

2018

## **Vital performance: Culture, worldview, and romanticist performance practice with application in Franz Liszt's Consolations and Années de Pèlerinage Première Année**

Andrew John Snedden  
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**Vital Performance:  
Culture, Worldview, and Romanticist Performance  
Practice with Application in Franz Liszt's  
*Consolations* and  
*Années de Pèlerinage Première Année***

*An exegetical dissertation*

— and —

*Studio recordings on an historic piano  
with annotated scores*

This thesis is presented for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy (Performing Arts)

Andrew John Snedden

Edith Cowan University  
Western Australian Academy of Performing Arts  
2018

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Date: 7th June 2018

**Abstract**

This thesis examines issues of historical performance in the piano music of Franz Liszt, positing cultural exegesis as an overlooked source of evidence. Philosophical biases underlying mainstream C20th performance approaches (and their inhibiting potential) are discussed. A detailed reconstruction of Romanticist style is made with attention to primary sources, including historical recordings. A nomenclature for score annotation and an analytical paradigm for identification and application of Romanticist performance characteristics are proposed. These are experimentally applied, referencing exegetical insights, in Liszt's *Consolations* and *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* through annotated scores and studio recordings on an 1860's Érard grand.

**Acknowledgements**

I wish to express my deep thanks to both my supervisors, Associate Professor Jonathan Paget and Professor Geoffrey Lancaster, for their tireless and insightful support. Without their challenging comments this work would have been significantly weakened; without their encouragement it may not have been completed. However, all opinions expressed, and inevitable errors of fact and judgement, remain the responsibility of the author.

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*Education is not the filling of a pail,  
but the lighting of a fire.*

W.B. Yeats

*To be a musician is a mission.*

Claudio Arrau

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## INTRODUCTION

### 0.1 Preamble: A Personal Journey

This thesis is a result of a long musical path, initiated by unusual circumstances and involving, for myself, two particularly fortuitous events. In the late 1970's, my teacher, Nan Price, made a remarkable decision: her children now approaching the end of high school, she decided to embark on a study tour of Europe, planning lessons with a number of famous pedagogues. On the advice of a younger colleague, she visited Greville Rothern, one of Claudio Arrau's former students and teaching assistants, and was so impressed she cancelled the rest of her engagements and spent the time in intensive study with him. On her return, Rothern was encouraged to abandon bleak Munich winters to spend a few weeks each year in the Sydney (summer) sunshine. For a few years, therefore, I was fortunate to be one of a very small group of students to work intensively with Rothern, as we were introduced to a world of systematic technical physicality and dramatic, broadly Romanticist, interpretative vision. When Rothern finished his Australian adventures, I spent a few helpful months working with another of Arrau's circle, Ronald Farren-Price in Melbourne, before following the kangaroo trail to London, to continue studies with yet another of Arrau's students, Ruth Nye. I can still remember clearly the mix of excitement, awe, and musical revelation, as we met with the Maestro around his London concerts, and sat in on his concerto rehearsals. I knew enough then to realise there were many questions I would later regret not asking, but simply didn't know what they were. This has been proved true in so many areas!

Above all, in Arrau's circle we were given a sense of mission, of carrying on (in our small ways) a great tradition. Arrau was one of the last students of Martin Krause (also the teacher of Edwin Fisher), and he in turn had been a student of Liszt's middle (Weimar) years, and close disciple thereafter. Arrau's distinctive performance style was in part consciously based on specific instruction passed on from Liszt through Krause, particularly from the 1960's after he went through a phase of re-evaluating his interpretative style. As students, this sense of a living tradition stretching back to the great pianist-composer (and even further: Liszt was a pupil of Czerny, a pupil of Beethoven) was electric to us.

Arrau's tradition taught us three central principles. First, that the great composers of Romanticism were all precisely that, great composers, especially those often reduced in stature by C20th tastes, most especially Liszt, Chopin and Schubert. Their major works

were great art, and if they did not sound so in performance, it was the fault of the performer, not of the composer. Second, that dramatic and philosophic interpretation was paramount, and while this should always be faithful to the score, it was not found in mere notation, let alone in technical perfection. Third, that the great performers of the past, particularly pre-Second World War, were to be admired and studied for their Romanticist style and artistic vision, especially Furtwängler, Cortot, and Schnabel. I began collecting LP's of their sometimes faint and noisy performances, galvanised by their fresh and free styles, and entranced at the thought of being carried back in time almost into the presence of the composers I was studying. This seemed like a veritable musical TARDIS.

From London, I moved to York, and in this beautiful, historic city, I learned to embrace scholarship and pedagogy on the one hand, yet become distrustful of HIPP on the other, despite the opportunities of hearing many performances in the yearly York Early Music Festival. So many "early music" performances, particularly of C18th repertoire, seemed to me to be soulless, mechanical and dramatically superficial, and seemed musically unsatisfying compared to the engaging dramatic tradition of my teachers. However, after moving from York to Perth, Western Australia, I stumbled into a second fortuitous event. I found myself working at a local university with Geoffrey Lancaster, a fortepianist I had briefly known years before when we were students together in Sydney. As I sat in on his lectures and recitals on C18th historical performance, I immediately saw connections between his expositions and performances, and important aspects of the Arrauian tradition. I was intrigued, and began a journey to both understand and apply this different, dramatic stream of HIPP scholarship, with particular focus on a reconstructed C19th Romanticist performance practice. While it soon became clear that the teaching of Arrau's circle provided an excellent base from which to begin, particularly in areas of rhythmic and tempo flexibility, it was also clear that the Maestro's performance style was a heavily personalised response to the Modernist century, his increasing sense of aesthetic isolation (particularly after 1960), and the necessities of his public career. It was not in itself a C19th HIPP example, though it contained many aesthetic and stylistic survivals. For me, this thesis has therefore provided an opportunity to systematically explore the roots of my own performance tradition, to intensify a personal quest to perform Romanticist music in a sympathetic ethos and style, and to pass on to younger generations at least the basis of a substantially Romanticist vision and practice.

## 0.2 Setting of the Study

Historical performance studies have been particularly influential on art music culture over the last half century through the analysis and application of historically-informed performance practices (or HIPP). This activity has become dominant in certain historic repertoire, so that it is now virtually impossible for respected musicians to perform works through to the end of the Baroque without significant due diligence to known historical performance principles and practices. A further result of this application has been a revival of interest in this repertoire by audiences worldwide, with a corresponding increase in work for performers.

Over the last quarter of a century, HIPP has spread through the Classic era, into the early (and musically foundational) Romanticism of Beethoven and Schubert. However, there has been a greater resistance to the application of HIPP scholarship in these composers (if not their lesser-known contemporaries), possibly due to the continuing centrality of this repertoire to performers, to teachers, and to conservative conservatoria. Both Modernist and HIPP performance styles currently exist side-by-side, though with the latter becoming more and more mainstream, both in concert and recording.<sup>1</sup>

There has also been a strong critique of the goals and achievements of the HIPP movement by some scholars, notably Richard Taruskin, raising important questions about the influence of Modernism on the movement. This criticism is particularly acute when HIPP is perceived merely as a set of (historically derived) applied rules and practices, and remains enslaved to textual literalism. The arguments have been persuasive, and require further response.

It was inevitable that mid to late C19th Romanticism would be the focus of a *nouvelle vague* of HIPP musicological research. Scholars have now analysed a wealth of evidence, uniquely including performance recordings in three technological formats<sup>2</sup>, and a broad consensus has emerged. However, despite this wealth of HIPP evidence, orders of magnitude more extensive and specific than is available for any previous era, many performers and teachers continue to ignore this analysis in practice. In particular, it seems almost incredible that teachers and performers have even ignored the stylistic examples of

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<sup>1</sup> Among the many examples that could be cited is Malcolm Bilson's recordings of Schubert's Piano Sonatas for mainstream label Hungaroton. For example, Franz Schubert, Piano Sonatas volume 3, recorded 1996, Hungaroton Classic HCD 31588, CD.

<sup>2</sup> Discussed in detail in Chapter 3 below.

recordings by the very composers they are studying, most significantly for this study those of Rachmaninov, Scriabin and Debussy.

Furthermore, a superficial historical approach is developing, one that claims historic performance re-creation, but which uses historic instruments without applying appropriate HIP style. The result is a superficial and generalist sonic surface, but without aesthetic and dramatic effect. It is tempting to see this development as a predictable Modernist approach, to adopt a change in mechanism rather than aesthetic.

Fortunately, there is among some scholar-musicians a much less superficial (perhaps less commercially driven) approach, a growing sense of the importance of understanding and applying foundational cultural characteristics to performance practice, and not merely to compositional structures. In the cultural context of rhetoric and the Baroque style, Geoffrey Burgess has recently written:

Other studies of musical rhetoric ... have focused on the adaptation of rhetorical principles to musical composition, but they have not adequately addressed the importance of rhetoric to performance. ...

There were times when it would have made an overwhelming difference to me as a player to know that this music was never conceived to be merely beautiful and enchanting to listen to, but that it always had an ulterior motive: some kind of point to make.<sup>3</sup>

It is precisely this interface between contemporaneous culture and historically informed performance practice that is a major focus of this thesis, an attempt to move beyond debates of composer intentionality, of textual fidelity, or even of score translation and adherence. I am proposing a focus on culturally-mediated meanings, aesthetics, and performance practice.

Cultural eras are notoriously difficult to define accurately, not least that they substantially overlap. I will mostly adopt common terminology. The dominant later C18th style will be referred to as 'the Classic era,' avoiding confusion with the 'Classicism' of Graeco-Roman culture. The dominant cultural development of the C19th will be referred to as 'C19th Romanticism', to distinguish it from romanticisms in other eras. I will, however, use 'Romanticist' as its adjectival form, given the range of meanings now attached to this

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<sup>3</sup> Bruce Haynes & Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetic Musician: Moving and Audience in the Age of Eloquence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xix, xxii.



term (most commonly referring to sexual love.)<sup>4</sup> In so doing, I follow this adjectival form first generated in late C18th usage in Germany and England,<sup>5</sup> and will highlight this specific usage by capitalisation. I will use the term 'Modernism' to denote the dominant philosophic and artistic vision of the first three-quarters of the C20th. Modernism is difficult to define simply, and will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.<sup>6</sup> An initial definition may include a tendency to reject the past and glorify the future, a mechanical modelling of the universe, life, and society, as well as a distrust of metaphysical ideas.

The current expansion of the HIPP movement into C19th Romanticism raises a overarching question: Given our culture's continued familiarity with this repertoire, might it matter to our audiences' experience of this music whether we apply Romanticist HIPP scholarship or not, or has Modernist performance practice permanently and appropriately changed the meaning and effect of this repertoire? Further questions for musicians and their audiences include:

1. In what ways can Romanticist HIPP create a unique expressive drama in Romanticist music? Can it revive a greater sense of the original cultural and aesthetic meaning of this music? Can its application make greater aesthetic sense of currently neglected works and composers, whose styles are less compatible with Modernist performance style?
2. In what ways can performance adopting Romanticist HIPP make a significant contribution to contemporary art music culture? Can it add artistically significant diversity and interest to our generally uniform approach in this repertoire?
3. To what extent is it practical for C21st musicians to re-learn a significant number of Romanticist performance practices, particularly those which stand in contra-distinction to ingrained Modernist training?
4. To what extent can Romanticist HIPP techniques be applied equally on historic and contemporary instruments, an essential requirement if Romanticist performance

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<sup>4</sup> As exemplified by a word search "romantic" at <http://en.oxforddictionaries.com>, accessed August 19, 2017. 'Romantic' is multiply defined as: "1. Conducive to or characterised by the expression of love' ... 2. Of, characterised by, or suggestive of an idealised view of reality' ... 3. Relating to or denoting the movement of romanticism'. 'Romanticist' is singularly defined as "A writer, artist, or musician of the Romantic movement".

<sup>5</sup> For detailed examination of the various historic forms and usage of 'romantic', see Jaques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 1500 to the Present* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2001), 467-9.

<sup>6</sup> Detailed discussion of the characteristics of these styles are found in Chapter 3 below.

style is to be adopted, even in part, by more than a tiny group of musicians with access to pre-Steinway design pianos?

### 0.3 Overarching Methodologies and Purpose of the Study

The examination of Romanticism and its effect on performance style and practice is necessarily interdisciplinary in nature, crossing into areas of philosophy, cultural studies, technological development, and other arts. Given this interdisciplinary nature, it is pluralist in methodology, including verbal discussion and historical analysis, audio recording analysis, and performance score annotation. Most importantly, academic methodology is intertwined with performance experimentation in selected works. The central purpose of this research is to understand C19th performance style in such a way as to both justify and apply in performance appropriate cultural and musicological research in music practice. In this sense, it is practice-led research, with the results of academic analysis being constantly checked for plausibility and applicability through the performance of relevant repertoire. In particular, the elements resultant from analysis have been experimentally examined through integration into a range of Romanticist repertoire, particularly the most intimate and dramatically exposed works of Chopin (*Préludes*, *Nocturnes*) and Liszt (*Consolations*, *Années de Pèlerinage*). The overarching goal has been not merely to add as many HIP elements as possible, but to seek to express and enhance the drama and expressive logic of the music. Inescapably, this has been influenced by both contemporary cultural expectation and individual subjectivity. In the spirit of C19th Romanticism, an attempt has been to minimise the former but not necessarily the latter. Experimental performance has therefore been used as a filter on both the scope and type of musicological questions posed and the data examined, with a corresponding requirement to express data in performance-applicable, rather than heavily numeric, forms.

The overarching research question guiding this thesis is as follows: What are the characteristics of C19th Romanticist performance practice, why were they artistically important then and are they artistically important now, and can they form a practical basis for a C21st artistically satisfying Romanticist performance practice synthesis? This can be answered by research into the following areas:

1. A cultural exegesis of the basic foundations of Modernism and Romanticism, and development of a theory linking these cultural philosophies with contemporaneous performance styles,

2. A critique of the nature of HIPP, examining significant arguments for and against this aesthetic, and leading to a definition that avoids many earlier pitfalls and criticisms,
3. A summary of the epistemology and limitations of music scores, and analysis of key C19th expressive symbols and practices,
4. A summary of scholarly performance style analyses of late C19th and early C20th audio recordings, and discussion of their inherent limitations,
5. A collation of pedagogic, recording and other expressive performance data specific and appropriate to the selected works by Franz Liszt,
6. The preparation of annotated performance scores of the works performed in this thesis, using both original and borrowed symbols developed to indicate C19th HIPP techniques and gestures,
7. A testing of HIPP results through performance experimentation, and the recording of a HIPP performance synthesis.

#### **0.4 Direction of the Study**

*Chapter One: The Problem of the ‘Yawning Chasm’* begins with discussion and evidence of a disconnect between C19th HIPP musicological analysis and the continuing Modernist practice of a significant number of performing musicians who nonetheless claim HIPP status. The study argues that a foundational justification of HIPP is essential in the context of C19th Romanticism, even more than in previous centuries. The chapter thus includes a discussion of HIPP critiques, including those of Richard Taruskin, resulting in a proposed, nuanced HIPP philosophy that recognises the complexity of these issues.

*Chapter Two: A Selected Literature Review* examines relevant scholarly studies in a range of disciplines and formats, including literary, audio, and music score resources important for the study. Given the vast collection of relevant material, this review must necessarily be highly selective, and I have therefore sought to focus on both influential classic texts and important recent studies.

*Chapter 3: Culture and Musical Meaning - Are They Speaking in Tongues?* begins with a discussion of the radical cultural change ushered in by C20th Modernism, and continues with a defence of the pre-modernist assumption of music as cultural communication. The discussion moves to an examination of the philosophical, cultural, and aesthetic elements of both Modernism and Romanticism that have most affected

contemporary performance practice. For the purpose of this study, Modernism is defined as the dominant cultural and aesthetic movement from the First World War to the mid-1970's, although the overarching philosophy is rooted in the C18th Enlightenment.<sup>7</sup> Modernism remains the most familiar general cultural movement affecting performance practice, and the study's examination of culture will begin at this point. Romanticism is notoriously difficult to define, covering (in the words of Honderlich) "a cluster of attitudes and preferences each of which is usually to be found with a good number of the others and, in extreme cases, with most, or even all, of them."<sup>8</sup> Although Romanticism was not the only cultural worldview and aesthetic extant in the C19th, cultural historians agree on its centrality to the era. Further, it is possible to speak of Romanticism in the plural (romanticisms), given the spectrum of aesthetic characteristics found within the movement. For the purpose of this study, Romanticism will be considered as an over-arching term covering both contradictions and exceptions. It is defined as the central cultural and aesthetic movement from 1770 to the First World War, often in reaction against both the C18th Enlightenment and aspects of the developing Industrial Revolution. Romanticism is considered in three phases: Early Romanticism from Goethe and Schiller in the 1770's, High Romanticism from the 1820's, and Late Romanticism from the 1860's to the First World War.<sup>9</sup>

*Chapter 4: Letter and Spirit - Cultural Exegesis and Performance Practice* is central to the argument of this thesis. The chapter adopts the C20th division into the three performance styles proposed by Bruce Haynes, those of Modernism, Romanticism, and Period styles. I propose a linkage between Period style and Historicism, and examine the rise of (poststructuralist) Historicism in music performance. For the purpose of this study, Historicism is defined in its broader sense, "that the nature of any phenomenon can only be adequately comprehended by considering its place within a process of historical development."<sup>10</sup> Modernist, Romanticist, and Period-Historicist performance practices are compared and contrasted. These performance aesthetics and practices are considered in

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<sup>7</sup> See entry under Modernism in Ted Honderlich, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, new edition 2005), 617.

<sup>8</sup> See "Romanticism", Honderich, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, 821.

<sup>9</sup> Dates are approximate, and may vary between different arts and countries. For a further division into four phases, see Jaques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 96ff.

<sup>10</sup> See "Historicism", Hondegrih, *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, 383.

the light of their respective cultures, and a theory for the philosophic and aesthetic meaning expressed by these performance practices is developed. The theory is used to contextualise, limit and uniquely justify the Romanticist HIPP project as a coherent aesthetic and appropriate performance practice.

*Chapter 5: Too Much is Only Just Enough - Reconstructing Late Romanticist Performance Practice* examines the evidence for stylistic reconstruction, including relevant written accounts, scores and their meaning, and late C19th and early C20th audio recordings. In particular, recent performance practice analyses of the three sonic recording technologies that capture the final years of (Late) Romanticist performance (from 1890 to c.1930) are discussed. These technologies are:

1. the Edison cylinder,
2. the Gramophone,
3. the Reproducing Piano Roll.<sup>11</sup>

Both the limitations and strengths of these recordings as indicators of style are discussed, developing a balanced view of these technologies as sources of late C19th Romanticist style. In contrast to a number of scholars, I propose an analytical process that takes into account both Romanticist spirit and performance elements, presented in a form that assists practical performance. On the basis of the above analyses, and in the context of cultural Romanticism discussed in the previous chapter, the characteristics of Late Romanticist performance style are reinforced.

In *Chapter 6: Liszt's Consolations and Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année*, the above conclusions provide contextualisation for verbal reports and recordings by students of Liszt and their contemporaries. Franz Liszt is selected as a quintessential Romanticist performer and composer, for the following reasons. First, he was active throughout an unusually long career, during both phases of C19th Romanticism (High and Late Romanticism). Second, as pianist, Liszt was universally considered preeminent in the Romantic style,<sup>12</sup> and was the first to tour across Europe, from England to Turkey, in the years before rail crossings made this less of a feat. Third, following in the more limited example of Paganini on violin, he expanded pianoforte writing to an orchestral level, while

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<sup>11</sup> Further discussed in Chapter 3 below.

<sup>12</sup> Perhaps in contrast to those with a more conservative approach, such as Thalberg.

consciously retaining the Romanticist goal of poetry rather than mere virtuosity.<sup>13</sup> Fourth, as composer, he developed new poetic forms on Romanticist subjects (the symphonic poem, an expanded transformation of themes technique, etc.), and his compositional output is almost completely programmatic. Fifth, as performer, composer and pedagogue he embraced the sometimes contradictory aesthetic Romanticist goals of dramatic power, intimacy, gigantism, individuality, spirituality, and naturalism.

It may be argued that Liszt's genius and extreme artistic achievement is atypical, and that a study of other C19th musicians would provide a better source of normative Romanticist practices. There is some danger from this. However, the compositions chosen for performance are typical of the era and aesthetic, and the study of Liszt's pedagogy and the recordings of his later students do provide such normative data, at least regarding the late C19th. Unfortunately, pianists such as Hans von Bülow, Carl Tausig, and Anton Rubinstein, who probably bridged the gap between unique master and famous latter students, have left no extant recordings.

Liszt's piano cycles the *Consolations* and the *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* are selected for HIPP analysis and performance. The works are selected on the following criteria:

1. The cycles are representative of Liszt's compositional output during the period of High Romanticism,
2. The cycles are generally considered among his most significant compositions, and continue to be regularly performed,
3. The works in these cycles express a large range of typically Romanticist subjects and attitudes, including the pastoral, homesickness, political revolution, melancholy, and the spiritual,
4. The works contain pianistic writing typical of Liszt's mature development, designed to express Romanticist aesthetic concerns,
5. The works therefore provide excellent context in which to examine the selected performance practices arising from HIPP analysis,

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<sup>13</sup> "Given the centrality of the poetic imagination [in Romanticism], poets could therefore claim to be interpreters of reality." Stephanie Forward, "Legacy of the Romantics", The Open University, December 8, 2005, accessed August 21, 2017, <http://www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/culture/literature-and-creative-writing/literature/legacy-the-romantics>.

For Liszt's view on music as poetic expression, see Liszt's necrology on Paganini found in Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt, the Virtuoso Years 1811-1847* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 177.

6. The works are, in the author's opinion, most illustrative of the difference between Modernist and HIPPP Romanticist performance styles.

Although many of Liszt's virtuosic compositions have been central repertoire for many recorded pianists, most of his smaller, character pieces are rarely performed unless required to complete music cycles or recorded CD sets. While the *Consolations* have remained popular with both amateur and professional musicians alike, there are virtually no recordings of the *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* dating from the majority of the C20th. It may be significant that there has been a growing interest in complete recordings of the *Années de Pèlerinage* (including the *Première Année*) after 1980, with cycles by Lazar Berman, Alfred Brendel,<sup>14</sup> Jorg Bolet, Jenő Jandó, and Leslie Howard, among others.<sup>15</sup> Further, there are relatively few historical recordings from the First Year, and many of the smaller, perhaps most typically Romanticist pieces are virtually unrecorded before the 1970's.

The chapter discusses issues relating to HIPPP performance of Liszt's compositions in general, and the selected works in particular. Included is discussion of Liszt's particular blend of Romanticist performance style, based on written accounts by students and others, and early recordings by those connected with the composer. Considerations of practical performance issues on both mid-C19th and modern pianofortes leads to a discussion and explanation of the annotated performance scores included in the Appendices. The chapter is concluded by performance notes to the works performed in the recording accompanying this thesis.

The author performs the complete *Consolations* and *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* on a mid-C19th Érard pianoforte,<sup>16</sup> characteristic of instruments used by Liszt at the time of composition. Experimentation with stylistic elements within their intended soundscape provides unique insights in performance. Notwithstanding the limitations of the instrument's age and condition, use of the Érard will therefore assist both in reconstruction, and in illustration, of the effectiveness of my proposed HIPPP Romanticist style. However, it should be emphasised that the choice of historic instrument is not to

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<sup>14</sup> Brendel's 1986 performance is available on DVD as well as CD.

<sup>15</sup> An extensive list is found at:

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Années\\_de\\_pèlerinage#Recordings](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Années_de_pèlerinage#Recordings)

However it contains inaccuracies; for example, Claudio Arrau did not record the complete cycle of any Year, recording only two works from the First Year (and only one from the Third).

<sup>16</sup> Érard pianoforte from 1865, currently in Lotherton Hall, North Yorkshire, UK.

imply any inadequacy in modern instruments for this repertoire. It is my firm experience that the C19th Romanticist HIPP style resultant from this research can be applied equally on both contemporaneous (e.g. Érard) and contemporary (e.g. Steinway) instruments, given due regard for their different sonic characteristics.

The *Conclusion* summarises the central results of the research, and provides suggestions for further research.

### 0.5 Significance of the Study

There are a number of fundamental questions requiring stronger answers in current research and performance, including:

1. Why did Romanticist performance practice take the forms it did, and what is the relationship between Romanticist performance style and musical meaning?
2. Why have we chosen to initially adopt and then maintain a radically different anti-romanticist performance style throughout the C20th century and beyond?
3. Given point 2 above, why in the C21st should we attempt to play Liszt and other core Romanticist composers in something approaching their original styles?
4. What is the effect of Romanticist works, especially Liszt's, played in a genuinely HIPP style? Would audiences find such performances revelatory, like an old master's painting restored, or merely interesting, or truly bizarre?

The present study is significant for several reasons. First, the study summarises and integrates scholarship from a uniquely broad range of disparate authors and topics, including C19th cultural history philosophy and religion, C19th HIPP, early recording analyses, and Liszt biography and literature. The resultant synthesis is focused on a practical application HIPP style.

Second, the study examines performance practice elements in cultural context, examining the cultural links between Modernism and mainstream contemporary performance style, and between Modernism and early HIPP style, and between Romanticism and a reconstructed Romanticist HIPP style. Although an understanding of form and harmony as languages of cultural meaning has long been proposed<sup>17</sup>, a systematic culture-centric advocacy of Romanticist HIPP elements, showing how these are not merely optional decorative flourishes, but a performance language conveying the spirit, meaning, and

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<sup>17</sup> See for example Wilfrid Mellers' understanding of sonata principle in Alex Harman & Wilfrid Mellers, *Man and His Music* (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1980), 581ff, 805; and Deryck Cooke, *The Language of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978).



drama of Romanticism itself, has not yet been systematically attempted. For example, it will be shown that HIPP elements such as constant, flexible rubato, dislocation between the hands, divergence in ensemble bowing and phrasing, and even regular cuts and additions to the score, are expressive of the organic, individualist, and open-ended Romanticist worldview.

Third, the study tests the practical adoption of Romanticist HIPP in selected pianoforte music central to this style, through performance application of a complete range of Romanticist HIPP elements in performance. Given the fundamental nature of C19 Romanticism, such an application is not achieved by merely following a rigid set of HIPP rules, but by subsuming the appropriate HIPP elements into an organic, individualistic, dramatic flow. In this way, embracing the spirit as well as the letter, many of the criticisms levelled at the HIPP movement in general are circumvented. This has not yet been attempted in this repertoire, and as yet remains insufficiently attempted in C19th Romanticist repertoire in general.

Fourth, the study tests the possible aesthetic benefits of adopting Romanticist HIPP in this and other appropriate repertoire, and may lead to a re-evaluation and popularising of some of Liszt's rarely-performed compositions.

Fifth, the study demonstrates the practicality of adopting Romanticist HIPP on current instruments, both domestic and concert. This finding is of central importance; the availability of historic instruments will always be limited for performers and audiences, and Romanticist HIPP analysis will be of limited benefit if confined to historic instruments and performance settings. Although the accompanying recording has used an historic instrument, much of the experimentation in performance has been conducted on the author's modern mid-sized grand (a six-foot Welmar), and a future project might include duplicate recordings on both historic and contemporary instruments to illustrate this point. I do not mean that no interpretative adaption between instruments is necessary, but that HIPP Romanticist style may be equally applied to both.

Sixth, the study leads to further research areas, including different HIPP performance syntheses, re-evaluation of contemporary performance aesthetics, and the detailed analysis and application of Romanticist HIPP elements to other Romanticist repertoire.

Seventh, the study encourages contemporary performance diversity through advocating and demonstrating the renewed artistic validity of a discarded performance

style. The uniformity and predictability of contemporary performance style has been linked to a general decline in art music audience sizes over the last decades, and thus a broadening of performance options may be of significant benefit in reducing - even reversing - this disturbing trend.

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## CHAPTER 1: THE PROBLEM OF THE “YAWNING CHASM”

### 1.1 Introduction

Bruce Haynes has commented that “The easiest of ... styles to recognise is the old Romantic one because no one nowadays dares play in it.”<sup>18</sup> This situation is clearly understandable throughout much of the C20th, as the adoption of the new Modernist performance styles were significantly founded on a reaction against the previous, Romanticist aesthetic.<sup>19</sup> Yet in our so-called Postmodern age, the continued discarding of “the old Romantic” style is harder to justify. As noted in the Introduction, there has developed an impasse in the applied study of HIPP in C19th Romanticist repertoire. In particular, over the last decade there have been increasingly detailed stylistic analyses of recordings of this repertoire from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The performers analysed were trained during the period in which High and Late Romanticist repertoire was written and first performed. In some cases, the performers had worked in partnership with Romanticist composers, such as the violinist Joachim with Brahms. In many others, the performers were students of these composers, most especially the students of Liszt. A third group of performers had either heard the composers play themselves, or were trained by those who had (most notably Clara Schumann), and developed careers in an environment where the composers’ performance styles were well known. The analyses have been conducted by a range of scholars,<sup>20</sup> and there is substantial agreement between their findings. These scholars also agree that their analytical results are not of mere historical interest, but applicable to contemporary performance of Romanticist repertoire.

The expectation has been that this Romanticist HIPP data would be progressively applied by performers in the same way that HIPP has been adopted by the majority of specialist performers in Baroque and (increasingly) in Classic Era repertoire. This has not occurred. There remains great resistance to the application of these results in contemporary performance, most clearly evidenced by the almost complete lack of significant HIPP application evident in recent recordings by young professional musicians.

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<sup>18</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 33.

<sup>19</sup> Other influences were present, such as the development of the Neoclassical compositional movement.

<sup>20</sup> For example, see listings by Clive Brown, Gerard Carter and Neal Peres Da Costa in the Bibliography.

