastronomique, du répertoire, pour la tragédie et même la comédie, Beethoven, qui a plus d'un point de ressemblance avec ce grand poète dramatique, fait de même les frais de tout concert par lequel on veut plaire aux artistes et aux amateurs de bonne et sérieuse musique.<sup>33</sup>

Blanchard also saw these compositions as unique in that they possessed elements which appealed to both "Romantics" and "Classicists" in France. For example, he observed in a 1846 article that "ce qui distingue surtout Beethoven de tous les autres

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<sup>31</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 9, no. 4 (6 Feb. 1842): 53-54. "Finally a beautiful trio by Beethoven, opus 70, performed by Mr. Hallé, Mr. Alard, and Mr. Chevillard, ended this evening of good and serious music, performed so conscientiously that Gluck, Mozart, Sacchini, Hummel, and Beethoven must have rejoiced and trembled with joy in their graves, as the audience frequently quivered with admiration...."

<sup>32</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 21 (24 May 1846): 146. "One could say that Beethoven wrote in a universal language a work for the people, for mankind, that contributes to civilization."

<sup>33</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 10, no. 49 (3 Dec. 1844): 409-10.. "If Corneille often nourishes the Théâtre-Français; if one of his pieces is still the meat, so to speak, of the repertoire of tragedy and comedy, Beethoven, who in more than one respect resembles this great dramatic poet, constitutes the same for all concerts where one wants to please both the artists and the amateurs of good and serious music."<sup>33</sup>

compositeurs, c'est qu'il plaît également aux romantiques et aux classiques."<sup>34</sup>

Blanchard asserted that while there were elements that may have appealed to Romantics, the formal structure that was integral to the classical aesthetic was present, thereby rendering the music acceptable.

Blanchard perceived the works of which he approved as following the tradition of the Classical ideal, as embodied in the music of Haydn and Mozart. For example, Blanchard observed in an 1841 article that

pour le vrai connaisseur, l'audition d'un quatuor de Haydn, de Mozart, ou de Beethoven, la *musica di camera*, comme disent les Italiens, cette musique de presque intimité qui vous permet de saisir toutes les nuances, toutes les finesses de l'harmonie et de la pensée du compositeur....<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, Blanchard applauds Beethoven's Op. 15 piano concerto in C major in 1846 by noting that it is "dans la manière classique de l'auteur. Les formes mélodiques et harmoniques en sont arrêtées, claires et comme prévues d'avance par la chute du trait sur la cadence finale avec trille, à la façon des concertos de violon de Viotti."<sup>36</sup> Such comments render even more comprehensible the glowing comments that Blanchard writes about certain Beethoven compositions praising their clarity, "perfection," dignity, or simply pleasing qualities. For example, Blanchard praises the Op. 70 pianoforte trio in a March 18, 1841 concert review in which he notes: "Le trio, oeuvre 70, pour piano, violon, et violoncelle, qui a parlé à toutes les intelligences, et par lequel MM. Franco-Mendès et Rosenhain, ont dignement terminé

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<sup>34</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 31 (2 Aug. 1846): 243. "What distinguishes Beethoven above all from other composers is that he appeals equally to the Romantics and the Classicists."

<sup>35</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 7, no. 62 (5 Dec. 1841): 544. "For the true connoisseur, hearing a quartet of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven, the *musica di camera*, as the Italians say, this music of intimacy that allows you to grasp all of the nuances, all of the harmonic finesses, and the thoughts of the composer...."

<sup>36</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 21 (24 May 1846): 166. "in the composer's Classical manner. Its melodic and harmonic outlines are clear-cut and signposted in advance by the ending of a passage with a concluding cadential trill, as in the violin concertos of Viotti."

la séance, a produit le plus grand effet.”<sup>37</sup> Blanchard approves also of the Kreutzer sonata in a similar manner, especially the Andante movement, stating that “Rien ne peut être comparé à la perfection de ce fragment, de cette oeuvre complète.”<sup>38</sup> In an 1845 concert review, Blanchard wrote about the Op.18, no. 4 quartet in C minor, stating that it was “un des plus délicieux qu’il ait écrits”<sup>39</sup>.