Music competitions show even less diversity, and conservatoria and universities that include HIPP studies in their programmes often do not (yet) extend to C19th Romanticism. This resistance is so strong that it is evident even in performers who adopt certain aspects of historically-informed performance. A superficial HIPP veneer has been adopted by performing on historic instruments (or accurate copies) and by using historic ensemble forces to recreate a basic sonic surface of C19th performance. With a technological precision typical of our age, this approach has recently been extended in Classic Era repertoire to an attempt at sampling and reproducing the acoustic environments used in performance of the repertoire.<sup>21</sup> However, in almost all cases involving core post-Schubertian Romanticist repertoire, this adoption of historic instruments and instrumental forces has not also embraced HIPP style in any substantive way. The result is an uneasy if not misleading hybrid, that of Modernist performance style realised on Romanticist instruments, a veneer of HIPP without the substance.

## 1.2 Brown's "Chasm"

In his seminal critique "Performing 19th-century Chamber Music: the Yawning Chasm Between Contemporary Practice and Historical Evidence"<sup>22</sup> Clive Brown rightly describes this dichotomy between Romanticist HIPP scholarship and Romanticist HIPP performance veneer as a "yawning chasm". Writing in 2010, it is unfortunate that his comments have remained valid. Brown begins by asserting reasons why "professional musicians have failed to apply our very extensive and ever-increasing knowledge of Classical- and Romantic-era performing practices."<sup>23</sup> I summarise:

1. Conservatoires prioritise established views and practices of successful Modernist recording artists,
2. Professional musicians are uninterested in deviating from conventional styles considered normative by audiences,
3. Professional musicians have little time or inclination for scholarly research,

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<sup>21</sup> By Tom Beghin in *The Virtual Haydn: Complete Works for Solo Keyboard*, recorded 2007-9, Naxos 8.501203, 13 CDs, 1 DVD. Beghin uses 7 historical keyboards in 9 acoustically virtual rooms. It is not clear from the CD documentation whether the rooms were sampled with a (then) typical audience. Unless Haydn habitually performed to empty rooms, the sonic accuracy of the project seems dubious. Happily, technological HIPP has not been substituted for genuine historical performance style.

<sup>22</sup> Clive Brown, "Performing 19th-century Chamber Music: the Yawning Chasm Between Contemporary Practice and Historical Evidence", *Early Music*, August 2010, 476-480.

<sup>23</sup> Clive Brown, "Performing 19th-century Chamber Music", 476.

4. Performers are confused by text-based descriptions of HIPPP, defaulting to current convention (Modernist style),
5. Performers prefer conventional (Modernist) style to the uncertainties of HIPPP application,
6. Performers consciously continue in a comfortable style that reflects current aesthetics, even when aware of the differences with HIPPP,
7. Established performers do not wish to retrain in the significantly different techniques and styles of much HIPPP,
8. Performers fear criticism and lack of HIPPP acceptance by audiences and record producers.<sup>24</sup> This is serious concern; to be criticised for lacking “good taste” can be a career-ending charge, and a professional risk many may feel unable to take.

Although Brown accurately describes many of the impediments to some musicians’ adoption of HIPPP, there do also seem to be more arguable justifications for this general reluctance. First, some performers may be focused on other aspects of their musicianship, such as developing stronger audience communication, or greater individual sense of drama, or expanding their repertoire. Second, some performers may be genuinely unable to see how HIPPP elements may be assembled into coherent interpretations, particularly if they have previously heard unsuccessful attempts. Third, some performers may think they are in fact attempting a reasonable HIPPP synthesis but are in fact missing important elements. It is certainly difficult to judge the extent of adoption when working in an unfamiliar performance style. Fourth, and most importantly, many performers do not see why they should attempt to recreate an archaic style, given they live and work in a very different culture. Fifth, Modernism<sup>25</sup> creates a deep cultural barrier, tending to make Romanticist expression seem embarrassingly over-emotionalist, and the widespread use of portamento and broken chords seem as fussy over-decoration. Deep rhythmic flexibilities may seem ill-disciplined at best, and technically inadequate at worst. This last reason is certainly a main impediment to a more general C19th HIPPP adoption, and is therefore a major concern of this study.<sup>26</sup> In summary, there remain many impediments to the wider adoption of HIPPP in C19th repertoire, even when the musicology is reasonably

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<sup>24</sup> And are, I suspect, especially concerned about criticism by influential music critics.

<sup>25</sup> And Postmodernism, which is in many ways simply a further stage of Modernism.

<sup>26</sup> See Chapter 3 below.

clear. A final comment may be left to pianist and teacher Roberto Poli, who reports the following exchange with a student:

“I like the idea of homogenisation, and would love to apply it,” - said the student in response to my reminding her about the practice of underdotting while working with me on this section of [Beethoven’s Op.28 sonata] a few weeks later - “were it not for the fact that ... no one does!”<sup>27</sup>

However, the above reasons do not apply to those advertising their HIPP focus by performing on historic instruments. In the body of his paper, Brown examines eight recordings, all but one on historical instruments. He assesses their application of the following features of Romanticist HIPP:

1. Flexible *tempo rubato*,
2. Rhythm, including varying degrees of double dotting and slight hurrying of *crescendi*,
3. Phrasing, including agogic accentuation,
4. Non-notated piano arpeggiation,
5. Dislocation between the hands,
6. More frequent string *portamento*, and less ubiquitous string vibrato.

As will be discussed in a later chapter, this is far from an exhaustive feature set, and it is certainly reasonable to expect any performance or recording with a substantial Romanticist HIPP claim to demonstrate all, or nearly all, these stylistic features. On the basis of his analyses of the recorded performances, Brown concludes:

(N)one of them can be said to achieve a convincingly appropriate style for the repertory they perform, and although they are skilful and musicianly performers within their own terms, most do not venture any distance beyond the narrow confines of an accepted modern style of so-called “period performance”... (T)he string players and pianists on these recordings all, more or less, fail to achieve even an approximation of the main features of 19th-century performing style that we know to have been employed by the musicians for whom this repertory was composed.<sup>28</sup>

Brown is also disturbed by recording booklet HIPP claims. He notes many assertions of “historically appropriate playing styles”, and of the reputation of the performers as HIPP musicians. These claims he strongly disputes on the evidence of their recorded

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<sup>27</sup> Roberto Poli, *The Secret Life of Musical Notation: Defying Interpretative Traditions* (Milwaukee, WI: Amadeus Press, 2010), 238.

<sup>28</sup> Clive Brown, “Performing 19th-century Chamber Music,” 477.

performances. This raises questions of artistic honesty and false product advertising, to be discussed later in this chapter.

### 1.3 Confirming Brown: A Brief Analysis of Claimed HIPP Recordings

Three recordings closely related to the current study may be cited to illustrate the continuing “chasm” between Romanticist HIPP scholarship and performance. First, the Orchester Wiener Akademie under Martin Haselböck has released the complete Liszt *Symphonic Poems*.<sup>29</sup> Recorded between 2011 and 2012, the collection includes three further works, including the *Dante Symphony*, yet perhaps surprisingly does not include the *Faust Symphony*.<sup>30</sup> These recordings are presented as “The Authentic Sound of Liszt’s Orchestral Works”<sup>31</sup> and the claim is made that “when his orchestral works are played in their original sound with suitable forces they come across with clarity and a balanced transparency.”<sup>32</sup> The booklet accompanying each CD contains helpful discussion of Liszt’s Weimar orchestra, including an outline of the forces he inherited, his detailed request to the Weimar Court for their augmentation, and notes some of the significant musicians appointed. This is presumably the basis for the forces used for the recording, although the membership of the Akademie is considerably larger than Liszt’s ensemble. In addition, the members play on a range of instruments from the 18th and 19th centuries, or modern copies of older designs.<sup>33</sup> It is noted that the string players use gut strings, and that several of the woodwinds were played in orchestras conducted by Liszt himself.<sup>34</sup>

There follows a brief discussion of Liszt as conductor with a number of significant comments, most importantly concerning rhythm. These are worth quoting in some detail:

Liszt the conductor became the focus of a highly aggressive polemic that flared up around him. “It isn’t just that he has no idea what the term ‘beat time’ means (in its most obvious sense, in the way traditionally until now the great masters have understood it) - through his baroque skittishness he drives the orchestra into constant and often dangerous vacillations. He does nothing on the rostrum other than switch

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<sup>29</sup> The Sound of Weimar: Franz Liszt: *Symphonic Poems* (Complete Edition), conducted by Martin Haselböck with Orchester Wiener Akademie, recorded 2011-12, 2011-12, NCA LC 12281, 5 CDs.

<sup>30</sup> Additional to the 13 *Symphonic Poems* are: *Le Triomphe funèbre du Tasse*, the *Dante Symphony*, and *Evocation à la Chapelle Sixtine*.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted from The Sound of Weimar, the rear CD box slipcase.

<sup>32</sup> The Sound of Weimar CD booklet, 30.

<sup>33</sup> The Sound of Weimar CD booklet, 3-6.

<sup>34</sup> The Sound of Weimar CD booklet, 6.

the baton from the left hand to the right, sometimes laying it aside completely, then alternately with the one or the other gives signals in the air, after having previously entreated the players 'not to keep too slavishly to the beat' " (Liszt's own words at a rehearsal). Liszt's reply, "Letter about conducting: A retaliation", published later, ends with the now-famous adage: "We are steersmen, not oarsmen".<sup>35</sup>

A Romanticist HIPPP analysis of these recordings reveals the same shortcomings as found by Brown. A detailed analysis is inappropriate here, however three omissions are important to highlight. First, despite the relatively long discussion of Liszt's rhythmic flexibility quoted above, one listens almost in vain for a pliable *tempo rubato*, or for significant tempo changes between many sections to highlight the unfolding drama. As will be seen in later chapters, this last omission is critical in Liszt's compositional style; no single tempo makes sense of the different passages and dramatic gestures in most of his works. The Modernist adoption of a basically unified tempo makes Liszt's music alternately rush and drag, sections seemingly bolted together rather than organically flowing from one to the next. Second, Romanticist string *portamenti* between significant intervals evident on all early recordings is completely absent. This, too, is a fundamental element of Romanticist style, and its omission is both analytically unjustifiable and dramatically critical. Third, there is a lack of Romanticist drama and passion, perhaps due to a focus on accuracy and precision. The effect is of instrumental competence rather than poetic immersion.

A comparison of the Akademie's recording with that of Willem Mengelberg conducting the Concertgebouw Orchestra in *Les Preludes*<sup>36</sup> is illuminating. Even as late as 1929, Mengelberg's performance retains the three basic hallmarks of Romanticist style discussed above. Of course, his instrumental forces are monumental compared with either Liszt's orchestra or Haselböck's Akademie. However, Mengelberg manages to create sufficient clarity for much of Liszt's orchestration to shine, and his pliable rhythms and varied tempi are Romantically appropriate. *Portamenti* are powerfully expressive where retained, although already used with greater caution than seems probable in earlier generations. Most importantly, the performance is passionate and dramatic, full of Romanticist spirit. Despite the use of modern instruments and forces, Mengelberg's recording is more Romanticist in style and spirit when compared to that of the Akademie .

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<sup>35</sup> The Sound of Weimar CD booklet, 32.

<sup>36</sup> Franz Liszt, *Les Preludes*, Willem Mengelberg with the Concertgebouw Orchestra, recorded June 1929, History XXCM 205255-303, CD.



Daniel Grimwood has recently recorded Liszt's complete *Années de Pèlerinage* on an 1851 Érard pianoforte.<sup>37</sup> Grimwood notes Liszt's association with Érard pianofortes, though it is debatable whether an instrument of this vintage by this maker remained "Liszt's favourite instrument ... beyond doubt..."<sup>38</sup> Certainly, Grimwood's comments about the sonic clarity of this earlier pianoforte design are accurate, and the present writer agrees with his assertion that this soundscape can be helpful in long pedals and in variety between registers. Whether this is the most historically appropriate instrument for the *Troisième Année* is highly contentious, given the much later composition date of this final collection.<sup>39</sup> As will be discussed in a later chapter, by the late 1860's Liszt was using a Bechstein of basically modern (American) design. Grimwood has also taken care in temperament, choosing the Bach-Lehman unequal temperament for its subtle differentiation of keys. A detailed performance analysis of this recording will be undertaken in a later chapter. However, we are once again confronted by a skilful performance carefully utilising an historic instrument, yet without employing any of even the most basic Romanticist HIPP elements. Once again, we are confronted with the "Yawning Chasm."

Not all musicians aiming for a more historically informed C19th performance are moving historically backwards, from Modernist into (hopefully) Romanticist style. The fortepianist Malcolm Bilson has recorded the complete Schubert Sonatas on a range of instruments, both originals and copies.<sup>40</sup> Bilson's performances are full of Romanticist HIPP detail. Most exemplary is his rhythmic approach, with its continuous flow of *rubato*, and tempo modifications dependent on dramatic context. Use of non-notated arpeggiation and dislocation between hands is sparing, yet agogic accenting is frequent and expressive. The approach overall is perhaps just a little lacking in a sense of improvisatory freedom, a little studied and scholarly, yet stands in contrast to the Modernist metronomicity of the recordings discussed thus far.

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<sup>37</sup> Daniel Grimwood, *Liszt: Années de Pèlerinage*, recorded 2008, SFZ Music SFZM0208, 2 CDs.

<sup>38</sup> Daniel Grimwood, *Liszt: Années de Pèlerinage*. CD booklet, unpaginated.

<sup>39</sup> The first two years were completed by 1854 and published in 1855 and 1858 respectively. The Third Year was mostly composed in the late 1870's, and published in 1883.

<sup>40</sup> For example, Sonatas D.894, D.625 and D.575, recorded 1996, Hungaroton Classic HCD 31588, CD. The fortepiano is by Gottlieb Hefner, Wien, date c.1830, tuning is A = 430.

Another fortepianist, Bart van Oort, has ventured further into the C19th, recording the complete *Nocturnes* of John Field and Frédéric Chopin.<sup>41</sup> The CD box includes a disc of nocturnes by John Field, and - most interestingly - a disc of nocturnes by various contemporaries, including Camille Pleyel, Kalkbrenner, Clara Schumann *et.al.* Van Oort uses several historic instruments, recording the Field on an 1823 Broadwood, and the first Chopin disc on an 1842 Pleyel. The second Chopin disc, and that of the contemporaries, uses an 1837 Érard, and the pianist discusses both Chopin's comments regarding these two instrument makers, as well as his own thoughts, in the CD booklet.<sup>42</sup> One of the most interesting features of these recordings is van Oort's use of alternative ornamentation and fiorituras. He explains:

When I recorded the Nocturnes by Field I felt at liberty to ornament some of them and vary repeats, as indeed Chopin himself used to do with the works of Field; we know this from his pupil Karol Mikuli (1821 - 1897): "Chopin took particular pleasure in playing [...] Field's Nocturnes, to which he would improvise the most beautiful fiorituras." However, since both Lenz<sup>43</sup> and Mikuli stated that Chopin also added ornaments to his own works ... and sometimes added different fiorituras to the scores of his pupils ... I added small fiorituras of my own in some Nocturnes with returning motives..."<sup>44</sup>

A detailed discussion of Chopin's particular Romanticist style, and in particular his approach to rhythm and dislocation between the hands, is not a subject for this thesis. Suffice it to say that the famous description of Chopin keeping the left hand in strict time, while freely varying the right, must be understood in the stylistic context of the time, and almost certainly not a mechanical regularity insensitive to line, harmony or dance rhythm. While it is likely that Chopin's approach to these elements was less extravagant than Liszt's, it is probable that they bore little similarity to Modernist regularity, and there can be little doubt that his dance rhythms in particular should swing. Given van Oort's care to research Chopin's view on pianoforte makers, and his appropriate practice in fiorituras, it is unfortunate that he does not adopt a more comprehensive C19th Romanticist HIPPP. Once again, the performances generally adopt a Modernist approach to rhythm, with limited rubato and tempo adjustments. It is ironic that van Oort should highlight the example of

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<sup>41</sup> Bart van Oort Nocturnes (Complete): Frédéric Chopin/John Field, recorded 1995-2003, Brilliant Classics 92202, 4 CDs.

<sup>42</sup> CD booklet, 6-7.

<sup>43</sup> Wilhelm von Lenz (1808 - 1883), pianist, writer and occasional student of Liszt.

<sup>44</sup> CD booklet, 8.

Chopin's improvised fiorituras without also embracing a rhythmic and dramatic improvisatory style overall.

The first two *Nocturnes* illustrate van Oort's stylistic approach. From the absolute rhythmic evenness of the opening gesture in Op.9 No.1, any sense of non-notated rubato is kept to an absolute minimum. There is little use of non-notated dislocation of hands, yet this is surely one of the inevitable consequences of any application of Chopin's rhythmic differentiation between left and right hands. Chopin's notated dislocation is treated as mathematically precise rather than dramatically free gestures. There is no use of even limited arpeggiation. In Op.9 No.2, the waltz rhythm is rigidly unswung, and agogic accenting is limited. There is some movement of tempo in *forte* passages, and interesting use of alternate fiorituras. However, these are presented as virtuosic gestures rather than remaining in the (generally) melancholic affect. However, a more pliable left hand rhythm is adopted in Op.15 No.3, with expressive agogic accents and a far greater sense of intimate drama and improvisatory freedom overall.

The two Chopin *Concerti* have also been recorded using historic instruments by *The Orchestra of the 18th Century* conducted by Frans Brüggen and featuring pianist Dang Thai Son.<sup>45</sup> The CD booklet is sloganed as "the real Chopin: The Complete Works on period instruments."<sup>46</sup> The piano used is an Érard (from the Paris rather than London factory) of 1849. The choice of instrument is very reasonable; Chopin's preference for Pleyel over Érard has been exaggerated (he played both), and assumes an intimate performance environment rather than a large hall.

From the opening orchestral exposition of No.1, the performance is quite straight in rhythm, with less small-scale articulation than might be expected from the ensemble's name, perhaps in an attempt to clearly discard C18th beat hierarchy for long line Romanticist phrasing. On entry, the clear yet dark sound of the Érard is beautifully recorded. The pianist performs with expressive phrasing and more rubato than most modern performances, especially obvious in repeated chord accompaniments and melodic lines. However, passagework is still somewhat rhythmically unshaped, and tempo differences between contrasting passages could be more dramatically explicit. Particularly in the second concerto, significant rubato is often applied in alternate sections rather than

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<sup>45</sup> CD: Chopin Piano Concertos 1 & 2, Dang Thai Son (piano), Frans Brüggen (conductor), Orchestra of the 18th Century, recorded 2005 & 2006, Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopina NIFCCD 004, CD.

<sup>46</sup> CD booklet inside cover page.

as a consistent undercurrent. Similarly, final movement dance rhythms could swing more. Note accuracy is high, meeting Modernist expectations, despite the pressures of live performance. However, there is sparing use of dislocation, either between hands or within the ensemble, and when present, this is mostly employed between the hands in slower, *espressivo* gestures. Dislocation and general rubato is most significantly employed in the slow movements, while intervals and chords are rarely arpeggiated. There is some fine agogic accenting on wider intervals from the pianist, yet there is no use made of orchestral *portamenti*. To summarise, the pianist in particular demonstrates fine technical control and musicianship without embracing the Romanticist style, a beautiful yet tentative HIPP.

A comparison with a recording of the Second Concerto made in 1935 by pianist Alfred Cortot and conducted by Sir John Barbirolli is illuminating.<sup>47</sup> Orchestral dotted rhythms are more energised, and a slight lack of ensemble synchronisation throughout creates a softer-edged sound, rather like the inefficient damping of an Érard or earlier English design piano. Moreover, every passage is dramatically etched. Some *portamenti* are evident, as are greater tempo changes - there is little sense of a steady back beat. Cortot uses clear dislocation of hands and general agogic delay of *espressivo* melodic notes. The second movement is also more dramatically intense, a disturbing journey rather than a merely beautiful contemplation. Overall, this performance is more dramatically charged and varied than the self-consciously HIPP example. Once again, a performance as late as the 1930's exhibits a significantly greater range of Romanticist survivals (both in detail and in spirit) than the C21st example.

#### 1.4 Critiques of HIPP

Criticism of performances and recordings that directly claim or imply HIPP aims and practices can be made on clear ground. However, a number of critiques aimed at the very basis of HIPP have gained support, and require some discussion here. In particular, given this thesis' focus on Romanticist performance, a fundamental justification of HIPP in general is particularly necessary, for two reasons. First, given that C19th repertoire remains the core of art music performances, given that this repertoire has remained in unbroken performance since its composition, and given that audiences, performers and teachers are overwhelmingly comfortable with Modernist performance practice in this repertoire, very good reason must be presented for radical change. It is sometimes argued

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<sup>47</sup> Alfred Cortot: *Chopin œuvres pour piano*. Conducted by John Barbirolli, recorded 1935, EMI Classics CZS 7 67359 2, CD 4 of 6.

that conviction in performance is the only real requirement, and such a characteristic is certainly essential regardless of performance aesthetic. However, such a view may be naïve, simply avoiding serious consideration of the appropriateness of a universal Modernist performance practice. More seriously, as with earlier HIPP uses of the term “authenticity”, the view may be an attempt at suppressing discussion by linguistically assuming a moral high ground. At root, the statement that conviction is the only required performance characteristic is itself a performance aesthetic, and needs to be argued alongside competing aesthetics, including HIPP. Second, much of the discussion and analysis of HIPP in earlier eras (particularly the C17th and C18th) remains focused on speculation about the nature of basic performance characteristics, given the ambiguity of verbal descriptions and the lack of actual recorded performance.<sup>48</sup> Despite the best efforts of scholars and performers alike, there remains much dispute about basic performance elements. However, this is not the case for C19th performance or more accurately, mid to late C19th performance), as substantial numbers of and instrumental and vocal recordings of a diverse selection of works are extant from the 1890’s, some by students of the early to mid C19th composers themselves. So the foundational questions in C19th HIPP are necessarily focused on the desirability of this aesthetic, and on the limits of its application in contemporary performance.

First, general doubt has been cast on the very feasibility of HIPP, given historical gaps in understanding scores and the precarious existence and unfamiliar characteristics of many old instruments. Joseph Kerman writes:

... unlike literature, music consists of much more than texts ... a text is a much less complete work of art in music than it is in literature. After arriving at a critical text, therefore, a second step is logically necessary in the reconstruction process. The musicologist must establish or try to establish all those features of the music that conventional musical notation leaves out.<sup>49</sup>

Kerman illustrates the problem with questions of Medieval and Renaissance *musica ficta*, and Baroque *continuo*. However, it will be seen in later chapters that decisions concerning score alterations and improvised additions remain relevant musicological concerns as late as C19th Romanticism. Then, given the industrial pace of Western technological and

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<sup>48</sup> A possible exception to this lack of recorded performance is found in various C17th and C18th automata with musical accompaniments. Given the detail achieved in physical movement, it may well be that the musical reproduction may be similarly accurate in style. This is certainly an area deserving further research.

<sup>49</sup> Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Press/Collins, 1985), 187.

social change over the last several centuries, there are problems concerning historical instruments. Again, to quote Kerman:

A third step, also logically necessary, consists of research into the instruments by means of which all this notated and un-notated music was transformed into sound. Some of these instruments do not survive outside of museums ... while others survive in forms that are very different from what they once were ... One has to determine which instruments are to be used and in what combinations .. and investigate their actual physical constitution ... in order to estimate how this influenced their tone quality. Then one has to approximate the techniques by which they were bowed, blown, or fingered.<sup>50</sup>

Second, there is a question as to HIPP's value to contemporary Modernist listeners, particularly given that " 'Modernist' sensibility evidently favours hearing just the notes the original composer wrote, no more no less".<sup>51</sup> This cultural observation is valid. However, as we move further and further from Modernism into an increasingly Postmodernist (or at least changed Modernist) culture, perhaps the observation no longer applies, as demonstrated by healthy audience numbers and increasing CD issues for HIPP performances.

Third, there is the question of the Intentional Fallacy. Proposed by Wimsatt and Beardsley,<sup>52</sup> the (claimed) fallacy is that of basing an interpretation of an artwork on the author's 'intentional' meaning rather than on the artwork's 'actual' properties, as the author's intent is neither available nor desirable as such a benchmark. The fallacy is related to the spirit of much Postmodern scholarship, several steps towards the poststructuralist assertion that meaning is mediated by the audience (or, in the case of literature, the reader) through the filters of their individual experiences. In performance practice, this literary theory therefore challenges any performance style based on a composer-centric view of interpretation. The critique is not merely applicable to HIPP but also to a broad performance tradition reaching back at least to the mid-C19th.<sup>53</sup> Such a view exhibiting the near-unconscious assumption of the Intentional Fallacy is argued by

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<sup>50</sup> Kerman, *Musicology*, 187-188.

<sup>51</sup> Kerman, *Musicology*, 189.

<sup>52</sup> William Kurt Wimsatt & Monroe C. Beardsley, *The Verbal Icon* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1954).

<sup>53</sup> As exemplified by Czerny's work *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, where Czerny claims direct knowledge from studying with the composer, thus having special access to his intention.

the conductor Erich Leinsdorf in *The Composer's Advocate: A Radical Orthodoxy for Musicians*. He expounds three principles:<sup>54</sup>

1. Great composers knew what they wanted,
2. The interpreter must have the means at his disposal to grasp the composers' intentions,
3. Music must be read with knowledge and imagination - without necessarily believing every note and word that is printed.

Leinsdorf is clearly focusing the interpretative goal on the composer's intention. Interestingly (and typically), he does not argue for, but assumes both strong authorial intent and the realisation of this intent as the goal of performance. However, he understands that the score itself does not always accurately present this intention, leaving the requirement of judgement by the performer.

However much the Intentional Fallacy has become useful in literary criticism, it has not gained general philosophical acceptance, for the following reasons. First, it has not been shown that the author's intentions cannot be at least partly manifested in the work itself, thus becoming 'actual'; second, an author's sense of meaning is likely to be closer to an 'actual' meaning than an external critical interpretation (although a critic may verbally express that meaning more coherently and with greater force); and third, historical features of a work's composition usually do in fact affect interpretation.<sup>55</sup>

There are, however, clear problems with authorial intention when applied to music. First, composers have a range of intention, from vague to complete. Taruskin gives the contrasting examples of Elliott Carter and Milton Babbitt.<sup>56</sup> In working with performers on his *Duo* for violin and piano, Carter's response to questions of performance were invariably "I don't know, let's see ...". Babbitt, at the other extreme, used electronic media to gain near complete control over performance of his works. Second, the historical range of modern repertoire, back into the Medieval period, makes discovery of intention often fragmentary at best. Third, as purely non-propositional communication, music is uniquely and inevitably prone to both individualist and culturalist interpretation at the point of performance, whatever may be known of the composer's intention.

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<sup>54</sup>Erich Leinsdorf, *The Composer's Advocate: A Radical Orthodoxy for Musicians*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), viii.

<sup>55</sup> See entries in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (London: Fontana Press, 1988).

<sup>56</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 52-54.

In this study, I adopt the following positions on the Intentional Fallacy. First, I agree that the composer's intention is partially discoverable (at least in the score), and that presentation of the work culturally assumes that this intention should inform the performance. Second, I agree that any 'actual' meaning of a work cannot be completely delineated by the author's intentions, as a public artwork is bound to accrue facets of communal and cultural meaning additional to authorial intention, and that they may be modified over time. Arguably, these are especially appropriate when they enhance rather than contradict the direction or spirit of the authorial intention. Third, I would suggest that the known cultural context of a score is more 'actual' than 'intentional', since the meaning of any text can only be ascertained as a cultural code. To conclude, it will be seen in later chapters that the kind of HIPP I am advocating is not limited merely to discovering and applying the intentions of individual composers, but aims for an understanding and performance of works within this context of general cultural form and spirit. Where it holds force, the Intentional Fallacy is one of degree, not of type. The composer's intentions are partially but never fully discoverable, are uniquely linked to his creative work and are therefore insightful, but do not circumscribe a work's cultural and individual meaning once it is subsumed into the environment of public performance.

Fourth, Richard Taruskin's critique of HIPP is more subtle, and has been much debated. His views are perhaps best introduced with the following statement:

Do I seem then to be generally skeptical of historical deconstructionism or of musicology as an ally of performance? Nothing could be further from the truth ... But I am skeptical of the complacency with which difficult issues are often addressed, and I do deplore the equation of Modernist objectivity with scientific truth.<sup>57</sup>

It is not immediately apparent that the above statement is incompatible with a mature HIPP practice. So what does Taruskin oppose? At the risk of oversimplification, his concerns may be listed:<sup>58</sup>

1. Contemporary musicological performance ideals are not historical, but an expression of C20th Modernism, a "Stravinskian" aesthetic of non-interpretation, an objectivity based on the model of scientific truth. The objective document is the score, accurately realised in performance,

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<sup>57</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 61.

<sup>58</sup> As summarised (and re-ordered) from Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*.



2. In reality, however, even C20th composers who subscribe to this aesthetic do not in fact realise it in performance. Taruskin notes Stravinsky's varied recordings of the same work, and the piano recordings of Debussy and Prokofiev, which are at significant variance from their notation,
3. Historical deconstructionist performances are quintessentially Modernist performances, viewing the artwork as an autonomous object, rather than as a process or activity. The performance is based in factual knowledge used to realise sound (rather than 'substance'), and is depersonalised and de-emotionalised: "The artist trades in objective, factual knowledge, not subjective feeling,"<sup>59</sup>
4. The approach is anachronistic to pre-C20th styles, as exemplified by the lack of production of "a single genuine master of improvisation, which we all know to have been nine-tenths of the Renaissance and Baroque musical icebergs,"<sup>60</sup>
5. He is particularly opposed to an aesthetic of "Wellsian time-travel"<sup>61</sup>, where the goal is simply to revive the conditions and sound of the first performance, and to the authoritarianism "that there is a single goal toward which all must iteratively aspire... wholly blinkered by the production-centred viewpoint of high modernism, [which] can only lead to an obsession with trivialities (strings, pitch),"<sup>62</sup>
6. What is needed is, in T.S.Eliot's words, a sense "not only of the pastness of the past, but its presence",<sup>63</sup> a living tradition rather than a scientific reconstruction, vividly imagined yet coherent performance styles where the performer(s) are unafraid to apply their own intentions where the composer's are unknown.<sup>64</sup>

All these points seem valid. As will be discussed in the following chapter, the HIPP project does really begin as a particular expression of Modernism. It is a Modernist solution to a uniquely Modernist problem: our performance focus remains on historic

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<sup>59</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 61.