Blanchard often explicitly places Beethoven in categories with classical composers such as Haydn and Mozart, as in the following introduction to an 1844 concert review:

Un bon commencement est le milieu de tout, a dit Lucien: cette maxime est aussi piquante que vraie, et nous nous félicitons d’avoir presque toujours à commencer le compte-rendu des concerts de la *Gazette musicale* par l’analyse de quelque oeuvre de Mozart ou de Beethoven.<sup>40</sup>

Another comparison of Beethoven to Haydn and Mozart is found in an 1846 article: “Beethoven s’est non seulement montré le digne successeur de Haydn et de Mozart dans ses andante, mais on peut dire même qu’il les a surpassés par la hauteur et le développement de l’idée.”<sup>41</sup> Later, Blanchard would observe in 1847 that “la forme de ses illustres prédécesseurs, Haydn et Mozart, ne lui suffisaient plus.”<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 8, no. 22 (18 Mar. 1841): 172. “The opus 70 trio for piano, violin, and cello, of which all of the intellects have spoken, and with which Mr. Franco-Mendès and Mr. Rosenhain in a dignified manner ended the evening, produced the greatest effect.”

<sup>38</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 8, no. 49 (3 Dec. 1843): 409-410. “Nothing can be compared to the perfection of this movement, or of this work as a whole.”

<sup>39</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 12, no. 6 (9 Feb. 1845): 46. “one of the most delightful that he composed.”

<sup>40</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 11, no. 2 (14 Jan. 1844): 13. “A good beginning is in the middle of everything, as Lucien said: this maxim is as intriguing as it is true, and we had the good fortune to have almost always begun the *Gazette musicale*’s concert reviews with an analysis of a work either by Mozart or by Beethoven.”

<sup>41</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 21 (24 May 1846): 165-66 “Beethoven has not only shown himself to be the true successor of Haydn and Mozart in his andante, but one can say even that he has surpassed them by the heights and the development of his ideas.”

<sup>42</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 14, no. 49 (5 Dec. 1847) : 394. “The form of his illustrious predecessors, Haydn and Mozart, was no longer sufficient for him.”

Blanchard often addressed the edifying nature of the compositions that he praised, as in the following 1843 example:

Se plaire à l'audition d'un beau quatuor de Haydn, de Mozart, d'Onslow, ou de Beethoven est le signe évident qu'on a reçu cette bonne éducation musicale, ou qu'on possède le sixième sens dont nous venons de parler. C'est qu'en effet le quatuor pour deux violons alto et basse est le fondement, la base de tout orchestre, de tout accompagnement, de toute instrumentation, de tout style pur; et, par une sorte de fatalité, ce genre de musique semble n'être plus à la mode. Il appartient à la *Gazette musicale* journal qui marche droit dans la voie de l'art sévère et classique, comme il suit, dans ses mouvements excentriques et capricieux, le génie de la fantaisie, de contribuer à l'éducation du public des concerts, public doux et bienveillant, qui pousse fort loin la complaisance et la patience dont on abuse parfois, en le saturant de romances et d'airs variés.<sup>43</sup>

Blanchard also noted in 1846 that Beethoven's compositions written in the classical style would endure long after he was gone:

Dans l'art musical, Grétry, Méhul, Boieldieu, Hérold, Auber, et Halévy, ont labouré le champ de l'harmonie et celui de la mélodie de manière à le faire encore produire après eux; et dans un ordre d'idées plus élevé, Gluck, Beethoven, Cherubini, Weber, Rossini, et Meyerbeer, ont laissé une trace plus profonde, Beethoven surtout, qui joint au style suffisamment classique la mélodie et l'harmonie passionnées....<sup>44</sup>

Blanchard's negative commentary regarding Beethoven's music of the early and middle period is equally homogenous. He tends to disapprove when there are formal elements within the music that do not seem to progress logically, considering

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<sup>43</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 10, no. 45 (5 Nov. 1843): 379. "To be pleased at hearing a beautiful quartet of Haydn, Mozart, Onslow, or Beethoven is a definite sign that one has received a good musical education, and that one possesses the sixth sense of which we often speak. It is in effect the quartet that is the foundation, the bass of all orchestration, of all accompaniment, of all instrumentation, of all pure style, and, by a certain fatalism, this genre of music seems to no longer be in fashion. It belongs to the *Gazette musicale*, the journal that marches in the way of art that is strict and classical as genius and fantasy follows its eccentric and capricious movements, to contribute to the education of the public through these concerts, a public that is gentle and benevolent, who strongly pushes far away the complaisance and the patience that one sometimes abuses by saturating them with romances and variations."