<sup>60</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 61.

<sup>61</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 65.

<sup>62</sup> Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 65-6.

<sup>63</sup> Eliot, T.S., "Tradition and the Individual Talent", in Frank Kermode (ed.), *Selected Prose of T.S.Eliot* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1975), 38. Quoted in Taruskin, "On Letting the Music Speak for Itself", in *Text & Act*, 57.

<sup>64</sup> Taruskin makes this point in most detail in his famous essay "*The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past*", republished in *Text & Act*.

repertoire rather than contemporary (a process begun in the C19th), and yet historic performance traditions were uniquely rejected early in the C20th. Taruskin also understands this point:

It would be a mistake to call either Furtwängler's or Schoenberg's approaches [in interpreting Bach] naive. What can make them appear so is the fact that they rely on a sense of continuity - hence direct transmission - of tradition that many in the twentieth century believe to be lost. [T.S.] Eliot stated this sense of loss - or perhaps we should say, of rejection - quite explicitly, and in this rejection lies the challenge and the curse of modernism.<sup>65</sup>

We are musical orphans trying to trace our parents. Modernist goals of textual fidelity, objectifying the score and autonomising the artwork, and the goal of an idealised performance are both anachronistic in HIPP. Recent ultra-Modernist performance goals narrowly focused on the sonic surface and conditions of early performances are also anachronistic. A performance practice based on knowledge rather than feeling is equally Modernist, no matter that the knowledge is historic in origin. On the other hand, historic goals of performance as process and discarded skills such as improvisation must be embraced as essential HIPP elements.

### **1.5 Towards A Practical C19th HIPP through Cultural Exegesis**

None of this is destructive to a mature and insightful application of HIPP; rather, it is a helpful warning to shed anachronistic Modernist ( and postmodernist) assumptions. Consequently, I wish to propose firstly, an understanding of the reasons for historic performance style changes, and secondly, a reconstruction of Romanticist performance ethos, based on cultural exegesis. Exegesis in creative arts scholarship is primarily concerned with situating an artwork in cultural and historical context. This may include analysis of the work itself, but significantly involves a broad review of relevant documents, to gain a deeper understanding of the cultural context of the artwork. As such, cultural exegesis requires study of a variety of texts and other documents (such as paintings and political acts). It is only within this broader context that the scholar may gain insights necessary to correctly interpret the text. I wish to propose that this kind of exegetical process is also foundational to a deep and comprehensive understanding of the cultural context not merely of music composition and meaning, but also of music performance style. In particular, the Romantics did not share our postmodern disillusion with universal

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<sup>65</sup> Taruskin, *Text & Act*, 107.

meaning, and used the arts in particular to communicate, to incarnate, and to disseminate a range of philosophical, political, and aesthetic values central to their culture. This is the context of not just Romanticism's music texts, but Romanticism's music performance.

Thus, there are three basic reasons for this approach. First, composers and artworks exist within broad cultures, and depend on them for both language and meaning, not least in performance practice. Second, a focus on culture avoids many of the valid criticisms of mere composer intentionality, or anachronistic (particularly Modernist) *Werktreue*. Third, HIPP performance elements can only be artistically understood and applied (rather than merely parroted) as expressions of cultural values and communication, either theirs or ours. The challenge of Romanticist HIPP is, therefore, not merely to catalogue a list of performance elements, but to creatively utilise these elements in expression of the cultural values they are designed to communicate. In particular, the goal is to avoid anachronism, of expressing the cultural values of Modernism (or postmodernism) in the works of C19th Romanticism.

In summary, I therefore propose a C19th Romanticist HIPP that:

1. Makes no claim for exclusivity or authoritarianism, merely of a valid approach with an integrated aesthetic, history and performance practice,
2. Is less focused on composer intentionality than on cultural exegesis, where this includes, but is not limited to, the unique insight a composer has into the presentation of the work,
3. Accepts the irony of using Modernist musicological tools in an attempt to bridge the Modernist dislocation with the past,
4. Seeks to rediscover and re-present this repertoire in Romanticist cultural spirit, not merely through following a new set of rule-based performance instructions,
5. Acknowledges the impossibility of re-creating in detail past performance style, and is process-oriented rather than goal-oriented,
6. Understands that different HIPP syntheses in integrating the sense of the past with the present are both inevitable and desirable, and that this variety is engaging for contemporary audiences,
7. Acknowledges that a HIPP approach is not aesthetically (or morally!) mandatory, but has a valid place within our contemporary performance practice.

## 1.6 Conclusion

To conclude, there remains a strong case for the revival of C19th Romanticist HIPP styles within the contemporary performance environment. First, most performers and teachers still claim to subscribe to an aesthetic of presenting a work basically in the manner of the composer's intention. That we are mostly not doing so in music as late as Rachmaninov is historical and musicological fact. Despite the many questions remaining about pre-Modernist performance practices, we do know they were very different from our current aesthetic. In particular, if we are to be honest, well-integrated musicians, we must be prepared to acknowledge the certainty that we no longer play our core Romanticist repertoire in the manner in which the composers intended. Given this knowledge, we are faced with a choice between abandoning the goal of composer intentionality, and that of re-examining our performance practices in the light of Romanticist HIPP.

Second, more fundamental still is the question of aesthetic integration between an artist's goals and performance. Despite the ravages of a century of Modernist aesthetic, most musicians and their audiences still subscribe to a sense of psychological, dramatic, even spiritual meaning in this repertoire. As Modernists, some might wish to dispute any claim of musical meaning apart from the structure. Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs reflect this aesthetic in their Introduction to *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music*:

We can see, therefore, that the change from music of the late nineteenth century to that of the twentieth is evident in the composers' approach to materials alone. ... With few exceptions, composers turned away from the nineteenth-century concept of music as an expression of subjective will and moral force. The twentieth-century composer views his function objectively; his aim is to 'make' something, in the manner of the professional craftsman.<sup>66</sup>

As Postmodernists, many may reclaim the Romanticist aesthetic of meaning, though this meaning is now individually-focused rather than culturally-defined. It means what it means to you, but not necessarily to us. What is clear is that the Romantics believed their art was in fact a cultural vehicle of aesthetic, moral, and spiritual meaning. Therefore, the intentional meaning of their art may be seriously distorted by inappropriate Modernist performance practices. In a later chapter, I will examine this argument in detail, demonstrating that Modernism and Romanticism embody radically different aesthetic meanings, articulated through the elements of their performance practices. I will argue that

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<sup>66</sup> Elliott Schwartz & Barney Childs (ed): *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music* (Austin, TX: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967), xiii.

performing Romanticist repertoire in Modernist style creates a fundamental tension between the notes and the style, often obscuring the meaning and drama of the music. It may be that some Romanticist composers' music translates so badly in this transition that it creates a false impression of compositional inadequacy or of cultural irrelevance.

Third, a number of senior musicians and scholars believe that the adoption of Romanticist HIPP in concert would assist in reviving the interest and patronage of art music audiences.<sup>67</sup> In many ways, our culture is reacting to a globalised uniformity, embracing again goals of diversity, of unpredictability, and of individual creativity. From craft beers to farm foods to boutique services, Western consumers are demonstrating boredom with standardised experiences, and are seeking the unusual and the authentic. In popular musics, the development of affordable small-scale recording equipment, and of low-cost online digital distribution has enabled an explosion of small, local, independent artists working in individualist rather than corporate styles. It is therefore probable that a more widespread adoption of genuinely Romanticist HIPP, with its emphasis on textual freedom, passion and individuality, would become a powerful incentive for art music audiences bored with performances that merely reproduce their recorded (or streamed) music collections.

As 21st century musicians working in a pluralist Postmodern culture, we are ultimately entitled to create whatever stylistic mashups<sup>68</sup> we wish. However, we are not entitled to pretend to the listener that we are presenting as best we can the composer's intentions if we are not applying known HIPP performance knowledge and practice. It has been noted by Brown that many recording booklets now contain a claim of HIPP performance. It may be argued that merely to perform in this context on an historic instrument is to strongly imply both HIPP knowledge and application. Despite the economic challenges of the music profession, we must not succumb to the temptation of clever (if disingenuous) marketing, simply to perform in standard Modernist style on period instruments, attracting the money and time of an audience who have come expecting to hear our best effort at genuinely historically-informed performance. There should be a

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<sup>67</sup> A view expressed verbally to the current author by Clive Brown in 2011.

<sup>68</sup> "Mashup" is a term often used in pop music and literature, describing a creative combination of the contemporary with the classic, e.g. Tolstoy interspersed with Science Fiction (*Android Karena*). It is therefore an apt term for the dominant performance practice in C19th Romanticist art music, a mashup of Romanticist repertoire with Modernist performance practice.

greater attempt to bridge the “Yawning Chasm” between Romanticist performance practice musicology and claimed HIPPP performance.

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## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 Introductory Remarks

The cultural setting, justification and application of Romanticist HIPP requires significant interdisciplinary reading. The aim of this thesis has been to present accurate, if necessarily brief, summaries of scholarly thought from respected sources, while providing fresh interpretative insights and application. The subject of cultural Romanticism alone has generated, and continues to generate, vast scholarly literature. The last two generations have also seen the publication of an extensive library of books and journal papers on historical performance practice. There is also a mountain of studies on relevant philosophical areas including aesthetics and cultural studies. Recent years have also seen the publication of important source material from Liszt's circle, and the availability of a substantial number of early recordings via CD transfer or internet download. It is not possible to document, let alone study, more than a focused selection of these texts. From this wealth of available material, the following texts and recordings have been of particular importance, due to their scholarly status and/or historical provenance.

The present chapter will therefore briefly discuss a variety major sources, broadly increasing in focus from cultural philosophy, through HIPP sources and practices, to Lisztian sources, traditions and scholarship, and finally to performance practices in the selected repertoire. They will be discussed in the following categories:

1. Music and cultural studies,
2. C19th Romanticism,
3. Historically Informed Performance Practice (HIPP),
4. Audio Recordings: Primary and Secondary Sources,
5. Liszt and His Students: Writings,
6. Other C19th Writers: Pedagogy, performance and Liszt,
7. Lisztian Traditions in the Later C20th,
8. Liszt Scholarship,
9. Journals,
10. Scores,
11. Contemporary Non-HIPP Performances of the *Années de Pèlerinage*,
12. Conclusion.

## 2.2 Music and Cultural Studies

The relationship between Western art music, culture and meaning has been in many ways a problematic area through the C20th, perhaps due to Modernism's tendency to Positivism and mistrust of metaphysics. Typical of philosophy in the English-speaking world is the younger Wittgenstein's assertion that "the totality of true propositions is the whole of natural science".<sup>69</sup> Therefore, there has been a general scholarly sense that musical meaning is found only in musical (especially compositional) processes, that the music is its own meaning. In reaction to over-arching positivist worldview and (therefore) scholarship, a shift in perspective has been developing since the 1970's, known as the New Musicology (unfortunately a term as vague and unhelpful as "postmodernism"). Academics such as Joseph Kerman questioned the narrow focus of analysis, and began to apply insights from the social sciences, including sociology, history, cultural studies and gender studies.<sup>70</sup>

Susan McClary sums up this changed approach in the following way:

As a woman in musicology, I find myself thinking about Judith [from Bluebeard's Castle] often - especially now, as I begin asking new kinds of questions about music with the aid of feminist critical theory. Like Judith, I have been granted access by my mentors to an astonishing cultural legacy ... It might be argued that I ought to be grateful, since there has really only been one stipulation in the margin - namely, that I never ask what any of it means, that I content myself with structural analysis and empirical research. ... It has seized disciplinary control over the study of music and has prohibited the asking of even the most fundamental questions concerning meaning.<sup>71</sup>

McClary's own approach is to discuss musical meaning largely in terms of gendered discourse. That the great literature of Western art music has been created by (famously) men and (shamefully overlooked) women, it seems in principle inescapable that music would be in important senses a complex reflection of embodied, gendered humanity. This is hardly radical: as McClary alludes in the above-quoted article, virtually no discussion of Afro-American music styles (particularly Rock) ignores its genuine sexual associations. Most important for this study is the newly emphatic affirmation of extra-musical, post-structuralist meaning, a rejection of positivist materialism in musical analysis.

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<sup>69</sup> Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. D.F. Pears and B.F. McGuinness (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 4.11, 25.

<sup>70</sup> See Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>71</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 4.



The writings of Theodor Adorno have stood against much of the positivist tide, and have been highly influential. His thoughts on Art in general, and music in particular, may be found in *Aesthetic Theory*<sup>72</sup> and the collection *Essays on Music*.<sup>73</sup> Adorno's Marxist-leaning critiques of Modernism, Positivism, and popular American music, along with his (perhaps paradoxical) advocacy of 12-tone music, remain central to discussion. This influence is demonstrated by a recent book by Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music*,<sup>74</sup> an author whose political sympathies lie in the opposite direction to Adorno's. As will be seen in a later chapter, while critiquing Adorno's method and style Scruton agrees with key elements of Adorno's attempts to understand music within cultural study. Other important texts include William Fleming's *Arts & Ideas*,<sup>75</sup> and Wilfrid Mellers' analyses of musical form as philosophical meaning, particularly in his pair of volumes *Bach and the Dance of God* and *Beethoven and the Voice of God*.<sup>76</sup> However, in recent decades there has been a revival of scholarly interest in music and meaning within cultural studies, both in historic and contemporary cultures. An example of recent approaches includes Daniel Chua's book *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning*.<sup>77</sup> Chua's thought is suitably postmodern, a collection of short subject chapters (really fragments), ranging in topic from being, body, soul and death, through modernity, and cultural disenchantment, to gender, morality, politics and machines.

Chia argues against the idea of absolute music as ahistorical paradigm, discussing how diverse meanings came to be enfolded into instrumental music, from the Enlightenment onwards. Finally, a volume of the Proceedings of the international Liszt conference held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio (Como) in 1998 entitled *Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe: Music as a Mirror of Religious, Political, Cultural, and Aesthetic*

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<sup>72</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Aesthetic Theory*, trans. Robert Hullot-Kentor (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 1997).

<sup>73</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music*, trans. Susan Gillespie (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

<sup>74</sup> Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

<sup>75</sup> William Fleming, *Arts & Ideas* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974).

<sup>76</sup> Wilfrid Mellers, *Bach and the Dance of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981) and *Beethoven and the Voice of God*, London: Faber and Faber, 1983).

<sup>77</sup> Daniel Chua, *Absolute Music and the Construction of Meaning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

*Transformations*<sup>78</sup> has a more specific focus, discussing this composer in relation to the changing C19th social environment and the roots of Modernism. A selection of the articles will be discussed in a later chapter; at this point it is only necessary to note the musicological and philosophical thrust now linked to this composer and his music.

While all of these authors address important questions of cultural meaning in music, their discussions focus on the foundational characteristics of music, and of compositional structures in particular. They illustrate a bias towards the study of the written text, whether language or score, over performance. None attempts to explain the elements of instrumental performance practice as an expression of such cultural meaning, either in C19th Romanticism or in other styles.

### 2.3 C19th Romanticism

It would be impossible to examine even a significant fraction of the volumes devoted to C19th Romanticism. Jaques Barzun has long been a scholar and cultural advocate of Romanticism, and his texts *Classic, Romantic and Modern* (1961) and *Berlioz and the Romantic Century* (1969) are justly famous. Barzun has been particularly concerned to refute C20th parodies of Romanticism, as, for example, anti-intellectual, emotionally uncontrolled, extremist and uniformly elitist, and his writings thus have a certain polemic flavour. Isaiah Berlin's volume *The Roots of Romanticism*,<sup>79</sup> is based on his A.W. Mellon Lectures, and provides much thoughtful material in a most readable style. In particular, he writes compellingly on the origins of Romanticism, particularly on why the Enlightenment's logical clarity and simplicity was found to be an inadequate explanation of the real life of thoughtful persons. He argues for the provincial political and cultural state of C18th Germany being a factor in this rejection, not least in the German irritation that so many of the French Enlightenment *Philosophes* were at least minor aristocracy, inevitably displaying the mannerisms and social superiority of their class. He highlights the embrace of mystery and acceptance of alogical faith in the great Romanticist revolution. A renewed scholarly interest in this cultural movement is also exemplified by recent publications.

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<sup>78</sup> Michael Saffle and Rossana Dalmonte, *Liszt and the Birth of Modern Europe: Music as a Mirror of Religious, Political, Cultural, and Aesthetic Transformations*, Proceedings of the International Conference held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio (Como) 14-18 December 1988 (New York: Pendragon Press, 2003).

<sup>79</sup> Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

Nicholas Row has edited the substantial *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*<sup>80</sup>, discussing an exceptionally wide range of topics, including Classical inheritances, sensibility, science, philosophy and religion, feminist and ecological readings, Romanticist forms and arts. Equally voluminous is a volume edited by Duncan Wu, *A Companion to Romanticism*<sup>81</sup>, covering a similarly extensive range of artistic and contemporary sociologic aspects.

Given the importance of philosophy and theology to C19th Romanticist thought in general, and to the Arts in particular, a number of authors have provided necessary context. First, Frederick Copleston's *A History of Philosophy Vols. VI and VII*<sup>82</sup> have provided excellent expositions and explanations of the major philosophical movements and individuals throughout the C18th and C19th centuries. Copleston manages a rare combination of clarity and accuracy of exposition, while separately indicating subsequent and personal critical opinion. While it is perhaps possible to avoid discussing theology in outlining C20th philosophical development, this is not an option in the C19th; Romanticism is deeply spiritual in a general sense, although embracing a number of alternatives to orthodox Christianity. Bernard Reardon's *Religion in the Age of Romanticism*<sup>83</sup> provides an excellent summary of the subject, including a helpful chapter on the Abbé Lamennais, greatly influential on Liszt. A more comprehensive survey of major philosophical figures can be found in the three volumes of *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West*,<sup>84</sup> covering specific geographical movements (Russian, American, British) and topical discussions (religion and science, Old Testament and New Testament study, and Jewish thought). A strength of the chronological focus of these volumes is to remind the reader that not all C19th thought was Romanticist in spirit. A final volume of interest here is Ralph Locke's *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians*.<sup>85</sup> It is well known that this movement exercised an important influence on the young Liszt; what is perhaps less recognised is the range of other arts figures at one time in contact with the circle, including Nourrit,

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<sup>80</sup> Nicholas Roe (ed), *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>81</sup> Duncan Wu (ed), *A Companion to Romanticism* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishing, 2001).

<sup>82</sup> Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy Vols VI and VII* (London: Search Press Ltd., 1960 and 1963 respectively).

<sup>83</sup> Bernard Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>84</sup> Ninian Smart, John Clayton, Patrick Sherry, Steven Katz, ed., *Nineteenth Century Religious Thought in the West Vols. 1-3* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

<sup>85</sup> Ralph Locke, *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

Halévy, Hiller, Mendelssohn, and Berlioz. Perhaps most important within the wealth of detail is the overarching demonstration of a Romanticist view of Art (including music) as not merely decorative or entertaining, but to be used practically in support of social improvement.

Instrumental music became a particular focus of philosophic discussion from the C18th Enlightenment, and was of concern also to C19th Romanticism, particularly from Kant through Hegel and on to Schopenhauer. Bookending Romanticist music aesthetics are the writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann, particularly his seminal discussion of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony collected in *Musical Writings*,<sup>86</sup> and those of Eduard Hanslick, notably *On the Musically Beautiful*.<sup>87</sup> While Hoffmann may be said to birth a new sense of music as psychologically and culturally meaningful, Hanslick's later writing begins a process of diminishing extra-musical ideas inherent in much C19th instrumental music. No serious discussion of music and culture in general, or of C19th Romanticism in particular, can ignore these authors.

A trio of relatively recent studies illustrates the scholarly revival of music as cultural communication and expression. First, Michael Steinberg's *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity and Nineteenth-Century Music*<sup>88</sup> discusses both the subjective and cultural place of music from Mozart to Mahler. Perhaps most interesting is his chapter "The Voice of the People at the Moment of the Nation", examining the three great masses composed by Brahms, Verdi and Dvořák as works both embodying and yet restricting nationalist political rhetoric. Second, Lawrence Kramer's *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900*<sup>89</sup> provides fascinating discussion of Romanticist music as indicative of cultural gender and sexuality. Chapters including "Liszt, Goethe, and the Discourse of Gender" and "Musical Form and Fin-de-Siècle Sexuality" may initially seem anachronistic examples of postmodern gender studies, yet such skepticism is misplaced. Kramer's discussion of the eternal feminine in Liszt's *Faust Symphony* is entirely justified, and is indicative of both the composer's and the culture's journey from Enlightenment patriarchy, through the salvific

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<sup>86</sup> E.T.A. Hoffmann, *Musical Writings*, ed. David Charlton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>87</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *On the Musically Beautiful*, 8th ed., trans. Geoffrey Payzant (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1986).

<sup>88</sup> Michael Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity and Nineteenth-Century Music*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

<sup>89</sup> Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

feminine found in threads of Romanticist culture, no doubt partially grounded in Catholic views of the eternal virgin Mary. Third, and perhaps most significantly, Mark Evan Bonds examines the radical shift in conscious listening to instrumental music from Beethoven onwards in his superb volume *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven*.<sup>90</sup> Bonds discusses the new role of Beethoven's symphonies (and by analogy, the works of others) as "sonic paradigms of an ideal society"<sup>91</sup>, a new (Romanticist) integration of music with philosophy, politics, and culture. He examines the late C18th changes in aesthetics, particularly through the writing of E.T.A. Hoffmann, and the move from music considered as rhetoric to music viewed as philosophy. Interestingly, at the other end of the Romanticist movement, he examines the changes in Hanslick's thought as the critic moves away from a Romanticist metaphysics of beauty and the Sublime towards a proto-modernist focus on the music alone, that musical beauty exists in form alone (rather than in emotion or drama) and that music consists only of sounding forms in motion. In other words, Hanslick defines an absolutely autonomous music, a rejection of Romanticist cultural integration and expression.

Once again, while many cultural links between different aspects of C19th Romanticism and music are examined, none of these authors attempts to discuss the culture in terms of instrumental performance practices. However, such a discussion seems a logical step, particularly given Bonds' investigation of cultural meaning through listening expectations. An audience does not listen to a score, but to a performance of the score.

## 2.4 Historically Informed Performance Practice

The historically informed performance practice movement (HIPP) has been one of the most significant developments in the C20th classical music genre. Pioneers such as Wanda Landowska, Thurston Dart and Arnold Dolmetsch helped begin a new aesthetic which placed great value on a certain kind of historicism, that of researching and applying performance practice data from past eras in contemporaneous repertoire. While many periods have seen significant work, it is the Baroque which has arguably seen the greatest changes in applying HIPP to mainstream performance, while the Classic Era now also becoming heavily influenced. More recently, an increasing number of Classic Era scholars and performers have ventured forward into C19th Romanticism, particularly Beethoven,

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<sup>90</sup> Mark Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>91</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, xiv.

Schubert and Mendelssohn, including Kristian Bezuidenhout, Charles Rosen<sup>92</sup>, Alexei Lubimov<sup>93</sup>, and Bart van Oort.<sup>94</sup> The last three pianists in particular have moved into the core Romanticist repertoire of Chopin and Liszt. Rosen's recording is perhaps the most surprising, with little attempt at differentiation from a contemporary modernist performance style, particularly in terms of rhythmic inflexibility and (unlike the others) in the use of a modern pianoforte. Lubimov's recording takes a noticeable declamatory approach, emphasising links with preceding C18th HIPP consensus. Bart van Oort makes much of improvised *fiorituras* and other ornaments, yet also is generally (but not always) bound by modernist rhythm and synchronisation of hands. A further recording by Daniel Grimwood<sup>95</sup> is also relevant here, as it is clearly presented as a serious HIPP attempt, recorded on an 1861 Érard pianoforte, yet with little obvious attempt at Romanticist HIPP. The same may be said for Martin Haselböck's recordings of the Liszt *Symphonic Poems* (and other orchestral works).<sup>96</sup> Despite being labelled "The Sound of Weimar", and "The Authentic Sound of Liszt's Orchestral Works", the style of performance does not reflect the care taken in choosing contemporaneous instruments and orchestral forces. As will be seen, the present author cannot agree with these approaches as successful applications C19th HIPP, despite recognising their significant musicality. A forthcoming recording of Brahms chamber works by Neal Peres Da Costa is awaited by the present author with anticipation.

Finally, two recordings of pianos associated with Liszt are indicative of this trend towards recordings on historic C19th instruments. Thomas Hitzlberger has recorded Liszt's *Années de Pèlerinage Deuxième Année* on an 1873 Steingraeber piano played by Liszt a number of times when visiting Bayreuth.<sup>97</sup> It is arguable that this tenuous pianistic

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<sup>92</sup> Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995) book & CD, and *Romantic Poets, Critics and Other Madmen* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

<sup>93</sup> Chopin: 4 Ballades, Barcarolle/Fantasie/Berceuse, Alexi Lubimov, Erato 2292-45990-2, 1993, CD.

<sup>94</sup> *The Art of the Nocturne in the Nineteenth Century*, Frédéric Chopin/John Field Nocturnes, Bart van Oort, Brilliant Classics LC09421, 1995-2003, 4CDs.

<sup>95</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage* complete recording, Daniel Grimwood, *sFz music* SFZM0208, 2008, 2 CDs.

<sup>96</sup> Liszt, *Symphonic Poems* (Complete Edition), The Sound of Weimar, Orchester Weiner Akademie, conducted by Martin Haselböck, recorded 2010-2011, this collection 2012, M.A.T. Music Theme Licensing Ltd, Order no. 60260.

<sup>97</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage Deuxième Année*, Thomas Hitzlberger, Cybele Records SACD 150.302, 2003, CD.

connection is being overused; certainly, Hitzlberger applies none of the C19th HIPP elements to be discussed in his performance, notwithstanding his obvious pianistic skills. His static sense of rhythm in particular betrays a Modernist style. Jan Michaels has recorded Liszt's *Via Crucis* and the *Variations on "Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen Zagen"* on an 1884 Bösendorfer piano,<sup>98</sup> presumably similar in character to the Bechstein in Liszt's study in the Hofgärtnerei in Weimar. The sound (and construction) is virtually modern, very similar to the 1876 New York Steinway owned by the present writer. Again, there are no concessions to C19th HIPP style in Michaels' performance.

Two authors have been perhaps most influential in recent HIPP discussion, and have deeply informed this thesis. Richard Taruskin has been seen as a critic of the HIPP aesthetic, perhaps somewhat unjustly.<sup>99</sup> He is certainly unimpressed with a simplistic idea of "authentic" performance, and makes telling arguments for a more nuanced approach. In particular, he has drawn attention to the irony of the C20th modernist roots of HIPP, has relativised the question of HIPP aesthetic, is skeptical about composers' inerrant intentionality, and has challenged the uncritical acceptance of historical data. Perhaps most interestingly, he discusses the difference between realising composer intentionality through purely sonic means (simplistic HIPP) and a more Romanticist approach seeking metaphysical, emotional, and spiritual links.<sup>100</sup> No doubt, part of Taruskin's fame (and infamy) has resulted from his lively, amusing and combative written style. A second highly influential author is Bruce Haynes, through his book *The End of Early Music*.<sup>101</sup> Haynes was a musician widely experienced in the early music movement, and his comments are full of wit, wisdom, and careful performance practice analysis. His historical outline of late C19th and C20th performance cultures, resulting in descriptions of Modernist, Period, and Romanticist performance styles has provided an excellent framework for the present discussion. Despite Haynes' evident confusion between C20th and C19th 'Romanticist' performance characteristics, his book provides a balanced and practical response to critiques of simplistic HIPP approaches, both in performance and in aesthetics.

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<sup>98</sup> Liszt, *Via Crucis, Variationen über 'Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen', Mephisto-Walzer I & IV, etc.*, Jan Michiels, Eufoda 1324, 2001, CD.

<sup>99</sup> Many of his essays are collected in: Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>100</sup> Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presentness of the Past" in Taruskin, *Text and Act*.

<sup>101</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

José Bowen takes a broader perspective, refusing to adopt simplistic either/or solutions to performance practice in general, and HIPP in particular. In his paper “Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works”,<sup>102</sup> Bowen advocates a new sub-discipline of musicology, the study of music both as, and in, performance. This is a broader study than that of mere historical performance practice, encompassing continuous changes in performance aesthetic and practice, both historic and contemporary. He writes:

What I am suggesting is that we study the performance tradition of a musical work not as a separate discipline, irrelevant to the immutable work, but as the history of the changing definition of the work itself. The study of the performance tradition of a musical work *is* the study of the musical work.<sup>103</sup>

Bowen raises foundational questions, including that of the goal of the performance - recreation of independent creation. In particular, he recognises the differing approaches to textual goals and authority (the problem of *Urtexts*), the balance between composer and performer, and the straightening of rhythm and tempo over the last three centuries. Interestingly, while not advocating HIPP as the sole performance option, he does call for consistency; if historic performance style is crucial, it should be so for Elgar and Debussy (I would add for Liszt and Chopin) as much as for Mozart. He calls for a greater immersion in HIPP practice for those chasing this path:

Eighteenth-century specialists, however, tend to go only half-way, learning a great deal about the theories and techniques of the creative role of the performer, but refusing to actually adopt the most authentic role: that of composer/performer. Given the plethora of specialists who are skilled in both the theory and practice of earlier eras and our belief that performance style is essential to a musical work, there is remarkably little music-making which imitates both the external sound and the internal philosophy of earlier performers.<sup>104</sup>

The present author particularly agrees with this final statement, the need to address not just the sound, through elements of performance style and choice of instruments, but also the internal philosophy, expressed through performance style as much as through compositional structures. A thoroughgoing HIPP is thus more than the musicological discovery and exposition of performance practice elements, more still than their

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<sup>102</sup> José Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works”, in Nicholas Cook & Mark Everest, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>103</sup> Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology”, 430.

<sup>104</sup> Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology”, 437.



reproduction in performance: “We need to know when and why these devices were applied.”<sup>105</sup>

Further volumes deserve mention. Clive Brown’s *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750 - 1900* is a comprehensively detailed and highly respected analytical survey of textual markings and their meanings. However, it is Brown’s essay “Performing 19th-century chamber music: the yawning chasm between contemporary practice and historical evidence” in the journal *Early Music*,<sup>106</sup> which has been most significant for this thesis. Here, Brown examines several recordings, mostly using historically contemporaneous instruments and claiming to be based on Romanticist HIPP. His analyses discover virtually no evidence of basic HIPP style, in contrast to the musicians’ care in choosing historic instruments. Brown’s observation confirmed and reinforced those of the present author, that an increasing number of performers are claiming to present Romanticist HIPP, yet in fact are simply performing in a relatively unchanged Modernist style on historic instruments. Whatever aesthetic position may be taken on HIPP, such a hybrid is difficult to defend.

A number of important studies with a particular performance focus also deserve mention. Susan Bernstein’s *Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt and Baudelaire*<sup>107</sup> contains many important cultural and musical insights. Bernstein’s discussion draws both the literary and the musical together, considered in the context of epic virtuosic delivery. Such assimilation of the musical into the poetic demonstrates a central C19th aesthetic, for example using Heine’s descriptions of Chopin as poet, and Liszt as supreme yet prosaic technician (and described as a great agitator!). The use of rubato(s) is central to C19th Romanticist performance practice, and Hudson’s *Stolen Time, The History of Tempo Rubato*<sup>108</sup> is unsurpassed in scope and depth, while David Rowland’s *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling*<sup>109</sup> is also of significant interest.

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<sup>105</sup> Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology”, 431.

<sup>106</sup> Clive Brown, “Performing 19th-century chamber music: the yawning chasm between contemporary practice and historical evidence”, *Early Music*, 38 No.3, (August 2010): 476-480.

<sup>107</sup> Susan Bernstein, *Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998).

<sup>108</sup> Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

<sup>109</sup> David Rowland, *A History of Pianoforte Pedalling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

Several authors have produced important discussions that challenge modernist assumptions on score reading and textual fidelity. In his chapter “Negotiating Between Work, Composer and Performer: Rewriting the Story of Notational Progress”,<sup>110</sup> John Butt challenges both the idea of a linear historical development in notational control of performance, and the depth of distinction in notational philosophy between HIPP and non-HIPP players. Butt asserts that most HIPP ensembles, for example, fill their scores with performance instructions (dynamics, ornaments, tempo changes, etc.) at rehearsal in exactly the same way way, and often using the same markings, as “mainstream” ensembles. In this, he sees the same (modernist) cultural pressures acting in both styles, from range of styles to be performed, and frenetic lifestyles to the influence of recording and the concept of the autonomous artwork. This last is a traditional view of music history, with the composer exercising greater and greater control over the performance of the work. In contrast, Butt proposes a number of alternative functions of notation,<sup>111</sup> including notation as purposely incomplete, as “fitted suit”, as example of one possible version, as description of performing tradition, and finally as alternative embodiment of the music. This last category is quite subtle, suggesting a score perfected on paper, yet which might still be varied in performance. Such a variety of score usage seems to fit with the range of scores extant from the last centuries, and avoids the anachronism of modernist textual and epistemological philosophy read back into past practice.

Hilary Poriss’ *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance*<sup>112</sup> takes a narrower focus, and analyses the practice of aria insertion in opera during the C19th and early C20th centuries, where leading singers would replace arias in performance on the basis of personal taste, vocal character, or popular choice. Insertion was widespread, a continuation of C18th practice, and demonstrate both a creative input by the performer and a lack of textual constraint. Roberto Poli, on the other hand, proposes a further problem for contemporary performers, that of a shift in meaning of key notation elements. His challenging book *The Secret Life of Musical Notation: Defying Interpretative Traditions*<sup>113</sup> provides substantial analysis of hairpins, sforzandi and other

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<sup>110</sup> John Butt, *Playing with History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>111</sup> John Butt, *Playing with History*, 106-118.

<sup>112</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>113</sup> Roberto Poli, *The Secret Life of Musical Notation: Defying Interpretative Traditions* (Milwaukee, WI: Amadeus Press, 2010).

markings (particularly from Chopin's scores), proposing an agogic and/or metrical rather than dynamic function. Such interpretations are certainly easy to reconcile with the general agogic emphasis noted in almost all studies of Romanticist HIPP.

A very different volume has been produced by Daniel Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century*.<sup>114</sup> Koury discusses C18th precedents as well as C19th developments. His focus is on performance externals rather than issues of style, and include multiple discussions on seating, orchestral forces, instrumental development and the role and practice of the conductor. Although it is useful to consider such information, a focus on their recreation in performance can leave the HIPP movement open to the criticisms of Taruskin and others. Of greater relevance to the present thesis is David Milsom's *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*.<sup>115</sup> Milsom discusses important stylistic considerations, including phrasing, portamento, vibrato, and rhythm. In particular, his discussion of *tempo rubato* and rhythmic modification present further evidence for a growing understanding of the agogic flexibility and rhythmic variety required for expressive C19th Romanticist performance. He concludes with a brief discussion of philosophic (aesthetic) considerations, perhaps most importantly developing a "doctrine of diversity",<sup>116</sup> which he defines as the importance of dynamic, tonal, and expressive highlighting of dramatic structures. His fascinating yet all-too-brief attempt to link C19th philosophy with performance practice has encouraged the present author to attempt a more detailed cultural contextualisation of C19th Romanticist HIPP.

Two volumes focused on specific composers contain much of value. *Chopin as Pianist and Teacher* by Jean-Jaques Eigeldinger,<sup>117</sup> and Musgrave and Sherman's *Performing Brahms: Early Evidence of Performance Style*<sup>118</sup> include significant discussion of these composers' primary and secondary written sources, their original indications, and those of colleagues (particularly Joachim) and students. Finally, Kenneth Hamilton's *After*

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<sup>114</sup> Daniel Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

<sup>115</sup> David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>116</sup> Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*, 189.

<sup>117</sup> Jean-Jaques Eigeldinger, *Chopin as Pianist and Teacher as Seen by His Pupils*, ed. Roy Howat, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

<sup>118</sup> Michael Musgrave and Bernard Sherman ed., *Performing Brahms: Early Evidence of Performance Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

*the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*<sup>119</sup> contains lively discussion of several important overarching aspects of Romanticist and post-Romanticist performance, including the development of the solo recital, of playing from memory, the quietening of audiences during performance, and the rise of the score as absolute direction. Perhaps most interestingly, Hamilton discusses the important (perhaps essential) role of preluding in Romanticist performance, as well as its death in the early C20th. While there is little here that is new information, his broad focus on these basic performance practices highlights the gulf between Romanticist and Modernist performance aesthetic, discussed in a final chapter. Hamilton's suggestion of a optional return to a more performer-focused, HIPP style in Romanticist repertoire at least is welcome if perhaps a little timid; he seems unaware of the question central to the present thesis, as to whether such music actually requires appropriate HIPP performance to communicate its cultural spirit and message.

Despite much HIPP ground covered in these studies, none of the above attempts to link instrumental performance practice elements with Romanticist cultural meaning in any detail. Having discussed, for example, elements of rhythmic variety or score flexibility, we are left with the question as to why these musicians performed in these ways, so different from our own. The further question, as to whether their music actually requires (in some sense) their performance practices is also unexamined. However, two recent volumes discussing pre-Romanticist style and performance are have attempted to answer many of these issues. First, a final unfinished volume by Bruce Haynes, *The Pathetick Musician*,<sup>120</sup> is full of his usual wit and wisdom. Completed and (heavily) edited by Geoffrey Burgess, it provides illuminating philosophical discussion of the performance practices of the C17 and C18th centuries, a period Haynes describes as the Age of Eloquence or of the Rhetorical style. Haynes gives an oversimplified account of the revival of rhetoric by the C17th Humanists - it was, after all, the final educative stage of the medieval *Trivium*, comprising grammar, logic and rhetoric - and his argument that Humanism directly led to music being based on rhetoric is a little suspect, given Humanism began far earlier than the Baroque (as early as the C14th in fact). Nonetheless, his understanding of C17th and C18th composition and performance practice as rooted in the philosophical and rhetorical

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<sup>119</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

<sup>120</sup> Bruce Haynes & Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

currents of the time, as a paradigm shift in culture and in music, is convincing. Convincing, also, is his understanding of the abandonment of these strict rhetorical models with the next paradigm shift, that of the Romanticists. The book is a welcome addition to the search for deeper cultural causes and meanings in performance practice. A second volume, also focused on the Classic Era, is that of Donna Louise Gunn, titled *Discoveries from the Fortepiano*.<sup>121</sup> Gunn's book focuses on a comprehensive range of practical considerations, from structured notational language through technique, rhythm, dynamics, and articulation, to ornaments and repeats. She does not ignore the cultural underpinnings of performance expressed through Good Taste and Affect, providing summaries. The book thus provides something of a template in training C21st musicians in HIPP, and it is to be hoped that a similar volume may deal with C19th Romanticism in the near future.

## 2.5 Audio Recordings: Primary and Secondary Sources

One of the most significant bodies of evidence concerning C19th Romanticist HIPP is that of audio and music data recordings, and their importance can hardly be overstated. These audio recordings are unique in HIPP research (with perhaps with the exception of future studies of earlier automata), with core dates from the 1890's through into the 1920's. The recordings use three distinct technologies: the Edison cylinder, the gramophone disc, and the reproducing piano roll. As with manuscript scholarship, the earliest recordings are most authoritative, all other things being equal, and that it is probable that live recordings (with audiences) may be most indicative of style. Thus, the soirées recorded on Edison cylinders by Julius Block in the late C19th and very early C20th are highly significant, despite their very poor sonic quality. In addition, certain categories of recordings and artists have been selected for careful consideration. First, there are recordings by late C19th and early C20th composers, some of whom were fine pianists and technically able give exemplary performances of their works. Second, there are many recordings of Liszt's later students, as well as those of Clara Schumann and Theodor Leschetizki, three of the main pedagogues and tradition-carriers of the mid to late C19th. Third, there are other pianists whose importance as sources is found in their mid C19th training and strong contemporaneous reputations. Fourth, there are mid C20th recordings by pianists who have close pedagogic links with the C19th and have retained various aspects of this

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<sup>121</sup> Donna Louise Gunn, *Discoveries from the Fortepiano: A Manual for Beginning and Seasoned Performers* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

performance style tradition. The table below lists those recordings examined for this thesis.<sup>122</sup>

**Table 2.1 Significant Early Recording Pianists**

C19th COMPOSERS	LISZT STUDENTS	CLARA SCHUMANN STUDENTS	OTHER C19th PIANISTS	LATER PIANISTS
Brahms	d'Albert	Fanny Davies	Pabst	Cortot
Mahler	Friedheim	Eibenschütz	Pugno	Edwin Fischer
Busoni	Lamond	de Lara	Taneyev	Arrau
Saint-Saens	Liebling		Scharwenka	Nyrehazi
Debussy	Sophie Menter		Arensky	
Ravel	Reisenauer	<b>LESCHETIZKI STUDENTS</b>	Carreño	
Granados	Rosenthal	Paderewski	Hoffmann	
Scriabin	von Sauer	Friedman	Egon Petri	
Rachmaninov	Siloti	Schnabel	de Pachmann	
Prokofiev	Stavenhagen	Elly Ney	Nikisch	
Grieg	Timaroff			
Bartok	Reinecke			

As can be seen, these recordings form an Aladdin's Cave of source material, despite the various technological and artistic limitations. One wonders how our understanding of, say, C18th Baroque and Classic Era performance would be challenged had these technologies been developed a century earlier. It is perhaps initially perplexing that these recordings were largely ignored by teachers and performers for most of the C20th, even by those regularly studying works by these composers, and is a strong indication of the deeply anti-Romanticist cultural shift inherent in C20th Modernism (as will be discussed in a later chapter). Fortunately for both scholars and students, much of this material has been transferred to CD, and is now available to an even wider (and younger!) audience through extensive uploading to YouTube.

Since the closing decade of the C20th, there has been an awakening of scholarly interest in this source material not merely by enthusiasts and historians of recorded

<sup>122</sup> Full details of these and other recordings are to be found in the Discography.

technology, but by HIPP scholars venturing into the middle and late C19th. A number of volumes are of particular significance. Robert Philip's two books *Early Recordings and Musical Style*<sup>123</sup> and *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*<sup>124</sup> cover a great deal of ground. The earlier book analyses basic HIPP elements extant in early recordings, including rhythm, string and woodwind vibrato, both solo and orchestral portamento. Importantly, he concludes with a brief discussion on the implications of these early C20th recording characteristics for C19th style, that they are likely to be survivals of the earlier period. While not a detailed account, Philip's broad conclusions are in agreement with those of the present writer. Philip's later volume takes a range of broader perspectives. Of particular interest are his discussion of musical life and expectations before recordings, while much of the book focuses on rhythmic and phrasing freedom in orchestras, chamber ensembles, soloists with accompanists, and pianists. He thus demonstrates the great difference in ensemble aesthetic between early recorded artists and mainstream C20th expectations, where the former highlighted their interpretative differences whereas the latter adopted unified gesture. Further discussions include the question of composer authority in both primary (by the composers) and secondary (by students or younger colleagues) recordings. Philip's conclusions include the both the limitations of the score as demonstrated by composer's recordings, and the variations in their own recorded interpretations. As will be discussed in a later chapter, this challenges at least of three pillars of C20th modernist aesthetic, that there is one correct interpretation of a work, that the composer understands this correct interpretation, and that the score accurately instructs this interpretation.

The Australian researcher Gerard Carter has published a number of brief yet important contributions. His book *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition*<sup>125</sup> is written in an almost terse style, as if summarising his material, and includes three CD's recorded by eleven of Liszt's students, sourced from Denis Condon's vast collection of reproducing piano rolls (now sold). His brief discussion of each piece, as well as the introductory stylistic summary, confirms the analyses of authors already discussed. It is of undeniable benefit to have these recordings together, enabling comparison across Liszt's students,

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<sup>123</sup> Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>124</sup> Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

<sup>125</sup> Gerard Carter, *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2006).

although it is perhaps a pity that Carter and Condon were unable to pay greater attention to instrument setup and recording quality. A second booklet, a monograph on a newly rediscovered piano roll by Arthur Friedhelm of Liszt's *B minor Sonata*,<sup>126</sup> co-written with Martin Adler, provides a detailed performance analysis of the recording. Included is discussion of melody delaying, arpeggiation, tempi, pedalling, and textual changes. This last includes discussion of the so-called Friedhelm Amalgam, a solution to the vexed question of whether to play D natural rather than D sharp in bars 738 and 740 of the Sonata, a change reportedly from Liszt (Friedheim plays first one then the other in the subsequent bar).<sup>127</sup>

An excellent companion to the above HIPP discussions of early recordings is Timothy Day's *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History*.<sup>128</sup> Day's discussion is not focused on early recordings or HIPP *per se*, but as his title suggests, the general impact of recording throughout the C20th. He includes the development of recording process and aesthetic and the social effects of the rise of recording, both important contextualisation for the present study. Day briefly yet importantly discusses changes in C20th performance style, including questions of the influence of recording on (C20th) performance styles due to exact repeatability, requirements of technical perfection, and studio performance intimacy. *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* edited by Nicholas Cook *et.al.*<sup>129</sup> is also aimed at the broad issues raised by recording and its industry. It includes helpful discussion of the development of recording technologies, and rightly sees commonality between the concept of storing note information via the reproducing piano roll and the recent digital version called MIDI (Musical Instrument Digital Interface). There are useful chapter on methods for analysing recordings, and on writing about recordings. However, a chapter by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson devoted to recordings and histories of performance style (perhaps an unsurprising addition, given that one of the editors is John Rink), takes a position of breathtaking extremity:

Writers have from time to time used recordings as historical evidence. ... It is not a trivial subject. The evidence of changes in performance style provided by recordings

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<sup>126</sup> Gerard Carter & Martin Adler, *Liszt's Piano Sonata Monographs: Arthur Friedheim's Recently Discovered Roll Recording* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2011).

<sup>127</sup> Carter & Adler, *Liszt's Piano Sonata Monographs*, 29.

<sup>128</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>129</sup> Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, John Rink, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).



has profound implications for studies of historical performance ... and what we find is devastating to the whole notion of historically informed performance. It would be impossible to come anywhere near the sounds people actually make by following only what they write. Documentary evidence now seems hopelessly insufficient without sound. ... Changes in recorded style force us to rethink the whole subject of performance practice before 1900, and perhaps even to abandon it as having any practical application.<sup>130</sup>

This is very close to the present author's conclusion, and will be discussed at length in a later chapter. Briefly, the problem is how to transfer qualitative (verbal) description into sound once absolute links (sounds in memory) have been lost. What is certainly true is that virtually no teacher, performer or critic immersed solely in the musical environment of the mid to late C20th predicted the radically different characteristics of the late C19th performance, and - more significantly - few would have accepted them as "good", "tasteful" or "textually accurate". Many still do not.

This relationship between written accounts and sonic recordings is taken up by Neil Peres Da Costa in his excellent book *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*.<sup>131</sup> Da Costa begins with a discussion of the value of early recordings, including acknowledgement of the limitations of the various technologies. His conclusion, as with the authors already mentioned, is that despite problems, these sonic documents preserve important information on how the performers actually played. Da Costa continues with detailed analysis of dislocation of hands (synchronicity, united arpeggiation, rubato, specific types of rhythmic alteration and tempo modification, concluding that these were all essential performing practices around the beginning of the C20th. In this, Da Costa is in agreement with the authors already mentioned, and with the present writer. However, perhaps the most significant conclusion of his study lies in the relationship between the written instructions of various performers and pedagogues and their recorded performances. He summarises:

The comparison between early recordings and contemporaneous written texts has exposed striking contradictions time and time again. In many cases, significant features heard on the recordings are not conveyed in the texts. Sometimes the verbal advice of particular pianists appears to conflict with their own recordings. ... [Perhaps] the descriptive language - assuming knowledge of prevalent practices - had implications that may be irretrievably lost. To add to the complexity, many

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<sup>130</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style" in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 247.

<sup>131</sup> Neil Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

notational symbols and musical terms appear to have indicated something quite different from the meaning that they now convey.<sup>132</sup>

It is clear that both Da Costa and Leech-Wilkinson have arrived at the same disturbing conclusion, that written descriptions of performance practice are not only unclear, but where they can be tested (in early recordings) they demonstrate an almost total fallibility in expectation. The seriousness of this conclusion for HIPP studies, even those as close as the mid-C19th, cannot be overstated.

## 2.6 Liszt and His Students: Writings

Liszt is almost universally acknowledged to be one of the greatest composer-instrumentalists of C19th Romanticism. He was a central figure in promoting and developing Romanticist music, and was closely in touch with almost all of the major artistic figures of his time. In addition, he was one of the century's most influential teachers, in a pedagogic career stretching at least from 1831 to his death in 1886. There is a wealth of sources on Liszt's aesthetics and pedagogy, including Liszt's own writings as critic, numerous student lesson diaries, and letters. However, one example perhaps illustrates the general attitude of the C20th towards both Liszt and Romanticism more than most. In 1902 Lina Ramann, Liszt's first biographer, published a volume entitled *Liszt-Pädagogium*<sup>133</sup> in which she gathered lesson notes from a number of Liszt's students. It remains untranslated (from German) at the time of writing, over a century later.<sup>134</sup> As with the early recordings discussed above, most C20th performers and teachers have ignored this material, even when studying Liszt's own works.

Liszt produced a significant quantity of critical writing on music, and should be recognised as an important C19th writer on music. It is well known that questions concerning his collaborations with mistresses Marie d'Agoult and Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, both authors in their own right, have dampened this recognition, though a general disinterest by C20th critics with C19th aesthetics has also been a significant factor. Liszt's writings are important, insightful discussions illustrating core Romanticist artistic

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<sup>132</sup> Da Costa, *Off the Record*, 309.

<sup>133</sup> Lina Ramann, *Liszt-Pädagogium*, (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902). Original 5 vols reprinted in 1986 as a single volume.

<sup>134</sup> The American scholar Michael Saffle is currently working on an English translation.

ideals. Complete editions are only now underway, in both German and English.<sup>135</sup> Most important for the present thesis is Liszt's account of his travels, mostly in Switzerland and Italy, which inspired his piano cycle *Album d'un voyageur*,<sup>136</sup> revised as the first two *Years of Pilgrimage*. Originally titled *Lettres d'un bachelor ès musique*, it is translated as *An Artist's Journey* by Charles Suttoni, who includes helpful annotations.<sup>137</sup>

Liszt wrote a copious quantity of letters, and these necessarily contain a scattering of important aesthetic and performance comments. Unfortunately, there is no scholarly complete edition, and early publications were heavily edited to conceal conflicts with some, and liaisons with others! In English, two volumes of collected letters by La Mara were translated by Constance Bache,<sup>138</sup> and a further two of correspondence between Liszt and Wagner.<sup>139</sup> More recently, a single volume of letters to Marie, daughter of Carolyn zu Sayn-Wittgenstein, has also been translated,<sup>140</sup> as has a large collection of letters to Olga von Meyendorff.<sup>141</sup> Adrian Williams has published two excellent large volumes of Liszt's letters and observations on the composer by contemporaries,<sup>142</sup> which contain important Romanticist observations. More recently, letters from Liszt to Agnes Street-Klindworth have been published in uncensored form.<sup>143</sup> Although further volumes will surely continue to become available in scholarly editions, given the number of letters (over 6,000 published in one form or another, with many more unpublished) and the importance of

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<sup>135</sup> German: *Sämtliche Schriften* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1989). English: *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt*, ed. & trans. Janita Hall-Swadley (Lanham, MD: The Scarecrow Press Inc, 2011, 2012, 2014).

<sup>136</sup> Franz Liszt, *Album d'un voyageur* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, reprinted Farnborough, UK: Gregg Press Ltd, 1966).

<sup>137</sup> Franz Liszt, *An Artist's Journey*, ed., trans. & annotated Charles Suttoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989). Another translation is included in: Janita Hall-Swadley ed. & trans., *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt*, Vol.2.

<sup>138</sup> La Mara, ed., *Letters of Franz Liszt*, trans. Constance Bache (New York: Haskell House Publishers, reprinted 1968, 2 vols), originally published 1894.

<sup>139</sup> Francis Hueffer, trans., *Correspondence of Wagner and Liszt*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), originally published 1897.

<sup>140</sup> Howard Hugo, ed. & trans., *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), originally published 1953.

<sup>141</sup> William Tyler, trans., *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff 1871-1886* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, Harvard University, 1979).

<sup>142</sup> Adrian Williams, *Franz Liszt: Selected Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); and *Portrait of Liszt By Himself and His Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

<sup>143</sup> Pauline Pocknell & Michael Saffle, ed., *Franz Liszt and Agnes Street-Klindworth: A Correspondence, 1854 - 1886*, (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 2000).

Liszt's musicological and performance practice insights, the present writer has regularly suggested that publication via a web-based resource (with search functions) is a practical and economic solution.

As a famous, and infamous, public figure, Liszt inspired many writers to leave memoirs of the composer. Among the most significant for the present study are a number of accounts of his playing and lessons, mostly by students. The earliest of these is by Mme. August Bossier Valérie whose daughters begun lessons with the twenty-one year old Liszt. The lesson notes are entitled *Liszt Pedagogue*,<sup>144</sup> and cover some 21 lessons, as well as notes on one of Liszt's soirée performances. Perhaps Liszt's first American student, William Mason wrote of his time with Liszt from 1853-4 in his autobiography *Memories of a Musical Life*.<sup>145</sup> Another American, Amy Fay, studied with Liszt in 1873, and left a fascinating account of both his lessons and his life in Weimar in *Music-Study in Germany*.<sup>146</sup> (She also makes interesting comments about her lessons with Kullak and Deppe.) Useful comments are also found in two later students, Alexander Siloti and Arthur Friedheim, their autobiographical works combined in a recent re-issue.<sup>147</sup> Both these students left (later) recordings. Two volumes of lesson diaries are of particular importance due to their copious detail, those of Carl Lachmund,<sup>148</sup> (another American) from 1882-1884, and August Göllerich,<sup>149</sup> from 1884-1886. Finally, there is a volume collecting short writings by Moriz Rosenthal as well as several reviews of his concerts, including one by Hanslick. The book, entitled *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music: A Legacy of the Nineteenth Century*,<sup>150</sup> contains important memories of Liszt and musical observations, as well as a CD of rare recordings by this great pianist.

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<sup>144</sup> Auguste Bossier, *Liszt Pedagogue*, in *The Liszt Studies*, trans. Elyse Mach (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1973).

<sup>145</sup> William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), originally published 1901.

<sup>146</sup> Amy Fay, *Music-Study in Germany* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979) originally published 1896.

<sup>147</sup> *Remembering Franz Liszt*, including Arthur Friedheim, *Life and Liszt* and Alexander Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1986), both originally published in 1961.

<sup>148</sup> Carl Lachmund, *Living With Liszt: from the Diary of Carl Lachmund An American Pupil of Liszt 1882-1884*, ed. Alan Walker (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995).

<sup>149</sup> August Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt 1884-1886*, ed. and trans. Richard Zimdars (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996).

<sup>150</sup> Mark Mitchell & Allan Evans, *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music: A Legacy of the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), book and CD.

## 2.7 Other C19th Writers: Pedagogy, Performance and Liszt

There are a great many volumes of instrumental pedagogy and performance criticism from the late C18th and C19th centuries; the following have provided helpful insight into C19th pianism and performance. As both student of Beethoven and teacher of Liszt, Carl Czerny, provides an important link between early and High (mid-century) Romanticism. The publishers Universal Edition have gathered discussion by Czerny of Beethoven into a single English volume, including performance practice suggestions for all solo piano works.<sup>151</sup> Of great importance also is Czerny's *A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte Op.200*,<sup>152</sup> illustrating both the method and the need for improvisation as a basis for pianism at this time. Pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles left a fascinating account of the C19th musical *milieu* in *Recent Music and Musicians*,<sup>153</sup> including a number of descriptions of Liszt. Robert Schumann's writing on music is extensive, and his comments on Liszt are essential reading, and a useful single volume collection has been published by Dover.<sup>154</sup> The *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz* contains many insightful references to Liszt's performances, if less complementary about the Hungarian's compositions.<sup>155</sup> A famous volume by Wilhelm von Lenz contains significant recollection of Liszt and Chopin, among others.<sup>156</sup> Critic Vladimir Stasov has also left an important account of Liszt's time in Russia.<sup>157</sup> A fascinating account of Wagner's rehearsals has been left by Heinrich Porges,<sup>158</sup> and it is again remarkable that such an important eye-witness account was not translated and published for a century, and indicative of a C20th disinterest in Romanticist

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<sup>151</sup> Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970).

<sup>152</sup> Carl Czerny, *A Systematic Introduction to Improvisation on the Pianoforte Op.200* ed. & trans. Alice Mitchell (New York: Longman, 1983).

<sup>153</sup> Ignatz Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians*, trans. A.D. Coleridge (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), originally published 1873.

<sup>154</sup> Henry Pleasants, trans., *Schumann on Music: A Selection from the Writings* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

<sup>155</sup> Hector Berlioz, *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, ed. & trans. David Cairns (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1977).

<sup>156</sup> Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time from Personal Acquaintance*, trans. Madeleine Baker, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), originally published 1899.

<sup>157</sup> Vladimir Stasov, *Selected Essays on Music*, trans. Florence Jonas (London: Barrie & Rockliff, The Cresset Press, 1968).

<sup>158</sup> Heinrich Porges, *Wagner Rehearsing the Ring: An Eye-Witness Account of the Stage Festivals of the First Bayreuth Festival*, trans. Robert Jacobs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), originally published in German, 1881-1896.

HIPP. Pianist and teacher Franz Kullak provides a second-hand yet still C19th understanding of Beethoven's pianism<sup>159</sup>, and is not to be confused with Adolph Kullak, who published an important discussion of pianistic aesthetics.<sup>160</sup>

## 2.8 Lisztian Traditions in the Later C20th

Three pianists illustrate threads of a Romanticist tradition well into the C20th. Tilly Fleischmann was born in Cork in 1879, and studied with Liszt student Bernhard Stavenhagen from 1899. An abridged version of her unpublished pedagogic guide was issued in 1986, and claims many performance details as played by Liszt (remembered by Stavenhagen) discussed generally (such as phrasing and rubato) and applied specifically (in selected works by Chopin and Liszt).<sup>161</sup> Claudio Arrau had a long and acclaimed career as pianist until late in the C20th (he died in 1991). As a child he studied with Martin Krause<sup>162</sup>, student from Liszt's middle years and Berlin pedagogue thereafter, for the last five years of Krause's life. In his teaching, Arrau was concerned to perpetuate many details of Lisztian interpretation, many of which are discussed by Joseph Horowitz in his book *Conversations with Arrau*.<sup>163</sup> The present writer was a student of three associates and students of Arrau, and had the privilege of observing and discussing Lisztian tradition with the Maestro. Arrau's vast recorded legacy extends from early piano rolls,<sup>164</sup> and provides a fascinating example of an initial modernising of performance style followed by a rare change in performance aesthetic in his late 50's, discussed in a later chapter. His recordings of Liszt for Philips Classics<sup>165</sup> are of particular importance for this study. A fascinating yet tragic example of C19th tradition is seen in the life and art of Ervin

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<sup>159</sup> Franz Kullak, *Beethoven's Piano-Playing*, trans. Theodore Baker, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), originally published 1901.