<sup>44</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 24 (14 Jun. 1846): 188-89. "In musical art, Grétry, Méhul, Boieldieu, Hérold, Auber, and Halévy have tilled the field of harmony and that of the melody of the manner that will be produced after them, and in the order of ideas most heightened, Gluck, Beethoven, Cherubini,

these to be evidence of the composer's ineptitude. For example, he writes in 1844 of the Op. 59, no. 3 quartet in C major:

Il commence par des harmonies étranges, par des accords aux résolutions les plus inattendues; ce serait presque du romantisme musical, si la régularité, l'unité de la pensée ne devaient témoigner aussitôt que ce n'est qu'un caprice momentaire du génie.<sup>45</sup>

Blanchard comments similarly upon Beethoven's Op.18, no. 6 quartet in B-flat major, reacting negatively to its "modulations étranges."<sup>46</sup> Blanchard perceives these unexpected occurrences as objectionable and detrimental to the overall effect of the music. Clearly, Blanchard finds Beethoven's music less comprehensible when deviates from traditional classical elements.

Blanchard's writings on the music of Beethoven's early and middle stylistic periods reflect several things about the critic's overall aesthetic. Blanchard places a premium on formal cohesiveness, and insists upon the use of traditional tonal functions. He assesses music based upon its adherence to these ideals, and seldom finds reason to accept any deviation from them.

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Rossini, and Meyerbeer, have left a more profound trace, Beethoven especially, who joined a style sufficiently classical with passionate melodies and harmonies...."

<sup>45</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 11, no. 52 (29 Dec. 1844): 435. "It begins with strange harmonies, with chords of the most unexpected resolutions; it is almost musical romanticism, if the regularity and unity of thought did not show that it was only a momentary caprice of a genius."

<sup>46</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 11, no. 2 (14 Jan. 1844): 13. "strange modulations."

## Chapter 3: Blanchard on Beethoven's Late Period

Henri Blanchard wrote a large amount of criticism on the music of Beethoven's late period. The elements that Blanchard found to be less than successful in Beethoven's early and middle period works became more pronounced in the late works, and thus Blanchard's critical comments follow a pattern similar to that seen with the earlier works. Moreover, the consistency of the pattern underscores the consistency of his aesthetic.

Blanchard found the late works to lack clearly defined melodic expression.

For example, Blanchard wrote in a February 1852 article:

Les six derniers quatuors de Beethoven étaient restés, depuis la disparition de ce monde musical du grand homme mort en 1827, à l'état de mystère de l'art incompris. Les uns disaient, et le disent, encore: Quand l'auteur de la symphonie pastorale, si limpide de mélodie et si claire d'harmonie, composa ses derniers quatuors nos 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, et 17, il était sourd et presque fou de douleur d'avoir perdu le sens le plus précieux pour tout musicien....Il est certain qu'en comparant le style de ces derniers quatuors avec ses précédents, si carrés de mélodie, si clairs, si logique par l'unité de la pensée, on se trouve tout dépaysé par cet ajournement incessant de la cadence finale; cette variété de mesure qui paraît sans nécessité; ce bris du rythme qui semble le résultat d'un cerveau, d'une pensée malades, d'une fièvre d'innovation.<sup>47</sup>

Further, Blanchard felt that Beethoven's late period works did not fit any logical formal scheme, and were therefore chaotic and even worthless. He observed that the abandonment of traditional forms produced more problems than the composer was

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<sup>47</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 19, no. 9 (29 Feb. 1852): 67-68. "The six last quartets of Beethoven have remained, since the passing from this musical world of that great man who died in 1827, in the state of mystery of art that is not understood. People have said, and continued to say: When the author of the *Pastoral Symphony*, so full of limpid melodies and clear harmonies, composed his last quartets, numbers 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17, he was deaf and almost crazed from depression at having lost the sense that is the most precious for all musicians....It is certain that in comparing the style of these last quartets with the preceding ones, so filled with melody, so clear, so logical in its unity of thought, one finds himself completely removed from familiar surroundings by the constant postponement of the final cadence, the seemingly unnecessary variety of tempi, and the roughness of rhythm that seems to be the result of a sickened mind, feverish with innovation."

capable of resolving. He observed, for example, that the first movement of the Op. 130 string quartet in B-flat,

...remarquable par la recherche d'une harmonie étrange, par le retard fatigant des résolutions d'accord, par une sorte de haine systématique de la conclusion des parcelles de phrases de mélodie par la cadence parfaite, témoigne d'une imagination usée qui ne trouvait plus de chant, et qui employait sans mesure et sans goût les ressources de la méthode. La cinquième et sixième partie, la cavatina et le finale dans lesquels scintillent encore plusieurs lueurs d'inspiration mélodique, abondent surtout en ces ajournements indéfinis de terminaison.<sup>48</sup>

In an 1849 article, he similarly observed that "la forme consacrée, observée dans ses précédents ouvrages, ne le préoccupe plus. Sa pensée est vague; elle se perd dans des développements sans mesure."<sup>49</sup> Later in the same article, he made an analogy between Beethoven's musical compositions and Rousseau's literary composition, *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*, observing that in both instances the general rules of syntax were observed, yet the line of thought continually wandered.<sup>50</sup>

Blanchard also believed that only pretentious pseudo-intellectuals approved of the late works, using phrases such as "Cette décadence intellectuelle!"<sup>51</sup>

Furthermore, Blanchard frequently contended that the late quartets represented a decline in Beethoven's compositional ability. Using biographical details to persuade his readers that the quartets were illogically constructed, Blanchard states of the Op.

132 string quartet, for example, that

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<sup>48</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 16, no. 15 (15 Apr. 1849): 116. "Notable for its difficult, strange harmony, for the enervating delay of harmonic resolutions, for a kind of systematic hatred of concluding melodic fragments with a perfect cadence, bears witness to an exhausted imagination now devoid of lyricism, and which employed the means of method unrestrainedly and in tasteless fashion. Movements five and six, the Cavatina and the Finale, in which they still gleam a few lights of melodic inspiration, are particularly full of these indefinitely delayed cadences."

<sup>49</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 16, no. 7 (18 Feb. 1849): 52. "...traditional form, observed in his earlier works, no longer concerns him. His thought is vague; it loses its way in untrammelled developments."

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>51</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13, no. 48 (30 Nov. 1845): 391-92. "What intellectual decadence!"

ce quatuor est un des derniers ouvrages de Beethoven, alors qu'il était sourd, un peu brutal, misanthrope, et se réfugiant dans un vague mysticisme religieux. Il en était arrivé à une vieillesse prématurée, produite plus par la fatigue, le découragement, que par l'âge.<sup>52</sup>

And in an 1845 article, he made a similar observation while discussing the Op. 106 piano sonata:

La presque majorité des artistes sont fanatiques de Beethoven, et l'impose à une foule d'amateurs qui ne comprennent pas toujours. Et cela les artistes font bien quand leur dieu rend les oracles d'une manière intelligible; mais ce dieu, comme Jupiter, avait vieilli lorsqu'il composa cette incommensurable sonate.... L'oeuvre 106 de Beethoven est comme ces ouvrages pâles et décolorés de la vieillesse de Corneille et de Voltaire. Le premier et le dernier morceau de la sonate en question nous représentent l'obstination scientifique qui travaille un motif aussi longuement que péniblement.... Cette raison sublime, ce flambeau de la vie intellectuelle et pratique offre le plus triste spectacle à l'observateur, au moraliste, au critique lorsqu'elle se voile ou s'affaiblit dans un cerveau puissant.<sup>53</sup>

Nevertheless, Blanchard's negative opinions regarding the late quartets were not to remain static throughout his career. In 1852, Blanchard attended a concert of the late quartets while following the score with the intention of writing a technical critique of why the pieces were nonsensical. To his surprise, however, he discovered sophistication within the music that he had never before observed, and completely changed his opinion regarding the works. He asserted in the resulting article that "l'homme n'était point déchu quand il a écrit ces oeuvres audacieuses et sans

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<sup>52</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 13. no. 21 (24 May 1846): 165. "this quartet was one of the last that Beethoven composed; therefore, he was deaf, somewhat brutal, misanthropic, and sought refuge in a sort of religious mysticism. He had arrived at a premature old age, produced more by fatigue and discouragement than by age."

<sup>53</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 12, no. 48 (30 Nov. 1845): 392. "The majority of artists are fanatics of Beethoven, and impose him upon a crowd of amateurs who still do not understand him. And these artists do well when their god renders his oracles in an intelligible manner, but this god, like Jupiter, has aged since he composed this incommensurable sonata....Beethoven's opus 106 is like the pale and discolored works of the old age of Corneille and Voltaire. The first and the last movements of the sonata in question represent the obstinacy of the scientist who works with a motif as lengthy as it is punitive...This sublime reason, this light from the intellectual life and practice offers the saddest view to the observer, to the moralist, and to the critic since it veils the weakening of a once-strong mind."

précédents dans l'art musical."<sup>54</sup> He elaborated upon his change of opinion in the following statement:

J'avoue qu'habitué à la plastique lucide, carrée et classique de Haydn, de Mozart, et de Beethoven lui-même dans sa première manière, cette méthode me suffisait; mais, cédant à la force toujours ascensionnelle du génie de ce dernier, je l'entendis de nouveau, je le relus, et la lumière se fit!<sup>55</sup>

In November of 1852, Blanchard referred to the late quartets as "ces six oeuvres exceptionnelles...qui développe l'intelligence musicale."<sup>56</sup> In a January 1853 article, he used such expressions as "les chants les plus suaves, les plus nobles, toutes les aspirations du plus profond sentiment musicale..." to describe the late quartets.<sup>57</sup> In February of 1853, he reviewed a concert of late Beethoven quartets which included the following statement: "Les interprètes des derniers quatuors de Beethoven remplissent avec intelligence, zèle, et conscience la mission qu'ils sont donnée."<sup>58</sup> Not only did Blanchard appreciate the music by this time, but he felt that the public needed to hear these works and to be edified by them. However, such music still required some semblance of Classicism in order to meet with his approval. In January of 1854, for example, he wrote that what was most notable about the late quartets was "la fusion des opinions classiques et romantiques."<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>54</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 19, no. 9 (29 Feb. 1852): 67-68. "...the man's powers were not failing when he wrote these works, audacious and unprecedented in the art of music."

<sup>55</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 20, no. 3 (16 Jan. 1853): 17. "I admit that, accustomed to the lucid, square cut, and Classical plasticity of Haydn, Mozart, and even Beethoven in his first period, this method was enough for me; but, yielding to the ever-increasing strength of the latter's genius, I listened to it anew, re-read it, and the light dawned!"

<sup>56</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 19, no. 48 (28 Nov. 1852): 405. "These six exceptional works...that develop musical intelligence."

<sup>57</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 20, no. 4 (23 Jan. 1853): 29. "The most suave, noble melodies, with aspirations to all of the most profound musical sentiments..."

<sup>58</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 20, no. 7 (13 Feb. 1853): 52. "The interpretations of the last Beethoven quartets were filled with intelligence, zeal, and consciousness of the mission that they have undertaken."

<sup>59</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 21, no. 4 (22 Jan. 1854): 29-30. "the fusion of classical and romantic opinion."

Blanchard's initial writings on the late music of Beethoven reiterated four important aesthetic elements. First, Blanchard placed a premium upon melody. Second, he required formal cohesiveness analogous to Classicism. Third, he believed music should have the capacity to appeal and be comprehensible to mass audiences and not simply to connoisseurs.

Blanchard's writings after 1852, however, reflect a newfound appreciation for the subtler formal elements that make a work logical and cohesive. He becomes far more open-minded in terms of that which constitutes acceptable harmonic practices. For example, in a description of the Op. 130 string quartet, written in 1854, Blanchard describes its "modulations hétérogènes qui n'en sont pas moins logiques."<sup>60</sup> In describing the Op. 127 string quartet, he describes "richesse de modulations tout à la fois suaves et crues, inattendues, hardies, mais correctes et logiques, qui peuvent braver la critique la plus minutieuse."<sup>61</sup> Moreover, he frequently admires the presence of the extensive use of contrapuntal techniques found within the late works as well. Clearly, Blanchard's writings on the late music of Beethoven reveal a critic capable of communicating honestly to his readers the extent of his evolving aesthetic, with little concern for any seeming inconsistencies.

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<sup>60</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 21, no. 6 (5 Feb. 1854): 393. "...heterogenous modulations which are no less logical for that."

<sup>61</sup> Blanchard, *RGM* 21, no. 13 (26 Mar. 1854): 102. "...richness of modulations, which are at once sweet, raw, unexpected, bold, yet correct and logical, and which can withstand the most exacting critical inquiry."

## Conclusion

Blanchard's opinions regarding Beethoven's late quartets undergo a marked change after 1852, shifting from disapproval to enthusiasm. In fact, his articles on other late Beethoven works, which appear after those that praise the late quartets, become more analytical and more positive, suggesting that Blanchard's experience with the late quartets might have led him to examine the other works with a more open mind as well.