<sup>160</sup> Adolph Kullak, *The Aesthetics of Pianoforte-Playing*, trans. Theodore Baker, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), originally published 1893.

<sup>161</sup> Tilly Fleischmann, *Aspects of the Liszt Tradition*, ed. Michael O'Neill (Cork: Adore Press, 1986).

<sup>162</sup> Krause was also was the teacher of Edwin Fischer.

<sup>163</sup> Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (London: Collins, 1982).

<sup>164</sup> A waltz by Liszt student Sophie Menter, and a Schubert impromptu, on *Masters of the Piano Roll*, Dal Segno DSPRCD 006, 1992, CD.

<sup>165</sup> Liszt, Claudio Arrau, Philips 432 305-2, 1969-1983, 5 CDs. Earlier recordings of Liszt are also of interest, especially a handful of *Hungarian Rhapsodies* available on Franz Liszt, Claudio Arrau (piano), The Philadelphia Orchestra conducted by Eugene Ormandy, Sony Classical MHK62338, 1953, CD.

Nyiregyházi. A young prodigy (along with Arrau) in Berlin from 1913, he studied with Dohnányi and the Liszt student Frederic Lamond, and became a fierce advocate of Liszt's music. In 1928 he moved to Los Angeles, his life fracturing and descending into poverty. Rediscovered in 1973, he produced a small number of recordings thereafter, and died in 1987. A book by Kevin Bazzana<sup>166</sup> documents his life and art, while a number of his recordings have been issued.<sup>167</sup> These performances are confronting, either a remarkable (part) survival of untamed Romanticism, or the sad threads of a disintegrated personality.

## 2.9 General Lisztian Scholarship

A number of specific Liszt studies have informed this thesis. Michael Saffle's monumental *Franz Liszt: A Research and Information Guide* remains indispensable.<sup>168</sup> Among the many biographies of Liszt, Alan Walker's three-volume work<sup>169</sup> has become the benchmark. A number of further studies have been helpful. *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*<sup>170</sup> has the compositional musicological focus common to virtually all such composer studies. However, two chapters have been useful here: Katherine Ellis' *Liszt: the Romantic artist*<sup>171</sup> discusses Liszt in relation to Romanticist alienation, E.T.A.Hoffmann and the Sublime, while the editor Kenneth Hamilton contributes a chapter on performing Liszt.<sup>172</sup> Hamilton's discussion of Liszt's flexible views on textual fidelity, of Liszt's pianos, and of Liszt's teaching are helpful introductions to the topics. However, Hamilton is perhaps too quick to interpret the written evidence through a contemporary stylistic lens: "most of it is

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<sup>166</sup> Kevin Bazzana, *Lost Genius* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2007).

<sup>167</sup> For example, *Erin Nyiregyházi in Performance*, Music & Arts MUA 1202, 2007, 2 CDs; *Nyiregyházi at the Opera*, Video Artists International, VAIA/IPA 1003, 1992, CD.

<sup>168</sup> Michael Saffle, *Franz Liszt: A Research and Information Guide, Third edition* (New York: Routledge Music Bibliographies, 2009).

<sup>169</sup> Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983); *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years 1848-1861* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989); *Franz Liszt: The Final Years 1861-1886* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996).

<sup>170</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>171</sup> Katharine Ellis, "Liszt: the Romantic artist" in Hamilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*.

<sup>172</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, "Performing Liszt's piano music" in Hamilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*.

simply good musicianship".<sup>173</sup> His brief concluding comments on early recordings of Liszt's students do recognise unmodernist elements of chord arpeggiation and dislocation of hands. However, it is clear that Hamilton does not place much weight on the aural recordings as important sources. This thesis will adopt an opposing process, using the early recordings as lens to interpret evidence from scores and written sources. Further, Hamilton's outline of what was done in performance lacks the context of why it was done, and does not seem to recognise how much has changed since the end of Romanticist culture. Such cultural context is the basis for Paul Merrick's book *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt*.<sup>174</sup> This study examines not merely a selection of Liszt's works with these major themes, but Liszt's deep and consistent attitudes towards God and Liberty. Importantly, Merrick demonstrates Liszt's widespread use of the Gregorian hymn *Crux fidelis*, most surprisingly in a three-note outline form (the "Cross motif"<sup>175</sup>) in the *Sonata in B minor*, leading Merrick to a fascinating and disputed reading of the *Sonata* as a creation - fall - salvation programme, rather than the more common reading as Faustian myth. Of course, there is a deep link between the two stories.

## 2.10 Journals

Among the ever-increasing specialist journals, the following are principal resources (a detailed listing of papers is found in the Bibliography). Several are now published by Oxford Scholarship Online, including *Music Review*, *The Musical Quarterly*, *Music & Letters*, and *Early Music*.<sup>176</sup> *The Musical Quarterly* is the oldest American journal, founded in 1915, and thus contains much of historical interest, however *The Musical Times*,<sup>177</sup> founded in London in 1844, has an even greater historical cache. *Music and Letters* provides articles and reviews on music and culture, Romanticism, and Liszt. The journal *Early Music* is perhaps the leading publication of its subject, and reference has already been made to an article by Clive Brown,<sup>178</sup> which has provided inspiration for the current

<sup>173</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, "Performing Liszt's piano music" in Hamilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, 181.

<sup>174</sup> Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

<sup>175</sup> Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt*, 284.

<sup>176</sup> All three are available through Oxford Journals: <http://ml.oxfordjournals.org>

<sup>177</sup> Online resources of *The Musical Times*, <http://themusicaltimes.blogspot.co.uk>.

<sup>178</sup> Brown, "Performing 19th-century chamber music", *Early Music*, August 2010.



thesis. He further emphasises the point in “Rediscovering the Language of Classical and Romantic performance”<sup>179</sup>, where he points out the fallacy of considering a modernist mainstream style as fidelity to the composers’ intentions. He concludes with a plea for musicians to find new ways of engaging the public, through re-vitalising standardised performances and recordings and a return to quasi-improvisatory roots. Published by the University of California Press, *19th Century Music* contains regular papers relevant to this thesis.<sup>180</sup> Occasional papers may also be found in the UK journal *Nineteenth Century Music Review* published by Cambridge University Press.<sup>181</sup>

Two pre-eminent journals focused on Liszt are *The Liszt Society Journal* (UK) and *The American Liszt Society Journal*. The former often contains a separate volume of rare and unpublished music by Liszt, most recently under the editorship of Australian pianist Leslie Howard. The fascinating journal of the now-closed International Liszt Centre for 19th Century Music, *Liszt Saeculum* contains a kaleidoscope of material, old and new, including recollections by students and acquaintances of Liszt, in multiple languages. Finally, a double edition of *La Revue Musicale* entitled *Aux sources littéraires de Franz Liszt*<sup>182</sup> is of great interest, discussing and containing significant excerpts of much of the literature that Liszt associated with his major works.

The *Journal of the American Musicological Society*<sup>183</sup> covers an extremely diverse range of subjects, too broad to even indicate here. Finally, the Pianola Institute publishes its *Journal*, dating from 1987 yet containing much earlier material, including discussion both of reproducing piano technologies and of the artists who recorded on them.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Clive Brown, “Rediscovering the language of Classical and Romantic performance”, *Early Music*, Vol.XLI No.1 (2013).

<sup>180</sup> For example, Robert Winter, “The Emperor’s New Clothes: Nineteenth-Century Instruments Revisited” (*19th Century Music* vol.7 no.3, 1984), 251-265, and most recently Amanda Lalonde, “Flowers Over the Abyss: A Musical Uncanny in Nineteenth-Century Criticism” (*19th Century Music* Vol.41 No.2, Fall 2017), 95-120. Online resources at: <http://ncm.ucpress.edu>.

<sup>181</sup> Online resources at: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/nineteenth-century-music-review>.

<sup>182</sup> Jeanne Faure-Cousin and France Clidat, “Aux sources littéraires de Franz Liszt”, *La Revue Musicale*, numéro 292-293 (Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse, 1973).

<sup>183</sup> University of California Press. Online resources at: <http://jams.ucpress.edu>.

<sup>184</sup> For example, Roy How, “Debussy and Welte” in *Pianola Institute Journal* Vol.7, 1994, and Francis Bowdery, “Reminiscences of Liszt” in *Pianola Institute Journal* Vol.21, 2010. Online resources at: <http://www.pianola.org/journal/journal.cfm>.

## 2.11 Scores

It is becoming a point of repetition to observe the lack of yet another basic Lisztian publication, that of a complete edition of his scores. An attempt was made early in the C20th century through the Franz Liszt Stiftung, which published some 33 volumes through Breitkopf & Härtel before the Second World War ended the project. It used a number of editors, including Ferruccio Busoni, and Béla Bartók. Some 30 years later, the *Neue Liszt-Ausgabe* (or *New Liszt Edition*) began publishing in 1968, through Editio Musical Budapest (initially in joint publication with Bärenreiter). The first two series, *Works for Piano Solo* and *Free Arrangements and Transcriptions for Piano Solo*, are now published in 42 volumes. Two characteristics of this edition deserved comment here. First, many of the volumes contain appendices of significant earlier versions of works. Given the extent of Liszt's re-working of (particularly earlier) scores, the availability of different versions facilitates study of his compositional and perhaps improvisatory processes. These supplements are now formalised into a series in their own right, *New Liszt Edition Supplement*, currently containing another 12 volumes. Second, extensive footnotes containing practical comments from the *Liszt-Pädagogium* (cited above) and other sources are included, indicating a recognition of the importance of student tradition, a small yet significant move away from the editorial fundamentalism of the modern *Urtext*. In most other respects, the editors follow current scholarship, except perhaps in their adoption of Liszt's simplified notation (where time values and note groupings are not strictly accurate) and their simple adoption of original phrasing. Perhaps the only criticism that may generally be levelled at the edition is its adoption of a very clear but rather blocky music typeface, which give no visual indication of the freely flowing, often unmetrical nature of Lisztian performance style.

A number of original editions of Liszt's works have been scanned and uploaded on the internet.<sup>185</sup> Most significant for this study is the *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* by Schott, which happily includes the original black and white drawing that prelude each piece. The combination of different arts is an extremely important and characteristic feature of much Romanticist aesthetic, in Liszt as much as in, for example, William Blake. All common editions of Liszt include not merely his programmatic titles but also the literary excerpts with which he accompanies much of his music, the *Années de Pèlerinage* in particular. Yet the drawings are rarely reproduced, and their removal from modern editions is perhaps significant, given the reason cannot be one of mere cost (the hardcover

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<sup>185</sup> See particularly the IMSLP/Petrucci Music Library collection of Liszt scores, [http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Liszt,\\_Franz](http://imslp.org/wiki/Category:Liszt,_Franz).

volumes are certainly sufficiently expensive, and Dover Publications manages a full-colour cover portrait of Liszt). Does inclusion of the drawings perhaps make too plain the essentially programmatic nature of this music, thus standing in potent opposition to Modernist taste and the aesthetic of “absolute” music? It is certainly a pity that the *New Liszt Edition*, despite its careful attention to notation and versions, did not see fit to include these basic elements of original publication.<sup>186</sup>

The editorial policies of modern Urtext scores are often unhelpful in the music of earlier eras, including C19th Romanticism. The editorial notes rarely indicate possible changes in the meaning of signs, simply variations in early texts (autographs and original editions). More seriously, the signs themselves may be “modernised”, as with Chopin’s elongated hairpins. Most unfortunate is the regularisation of phrasing, based on the modernist assumption that there is only one performance option for an identical passage indicated by the composer, either within a work or between editions. The performer is often left with a body he or she has little idea how to clothe appropriately. The present writer recommends the examination of a number of non-Urtext scores, to assist discovery of unnotated performance practice traditions and stylistically sympathetic interpretative insights.

A number of volumes of Liszt’s compositions edited by his students contain a variety of interesting suggestions. Most widely known is C.F. Peters’ collected works edition by Emile von Sauer, in 12 volumes. The first two *Années de Pèlerinage* only are included in *Vol. VI: Original-Kompositionen Teil II*. The *Années de Pèlerinage* are also issued as a single volume, although the *Troisième Année* is represented by only a single piece, *Les jeux d’eau à la villa d’Este*. Publisher Carl Fischer has recently produced a fascinating single volume of editions and transcriptions by Alexander Siloti.<sup>187</sup> Included among Liszt pieces are *Au bord d’une source* and *Au lac de Wallenstadt* from the *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* (as well as *Sposalizio* and *Il penseroso* from the *Deuxième Année*, and *Sursum Corda* from the *Troisième Année*). A number of Liszt student were also editors in the Liszt-Stiftung edition mentioned above, including Eugen d’Albert, Bernhard Stavenhagen, Berthold Kellerman, August Stradal, José Vianna de Motta (who

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<sup>186</sup> The *Années de Pèlerinage: Deuxième Année* is also available, including the original drawings, also originally published by Schott.

<sup>187</sup> *The Alexander Siloti Collection: Editions, Transcriptions and Arrangements for Piano Solo* (New York: Carl Fischer, 2003).

edited the *Années de Pèlerinage*), and Peter Raabe, the first to attempt a chronology and numbering system of Liszt's works.

Although not directly related to the particular works studied in this thesis, editions by the Liszt student Arthur Friedheim, and the great French pianist Alfred Cortot merit brief discussion due to the former's extensive study with Liszt and the latter's late Romanticist interpretations. Friedhelm's handwritten annotated score of Liszt's *Sonata in B minor*, has recently been published by Gerard Carter and Martin Adler,<sup>188</sup> and the extensive phrasing, pedalling and footnoting is essential study for Lisztian style. Friedhelm also produced a (published) volume of the Chopin *Études*, conveniently published in the Schirmer Library of Musical Classics.<sup>189</sup> His introductory remarks make clear the intention of faithfully indicate as far as possible the interpretations Liszt taught his students in these works (the Op.10 set dedicated to Liszt by Chopin) through brief comments on each étude and substantial editorial markings.

Although not a Liszt student, Alfred Cortot's pianism displayed great sensitivity to Romanticist style, and as pedagogue his work was untiring. In particular, he produced a great number of heavily edited student editions,<sup>190</sup> with a particular focus on Chopin, Liszt, Schumann, and Mendelssohn. His detailed comments throughout the Chopin scores are deeply Romanticist in dramatic philosophy, highlighting the poetic nature of the music and linking technical approaches to interpretative considerations. Cortot's Liszt scores include *Après une lecture du Dante* and *Les jeux d'eau à la villa d'Este* from the *Deuxième* and *Troisième Années* respectively, the Second Ballade, the three *Liebesträume*, the *Bénédiction de Dieu dans la solitude*, and the *Sonata in B minor*. All are given illuminative introductions and extensive footnotes, covering both technical and interpretative issues. None of his Liszt scores have been translated from the original French.<sup>191</sup> Finally, an important online resource of Chopin manuscripts and editions has been developed by John Rink and colleagues, the Online Chopin Variorum Edition, which enables bar-by-bar

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<sup>188</sup> Gerard Carter & Martin Adler, ed., *Liszt Piano Sonata Monographs: Facsimile of Arthur Friedheim's Edition of Franz Liszt's Sonata in B minor* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2011).

<sup>189</sup> Arthur Friedhelm, ed., *Frédéric Chopin Etudes For the Piano* (New York: G. Schirmer, 1916).

<sup>190</sup> Alfred Cortot, ed., (Paris: *Editions Salabert* in the series *Édition National de Musique Classique*).

<sup>191</sup> The Chopin *Preludes* and *Ballades* are, however, available in English translation from *Editions Salabert*.

comparison between manuscripts, *Stichvorlagen* and first editions.<sup>192</sup> As these resources illustrate the significant variations between these Chopin scores, they will undoubtedly assist in the discussion of flexibility in the Romanticist work concept, and in the balance between textual authority, personalisation and improvisation during the C19th.

## 2.12 Contemporary Non-HIPP Performances of the *Années de Pèlerinage*

A central focus of this study is a performance application of C19th Romanticist HIPP style in Liszt's *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année*. Both the performance and the written discussion has been referenced to a number of modernist recordings of this pianoforte cycle, chosen for the reputation of the performer and/or the recent date of recording. The Russian pianist Lazar Berman has recorded all three *Années de Pèlerinage*,<sup>193</sup> while Jorge Bolet<sup>194</sup> and Alfred Brendel<sup>195</sup> have both recorded the first two *Années de Pèlerinage*.

Jenő Jandó's<sup>196</sup> and Enrico Pace's<sup>197</sup> recordings of the *Première Année* have also been consulted. All the above recordings were made in modern pianofortes. Australian Leslie Howard's monumental recording project encompassing all Liszt's piano music<sup>198</sup> will remain a significant resource for many years (despite perhaps the dubious honour of holding the Guinness World Record for the world's largest recording series by a solo artist), and includes the earlier cycle *Album d'un voyageur* as well as *Au bord d'une source* with an alternate ending by Liszt. Finally, the Canadian André Laplante has recorded the *Première Année* in mainstream style with beauty and finesse.<sup>199</sup>

<sup>192</sup> Online *Chopin Variorum Edition*, accessed September 8, 2016, <http://www.chopinonline.ac.uk/ocve/about/>

<sup>193</sup> Franz Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage*, Lazar Berman, Deutsche Grammophon 437206-2, 1977, 3 CDs.

<sup>194</sup> Liszt, Piano Works, Jorge Bolet, Decca 467 801-2, 1978-1988, 9 CDs; *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* CD 5, 1984, *Deuxième Année* CD4, 1984.

<sup>195</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage: Suisse - Italie*, Alfred Brendel, Deutsche Grammophon 00440 073 4146, 1986, DVD.

<sup>196</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage* Vol. 1 (First Year: Switzerland), Jenő Jandó, Naxos 8.550548, 1991, CD.

<sup>197</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage: Suisse, Italie*, Enrico Pace, Piano Classics PCLD0026, 2011, 2 CD's.

<sup>198</sup> The Complete Liszt Piano Music, Leslie Howard, Hyperion CDS44501/98, 2011, 99 CDs; *Album d'un voyageur* discs 7-8, 1992; *Années de Pèlerinage* discs 9-11, 1990-1995.

<sup>199</sup> Liszt, *Années de Pèlerinage - Suisse*, André Laplante, 2010, accessed September 7, 2016, <https://www.analekta.com/album/?laplante-andre-liszt-annees-de-pelerinage-suisse.1591.html>.

### **2.13 Concluding Remarks**

This chapter has discussed major texts used to inform central concerns of the thesis. Many more could be cited, and will be found in the Bibliography. However, it is clear that even a scholarly lifetime is now insufficient to read and consider more than a fraction of the scholarship produced, even in a single narrow field. The quantities available for an interdisciplinary study such as this one are orders of magnitude greater again. It has therefore been my goal to select texts and recordings both widely regarded as significant by scholars, and generally accessible wherever possible. In this, the Internet is both friend and foe, creating both information access and avalanche in equal measure. This is the contemporary challenge of interdisciplinary studies.

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## CHAPTER 3: CULTURE and MUSICAL MEANING - ARE THEY SPEAKING IN TONGUES?

### 3.1 Music as Cultural Communication

Attend any Pentecostal or Pentecostally-influenced church, and it will not be long before you hear one or more people speaking (or singing) a series of syllables which neither you nor they can translate. They are, however, convinced that they are speaking real language, meaningful prayer to God. Others disagree, hearing only a string of syllables meaningful only on an individual level, if at all. Until the rise of Modernism, both musicians and non-musicians considered music as a type of language for communicating both cultural and individual thought. They may not have been able to provide a universal verbal or propositional translation, and when they did, they have disagreed somewhat on it. However, they will have viewed such disagreements as due either to ignorance or to unimportant detail. As with many metaphysical and religious questions, such a view became problematic in the skeptical C20th, as much of the new Modernist culture broadly embraced philosophical materialism and positivism. Music as non-propositional, emotional, and/or spiritual communication began to appear as a classic metaphysical confusion; music simply communicated itself, and its meaning was its structural analysis. Perhaps this view is fading as the grip of Modernism continues to weaken through the latter C20th and early C21st. Thus, Lawrence Kramer prefaces his book *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* almost apologetically:

The subject of this book is the much-disputed idea that music means something, or better yet, something we can talk about. The idea has been gaining ground in recent years, though it can still elicit strong resistance, both from those who understand music mainly as a quasi-autonomous unfolding of structure and from those who feel that instrumental music, at least, is somehow compromised or contaminated when meaning is ascribed to it.<sup>200</sup>

With typical forthrightness, Wilfred Mellers introduces his two-volume discussion of Bach and Beethoven in the following terms:

As a writer about music I have learned, as have most of us, from Schenker, Tovey and Réti, among others. I suppose I take more risks than they did in that, starting from a daily - sometimes very - detailed description of what happens in musical terms, I proceed to relate these musical events to their physiological and psychological consequences. Nowadays any attempt to talk about music's

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<sup>200</sup> Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1990), xi.

“meanings” in other than technical terms is often deplored; yet it seems to me self-evident that description that goes no further than musical facts can never be more than a trivial occupation. Since music is made by human beings, any musical judgement, however technical, is also psychological: it is not merely improbable, but totally impossible, that musical events could be separable from human experience - thoughts, feelings, actions - conceptualized in other than musical terms.<sup>201</sup>

We have already noted in a previous chapter a rise in musicological discussion of music's cultural and philosophical meaning in recent decades, for example through the Feminist readings of Susan McClary. Her fundamental critique of mid C20th musicology is worth re-quoting here:

... there has really only been one stipulation in the margin - namely, that I never ask what any of it means, that I content myself with structural analysis and empirical research ...<sup>202</sup>

The most influential C20th writer attempting to retain extra-musical meaning in music has been Theodor W. Adorno, a central member of the Frankfurt School. Adorno affirmed both the mysterious quasi-linguistic nature of music, and the importance of understanding its meaning within social contexts, particularly that of C20th modernism. Attempting a middle way between traditional affirmation of musical meaning, and Modernist critique of the same, he describes the nature of music:

Music is similar to language. Expressions like musical idiom or musical accent are not metaphors. But music is not language. Its similarity to language points to its innermost nature, but also toward something vague. ... The succession of sounds is related to logic ... But what is said cannot be abstracted from the music ... Therein lies music's theological aspect. What music says is a proposition at once distinct and concealed. Its idea is the form [Gestalt] of the name of God. It is demythologised prayer ...<sup>203</sup>

There is some ambiguity in his music aesthetic; despite his assertion above that “what is said cannot be abstracted from the music” he writes elsewhere that “Music will be better the more deeply it is able to express - in the anomalies of its own formal language - the exigency of the social condition and to call for change through the coded language of suffering.”<sup>204</sup>

<sup>201</sup> Wilfrid Mellers, *Bach and the Dance of God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), vii.

<sup>202</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 4.

<sup>203</sup> Adorno, *Essays on Music*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 113-4.

<sup>204</sup> Adorno, “On the Social Situation of Music” in *Essays on Music*, 393.



As is well known<sup>205</sup>, Adorno's early detailed study of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, combined with his compositional and pianistic training with those in Schoenberg's circle, provided him with an unusual mix of pro- and anti-Modernist sentiment, embracing the musical *avant-garde* while also developing critical theory, a significant recognition of the problems inherent in Modernism and a rejection of both positivist "facts" divorced from historical roots, and Enlightenment "progress".<sup>206</sup> It is perhaps ironic that this critique stands alongside his consistent defence of atonal music,<sup>207</sup> arguably one of Modernism's most defining cultural achievements.

It is in the area of cultural critique that Adorno is generally seen to have made his greatest contribution to music aesthetics. He was in no doubt that the cultural drivers of modernism, its technology, and its social expressions, affect musical activity in profound ways. I will refer to his discussion of audio recording in a later chapter. At this point it is important merely to note his view that all culture, including both "high" and "low" art are destructively affected by modern technological society, as much in the liberal democracies as in German National Socialism. In *The Aging of the New Music*,<sup>208</sup> he links a late decadence in 12-tone serialism with mathematical mechanism, with the goal of a new scientific age in music, and with music debased by the market into a childish game, all resultant from Modernism and late Modernist consumerism. In our culture, he sees Modernist industrialisation as the dominant productive model, no longer limited to the activities of working class labour but extending to virtually all creative and cultural activity. This leads to a culture industry which reduces art to product and audiences to directed consumers, resulting in standardisation and a loss of humanism.<sup>209</sup> Most music, not merely popular styles, has been debased into "commodity listening ... manipulated for reasons of marketability. ... Regressive listeners behave like children. Again and again and with stubborn malice, they demand the one dish they have once been served."<sup>210</sup> Since his death in 1969, Adorno's critique has become ever more apparent. Given his concerns over

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<sup>205</sup> See for example Richard Leppert, "Introduction" in Adorno, *Essays on Music*.

<sup>206</sup> See Adorno and Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, revised edition 1947, trans. Edmund Jephcott, (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002.)

<sup>207</sup> I use the term "atonal" in the sense of a suppression of the conditions of tonality, particularly as used by works of the Second Viennese School.

<sup>208</sup> Adorno, "The Aging of the New Music" in *Essays on Music*.

<sup>209</sup> See Adorno, "The Culture Industry" in *Dialectic of Enlightenment*.

<sup>210</sup> Adorno, *Essays on Music*, 293, 307.

Jazz, one can only imagine Adorno's reaction to the cultural ubiquity of pop styles over the last three decades, not least as soundtracks from television documentaries to sporting events to shopping centres, and evidenced by now ubiquitous references to "the music industry." This commodification and monetization of culture is perhaps even more easily seen in the contemporary art market, where art is traded as financial investment and where prices reach record levels on an almost annual basis. His views are consistent with the central concerns of this thesis, sourcing C20th and significant C21st performance practices within Modernist philosophy and culture, and critiquing the resultant standardisation of performance style.

### 3.2 Scruton Against Adorno

Not all writers are agreed on Adorno's continuing importance. Roger Scruton has written that, despite Adorno's important work on various composers and the nature of kitsch:

[H]is lack of clarity, his jerky and unsequential style of analysis and his attempt to politicise the entire discussion of modernism in music, so as to force it into a neo-Marxist framework that has lost whatever plausibility it might once have had, place great obstacles before the reader. ... Yet that is not how Adorno is seen. Although Richard Taruskin, in his *History of Western Music* treats Adorno with the impatience he invites, this is a rare departure ... <sup>211</sup>

Scruton seems unable or unwilling to distinguish between Adorno's harsh critique of popular culture and mere elitism, finding a "relentless contempt for ordinary humanity that animates Adorno's prose."<sup>212</sup> It is clear that Scruton's major problem with Adorno lies in the former's anti-Marxist free market liberalism; even when agreeing somewhat with Adorno's critique of popular taste, he emphasises Adorno's Marxist assumptions, asserting that Adorno "arrived at this position from the wrong premises and in the wrong frame of mind."<sup>213</sup> Ironically, early C21st political and economic events invite the same critique of Scruton's own political assumptions: in the wake of current economic and democratic political turmoil in both Europe and the US, Scruton's comment that "Adorno turns his guns not only on music and the cinema, but on all the ordinary forms of leisure with which

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<sup>211</sup> Scruton, R., *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 205.

<sup>212</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 207.

<sup>213</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 207.

Americans express their contentment with the world as it is”<sup>214</sup> seems naive and inaccurate. Further, his comparison between T.S. Eliot and Adorno, asserting that the latter “ought to have been regarded with a certain skepticism, precisely because of the vehemence with which he defended an artistic revolution to which he proved himself incapable of contributing - as his few sterile compositions show”<sup>215</sup> is lacking in self-reflection; Scruton’s own compositions have hardly been hailed as masterworks. Nor does his work as philosopher - or Adorno’s - require them to be.

Scruton is on firmer ground when discussing the definitions of music proposed by influential C19th theorists, particularly E.T.A.Hoffman, Schopenhauer, and Hanslick. He dismisses Hanslick’s post-romanticist definition of music (as forms moved in sounding) by demonstrating it to be no more literal than the Romantics’ view of music as a language describing the inner life. He does recognise, however, that much of our idea about music is historically narrowed, that at a certain time European culture came to a new habit of organised listening through public and private concerts, a new focus on music as communication rather than background decoration, and a shift of attention from the performer/improviser to the composer/‘work concept’. This shift in music as conscious cultural activity forms the basis of late C18th and C19th Romanticism, and as will be argued later in this chapter, and continues in modified form in C20th Modernism and beyond.

With regard to the current thesis, what is important is that significant figures from both left and right of political and cultural theory are again grappling with the nature and meaning of music beyond mere structural forms and evolutionary survival characteristics. In particular, there is a common assumption that culture is both expressed by, and active on, the nature of music, particularly on compositional structure, style, quality, and social use. That these same cultural and philosophical forces would deeply shape performance practice seems inevitable. For instance, Scruton, despite his strong dislike of Adorno’s Marxist worldview, can still agree with Adorno that Modernist consumerism has darkly moulded us as individuals and distorted our musics. He writes that:

... it is a truth enshrined in the Hebrew Bible ... the truth that, in bowing down to idols, we betray our better nature. ... Adorno did not believe in God and had little time - less time than his hero Arnold Schoenberg - for the teaching of the Torah. But his

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<sup>214</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 207.

<sup>215</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 206.

attack on mass culture should be seen in the Old Testament spirit, as a repudiation of idolatry ... The false god is the fetish of consumerism ...<sup>216</sup>

Scruton makes one further point of particular significance for this thesis. He attempts a general definition of music, as has been seen, one which excludes animalistic sounds however apparently musical, by plausibly asserting that music exists only when “deliberately created, and consciously listened to.”<sup>217</sup> In other words, music is not simply in the sound, but is a creation in the (conscious, attentive) mind of the listener. Perhaps, there is growing evidence for this idea from the fields of electronics and artificial intelligence. Over the last decades, the present author has followed numerous attempts to remove noise from early recordings. Despite great progress in processing power, memory, and algorithm complexity, there has been no breakthrough on artificial perception of musical notes within the wash of music plus noise soundscapes, a skill which remains uniquely (humanly) biological. The best that can be done remains a filtering of those frequencies where musical information is less essential, and noise predominates. (Perhaps such a differentiation might be a significant addition to the Turing Test in determining true artificial intelligence, examining whether the AI could sing back a tune surrounded by white noise). Scruton’s theory provides an important foundation for discussion of the change in perception of instrumental music from the late C18th and to Romanticism in the C19th.

If Scruton is moderately accurate, this change in human listening is not of mere historical interest, but affects the very nature of the music itself. In this sense, a HIPPP revival of Romanticism might include change not merely on the part of the performer, but also on the listener. Might it be argued that a Romanticist listening is essential, one where the listener feels they are not merely intellectually admiring complex art (as Modernist), or appreciating pleasant sound (as postModernist), or enjoying the privilege of a high status activity (as consumerist)? Might a truly Romanticist performance need to be one where the listener both expects and experiences a sense of universal world-spirit mediated through musical performance, an experience which might illuminate the depths and extremes of their own life, a religious experience of the Sublime? What is certain is that merely reproducing the soundscape of Romanticist performance is insufficient for recreating the Romanticist musical experience, and it is not inconceivable that both performer and

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<sup>216</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 211-2.

<sup>217</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 8.

listener need cultural shifts to even partially experience Romanticism in Romanticist repertoire.

### 3.3 Romanticism and Musical Meaning

I will examine Romanticism as a cultural movement in more detail in the following chapter. Here, it is necessary to underline that, in contrast to much of the Modernist debate on meaning in music, Romanticist views were consistent with the broad historical tradition where music has been understood as deeply communicative, usually in some variety of non-propositional discourse, and deeply rooted in cultural philosophy and practice. Its meaning was seen as embodied in a number of overarching aesthetics, from which come appropriate compositional structure<sup>218</sup>, style, and (in programme music) subject. Hence Leonard B. Meyer asserts that “the history of music is the result of choices made by individual men and women in specific compositional/cultural circumstances.”<sup>219</sup> Mark Bonds has commented:

[T]he intersection of music, philosophy, politics, and social thought was scarcely a new phenomenon in Beethoven’s lifetime. Socrates, in Plato’s *Republic*, had warned that ‘the modes of music are never disturbed without unsettling of the most fundamental political and social conventions’, and a long line of commentators from the Middle Ages onwards had spoken to the ethical powers of music and its importance in the development of the individual and collective spirit.<sup>220</sup>

What may be said with certainty is that in the C19th, this sense of meaning becomes overwhelming, and is often linked to specific ideas, narratives, or landscapes, even in music lacking a specific programme. Perhaps most influential in this approach is E.T.A. Hoffmann’s 1810 review of Beethoven’s *Fifth Symphony*, describing the work (and the composer’s output in general) in terms of the Sublime, at the same time ineffable yet open to poetic analytical review:

[Instrumental music] is the most romantic of all arts - one might say the only one that is *purely* romantic. ... Music reveals to man an unknown realm, a world quite separate from the outer sensual world surrounding him ... in order to embrace the inexpressible. ... In a similar way Beethoven’s instrumental music unveils before us the realm of the mighty and the immeasurable. ... Beethoven’s music sets in motion

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<sup>218</sup> For example, see Wilfrid Mellers’ writings on the philosophical divisiveness inherent in Sonata Principle.

<sup>219</sup> Leonard B. Meyer, *Style and Music: Theory, History and Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 104.

<sup>220</sup> Mark Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), xiv.

the machinery of awe, of fear, of terror, of pain, and awakens that infinite yearning which is the essence of romanticism. ... Beethoven bears the romanticism of music ... in the depths of his spirit. [The *Fifth Symphony*] unfolds Beethoven's romanticism, rising in a climax right to the end ... and irresistibly sweeps the listener into the wonderful spirit-realm of the infinite.<sup>221</sup>

Hoffmann discusses individual gestures as:

... sounds that depict the breast, constricted and affrighted by presentiments of enormity, struggling for air. But like a friendly figure moving through the clouds and shining through the darkness of night, a theme now enters ...<sup>222</sup>

Such views are not limited to Romanticist commentators and composers, although they remain of primary importance. Contemporary musicologists have increasingly begun to affirm cultural and narrative themes in this music. Given the Lisztian focus of the present study, it is significant to note a sample of such scholarship. Thus Paul Merrick<sup>223</sup> has investigated the central Romanticist themes of revolution and religion in major works, most significantly (and controversially) rejecting a Faustian programme for the *Sonata in B minor* in favour of a narrative of Christian salvation, given its thematic use of the *Crux fidelis*. Gregory Klug has provided a detailed reading of the *Dante Symphony* in terms of a progressive interplay of suffering and hope,<sup>224</sup> while David Larkin has outlined a narrative course from hell to heaven in *Après une lecture du Dante*, based on the poem of the same name by Victor Hugo.<sup>225</sup> Interestingly, Lawrence Kramer finds an expression of gender culture in the *Faust Symphony*:

Liszt is attempting here to represent Woman under the aspect of eternity. ... Liszt's celebration of a certain eternal feminine can be understood as part of a broad cultural project for the representation of sexual difference. In manifold ways, the musical processes of the symphony overlap with the techniques by which nineteenth-century literature and painting idealise - and sometimes resist idealising - the rigid but unstable gender system of bourgeois patriarchy.<sup>226</sup>

<sup>221</sup> E.T.A. Hoffmann, "Beethoven's Fifth Symphony" in *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, ed. David Charlton, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 236-9.

<sup>222</sup> E.T.A. Hoffmann, *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings*, 242.

<sup>223</sup> Paul Merrick, *Revolution and Religion in the Music of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 283ff.

<sup>224</sup> Gregory Klug, "Pain and Pleasure in Liszt's 'Dante' Symphony", *Journal of the American Liszt Society* Vol.65 (2014): 37-58.

<sup>225</sup> David Larkin, "From Hell to Heaven? The Narrative Course of Liszt's *Après une lecture du Dante*", *Journal of the American Liszt Society* Vol.65 (2014): 65-78.

<sup>226</sup> Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice 1800-1900*, 102ff.

A final word may appropriately be left to the Liszt student Arthur Friedheim, writing in his long-unpublished *Forward* to the *Sonata in B minor*:

Liszt is perhaps the greatest mystic in his art. In about a third of his original works the real keynote is to be sought in the transcendental world. The less the interpreter is predisposed to penetrate regions leading to resignation and at times pure, exultant aestheticism, the less he will be able to do justice to this kind of music.<sup>227</sup>

It would appear that there has been a sea change in musicology, perhaps reflecting the culture's movement from Modernist to (so-called) PostModernist phases. No longer the preserve of a few, many significant voices have returned to questions of extra-musical cultural meaning, and the feedback loop between such philosophy and composition.

### 3.4 Cultural Meaning and HIPP

But what about performance? What light might cultural exegesis shed on performance styles, both historic and contemporary? One of the most interesting discussions of cultural meaning and HIPP is still found in Richard Taruskin's highly debated paper "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past".<sup>228</sup> Although Taruskin is grappling with a number of questions here, his central discussion is based on seeking cultural answers to the radical shift in performance styles, particularly between Modernist styles (both standard and period) and those of C19th Romanticism and earlier eras. He asserts:

Changes in performing style ... have been allied with changes in composing style, and with more general changes in aesthetic and philosophical outlook.<sup>229</sup>

After quoting Wanda Landowska's comments on objectivising Bach performance, he comments:

... when she said *skyscraper* she hit the nail on the head. What we have here is a case of what Virgil Thompson called "equalised tensions ... the basis of streamlining and of all those other surface unifications that in art, as in engineering, make a work recognisable as belonging to our time and to no other."<sup>230</sup>

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<sup>227</sup> Arthur Friedheim, "Liszt Sonata: A Forward" in Gordon Rumson, "Arthur Friedhelm's Edition of the Liszt B Minor Sonata", *The Liszt Society Journal* Vol.26 (2001): 17ff.

<sup>228</sup> Richard Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past" in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

<sup>229</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 105.

<sup>230</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 113.

Taruskin explains Modernist rhythmic regularity - Stravinsky's "ontological time" - as "*True solidity - against the rage against flux and impermanence*",<sup>231</sup> adopts T.E.Hulme's opposition of (Romanticist) vitalist versus (Modernist) geometric art,<sup>232</sup> and explains that "positivist scholarship is interested in letter, not spirit. It sets up research experiments - "problems" - to be solved by applying rules of logic and evidence".<sup>233</sup> In summary, he goes as far as to assert that "the premise that underlies the whole modern movement ... is the dark side of dehumanization, the side that does evoke robots and concentration camps".<sup>234</sup>

There is much to agree with here, however Taruskin's brief observations do not systematically expound the philosophical foundations and characteristics of Modernism and of Romanticism, and in particular their effects on performance elements. Such cultural eras are lenses through which cultural activity - including music performance practice - is viewed. I propose that it is precisely these foundations that are critical in selecting and shaping elements of performance practice, and that the expression of cultural meaning through the resultant aesthetic requires the adoption of critical performance practice elements. Yet it seems that discussion of HIPP has become basically binary in nature, with some choosing to examine philosophical influences on the movement as a whole, while others focus on the elements of performance while merely assuming both the desirability and objectivity of historical performance reconstruction. To an extent, this has been successful - Baroque and Classic Era HIPP performances have convinced a large audience of their expressive power and aesthetic honesty. However, the same cannot be said for Romanticist performances. Clearly, there needs to be stronger reason for modifying the (Modernist) performance style of the last century if artists and audiences alike are to embrace HIPP in such familiar repertoire. An understanding of HIPP elements as expressions of foundational cultural meaning provides both stronger logic and incentive for such an embrace. In all cultural eras, certain stylistic elements may be essential for the aesthetic meaning and effect of the music, and their absence may thus be critical, invalidating deep expressions of their cultural movement and mis-communicating the message. Imagine the music of Count Basie without (rhythmic) swing, or Jimi Hendrix without *fortissimo* overdriven amp distortion. The former requires swing as the foundational

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<sup>231</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 114.

<sup>232</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 110.

<sup>233</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 146

<sup>234</sup> Taruskin, *Text and Act*, 150.



communication of joy and the immediate physicality of Africanised dance.<sup>235</sup> The latter requires dynamic and distortion as essential for the communication of an almost uncontrolled youthful energy and rebellion, a channeled violence of noise and fire.<sup>236</sup>

Although a small number of HIPP musicians have written on important aspects of Romanticist culture,<sup>237</sup> the overwhelming limitation of Romanticist HIPP discussion to elements of performance practice thus far may be seen in the introductory remarks of Bernard Sherman's essay "*How different was Brahms's playing style from our own?*". He writes:

Did Brahms favour concert grand pianos and large orchestras and choruses - or did he prefer Viennese-style period pianos and small ensembles? Did he, like a modern player, favour continuous vibrato and relatively steady tempos, or did he prefer more restricted vibrato and freer, more volatile tempos? Did he prefer large orchestras and choruses, or did he like small ensembles?<sup>238</sup>

All these are valid and important questions, but presuppose a culturally-agnostic universal context, based entirely on an historical variety of composer intentionality. Two essential volumes on Chopin interpretation, Eigeldinger's *Chopin Pianist and Teacher as Seen by His Pupils*, and Methuen-Campbell's *Chopin Playing From the Composer to the Present Day* are equally helpful on HIPP detail yet equally silent on why we should be re-gathering these fragments of past pedagogy and interpretation. Turning to volumes on Liszt, Bernard Ott's classic volume *Lisztian Keyboard Energy*<sup>239</sup> provides an essential resource in what can be known of Liszt's practice without explanation as to why the composer's interpretative principles remain appropriate. The Australian researcher, musician and publisher Gerard Carter is equally focused in his important volume *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition*,<sup>240</sup> discussing (and including) both early piano recordings and traditions through

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<sup>235</sup> This raises a similar question concerning the aesthetics of performing Chopin's instrumental dances with Modernist, significantly rigid rhythms.

<sup>236</sup> Perhaps not dissimilar in virtuosic power and shocking effect as Liszt's early performance years, both leaving a trail of broken instruments and breathless women.

<sup>237</sup> For example, Paul Hamilton, "Leopardi and the Logic of the Romantic Fragment," University of Birmingham, accessed September 2, 2017, <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-artslaw/lcahm/leopardi/fragments/leopardi-paper-hamilton1.pdf>

<sup>238</sup> Sherman, B, "How different was Brahms's playing style from our own?" in Michael Musgrave and Bernard D. Sherman, *Performing Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

<sup>239</sup> Bernard Ott, *Lisztian Keyboard Energy/ Liszt et la Pédagogie du Piano*, trans. Donald H. Windham (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992).

<sup>240</sup> Gerard Carter, *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2006).

students, yet assuming the appropriateness of contemporary HIPP re-creation. David Milsom, in his excellent volume *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*, perhaps comes closest in his discussion of the gulf between contemporary aesthetics and those indicated by C19th theorists and performers. Given his chapter title *Philosophic Orientations* it is perhaps somewhat of a missed opportunity that Milsom grounds his argument here in musical pedagogic and performance indications (important as these are) rather than in the bedrock of philosophical and cultural Romanticism itself. In particular, his recognition of and concern for the extreme performance drama clearly indicated by HIPP evidence (and discussed in Chapter 5 below) is left as problematic within a contemporary cultural aesthetic, rather than organically integrated into a Romanticist worldview. He writes:

In conclusion, the importance of the attempt to assimilate the value-system of the late nineteenth century cannot be overestimated. The discernment of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is unlikely to be of much use when applied to performance attitudes of a century before. Thus, the 'historically-aware' performer today is forced to ignore (or at least temper) his/her own stylistic attitudes in an attempt to glimpse a wholly different set of aesthetic values.<sup>241</sup>

Milsom is, however, clearly aware of the need for a more generally culture-based explanation for performance practice elements, and important steps in that direction are taken in a chapter jointly authored by him and Neil Peres Da Costa.<sup>242</sup> These scholars propose two foundational aesthetic models with significant C19th explanatory force, firstly that of singing as a model for instrumentalists, and secondly that of oratory as a model for musicians. In particular, it is suggested that the latter model explains the considerable usage of performance elements such as (string) portamento, (piano) dislocation of hands and arpeggiation of chords, and (general) agogic accentuation. A vocal model for much C19th instrumental style seems incontrovertible; as referenced in their chapter, even pianists were instructed to think in this way, as evidenced by Sigismond Thalberg's influential work *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano Op.90*.<sup>243</sup> In case one might be tempted to argue that this approach was not deeply Romanticist, perhaps elegantly Thalburguesque

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<sup>241</sup> David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 201.

<sup>242</sup> Milsom, David and Neal Peres Da Costa. "Expressiveness in Historical Perspective : Nineteenth-Century Ideals and Practices." In *Expressiveness in music performance : Empirical approaches across styles and cultures*, edited by Dorottya Fabian, Renee Timmers and Emery Schubert. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

<sup>243</sup> Sigismond Thalberg, *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano Op.90* (Paris: Heugel, 1853).

rather than dramatically Lisztian (remembering their famous pianistic duel), Janka Wohl remembers Liszt referring to his student Sophie Menter as “the only one ‘I was able to teach what cannot be learnt.’ ‘She has a singing hand’ he used to say when speaking of her.”<sup>244</sup> An increased emphasis on vocal-like melodic lines in pianism was made possible by the richness of tone and lengthening sonic decay rate resultant from developments in early C19th piano design, and reaching a peak with the virtually fully-modern designs of the Americans from mid-century, notably those of Steinway and Chickering. As is often the case, it is, however, a futile question to ask whether piano design led to a vocal instrumental aesthetic, or whether the aesthetic pushed piano design; no doubt a feedback loop was mutually reinforcing.

The question of oratory as a Romanticist model, on the other hand, is more complex, although it does have explanatory power and probability. It can be seen as a de-systematisation of the Baroque and Classic Era’s use of quite detailed musical analogues of Greek and Roman rhetorical models,<sup>245</sup> thus freeing Romanticist musicians for stylistic experimentation while retaining an important historic model of rational public discourse. However, an oratorical model for C19th performance practice does not by itself explain the dramatic extreme of Romanticist expressive elements, acknowledged by Milsom and Peres Da Costa as a major differentiator between C19th Romanticist style and that of our own. Effective and powerful oratory is not necessarily histrionic (in the older sense of meaning dramatically exaggerated). For example, Winston Churchill’s famous speech “We shall fight on the beaches”<sup>246</sup> is at the same time extremely articulate and expressively crafted, deeply moving yet employing a calm and undemonstrative delivery. It stands in contrast with the equally-honoured “I have a dream” speech by Martin Luther King Jr.,<sup>247</sup> steeped as it is in American gospel passion and drama. From the beginning, King’s voice rings with controlled but evident emotion, building with seeming inevitability towards a climax of extreme passion, and inviting constant appreciative interjection by his audience. While no less articulate or logically reasoned than Churchill, King’s style is dramatically

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<sup>244</sup> Janka Wohl, *François Liszt*, trans. B. Peyton Ward (London: Ward & Downey, 1887). Reprinted on demand by Kirtasbooks ([KirtasBooks.com](http://KirtasBooks.com)) in 2010, 42.

<sup>245</sup> For a detailed and powerful discussion of rhetoric in music, see Bruce Haynes and Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetick Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>246</sup> A recording of Churchill’s speech is available at <http://audio.theguardian.tv/sys-audio/Guardian/audio/2007/04/20/Churchill.mp3>. Accessed 16/5/2018.

<sup>247</sup> A recording of King’s speech is available at <http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihadream.htm>. Accessed 16/5/2018.

extreme, and while he does not follow in detail a classical model of rhetoric, this is certainly broadly rhetorical, and a great example of oratory. I suspect that King and his interacting audience have recreated a C19th Romanticist performance environment, certainly one which fits many descriptions of Liszt's performances. So the adoption of a model of oratory by C19th Romanticists does not by itself explain their choice of a passionate, improvisatory style, although it can provide helpful perspectives for understanding and application.

Perhaps there is another way forward, one recognising the reflex of the cultural messages and values of our own time, and choosing instead to deeply immerse oneself in the Romanticist worldview and ethos, for most of us a foreign country indeed. From this perspective, many of the elements of performance practice become not merely historically accurate but also aesthetically logical and personally essential, a recreation in spirit as well as truth. The question remains: Can HIPPP elements be seen to be expressions of foundational philosophical and cultural characteristics? Before examining the two most recent dominant cultures and their associated performance practices, some preliminary comments are required. It is important to remember that cultural styles and eras are normally cultural mixtures rather than uniform solutions, and are not neatly arranged in chronological order. All large cultural descriptors tend to be umbrella terms, and individual examples will exhibit some, but not all, cultural characteristics. There are a variety of Modernisms and Romanticisms. Cultural movements do not supersede each other neatly, but overlap. So, for example, we have seen in our own age the parallel cultural existence of different groups embracing (for example) pre-modern religious fundamentalism, or living within the Modernist emphasis on empirical knowledge and technological development, or those attempting a postmodern worldview of relativism and ultra-individualism. An artist may live and work in the historical time of a new movement, yet belong to the old, perhaps such as Liszt & Thalberg as pianists. This applies especially to audiences, some of whom will continue to embrace the aesthetics of the past, while others are eagerly experimenting with the new. The following cultural definitions and descriptions therefore do not cover the whole activity of an era, but aim to highlight the dominant cultural movement seen as most significant and characteristic of the age, principally Modernism for the C20th and Romanticism for the C19th. It is not appropriate here to attempt a detailed systematic exposition of these era's philosophies and cultures; I am aiming to give a broad sense of the fundamental flavours of their worldview, and in particular, to highlight areas of contrast.

Cultural worldview by itself may be insufficient to cause the near-complete dominance of an aesthetic revolution; there must also be a social need and opportunity that the new aesthetic meets more appropriately than the older one. This requirement of opportunity is perhaps most familiar in the case of Modernist architecture. This style began as a reaction against the increasingly fussy decoration of the late C19th, embracing the new cultural goals of mechanism and functionalism. The *Loos Haus* in Vienna is an excellent example. Completed in 1912, its clean, fresh, undecorated lines stand in contrast to the surrounding buildings, originally creating a storm of disapproval and protest. Modernism in architecture would probably have been merely one of a number of styles throughout the C20th had it not been for two World Wars and a depression. In particular, the devastation caused to European cities by strategic bombing required rapid and cheap rebuilding on a massive scale. Here was a new style which required no decoration, which embraced Functionalism, and which made efficiency and simplicity of construction into virtues.

In the same way, contemporary Modernist music performance practice was developed on the basis of cultural philosophy (as will be discussed below), yet may not have achieved such rapid dominance (remaining perhaps one stylistic option among perhaps two or three) had it not been for the rise of the recording industry. It can be argued that the very idea of accessing music through recordings rather than through live performance is one of the most radical and culturally-characteristic development in C20th art. Sound recording has substantially influenced all aspects of music-making, from musicians' (un)employment to the viability of kaleidoscopic Modernist compositional styles, from audience accessibility of "great works" to music education, and from contemporary performance stylistic practice to historical performance research. As will be discussed subsequently in this chapter, the development of recording itself is an insufficient explanation for the rise of Modernist performance style, in particular its focus on note accuracy. However, the technology is another example of an artistic activity which, as with architecture, perfectly fits the values of Modernism, and thus becomes ubiquitous and influential, for three fundamental reasons.

First, the very idea of an exactly repeatable performance - as a recording always is - requires a positivist, almost objectivist<sup>248</sup> approach to repertoire, a simple archetype of performance rather than an assortment of individualist performances. Second, phonograph

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<sup>248</sup> In the broad sense of Ayn Rand, an objective reality discernible through concept formation and inductive logic.

recordings needed to be accurately timed, and if necessary, reliably cut into segments to fit on the short time available on each side of a 78 record. Once magnetic tape editing became available (after the Second World War), and discs moved to the longer 20 minute per side LP format, longer repertoire became central to classical music sales. Recorded performances of long works, stitched together in multiple 'takes' to enable complete accuracy, required even greater repeatability.<sup>249</sup> Third, with the mass of people enjoying art music at home through recordings, the expectation for live concerts to reproduce what the listener was familiar with became almost overwhelming; musicians almost become biological phonographs. A cultural feedback loop is thus established, with Modernist aesthetic embracing recording, which in turn disseminates the Modernist aesthetic - at least in classical genres.

Having briefly discussed why certain Modernist arts practices have come to dominate the C20th and early C21st, it is, however, important to re-assert that these practices, like those of all eras, communicate broad sets of cultural values and worldview, and are not merely opportunistic economic developments. Dominant contemporary architectural style and music performance practice are culturally Modernist, not merely economically and socially pragmatic, as will be discussed in detail below.

### 3.5 The Problem of Radical C20th Change

Justification for C19th stylistic restoration (at some level) must begin with an understanding of the reasons for the radical change in performance styles of the C20th, of why the style changed so substantially. The change itself is hardly in doubt; for example, after studying early recordings, Timothy Day speaks of "the restraint and emotional coolness increasingly characteristic of twentieth-century performance styles", noting the "decrease in volatility and for the gestures that convey this coolness to audiences."<sup>250</sup> Significantly, he references the social historian G.S.R. Kitson Clark, who studied political and dramatic speech in the 1830's and 1840's, concluding that radio speeches from the

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<sup>249</sup> As also noted by Bruce Haynes in *The End of Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 50.

<sup>250</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Recorded History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 151.

mid C20th would not have been considered eloquent in the earlier age.<sup>251</sup> A number of theories have been proposed.

First, Day considers the influence of recording on performance, where accuracy becomes a major focus, where the (electric) microphone encourages an intimate tone of voice, and where performers adjust for domestic (dry) acoustic of playback. These considerations may lead to an avoidance of exaggeration or overt individuality in the interest of repeatability. Despite an initial plausibility, this theory beaks down under scrutiny. While this observation is undoubtably true, it does not explain why listeners have found such supremely accurate yet often impersonal interpretations to be acceptable. As a classical music culture, why have we chosen to admire accuracy over passion and individuality? Further, recording has not so affected other genres of C20th music, including Jazz, Blues, Gospel and Rock, where the technology is even more deeply embedded into musical life. While certainly facilitating change, recording technology is an insufficient explanation for the radical change in performance style. In fact, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson has used the rise in performance intimacy made possible by electric microphone and amplification as a reason for *increased* expressivity, as will be discussed below.<sup>252</sup> He is certainly correct in noting its influence in popular music, particularly in the style of crooners such as Bing Crosby. It will be argued later in this chapter that the rise of recording has indeed had a significant cultural effect, but that it is more the result of Modernist culture than cause.

Second, Day attempts a broader cultural thesis. He writes:

Gestures of any kind become meaningful through their total contexts, certainly the physical surroundings in which they are made, but also the aesthetic, intellectual and social settings in which they are made. ... Certainly the 1920's were characterised by disillusion, by a distrust of dramatic gestures after the high-sounding rhetoric and propaganda of the Great War. ... The note of heroism sounded hollow in these postwar years ..."<sup>253</sup>

Again, while Day's cultural thesis is initially plausible, it does not adequately explain the century-long opposition to dramatic gesture and Romanticist passion. If the effect of the

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<sup>251</sup> G.S.R. Kitson Clark, "The Romantic Element - 1830-1850", in J.H.Plumb, *Studies in Social History: A Tribute to G.M. Trevelyan* (London: Longman & Co., 1955); referenced in Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 152.

<sup>252</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style" in Nicholas Cook *et.al.*, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 258.

<sup>253</sup> Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 160.

First World War brought (understandable) disillusion and emotional caution, why did the post-Second World War (European) peace and economic boom not restore such values and expression? And can we see evidence of a similar avoidance of dramatic style following, for example, the Napoleonic wars?

Third, an alternate theory has been proposed by Daniel Leech-Wilkinson<sup>254</sup>, whose contrarian view deserves careful attention. Leech-Wilkinson's examination of early recordings of violinists, singers, and pianists leads him to propose a theory of early C20th expressive inflation, based on the following premises and observations:

1. Most musicians played in consistent ways throughout their professional careers,
2. The oldest recorded musicians are thus playing in a style consistent with that current in their twenties, thus Reineke may be characteristic of the late 1840's, Joachim of the 1850's, Patti of the mid-1860's (thus pre-Wagnerian and *verismo* opera),
3. Younger musicians (Lilli Lehmann, Ysaÿe, de Pachmann) demonstrate greater contrasts, portamenti and/or elaborations than the previous generation,
4. Yet later musicians (Michalowski, Paderewski, Hofmann, Friedman) perform Chopin with increased variety in bar lengths (hence rubato) and expressive varieties.

Leech-Wilkinson proposes a sudden radical change in style from the Second World War:

For reasons that remain to be properly investigated (but can all too easily be guessed at), the Second World War cut off this view of musical performance and made it seem obsolete. For a new generation a new approach seemed necessary, and suddenly those performers who had been playing all along in a more restrained fashion seemed newly relevant. ... Among violinists and singers, however, the reaction against subjectivity took a rather different turn, away from portamento and rubato, but at the same time towards a much heavier vibrato.<sup>255</sup>

It may weaken his argument that Leech-Wilkinson has earlier argued for a gradualist change in performance style, one less noticeable than changes in compositional style.<sup>256</sup> Further, he counter-intuitively asserts:

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<sup>254</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style" in Nicholas Cook *et.al.*, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

<sup>255</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 252.

<sup>256</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 248.



This post-war style styled into something like a norm for several decades ... this stylistic world in which vibrato and dynamics bear most of the expressive load, with rubato constrained by a steady beat, the tone rich and relatively unvaried. If performance style was ever 'romantic' it was here and not before, wholly separate from romantic movements either in literature or in music composition.<sup>257</sup>

It is not clear why Leech-Wilkinson considers this style "romantic", rather than Modernist, nor how it can be in any important sense "romantic" while being "wholly separate from romantic movements". He does however offer a broad explanation for this expressive inflation, that of "runaway sexual selection".<sup>258</sup> Arguments based on social Darwinism are notoriously difficult even when not politically dangerous, as the relatively simple cause-and-effect of animal behaviour can only be equated with the complexities and mysteries of human culture by applying a radical reductionism. On close inspection, Leech-Wilkinson's argument here is weak; he merely invokes the theory, illustrates how it limits the ideal length of peacock tails, and assumes a close analogy. However, this is likely to be a false analogy; the length of tail is a practical matter of life or death, of movement and predator escape, whereas it is unclear as to how an over-inflation of musical expression seriously disadvantages a generation of artists. It may be argued that such performance style ceases to attract sufficient audiences, thus exerting an economic Darwinist selection. However, on what basis does the public judge a performance to be over-inflated, and why would it suddenly change its aesthetic? The Darwinist analogy thus provides no real explanation.

More plausibly, Leech-Wilkinson proposes an interesting argument for expressive inflation in the first third of the C20th, that of an increased sense of intimacy possible in recording made possible by the (electric) microphone and valve amplifier. This turns a common argument on its head, that the rise of recording reduced expression by requiring an absolute note accuracy and less personalised performance style, to sell product to as broad an audience as possible. While undoubtably the new technology had this effect, it does not explain the collapse of expressive inflation after the Second World War, when the technology became even more sonically powerful.

Despite its unproven presentation, Leech-Wilkinson's theory of a unique, temporary style which coincided with early recording requires serious consideration as logical possibility. The theory clearly challenges the use of early recordings in establishing pre-

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<sup>257</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 253.