Blanchard continues to search for formal elements in justifying the value of a musical work, and consequently encourages the French public to do so. Yet, formal "failings" he previously criticized, he now refers to as subtle, finding that they bring logic and cohesiveness to a composition.<sup>62</sup> Clearly, Blanchard's aesthetic has evolved to the point where he becomes more accepting of "Romantic" works. In fact, after 1852—when his opinion changes in favor of the late Beethoven quartets—Blanchard's writings on the music of Romantic composers became positive for the first time. However, it is important to note, that Blanchard continues to use the same parameters to evaluate music, finding formal cohesiveness to be paramount. Clearly, his definition of what constitutes formal cohesiveness has evolved, as has his aesthetic, without however, changing at its base. Rather, this suggests that Blanchard had found new ways of applying his aesthetic to a broader range of works.

Nevertheless, the accepted view of Blanchard as conservative critic must now be qualified by the caveat that while he continued to retain a somewhat conservative

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<sup>62</sup> See, for example, "Concerts et auditions musicales," *RGM* 24, no. 9 (1857): 68, "Concerts et auditions musicales," *RGM* 24, no. 10 (1857): 74, and "Auditions musicales," *RGM* 25, no. 19 (1858): 155.

aesthetic, from 1852 until his death the evolution of his aesthetic judgements permitted him to appreciate a great deal of Romantic music. This conflicts with the traditional view of Henri Blanchard, as exemplified in the writings of Katherine Ellis, who makes such comments as “[he] believed that Romanticism was pernicious,” “the equation of Romanticism with the uglier sides of realism and materialism led to its denigration in the work of...Blanchard, who used the term to indicate a comprehensive rejection of proper musical values,” and “[he] was liable to complain of Romanticism’s degeneracy at every possible opportunity.”<sup>63</sup> While these statements were true during the earliest part of his career, they do not accurately describe the evolution of his critical aesthetic. Before the advent of RIPM, scholars have been unable to access readily Blanchard’s wide corpus of criticism. Now that more of his writings can be easily located, a more nuanced perception of this critic’s work is now possible. Hopefully, this research will mark the advent of further investigations into the work of one of the most productive and interesting writers on music in nineteenth-century France.

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<sup>63</sup> Ellis, 131, 238, 140.

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<sup>64</sup> All annotations are quoted directly from the NISC online version of RIPM: Retrospective Index to Music Periodicals (1800-1950).

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- \_\_\_\_\_. "Auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 134. [Salle Beethoven : Ch. Poisot, "Les Deux Billets" (opéra de salon)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 146. [Salle Beethoven : Eugène de Soupper (chanteur hongrois). Salle Pleyel : Lamazou].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 190. [Salle Beethoven : Chasles-Alma (violoniste)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Auditions musicales de la semaine." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 20 (1853): 17-18. [3e séance des derniers quatuors de Beethoven, par MM. Maurin, Chevillard, Mas et Sabattier (Salle Herz)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 8 (1841): 172. [Salle Monsigny : Jacques Franco-Mendès, Quatuor en "si" mineur; Guerreau, Fauchoux, Joseph Franco-Mendès. Beethoven, Quatuor en "mi" bémol, Trio op. 70; Rosenhain].

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 9 (1842): 53-54. [Salle rue Neuve-Vivienne : Berlioz, "Rêverie et Caprice" (violon et orchestre). Beethoven, Concerto en "ut"; Hallé, Alard. Weber, "Invitation à la valse" (instrumentation par Berlioz)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 9 (1842): 150. "Gazette musicale" : huitième séance de 1841--42 [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Quatuor en "mi" bémol; Alard, Chainé, Armingaud, Chevillard, Alexis Dupont, Anna Widemann, Géraldy, Osborne].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 14 (1847): 394. [Salons Hesselbein : séance de musique de chambre de la famille Dancla. Beethoven, Quatuor no 11].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 15 (1848): 29-30. [Salons Bernhardt : récital de Louise Mattmann, Maurin (Guarnerius) et Lebouc. Weber, Quatuor en "si" bémol. Onslow, Quintette no 8. Beethoven, Sonate en "la" pour piano et violoncelle. Rode, Allegro du Concerto no 7 en "la" mineur. Salle du Prince de la Moskowa : Hall].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 18 (1851): 61. [Société de Sainte Cécile [Beethoven, Symphonie no 4, "Egmont" (ouverture). Bérou, Mathilde-Jeanne Chambard (cantatrice)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 18 (1851): 107. [Société de Sainte-Cécile (Beethoven, Triple Concerto pour violon, violoncelle, piano et orchestre; Joignant, Jacquard, Saint-Saëns. Jacques Lefèvre, "Las! il n'a nul mal". Thoinot Arbeau, Pavane. Lulli, scène des enfers d'"Alceste"; Bataille)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 18 (1851): 124. [Société Sainte-Cécile (Concert spirituel. Beethoven, Symphonie no 6; Seghers, Milles Félix Miolan et Vavasseur)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 23 (1856): 51. [Salons Érard : Lemmens; Ellen Sherrington. Beethoven, Sonate en "ut" dièse mineur op. 27, no. 2. Weber, Sonate en "la" bémol. Salle Herz : Mary Brian].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts et auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 24 (1857): 82. [Salle Pleyel : Nouvelle Société de musique de chambre. De Stainlein, Trio en "ut" mineur op. 9. Beethoven, Sonate "Kreutzer"].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts et auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 110. [Petite salle Beethoven : Féri Kletzer].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts et auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 111. [Petite salle Beethoven : Louise Mattmann].

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts et auditions musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 25 (1858): 118. [Salle Beethoven : Mme Baraktaroff (cantatrice), Th. Ritter].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts, matinées, et soirées musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 22 (1855): 114-15. [Société Sainte-Cécile. Méhul, ouverture de "Stratonice". Gounod, "Sanctus" et "Benedictus". Palestrina, "Adoramus te, Christe". Beethoven, Grande Fantaisie pour chœur, orchestre et piano; Stamaty, Muratet (chef d'orchestre). Salle Sainte-Cécile : concert au profit des orphelins du choléra du département de l'Indre; Mary Brian, Caroline Beauvais, M. et Mme Gassier. Salle Herz : Élisabeth Saint-Marc (pianiste). Gorla. Brisson].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Concerts, matinées, et soirées musicales." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 23 (1856): 84-85. [Beethoven, Trio en "ut" mineur op. 1; Cuvillon, Franchomme, Pauline Viardot (pianiste). Cécile David (pianiste). Salle Pleyel : Zéline Vautier. Adrienne Picard. Salle Herz : Mlle Laguesse. M. et Mme Deloffre. Petite salle Sainte-Cécile : Mlle Molidoff. Jacques Baur (pianiste). Salons Érard : John Thomas. Société de musique de chambre Armingaud-Jacquard].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Coup d'oeil musical sur les concerts de la semaine et de la saison." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 12 (1845): 46. [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Quatuor no 4 en "ut" mineur; Alard, Armingaud, Ch. Dancla, Chevillard, Léopold Deldicque (violoniste). Mlle Grevedon, Alex. Billet, Géraldy, Ponchard, Alari (accompagnateur)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Coup d'oeil musical sur les concerts de la saison." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 12 (1845): 391-92. [Salons Érard : Beethoven, Sonate op. 106; Victorine Farrenc. Ateliers d'Ad. Sax : audition de nouveaux instruments].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Coup d'oeil musical sur les concerts de la saison." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 14 (1847): 79-80. [Salons Pleyel : concert de la "Gazette musicale". Beethoven, Quatuor à cordes op. 18 no 4 en "ut" mineur. Mlle Mercié-Porte, Lambert Dretzen (harpiste), Mme Knispel (soprano), Auguste Protet, Union chorale, Michel Lévy, Foulon (directeurs), Alard].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Deuxième concert de la 'Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 8 (1841): 570-71. [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Quatuor no 8. Cherubini, "Ave Maria". Haydn, air de "La Création". Mozart, trio des masques de "Don Juan". Rode, Variations. Louise Farrenc, Quintette. Alard, Armingaud, Chaîne, Chevillard, Alexis Dupont, Verroust (cor anglais), Inchindi, Lia Duport, Mlle Ponsignon (cantatrice), Gouffé].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Deuxième concert de la 'Revue et Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette*