<sup>258</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 257.

recorded Romanticist HIPP, based on the proposition of early recordings capturing yet earlier Romanticist performance style survivals. A number of problems in the theory itself are apparent, and seem fatal to its acceptance:

1. The theory would seem to predict a regular pattern of expressive inflation and deflation over decades. Although we cannot be certain that this has not occurred throughout the C19th, we can see that it certainly has not occurred throughout the majority of the C20th and early C21st. Why did a generalised expressive inflation nor redevelop from, say, the 1970's? Leech-Wilkinson's proposal that the rise of HIPP illustrates such a return of expressive inflation is not comparing like for like; for all HIPP's increased influence, it is not a broadly adopted (or taught) performance style, particularly in the core C19th repertoire, performances of which remain expressively minimalist when compared with most early recordings. Further, HIPP's earliest manifestation was not as an expressively inflated relation to general style, but as a separate strand of Modernist anti-romanticism.
2. His assertion that recorded performers in the early two decades of the C20th demonstrate overall greater expressive inflation than those of the last decade of the C19th is not confirmed by other scholars, nor by the present author. Earliest recordings (such as by Leschetizky) really do seem to indicate greater, not lesser, expressive intensity and rhythmic (and notational) freedom. The general trend is not invalidated by inevitable examples of performers whose style is either contemporaneously avant-gard, archaic or individualistic. Analysis of a significant number of performers through the late C19th and early C20th does seem to indicate a general environment of, and then sudden diminution of, expressive drama and textual freedom, as agreed by those scholars quoted extensively in this thesis.
3. His examples of late expressive inflation, of Alfred Cortot and Lotte Lehmann who "devoted minute attention to explaining to their students what each moment in the

score seemed to them to represent" ... [an] "emotional-pictorial approach,"<sup>259</sup> is completely in sympathy with the teaching reports of Liszt's students.<sup>260</sup>

4. Although Leech-Wilkinson does mention the influence of a Polish background on Chopin performance, he generally gives insufficient weight to the inevitable variety individual performance style normative within a given time frame. Care must be taken in examining individual performers to reach generalised conclusions, avoiding a theory based on an unrepresentative comparison between those at (say) the expressively conservative end of a generation's spectrum with those at the expressively inflated end of another. Further, if Romanticism particularly encouraged individualism (as is demonstrated in other arts), we would expect a broad spectrum of performance styles from (relatively) expressively restrained and refined to passionately risk-taking. For every Liszt there is a Thalberg. Finding the same points on this spectrum for comparison is essential for convincing theorising.
5. The only possible direct evidence for a usual career-long stylistic uniformity comes from repeated recordings and from living memory, that is, from observations from the mid to late C20th and early C21st. However, it is difficult to know how typical this century may be, given the particular cultural nature of Modernism, and the unique environment of widespread recording and travel. Leech-Wilkinson is perhaps in danger of anachronism, of assuming this C20th career characteristic was also typical of previous eras. He may be correct. However, it may also be the case that a lack of globalised stylistic uniformity resulted in localised variety, giving artists an opportunity to adopt significant stylistic changes over time. Romanticism valued variety.
6. Furthermore, despite Leech-Wilkinson's assertion to the contrary, it may not be rare for great musicians to significantly change their performance style over a career, even in the Modernist era. Leech-Wilkinson himself refers to Artur Schnabel in this regard. David Milsom quotes J. Bowen in this context:

If we had only Lotte Lenya of the post-war recordings, how could we ever imagine that she would sound so different in her Berlin recordings of the 1930's? If 20 years

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<sup>259</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, 252.

<sup>260</sup> For example, from Frederic Lamond' "Do I care how fast you can play your octaves?" [Liszt] once thundered at a pupil in the middle of the celebrated octave passage of the Chopin A-flat-major Polonaise. "What I wish to hear is the canter of the horses of the Polish cavalry before they gather force and destroy the enemy." ' From Frederic Lamond, *The Memoirs of Frederic Lamond* (Glasgow: William MacLellan, 1949), 68; quoted in Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Final Years* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 229.

can make such a difference in the sound and performance of an individual artists, it is hopeless to extrapolate back generations.<sup>261</sup>

A particularly interesting example is that of Arthur Schnabel, whose two recordings of the Schubert *Impromptu Op.90 No.4* on reproducing piano roll in 1905 and on disc in 1950, indicate a radical change in style, from an early expressively inflated interpretation to a far cooler performance.<sup>262</sup> Those of us who were students in Claudio Arrau's circle can testify to his quite radical conscious stylistic shift around 1960. While Bowen's historical conclusion seems overly pessimistic, as not all artists undergo radical change, and few change all significant aspects of their performance style, his observation is a valid warning for making simplistic assumptions either way.

To summarise, attempts to explain C20th radical stylistic change in performance focused on technology and social Darwinism seem inadequate to explain the phenomenon. I propose that there are cultural explanations for these changes, which reside at deeper philosophical and sociological levels, cultural forces powerful enough to explain both the extent and the longevity of ant-Romanticist aesthetic and practice, as shall be discussed in the following chapter.

### 3.6 Conclusion

It has always been clear that culture has a profound influence on artistic choices and the form of artworks. Through much of the C20th, the derivation of extra-musical meaning from compositions has often been considered inappropriate, an outmoded view of the nature of music. The question of cultural influence on performance practice was largely ignored. More recently, this view is softening, partly as a realisation that such a materialist view of music is itself culturally conditioned by Modernism. The writers discussed above have begun to examine and explain performance practice, especially that of recorded performance, in terms of cultural influence. Specifically, generalised explanations have been proposed for the radical shift in performance practice around the early C20th,

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<sup>261</sup> José Bowen, "Why Should Performers Study Performance? Performance Practice vs. Performance Analysis", *Performance Practice Review*, Vol.9 No.1, 1996; quoted in: David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-century Violin Performance* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2003), 6.

<sup>262</sup> Arthur Schnabel, Schubert *Impromptu Op.90. No.4* (Tacet 146, *The Welte-Mignon Mystery Vol.VII*, track 2, recorded 1905 & Arabesque Z6572, *Schubert and Schnabel Vol.2*, track 4, recorded 1950).

mirroring other arts and culture shifts. What is now required is an attempt to link specific cultural characteristics to specific performance practice elements, as far as this is possible.

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## CHAPTER 4: LETTER and SPIRIT - CULTURAL EXEGESIS and PERFORMANCE PRACTICE

### 4.1 The Three Styles

I will now turn to an outline of both Modernist and Romanticist cultures, leading to a cultural exegesis of their associated performance styles. In each case, I will then propose an account of their effects on performance style, and therefore the implications for HIPPP. In his seminal study *The End of Early Music* Bruce Haynes names and discusses the three main performance styles of the last century and a half: Romantic, Modern and Period.<sup>263</sup> These descriptive terms seem apt.<sup>264</sup> Briefly, Romantic style is illustrated by early recordings from the last decade of the C19th through to the 1930's. Modern style, also called Mainstream style by Haynes, is the performance practice which immediately supplanted Romanticist style, and for a time after the Second World War it became the sole performance style in normal use. It remains dominant in the early C21st. As the name implies, Period style aims at a rediscovery of historic performance practice, by using original instruments (or good copies) and by applying the aesthetics and techniques described by pedagogic theorists of the time. Interestingly, as with Modernist style, Period style also begins surprisingly early in the C20th as a reaction against Romanticist style, particularly through the writings and performances of Wanda Landowska and Arnold Dolmetsch.<sup>265</sup> These pioneers were rare voices until the 1960's, when this style began to gather momentum, this time as a reaction against the (by then) ubiquitous Modernist performance style.

### 4.2 Modernism

I will begin with a discussion most familiar cultural era, the one in which we still significantly inhabit (despite the twists of postmodernism). Modernism is the cultural aesthetic which superseded the twilight of Romanticism, was a conscious repudiation of

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<sup>263</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music : A Period Performer's History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32ff.

<sup>264</sup> I adopt a minor modification of 'Romantic' to 'Romanticist', to avoid other meanings of "Romantic".

<sup>265</sup> Landowska was touring as a harpsichordist from around 1905. My teacher Greville Rothern, student and assistant to Claudio Arrau, recounted to me that Arrau's 1942 pianoforte recording of the Bach Goldberg Variations was not released by RCA because Landowska's harpsichord recording was to be preferred. Arrau's recording was finally issued some 46 years later in 1988.

the former movement, and has provided the most powerful influence on contemporary performance practice. Modernism is a particularly difficult cultural movement to describe succinctly. The century has been termed by the historian Eric Hobsbawm as *The Age of Extremes*,<sup>266</sup> and this description is reflected in the uniquely kaleidoscopic nature of the arts, philosophies and politics of the C20th. The extreme nature of the C20th culture shift extends also to its revolutionary intensity. Franklin Baumer voices a common view:

The first half of the twentieth century, especially after 1914, marked a revolution in European thinking almost beyond compare ... There have been intellectual revolutions before, several of great magnitude ... But never before had there been a revolution quite so thoroughgoing, in the sense that it destroyed, in a comparatively short period of time, nearly all the "idols" that had been so painstakingly constructed...<sup>267</sup>

The first type of Modernism was based on a revival of the central tenets of the C18th Enlightenment. There is a direct continuity between both the former and the latter anti-Romanticist movements. The *Oxford Companion to Philosophy* entry "Modernism" makes the observation that "... 'modernity' and 'enlightenment' tend to be used interchangeably, whether by thinkers ... who seek to sustain that project, or by those - the post-Modernist company - who consider it a closed chapter in the history of ideas."<sup>268</sup> Modernism may firstly be seen as both a revival of the Enlightenment project and an intensification of it, through greater industrialisation and mechanisation, a more intense embrace of Rationalism and Empiricism, and a deep cultural assumption of progress as experienced by radically improved material standards of living (despite the terror and privation of two world wars and an economic depression). As has been noted by Jaques Barzun,<sup>269</sup> this focus is revealed by the wide adoption of the term "experimental" to describe much C20th art, appropriating the imagery of science, with its rationalist rigour, empirical method, and avoidance of emotional or psychological subjectivity. Significantly, this central embrace of what is called either Philosophical Materialism or Naturalism has recently been challenged from unexpected quarters, with mainstream philosophers such

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<sup>266</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994).

<sup>267</sup> Franklin L. Baumer, *Modern European Thought: Continuity and Change in Ideas 1600-1950* (London: Collier Macmillan Publishers, 1977), 402.

<sup>268</sup> "Modernism" in Ted Honderich (ed), *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 617.

<sup>269</sup> Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2000), 730.

as Thomas Nagel and Alvin Plantinga arguing for fundamental inconsistencies in the roots of Modernism.<sup>270</sup> It is interesting to speculate whether we are in the final stages of this dominant cultural philosophy, and whether Modernism's decline will soon encourage further culture shift in contemporary performance practice.

Interestingly, there is a second, concurrent type of C20th Modernism, based on a loss of faith in the stability of Enlightenment axioms, and in particular the idea of Progress. It may be thought of as a Jungian type of shadow cultural Modernism. From this perspective, the C20th became an age of crisis and disillusionment, according to Baumer:

leaving men without landmarks, casting them adrift on an endless sea of becoming"<sup>271</sup> ... Man became problematic and not merely good, bad or indifferent as in past debates. The universe became mysterious, hard to fathom or decipher, and nature became more remote. For the first time, theological questions began to seem, not merely controversial, but meaningless, to a significant number of people, including some theologians. Social scientists wrestled with a new value-free political and social science ...<sup>272</sup>

If the first type of early C20 Modernism is epitomised by a primacy of science, this second, almost anti-rationalist form is embodied in the psychoanalytical movement, called by Thomas Mann "a world movement", affecting all areas of thought and art.<sup>273</sup> As the C20th developed, many European philosophers embraced forms of existentialism, choosing positive action in the face of universal meaninglessness. Artists increasingly found authentic expression in the Absurd<sup>274</sup>, in anxiety and in alienation. Perhaps the most famous literary example is T.S.Eliot's *The Waste Land*, published in 1922, with its famous opening reversal of centuries of hopeful spring imagery:

April is the cruellest month, breeding  
Lilacs out of dead land, mixing

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<sup>270</sup> To simplify, a simply random evolutionary explanation of the universe and of life does not provide an explanation for a range of elements required for science and human experience, including the coding language of DNA, the nature of consciousness, and a link between human logic (and mathematics) and reality. See Thomas Nagel, *Mind & Cosmos: Why the Materialist Neo-Darwinian Conception of Nature is Almost Certainly Wrong* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012) and Alvin Plantinga, *Where the Conflict Really Lies: Science, Religion & Naturalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>271</sup> Baumer, *Modern European Thought*, 402.

<sup>272</sup> Baumer, *Modern European Thought*, 410.

<sup>273</sup> See Baumer, *Modern European Thought*, 409f.

<sup>274</sup> As philosophical term, the Absurd denotes a conflict between the human search for meaning in life, and the Existential claim that finding such meaning is humanly impossible. Albert Camus is a major exponent of the Absurd.



Memory and desire, stirring  
Dull roots with spring rain.

Thus C20th Modernism may thus be said to be a high water mark of both Enlightenment rationalism and irrationalism, positivism and anti-positivism. Both its worldview and its music may be either determinist or random, either super-serialist or aleatoric. The second type of C20th Modernism has been a powerful force in much C20th Art, including music of the avant-garde, jazz and even certain experimental rock musicians of the 1960's and 1970's.

It is fascinating to imagine a second type of Modernist performance practice, where the music of Beethoven, Chopin, and Liszt was understood subjectively rather than objectively, aiming to express the psychology of the performer and the drama of the moment rather than the literal score. In such a performance practice historical repertoire might be performed in fragmentary free forms, surrounded by improvised gesture and using a wide variety of synthetic sonic textures. However, the dominant C20th performance practice has not taken this direction, and is clearly an expression of the first type of C20th cultural Modernism.

It is illuminative to consider briefly two cultural developments integrated within Modernist musical development. Firstly, there is the foundation and rise of musicology. Although the English term has roots in C19th French (*musicologie*) and German (*Musikwissenschaft*) terms, as an academic discipline musicology properly belongs to the C20th and C21st. One of the classic early examinations of the term was published in *The Musical Quarterly* in 1915, authored by Waldo S. Pratt.<sup>275</sup> From the first page, Pratt understands both the definition and purpose of musicology as “the science of music”.<sup>276</sup> He writes:

[B]oth subjective experiences and objective things ... may be taken as topics of scientific scrutiny, and such scrutiny ought to yield something toward building up a comprehensive “science of music.”<sup>277</sup> ... My aim in the present essay is not to advocate a particular scheme of scientific thought about music, but only to discuss the usefulness of the kind of thinking that leads to the formation of such schemes.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> W. Pratt, “On Behalf of Musicology” in *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol.I, January 1915. Downloaded from [www.jstor.org](http://www.jstor.org), accessed on 28/7/16.

<sup>276</sup> Pratt, “On Behalf of Musicology”, 1.

<sup>277</sup> Pratt, “On Behalf of Musicology”, 4.

<sup>278</sup> Pratt, “On Behalf of Musicology”, 5 - 6.

He then divides his subject into a series of seven areas, most highly materialist. For example, he begins the first division from a reductionist physical position:

Inasmuch as all musical art is conditioned upon the phenomena of sound, especially those relating to tones and their various dynamic and metric arrangements, the first division in our scheme may well be *Music Physics* (or *Acoustics*). ,, Due place must be made for ... some aspects of Mechanics ... Upon these physical phenomena as a basis ... the human mind proceeds ...<sup>279</sup>

Later, he clarifies his understanding of the scientific process in general, and its application to music in particular:

The same data may be handled in more than one way. And if musical art in general is like other large subjects of scientific treatment, it is likely that the science of it must be defined methodologically as well as topically. ... Sciences properly begin with facts, which are said to be "ascertained" when they are critically observed, verified and exactly recorded.<sup>280</sup>

Pratt's emphasis on music as a science is deeply Modernist and Positivist. It is culturally significant that music study thus takes the new model of science as foundation and perhaps justification for continued credible academic study.

A further aspect of the nature of much C20th musicology, important for the central theme of this study, has been the Modernist assumption of simple data, and a corresponding reluctance to embrace cultural interpretation. Writing some 70 years after Pratt, in his small yet classic study on the subject, Joseph Kerman gives further detail on these Modernist characteristics in his chapter entitled "*Musicology and Positivism: the Postwar Years*".<sup>281</sup> For example, he comments:

"The emphasis on critical editions ... was symptomatic [of]... the epidemic it reflected, a widespread phobia as regards historical interpretation. ... Thus many - though not all - of the landmarks of musicology ... were conspicuously long on 'hard' information and short on interpretation."<sup>282</sup>

The contrast in philosophy and aesthetics between much C20th musicology and E.T.A. Hoffmann's critical writings around the beginning of the previous century could not be more evident.

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<sup>279</sup> Pratt, "*On Behalf of Musicology*", 5.

<sup>280</sup> Pratt, "*On Behalf of Musicology*", 7.

<sup>281</sup> Joseph Kerman, *Musicology* (London: Fontana Collins, 1985), Chapter 2.

<sup>282</sup> Kerman, *Musicology*, 44.

A second C20th Modernist cultural development significant for the practice of music is that of the rise of the music industry, of music as industry. The question here of course is not that selling music or musicians' skills is new to the C20th, but rather the extent of such economic transactions grown from cottage level to Fordist-scale mass production, and resultant uniformity. This extreme commodification of music has been made possible by the development of audio recording, and is now in the process of yet further expansion through digitisation on the internet. (It is interesting that discussion of significant popular genre musicians is almost always focused on their work in the recording industry.) Most debated by cultural scholars have been the explosive growth and artistic quality of Afro-american popular music. There are two issues here, closely related: a question of industrial process, and one of consumer culture. Both have been critiqued from both the political Left (Adorno) and the Right (Scruton). Briefly, Adorno regards American popular music in general as a pseudo-art of sentimentality, cliché and kitsch, of instant gratification and of easy pleasures, requiring an aesthetic revolution. He explains the roots of this music in broadly Marxist terms as the commodification of art resultant from capitalism, and fetishism enforced by the culture industry. Scruton agrees there is a problem, but is happy to assert that "art is a commodity like any other"<sup>283</sup>, that American popular music is "democratic and global ... happily appropriating every sound that could be reissued as a song"<sup>284</sup> and that "this music was not imposed upon the American people by an unscrupulous 'culture industry' ... It arose 'by an invisible hand' from spontaneous music-making. ... It is the musical expression of consumer sovereignty."<sup>285</sup> Scruton's reference to an invisible hand is of course a reference to Adam Smith's "invisible hand of the market", long a central tenant of capitalist defence. However, while not condemning all American popular music, Scruton is concerned to make judgements within the genre, "between beauty and ugliness, between the life-affirming and the life-denying, the inspired and the routine - in short between The Beatles and U2."<sup>286</sup> This statement is illuminative. Given the critical success of U2 within the Rock genre, Scruton's example is invalid, and seems to show a lack of sympathy for the style. His attempt at a more nuanced, balanced position is

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<sup>283</sup> Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music: Philosophy and Interpretation* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 214.

<sup>284</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 216.

<sup>285</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 216-7.

<sup>286</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 221.

thus undermined; it would seem Scruton does not differ too greatly from Adorno's more general condemnation of popular music.

Two issues are important in the context of this thesis. First, the extent and influence of the C20th industrial music industry is not doubted, and its adverse effects are seriously debated, as the culture moves from "a music aimed at adults and designed to be sung, [to] the popular music that succeeded it, which is music aimed at adolescents, and designed to be swallowed."<sup>287</sup> Second, that this influence is culturally rooted in aspects of Modernism is also accepted. Although neither Adorno nor Scruton apply their arguments to so-called Classical music, it would seem plausible for this strand to be equally affected. The Classical music industry, especially in its recorded form, is immersed in the same corporations, the same technologies, the same marketing, and even the same performance venues as popular music. There is a minor difference: instead of a production line of copycat bands and singer-songwriters, the Classical divisions produce CD racks of near-identical performances of "the great works", every orchestra a Beethoven V and every pianist a Liszt *Liebesträume*. Sales charts (CD's and downloads) are published equally for both classical and popular music genres, as both Harry Christophers/The Sixteen and Adele celebrate No.1 status. No matter which genre, the rise of commodified consumer music, in standardised performance styles, is a deeply Modernist phenomenon.

As in all major philosophical and cultural movements, the elements of Modernism (and Romanticism) are interrelated, and form a significantly coherent web of belief. Those characteristics most influential on performance practice may be summarised:

1. Modernism includes philosophical Materialism, the idea that the totality of the universe and life is both merely physical and scientifically measurable.
2. Modernism includes knowledge and truth seen as universally objective rather than humanly subjective, and are discovered through the tools of rationalism and empiricism, culminating in the theory of positivism.<sup>288</sup> This characteristic is clearly related to the idea of a materialist universe, in that since the universe is measurable and quantifiable, so truth statements are narrow and verifiable.<sup>289</sup> As a result of the above, language tends to be seen as a series of propositional statements, and

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<sup>287</sup> Scruton, *Understanding Music*, 221.

<sup>288</sup> In its C20th form, often referred to as 'Logical Positivism'.

<sup>289</sup> Or as some philosophers such as Karl Popper have argued, Falsifiable.

analysis of the text leads simply to true or false propositional information<sup>290</sup>. The model of mathematics is central to this view, as opposed to a poetic, allegorical understanding of language. Metaphysical statements, therefore, are often seen as not merely in error, but either incoherent or as non-universal.<sup>291</sup>

3. Modernism includes a type of textual fundamentalism. This may seem unlikely; this term is mostly used to describe pre-modern religious movements and practices, however, Fundamentalism is also a philosophy of texts. It assumes that appropriate texts contain all the information needed for a particular understanding or task. Knowledge is based in texts, and consists of analysis and application of the texts. Further, texts are largely seen as self-explanatory, necessitating little if any understanding of an original cultural meaning, and thus requiring little adaptation to contemporary context.<sup>292</sup> In the present context, the modern conflation of “the music” and “the score” provides a clear example of this cultural element.
4. Modernism often embraces structuralism. Perhaps seen most clearly in literary theory and in architecture, structuralism may be understood as a reaction against existentialism,<sup>293</sup> a search for, and embrace of common systemic order. In performance practice, structuralism is expressed by a concern to present the formal structure of a work as a central performance goal.<sup>294</sup>
5. Modernist art tends towards the undecorated. It is perhaps most clearly seen in architecture, where functionalist theory and post-Second World War reconstruction brought the style to international dominance.
6. As the culmination of the industrial revolution, C20th Modernism envisages mechanical rather than organic models for describing both the universe and human life and activity within it. This is an expansion of the C18th universal worldview of the universe as machine deciphered by rationality. Quintessential examples of this

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<sup>290</sup> See Bertrand Russell’s theory of language, clearly based on his study of mathematics.

<sup>291</sup> For an extreme example of the former, see Bertrand Russell’s philosophy of language; the latter is exemplified by the Existentialists.

<sup>292</sup> Again, Russellian-style linguistic analysis, reducing language to true and false propositions, seems to diminish the need for cultural contextualisation.

<sup>293</sup> Initially in France through the work of Lévi-Strauss and others.

<sup>294</sup> The present author remembers a debate with the musicologist Ateş Orga, in which he described the great pianist Claudio Arrau as a structural performer. I asserted that this was far from that pianist’s thinking, that in fact he sought to present drama, relying on structure as a (hidden) skeleton.

mechanisation of all things include Le Corbusier's statement that "a house is a machine for living in".<sup>295</sup>

7. Modernism tends to an ideal of impersonality, or to borrow a term from T.S. Eliot, "depersonalization", that the "emotion of art is impersonal".<sup>296</sup> Thus, an objective focus solely on the artwork (or other object) without the need for mediation (by performer or even observer) has led to the irrelevance of the individual. J.W. Taylor's assertion that "in the past the man has been first; in the future the system must be first"<sup>297</sup> is a particularly clear example.
8. As a partial result of the above, Modernism includes a distrust of the inner emotional life - T.S. Eliot commented that the result of modern culture has been to obscure "what we really are and feel, what we really want, what really excites our interest."<sup>298</sup> Or as Haynes puts it: "Bringing tears to anyone's eyes is not a priority of Modernism."<sup>299</sup>
9. Modernism by its very name asserts superiority of the present and future over the past, a chronological snobbery. It is rooted in the rationalism of the C18th Enlightenment, a movement which asserts its superiority by its very name. It is buttressed by C19th and C20th developments in science and technology (most especially Darwinian evolution), and is a logical outcome of the idea of inevitable cultural "progress". Despite perceptive postmodern critiques, our popular cultural discourse remains full of this progressive assumption. The intensity of this characteristic has led to a unique break with the past and a sense of cultural isolation,
10. Modernism has given rise to a type of universal commodification, a consumer society where the market aims to subsume all activity, including the arts. Recent evidence of this last characteristic is found in the continued purchase of music CDs, DVDs and Blu-Rays, and a revival in sales of LPs, despite the greater convenience

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<sup>295</sup> "*Une maison est une machine-à-habiter*"; Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris: Editions Flammarion, 2008), originally published 1923.

<sup>296</sup> As quoted in Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 102, 103.

<sup>297</sup> J.W. Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publisher, 1919), Introduction.

<sup>298</sup> Quoted in Jacques Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, Modern* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 118.

<sup>299</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 52.

of music downloads from Apple's iTunes and other commercial sources, or from Naxos's audio streaming library. It would seem that merely having access to music is not enough for many; their payment transaction requires a tangible product in return.

#### 4.3 Modernist Performance Practice Characteristics

Given that the influence of Modernism on the study of music has been sufficiently powerful to birth and grow musicology as the dominant music discipline in contemporary academia, it would be surprising if there were not a similarly profound effect on music performance. Given Modernism's dominant cultural characteristics, we might therefore expect a performance style broadly mechanical in rhythm and accuracy, literalist in interpretation, objectively restrained rather than subjectively free in drama, undecorated and easily (mass) reproducible. Where it borrows from the past (in repertoire for example), it might do so with little interest in other (unnotated) aspects of tradition. This is what we find.

Taruskin has described Modernism as a "refuge in order and precision, hostility to subjectivity, to the vagaries of personality."<sup>300</sup> Haynes describes the style as essentially one of restrictions over the Romanticist style, including unyielding tempo, literal reading of notation (especially dotting), and unstressed dissonances.<sup>301</sup> It is "light, impersonal, mechanical, literal, correct, deliberate, consistent, metronomic, and regular."<sup>302</sup> He adds the following list definitive of the Modernist performance aesthetic:<sup>303</sup>

- 'seamless' legato,
- continuous and strong vibrato,
- long-line phrasing,
- lack of beat hierarchy,
- unyielding tempos,
- unstressed dissonances,
- rigidly equal 16th notes.

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<sup>300</sup> Taruskin, "The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past" in *Text and Act*, 104.

<sup>301</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 49.

<sup>302</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 49.

<sup>303</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 48.

Given the focus of this study, I will adapt and expand Haynes' performance practice elements to highlight those most characteristic of Modernism as reaction against C19th Romanticism, as follows:

1. Regularity in rhythm, especially in short-note passagework,
2. Complete synchronisation of chord notes, hands and ensemble parts,
3. Note accuracy a primary goal,
4. Score literalism a primary goal - no textual cuts or additions,
5. Low dramatic intensity,
6. Reproducible standardised performances,
7. Rejection of Romanticist performance elements and spirit, even when modelled by major composers.

The question remains: how have the basic characteristics of Modernism affected contemporary Modernist performance practice? As outlined above, the Modernist characteristics most influential on performance practice may be summarised as:

1. Materialism,
2. Empiricism and positivism,
3. Textual fundamentalism,
4. Structuralism
5. Undecorated functionalism,
6. Mechanical (rather than organic) modelling,
7. De-personalization,
8. Anti-emotionalism,
9. Progressivism (based on chronological snobbery),
10. Universal commodification.

The links between performance practice elements and those of Modernist culture, like the culture itself, are not discrete, but create a web of mutually reinforcing relationships. Each performance practice element can be seen as clearly expressive of certain cultural elements, which I will term Primary expressions, and of being compatible with others, to be termed Secondary expressions. At the risk of oversimplification, I propose the following links as shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 as a practical foundation for understanding the context and direction of Modernist performance practice. Within the overarching philosophy of Materialism, Empiricism can be seen as methodological Materialism, and Positivism can be seen as a kind of epistemological Materialism. When



applied to music, the material universe is analogous to the score, all that can be known is data about the material universe (materialist epistemology) is analogous to compositional musicology. Thus, the score becomes the music, and the authentic performance is simply a faithful exposition of this (written, factual) work.

Perhaps the clearest difference between Modernist and Romanticist performance practice is the approach to rhythm. The primary expressions of rhythmic regularity (and note hierarchy) are mechanical models and a fundamentalist textual approach. Most scores present notes as visually equal or as mathematically divisible by two or three, hence a superficial reading will be equally measured. In addition, the equal accenting and spacing of general rhythm is based on reproducible measurement and mechanical modelling. In this, Stravinsky is a founding figure, describing this rhythmic approach as ontological time.<sup>304</sup> He contrasts this kind of basic understanding of rhythm with the flexible approach of earlier musicians, which he terms psychological time. The choice of terms is apt. Ontology is a term used in philosophy to describe the study of reality, thus Stravinsky is advocating an approach to rhythm based on measured regularity as true rhythm, rhythm in reality. The secondary expressions of rhythmic regularity include materialism, since the score is the permanent, measurable embodiment of the music, objectivism, since the score's literal rhythm is universal not subjective, and undecorated functionalism, where free rhythmic variation traditionally works as aural decoration. In the same way anti-emotionalism is more easily expressed by a reduction or removal of historic rubato, traditionally one of the main carriers of emotional expression. Finally, this new rhythmic rigidity provides a near-complete break with the past practice of at least two centuries, hence Modernist in spirit.