*Musicale de Paris* 10 (1843): 409-10. [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Septuor en "mi" bémol. Mozart, "Raillerie musicale". J. Goldberg, Lia Duport, Seligmann, Guttmanne].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Deuxième soirée musicale donnée par Mlle Mattmann, MM. Maurin et Lebouc." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 15 (1848): 12. [Fesca, Quatuor no 15 en "ré". Beethoven, Quatuor en "mi" bémol pour piano, violon, alto et violoncelle, Sonate en "la" mineur pour piano et violon].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Premier concert de la 'Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 8 (1841): 544-45. [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Quatuor no 10 en "mi" bémol, Sérénade pour violon, alto et violoncelle; Alard, Armingaud, Chaine, Chevillard. Mozart, "Là ci darem la mano"; Lia Duport, Mayerhofer (basse). Rosenhain, Grand Trio pour piano, violon et violoncelle. Grétry, "Une fièvre brûlante" de "Richard Coeur de Lion"; Masset, Roger, Schimon (accompagnateur)].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Premier concert de la 'Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 11 (1844): 435-36. [Salons Pleyel : Beethoven, Quatuor no 9; Alard, Armingaud, Dancla, Chevillard. Mlle Grevedon, Mme Laty, Thérèse Wartel, Cossmann, Alari (accompagnateur). Matinée musicale de M. Kiesewetter. Salons Pleyel : Ponchard, Mlle Morize, Kathinka de Dietz].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Premier concert de la 'Revue et Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 10 (1843): 379. [Salons Pleyel : Onslow, Quatuor à cordes no 32. Beethoven, Sonate "Kreutzer", Quatuor à cordes no 6. Alard, Hallé, Mme Capdeville].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Premier concert de la Société Sainte-Cécile." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 21 (1854): 392-93. [Barbureau. Rossini, ouverture de "Guillaume Tell". Anonyme, Pavane (choeur de danse à 4 voix; XVIIe siècle); Wekerlin (orchestrateur). Beethoven, Symphonie en "ut" mineur. Weber, "Jusqu'ici, ta douce image" de "Preciosa"; Camille Berg (soprano)].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Revue critique." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 5 (1838): 531. ["Les Chants écossais", album Beethoven (Paroles françaises de Bélanger)].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Revue critique." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 12 (1845): 301-02. ["Festchor", choeur de fête pour l'inauguration du monument de Beethoven, par M. Breidenstein --- "Sobieski", quadrille fashionable sur des polkas originales pour piano, par M. Julien et autres].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Revue critique." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 188-89. [Deuxième concert pour piano].

\_\_\_\_\_. "Revue critique." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 243-45.

[Études sur les oeuvres de Beethoven. Les sonates avec accompagnement (cinquième article)].

- \_\_\_\_\_. “Revue critique: Beethoven, Panseron.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 19 (1852): 292. [Réduction pour deux pianos du Concerto no 3 en "ut" mineur] et Dancla (Fantaisie pour piano et violon sur des thèmes de Weber; Élégie et Barcarolle; "Méthode de violon").
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Revue critique: Études sur les oeuvres de Beethoven.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 197-98. [4e et 5e Concertos pour piano seul (troisième article)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Revue critique: Études sur les oeuvres de Beethoven.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 203-04. [Les sonates (quatrième article)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Revue critique: Études sur les oeuvres de Beethoven.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 325-26. [Les sonates avec accompagnement (sixième article)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Revue critique: Oeuvres de Beethoven.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 13 (1846): 165-66. [Premier concerto pour piano].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Silves musicales.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 16 (1849): 52-53. [Séance de musique de chambre chez Maurin : Mendelssohn, Quatuor en "mi" mineur op. 44. Beethoven, Quatuor no 12, op. 132].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Silves musicales.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 16 (1849): 67-68. [Séance musicale chez Louise Mattmann : Beethoven, Andante et Finale de la Sonate en "ut" dièse mineur op. 27. Lebouc, Maurin, Élodie Vallet].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Société Sainte-Cécile.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 22 (1855): 26-27. [Beethoven, Symphonie no 6. Hérold, ouverture de "Zampa". Philidor, "Le Printemps" (cantate)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Société Sainte-Cécile.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 22 (1855): 44-45. [Concert de MM. Lebouc et Paulin (Salle Pleyel : musique classique vocale et instrumentale. Mozart, "Voi che sapete che cosa è amor" des "Nozze di Figaro"; Marie Cinti-Damoreau. Beethoven, Sonate en "ut" dièse mineur; Louise Mattmann)].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Société Sainte-Cécile: premier concert.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 20 (1853): 421. [Louise Lavoye. Schumann, "Manfred" (première parisienne). Beethoven, Symphonie en "la"].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Société Sainte-Cécile, premier concert, et autres séances musicales.” *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 19 (1852): 25. [Société Sainte-Cécile; Seghers,

- Mlle Stubb (cantatrice allemande), Saint-Saëns. Beethoven, "Hymne du sacrifice" (première parisienne). Mendelssohn, Symphonie en "la" majeur].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les trois derniers." *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 16 (1849): 325. [Beethoven, Quatuors nos 15, 16 et 17].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Troisième concert de la 'Revue et Gazette musicale.'" *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 11 (1844): 13. [Beethoven, Quatuor no 10; Alard, Armingaud, Croisilles, Chevillard. Roger, Mlle Masson, Goria, Albertini, Offenbach, Schimon].
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