A similar mix of primary and secondary cultural expressions underly both synchronisation and note accuracy, although with the former gaining textual fundamentalism as a primary expression. Secondary expressions for synchronisation include anti-emotionalism, as broken chords and dislocation between hands/parts were often used historically to increase emotional intensity. Score literalism is primarily focused on textual Fundamentalism, but secondarily linked with key Modernist philosophies, such as materialism, since the score is a permanent material object while the performance is ephemeral. Low dramatic intensity is self-explanatory. Standardised performances are focused on primary expressions of objectivist, functionalist and mechanical reproductions

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<sup>304</sup> See Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970).

of a single score, with secondary reinforcement from textual Fundamentalism and a certain degree of anti-emotionalism. Finally, a case could perhaps be made for the rejection of Romanticism to include all Modernist cultural elements, given the near-complete rejection of Romanticist philosophies.

Modernist performance elements are linked to Modernist cultural characteristics below in Table 4.1. The table not only indicates the linkages between core cultural and performance practice elements, but also a simplification and summary of the web of cultural reinforcement. No one cultural element is the source of any single performance practice element, but each provides a reinforcing thread in conjunction with other cultural elements, for performance practices.

**TABLE 4.1: C20th Modernist Culture and  
C20th Modernist Performance Practice**

<b>Modernist PERFORMANCE PRACTICE ELEMENTS</b>	<b>PRIMARY CULTURAL ELEMENTS</b>	<b>SECONDARY CULTURAL ELEMENTS</b>
<b>Rhythmic regularity</b>	mechanical modelling, textual fundamentalism	positivism, functionalism, anti-emotionalism, progress, commodification
<b>Synchronisation</b>	mechanical modelling, textual fundamentalism	functionalism, anti-emotionalism, progress
<b>Note accuracy</b>	mechanical modelling, textual fundamentalism, commodification	materialism, positivism, functionalism
<b>Score literalism</b>	textual fundamentalism, commodification	materialism, positivism, functionalism
<b>Low dramatic intensity</b>	positivism, anti-emotionalism	mechanical modelling
<b>Standardised Performances</b>	positivism, functionalism, mechanical modelling, commodification	textual fundamentalism, anti-emotionalism
<b>Rejection of Romanticism</b>	progress, anti-emotionalism	mechanical modelling, materialism, positivism, functionalism

#### 4.4 Historicism and Period Style

Like many terms, Historicism is now used in a number of distinct, if somewhat related, senses.<sup>305</sup> The term was used by Hegel and Marx to indicate a process of inevitable historical progress, and has been famously critiqued by Karl Popper.<sup>306</sup> In a general sense, it may simply describe the use of historical forms or elements (themes, rhythms, textures, instruments etc) in a given work. More usefully, from the late C19th it has been used to describe a view that all social historical phenomena, as unique expressions of human thought and feeling, must be interpreted and understood in terms of their own time, rather than judged on the basis of the critic's own era.<sup>307</sup> In architecture, it has become a term indicating disapproval of designs which aim to simply reproduce past forms and styles, as opposed to a more playful mixing of historic and contemporary elements, usually described as Postmodern.<sup>308</sup> Both these uses are an appropriate description of Period style, and indicate its connections with general cultural development, a musical aesthetic expressive of late C19th and (particularly) C20th cultural concerns. As with the term's negative usage in architecture, the original name of the musical movement, Authenticity, indicated an overly serious, moralising intent, hence the abandonment of this term in favour of 'Period'. However, in the same way that Romanticist and Modernist musical styles are named after their cultural umbrella term, it would be more culturally precise to begin using 'historicist' rather than Haynes' 'period' for this style. However, given the popularity of Haynes' term, I will use both descriptors.

As with Modernist style, we have seen that this style also begins surprisingly early in the C20th as a reaction against Romanticist style, particularly through the writings and performances of Wanda Landowska and Arnold Dolmetsch. This explains the extent of Modernist suppositions and stylistic elements inherent in the style thus far. As has been seen, period-historicist style developed into a reaction against Modernist performance style from the 1960's. It is again perhaps no coincidence that this HIPPy rebellion gathered force during a time of general counter-cultural rebellion, as the baby-boomers grew to

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<sup>305</sup> See, for example the entry 'Historicism' in Bullock, Stallybrass & Trombley (eds), *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (London: HarperCollins, 1988), 387.

<sup>306</sup> See Karl Popper, *The Poverty of Historicism* (London: Routledge Classics, 2002).

<sup>307</sup> The meaning more recently applied to Historicism by many Post-structuralists.

<sup>308</sup> Karl Popper's use of the term, descriptive of (and dismissive of) systems of historical development and prediction, is not the usage here.

early adulthood.<sup>309</sup> Period performance became a kind of Woodstock for classical musicians.

With typical controversy, Richard Taruskin in his essay “Authenticity and Early Music”<sup>310</sup>, sees the Period-historicist style as the only truly Modernist aesthetic. He writes:

I hold that discussions of authentic performance typically proceed from false premises. The split that is usually drawn between ‘modern performance’ on the one hand and ‘historical performance’ on the other is quite topsy-turvy. It is the latter that is truly modern performance ... The difference between the two ... is best couched in terms borrowed from T.E.Hulme: nineteenth-century ‘vital’ versus twentieth - century ‘geometrical.’<sup>311</sup>

Taruskin also shows how the very idea of new music requiring novelty, the cultural characteristic which gives Modernism its name, is actually inherited from Romanticism, and is therefore not modern at all. This is an excellent observation, if somewhat overstated; Modernism is modern in the extreme, embracing chronological snobbery, a view not found in Romanticism.<sup>312</sup> Equally, a sense of the importance of performance practice tradition did not begin with Modernism, but has long been embraced, as evidenced in the C19th by Czerny’s volume on performing Beethoven<sup>313</sup> or Liszt’s concern to teach his students Chopin’s performance style. However, Taruskin is basically correct in his view that the historical performance practice movement as a focused expression of musicological Historicism<sup>314</sup> is an aesthetic new to our century. He sees that, for example, Furtwängler’s understanding of Bach performance was that of a spiritual rather than sonic continuity. With C18th period-historicist performance, at least in earlier years, the Modernist obsession with empirical performance practice data often became the main focus, rather than the sense of shared tradition, dramatic intent, and spirituality.

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<sup>309</sup> Or perhaps refused to do so, hence now the army of playful, slightly narcissistic pensioners.

<sup>310</sup> Taruskin, “Authenticity and Early Music” in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*.

<sup>311</sup> Taruskin, “Authenticity and Early Music” in *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance*, 140.

<sup>312</sup> Except in the case of mainstream repertoire, perhaps an inevitable reaction by audiences to the sudden incomprehensibility and perceived aesthetic ugliness of much of the C20th *avant-garde*.

<sup>313</sup> Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven’s Works for Pianoforte* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970).

<sup>314</sup> In the post-structuralist sense discussed above.

#### 4.5 Period-Historicist Performance Practice Characteristics

Although there are significant differences in performance style between Modernist and period-historicist styles, both grow from the same Modernist culture. What then might be the resultant performance attributes? There would certainly be a focus on historical data, interpreted as objectively as possible. Performances might be constructed on the basis of rules extracted from the data, both standardised and reproducible. Modernist objectivity might also preclude dramatic intensity as well as personalised vision. Inevitably, there might be tension between the non-Modernist cultures studied and the Modernist filter through which the music is viewed, so decoration, improvisation, and certain rhythmic freedoms might be inescapable. It is likely that these would be constrained, minimised as much as possible without ignoring the historical data. Again, this is what we find.

The following attributes of the style, based in part on Haynes,<sup>315</sup> may be listed:

1. Rhythmic modification: agogic accenting, pauses, *notes inégales*, *tempo rubato*,
2. Precise synchronisation of ensemble, minimising individual differences in phrasing and rhythm,
3. Note accuracy a primary goal,
4. Musicological literalism a primary goal,
5. Beat hierarchy and note inflection,
6. Dynamic nuance and moderate dramatic intensity,
7. Standardised performance goal if sufficient data available,
8. Historicism in performance as foundational aesthetic,
9. Rejection of Romanticism, yet respect for, and active focus on pre-romantic performance styles.

A comparison between this list and that for Modernist performance style clearly indicates both similarities and differences. First, similarities include note accuracy, standardised performance and a rejection of Romanticist performance style. A close relationship also exists between the Modernist embrace of textual fundamentalism and the Period-historicist adoption of musicological fundamentalism of historical performance practice data. The differences are as important. Period-historicist style has a broader approach to rhythm, much less uniformly mechanical and far more inflected in an expressively variety of ways due to its attempts to reclaim a rhetorical expressive approach. Despite the relief of appropriate arpeggiation and ornamentation, period-

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<sup>315</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 59.

historicist ensembles and soloists remain tied to overall synchronisation. These elements generally are not merely sourced in, but bound by, the historical data, remaining objectivist and functionalist in cultural root. The same can be said of beat hierarchy and note inflection, both more expressive than Modernist uniformity yet also sourced in Modernist epistemology.

The following chart illustrates central elements of the period-historicist movement in its foundation decades as an expression of C20th Modernist culture. It is important to recognise that the movement has developed and diversified as the Modernist cultural environment has weakened, and an increasing number of HIPP performers therefore no longer exhibit uniformly Modernist characteristics. However, the Modernist roots of the movement remain clear and influential, and explain why so few C19th HIPP performers have yet managed to escape C20th performance assumptions in their attempts at reviving Romanticist performance style.

**TABLE 4.2: C20th Modernist Culture and Period-Historicist Performance Practice**

PERIOD-HISTORICIST PERFORMANCE PRACTICE ELEMENTS	PRIMARY CULTURAL ELEMENTS	SECONDARY CULTURAL ELEMENTS
<b>Rhythmic modification</b>	musicological fundamentalism	functionalism, empiricism
<b>Synchronisation with limited arpeggiation</b>	musicological fundamentalism	functionalism, empiricism
<b>Note accuracy</b>	mechanical modelling, consumerism	empiricism, functionalism
<b>Musicological literalism</b>	musicological fundamentalism	materialism, empiricism, functionalism
<b>Beat hierarchy and note inflection</b>	musicological fundamentalism	materialism, empiricism, functionalism
<b>Low dramatic intensity</b>	empiricism, anti-emotionalism, musicological fundamentalism, consumerism	musicological fundamentalism, consumerism
<b>Standardised Performances</b>	musicological fundamentalism, empiricism, consumerism	functionalism
<b>Historicism in performance</b>	empiricism musicological fundamentalism,	musicological fundamentalism,
<b>Rejection of Romanticism</b>	progress, anti-emotionalism materialism, objectivism, functionalism	materialism, objectivism, functionalism

To conclude, despite important stylistic differences with mainstream Modernist performance style, it seems clear that the movement has been rooted significant Modernist cultural elements, particularly in earliest decades. This Modernist foundation extends further than Taruskin's observations of a unique focus on historical reconstruction. It can be seen as response to a breath of active repertoire unique in the history of Western art music, inherited from Romanticism and radically extended chronologically backwards, ultimately to the very beginnings of Western Art music. Yet it is culturally ironic that this unique embrace of long history has occurred at a time of an equally unique radical cultural separation from the past, a central characteristic of C20th Modernism.<sup>316</sup> Consequently, the spirit of period-historicist style has tended to be one of archeological excavation rather than family genealogy. The movement has also been empirically data-intensive, has struggled to free rhythm from mechanistic influence, has attempted to minimise individualist styles, and has tended to reject the serious dramatic weight associated with much late Romanticist performances.

Much progress has been made in recent decades to de-Modernise historicist style, as rhythm has become ever more rhetorical, phrasing and articulation more integrated, expressive and less bookish, and powerful drama and emotion have been reinstated. And the old anti-Romanticist bias inherent from earlier decades is now being replaced by a new sense of a basic continuity between the rhetorical gestures of the C18th and the poetic shapes of the C19th. The journey is shown by labels: "authenticity" giving way to "period", in turn becoming "historically inspired" or "informed". However, a (philosophically) materialist, objectivist philosophy still underlies the quest in recent recordings to re-create the sonic surface of music, while often ignoring performance style. Tom Beghin's recording of Haydn<sup>317</sup>, while an honourable exception to the latter, is perhaps the most extreme example of the former. Recorded on seven historical keyboards, acoustic engineers have developed nine virtual rooms "precisely mapped and recreated from settings in which Haydn's music would have been played."<sup>318</sup> Played when? Rehearsing in an empty room, or performing just to an inner circle, or packed to the rafters with local enthusiasts? In summer, audience lightly attired, or in Winter, encased in layers of clothing? Nothing

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<sup>316</sup> Historians such as Jacques Barzun and Eric Hobsbawm have long identified a radical cultural discontinuity between the C20th and previous centuries, both epitomised and entrenched by the First World War.

<sup>317</sup> Tom Begin: *The Virtual Haydn*, Naxos, 2009, 12 CDs, 1 DVD.

<sup>318</sup> Begin, *The Virtual Haydn*, quoted from the CD booklet rear (unnumbered) page.

changes a room's acoustic more than the presence (or absence) of bodies and fabric! And where is the rustle of ball gowns, or murmur of polite conversation and appreciation?

#### 4.6 Romanticism

It is neither possible nor appropriate in this study to discuss in detail the avalanche of writing on C19th Romanticism. My goal is to be uncontroversial in defining and describing this movement, and therefore refer here to the mainstream sources outlined in Chapter 2. Although this cultural movement may seem familiar, not least to musicians regularly playing its music, it will be seen that Romanticism is in fact deeply strange to Modernists. In many ways, it is an antithesis of our age, based in a radically different worldview and cultural spirit. It is also important to recognise that Romanticism, while becoming the leading spirit of the C19th, was far from the only cultural force at work. Blake's railing against the famous "dark, Satanic mills" is illustrative of an era of cultural conflict, between Romanticism on the one hand and forces of philosophic, economic Materialism, and political aristocracy on the other. The Romanticist age was also a time of rapid, often dehumanising Industrialisation, of the first true globalisation of trade, of rising middle class Consumerism, and of global Imperialism (particularly in the form of the British Empire). It may have begun with Romantic poets, artists and musicians, yet it also nurtured the prophets of Modernism, Darwin, Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. In this brief survey, I will not attempt a comprehensive outline of all aspects of C19th Romanticism, but will focus on those which provide a context for and influence on Romanticist music performance practice.

Romanticism as a movement begins earlier than is traditionally indicated by musicologists. Jaques Barzun writes:

Romanticism as a European phenomenon, then, comes of age between 1780 and 1830, and remains undisputed master of the field until about 1850. . . The next three phases . . . are efforts at specialisation, selection, refinement, and intensification. Romanticism sounds all the themes of the century in its first movement. The next three movements are: Realism, Symbolism - which may also be called Impressionism - and Naturalism.<sup>319</sup>

With a particular but not exclusive eye on music, we may divide the Romantic Era into three main phases: Early Romanticism, from around 1780 -1810, High Romanticism from around 1820 -1860, and Late Romanticism from around 1860 to the twentieth century.

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<sup>319</sup> Barzun: *Classic, Romantic and Modern*, 98-99.



These dates are certainly approximate, as the spread of Romanticist culture came to different parts of Europe at different times, and it affected different Arts at different times. As a movement, Romanticism can be said to begin in the late C18th primarily with English poets and German philosophers. In many ways these remained twin poles for the Romantic compass - Blake, Wordsworth, Shelley, Coleridge, Keats, Byron, on the one hand, and Fichte, Shelling, Hegel, Schiller and the brothers Schlegel on the other. This understanding of the movement in distinct dynamic phases is important for understanding both its internal variety (and contradictions), as well as its temporal co-existence with opposing worldviews, with the C18th Enlightenment in the Early phase, and with emerging Modernism in the late phase.

One of the most apt descriptions of the core Romanticist worldview and aesthetic is found in an introductory lecture on the subject from the from the Open University:

The early German Romantics developed a worldview, common aesthetic, and a body of literature which differed radically from those of their predecessors in the Age of Enlightenment. The received view of the world as a kind of machine is superseded by the notion of a world that is inhabited by Spirit, a world that lives, grows, and indeed is still growing in an unending organic process. Knowledge of this world and of ourselves is obtained not through the intrinsically limited abstract cogitations of reason and understanding so typical of the Enlightenment, but by inspiring works of the artistic imagination. So the imagination of the Romantic artist discloses new, alternative higher worlds, rather than imitating what is. Moreover, the Romantics thought that the artist in producing those powerful intuitions which transcend every day earthly experience was exercising nothing less than the principal of divine creativity. Thus for them, aesthetic experience comes close to what was traditionally assumed to be religious experience, and the artist, despite his human limitations, assumes a priestly role as the mediator of higher truths to those whose minds still have to be opened.<sup>320</sup>

Romanticism is therefore perhaps best understood as a cultural spirit, one where philosophy, literature, poetry and visual art reveal it to be a way of seeing, not merely things seen. Romanticism celebrates diversity, and is inclusive and honouring of the past. It is democratic in its expressions, mixing the intellectual with the popular. It is organic rather than mechanistic in world view and process, and is culturally holistic and spiritual. It is exuberant, experimental, sometimes childlike, and equally prone to ecstatic enthusiasms and deep *ennui*. It has grand plans, often linked with practical and social concerns. It embraces both the beautiful and the ugly, the serious and the playful.

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<sup>320</sup> "Breaking the Enlightenment Mould", from *Analysing European Romanticism*, The Open University. Audio available on iTunesU. Accessed 10/5/16.

Far from being anti-intellectual, it wishes to place the intellect within a broader context of human life and aspiration, to place theory within the context of action and life. In this, it continued and expanded a revolt against abstract reason begun by Kant in his *Critique of Pure Reason*.<sup>321</sup> Hence Barzun's description of the movement as '*The work of mind-and-heart*' and comments that the "outburst against abstract reason and the search for order make up one continuous effort, which has acquired the historic name of Romanticism."<sup>322</sup> Reardon asserts: "the real significance of emotion is cognitive; it is through the power and penetration of feeling that [true] *knowledge* is attained."<sup>323</sup> Given the great intellectual achievements of the Romantics, it is mere parody to describe them as anti-intellectual. It is in this context that Blake's railing against C18th rationalism is to be understood; although superficially an attack on reason, Blake is in fact using a poetic intelligence to critique pure reason (a concern also in Kant's famous volume):... this Newtonian Phantasm,

This Voltaire & Rousseau: this Hume & Gibbon & Bolingbroke: ...  
 This Natural Religion; this impossible absurdity? ...  
 The Negation is the Spectre, the Reasoning Power in Man:  
 This is a false Body: an Incrustation over my Immortal  
 Spirit; a Selfhood, which must be put off & annihilated away,  
 To bathe in the waters of Life: to wash off the Not Human.  
 I come in Self-annihilation & the grandeur of Inspiration,  
 To cast off Rational Demonstration by Faith in the Saviour,  
 To cast off the cotton rags of Memory by Inspiration,  
 To cast off Bacon, Locke & Newton from Albion's covering;  
 To take off his filthy garments, & clothe him with Imagination,;<sup>324</sup>

For the Romantics, reason and imagination in the arts combine as poetic antidote to C18th rationalism. Further, Romanticism was deeply spiritual, developing a "many-sided religious revival that made 18C deism and atheism look like dry, shallow ways to confront the mystery of the world."<sup>325</sup> In reaction to the materialism and atheism<sup>326</sup> common among leading Enlightenment figures, Romanticism sees the universe less as finite and material,

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<sup>321</sup> First published in 1781.

<sup>322</sup> See Jacques Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 1500 to the Present*, 465.

<sup>323</sup> Bernard Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 9.

<sup>324</sup> E. Maclagan and A. Russell (eds), *The Prophetic Books of William Blake: Milton* (London: A.H.Bullen, 1907), 44, (text only).

<sup>325</sup> Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 1500 to the Present*, 465.

<sup>326</sup> Or at least Deism, which is a species of Practical Atheism.

but as infinite and in movement, a constant process of becoming, a constant wave.<sup>327</sup> So Isaiah Berlin writes that, for the Romanticists, the “brute fact about the universe is that it is not fully expressible, it is not fully exhaustible, it is not at rest, it is in motion; this is the basic datum ...”<sup>328</sup>

The dominant philosophy throughout most of this era was Idealism, the theory that “the only things that really exist are minds or mental states or both.”<sup>329</sup> Idealism is therefore a metaphysical theory of ultimate reality, a reality behind appearance. In particular, German Idealism was as much concerned with Spirit (*Geist*) as with Mind, both terms an attempt to place ultimate existence in a metaphysical rather than physical realm. Fichte and (especially) Hegel took Kant’s Idealist tendencies to their logical extreme, concluding that reality is a universal self-consciousness (Absolute Idealism). Despite some reaction against this grand metaphysics, notably August Comte’s positivism from mid-century<sup>330</sup>, the non-physical description of ultimate reality remained dominant into the late C19th, finding expression in various metaphysical theories, such as Schopenhauer’s and Nietzsche’s emphasis on the Will. Both of these last-named philosophers embraced the importance of aesthetics in general, and the Arts in particular.<sup>331</sup> Idealism is therefore a deep rejection of universal materialism and empiricism as the central means to truth, central tenets of both C20th Modernism (as we have seen) and the C18th Enlightenment. The historian of philosophy Frederick Copleston writes: “It can, of course, hardly be denied that German idealism makes on most people today the impression of belonging to another world, to another climate of thought.”<sup>332</sup>

As part of this philosophical climate, Romanticism also embraced Vitalism, the idea that life, if not the whole universe, is invested with divine Spirit, and cannot be adequately described by Newton’s physics or Voltaire’s rationalism. Although a tendency of

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<sup>327</sup> According to Friedrich Schlegel.

<sup>328</sup> Isaiah Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001), 106.

<sup>329</sup> “Idealism” entry in *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought*, 403.

<sup>330</sup> See, for example, the entry under “Comte, Isidore Auguste Marie François Xavier” in *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Ted Honderlich ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 153.

<sup>331</sup> Nietzsche’s (troubled) relationship with Wagner, and activity as composer are well known. See Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, *Wagner & Nietzsche*. Translated by Joachim Neugroschel. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1976.

<sup>332</sup> Frederick Copleston, *A History of Philosophy Vol. VII: Fichte to Nietzsche* (London: Search Press, 1963), 2.

Romanticism from the movement's early years, it became a clear point of differentiation in the late C19th, against the enhanced materialism and industrialisation of the latter C19th.

It may may be defined in the following terms:

The idea that life cannot be explained in material terms stems from Aristotle, but life as a potent explanatory and evaluative concept rose to importance in the late nineteenth century in reaction to scientific materialism and Kantian idealism... While vitalists differ in detail, they share some general beliefs: Life and reality in so far as it is living, consists in movement and becoming, rather than in static being. reality is organic, not mechanical: biology, and often history, are more central than physics. ... Vitalism stresses the diversity of life and tends towards pluralism ... <sup>333</sup>

The idea that Life cannot be explained in material terms stems from Aristotle, but life as a potent expiatory and evaluative concept rose to importance in the late nineteenth century in relation to scientific materialism and Kantian Idealism." There is a mysterious unmeasurable, a ghost in the machine. Reardon comments:

[The Romantic attitude is a] dissatisfaction with the supposed reality of the surface of things . . . We might then say that the essence of romanticism . . . lies in the inexpugnable feeling that the finite is not self-explanatory and self-justifying, but that behind it and within it - shining, as it were, through it - there is always an infinite 'beyond', and that he who has once glimpsed the infinity that permeates as well as transcends all finitude can never again rest content with the paltry this-and-that, the rationalised simplicities of everyday life. As William Blake expresses:  
To see a world in a grain of sand,  
And a Heaven in a Wild Flower,  
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand,  
And Eternity in an hour.<sup>334</sup>

Although much Romanticism tended more towards pantheism than orthodox Christianity, it's important for an understanding of Liszt in particular to recognise that he was far from a rare supporter of Catholicism within the artistic and intellectual elites. Romanticism saw a revival in Catholicism as part of the re-enchantment of the European mind. As Chateaubriand wrote:

There was a need for faith, a desire for religious consolation, which came from the very lack of that consolation for so many years . . . People hurried to the house of God, just as in time of plague they would to the physicians!<sup>335</sup>

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<sup>333</sup> From the entry under "Vitalism", *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, Ted Honderlich ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 948-9.

<sup>334</sup> Bernard Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism: Studies in Early Nineteenth Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 3.

<sup>335</sup> Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism*, 12.

And for Hegel, philosophy and theology were one and the same: “the eternal truth in its objectivity, God and nothing but God and the unfolding (*die Explication*) of God”<sup>336</sup> Reality is understood as a dynamic, spiritual process of endless Becoming. In this context, Liszt's deep contacts with the Abbé Lamennais, as well his ongoing relations with the Franciscans, is not idiosyncratic but a reflection of the age.

Romanticism was dynamic and open-ended, a reaction against the frozen precision of much late Classic era society and culture. In particular, its love and spiritualisation of nature and human life was a deep revolt against the ethos of both the artifice and control of C18th Classicism, and the the ugly dehumanisation of the industrial revolution. Against the latter, it rejected the growing idolatry of the machine and its (then) inevitable consequence of dehumanising of factory workers, and against the social elevation of industrial efficiency and material wealth.

Romanticism is also an aesthetic of unpredictable, often spontaneous life rather than of clockwork order. It is a movement of movement. And in this context of open-ended possibility, Romanticism's exploration of the unfinished and fragmentary is a central concern. Writing in 1813, the Editor of the *Edinburgh Review* commented that “the greater part of polite readers would now no more think of sitting down to a whole Epic than to a whole ox.”<sup>337</sup> In literature, the Romantic Fragment may be a remnant of something now broken or decayed, or the beginning of something that remains incomplete. Given Romanticism's high view of the poetic, examples from this genre are especially helpful, and include Keats's *Hyperion: A Fragment*, Wordsworth's *The Danish Boy*, Byron's *Don Juan* and Shelley's *The Triumph of Life*. Perhaps the most famous is Coleridge's *Kubla Kahn or, A Vision in a Dream, A Fragment*. Written in 1797, it was not published until some 19 years later, at the encouragement of Lord Byron. Both Byron and Coleridge thought it appropriate to publish as a fragment, and that this work was not a unique example of the form. Coleridge himself also published *Christabel*, a long narrative work, but still incomplete. Within the psychology of Romanticism, an open-ended work may be perfectly expressive of our real experience of life, with its unpredictability, often with incomplete goals, and too often cut short.

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<sup>336</sup> Reardon, *Religion in the Age of Romanticism*, 17.

<sup>337</sup> Francis Jeffrey, as quoted in: Nicholas Roe (ed.), *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 503.

Sophie Thomas, in her chapter on *The Fragment*, describes the Romanticist concept of the Ruin as a kind of Fragment, this time also subsuming the Romanticist love of mystery in the distant past. She writes:

Because it is a spacial object, a ruin is a particularly accessible and familiar form of the fragmentary. ... [T]he ruin generally presents a historical object eroded by the effects of time and chance, by the activity of man and/or nature. The contemplation of ruins is often construed as a melancholy activity - one which (like the fragments in general) invites the viewer to reflect on the relation of part to whole, presence to absence, and present to past. Ruins particularly evoke an awareness of past accomplishment and present loss.<sup>338</sup>

In the Ruin, Romanticists found a concrete example of the transience of all things. Shelley's *Ozymandias* captures this theme of ruin and fragmentation, as even the greatest kings and cultures rise and inevitably fall, while in Wordsworth's *Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey*,<sup>339</sup> the poet uses a ruinous backdrop to meditate on his lost youth. It is in this context that Schumann described Chopin's *Preludes* as "sketches, beginnings of studies, or, if you will, ruins ..." <sup>340</sup>

A further Romanticist genre that illustrates the intensity and love of mystery characteristic of the movement has come to be known as the Gothic.<sup>341</sup> As David Miall observes:

The rapid increase in the production of Gothic fiction in the 1790's and beyond is one of the more remarkable but also one of the less well understood phenomena of the British Romantic period. ... Unlike classical architecture, with its appeal to proportion, orderliness, light and reason, the appeal of Gothic architecture is to the Sublime - to the forces of vastness, power, obscurity and terror ...<sup>342</sup>

The pioneering fantasy writings of E.T.A. Hoffmann,<sup>343</sup> and those of the American Edgar Allan Poe<sup>344</sup> are significant examples of the genre, although perhaps most famous is Mary

<sup>338</sup> Thomas, S. "The Fragment" in Roe (ed), *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*, 504.

<sup>339</sup> Full title: *Lines Written a Few Miles Above Tintern Abbey, On Revisiting the Banks of the Wye During a Tour*. The title is almost a Fragment in itself!

<sup>340</sup> Robert Schumann, quoted in the introduction to *Chopin 24 Preludes*, Alfred Cortot ed., David Ponsonby trans., (Paris: Editions Salabert, 1930).

<sup>341</sup> Not to be confused with the medieval architectural style of the same name.

<sup>342</sup> David Miall, "Gothic Fiction", in Duncan Wu (ed), *A Companion to Romanticism* (Oxford, Blackwell Publishers, 2001), 345-6.

<sup>343</sup> For example, E.T.A.Hoffmann, *Tales of Hoffmann*, trans. R.J.Hollingdale (London: Penguin Classics, 2004).

<sup>344</sup> Edgar Allan Poe, *The Complete Tales and Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (London: Penguin, 2006).

Shelley's subtle (and popularly misunderstood) *Frankenstein: Or, the Modern Prometheus*.<sup>345</sup> In this work, Mary Shelley constructs a quintessential example of Gothic form working as a characteristic Romanticist reaction against the C18th Enlightenment in its treatment of life - even human life - as merely Materialist phenomena, open to standard scientific experimentation.<sup>346</sup> Nicola Trott has commented:<sup>347</sup> "In many respects then, the Gothic passes for a product of counter-Enlightenment or a move against the modern." Unlike much in Romanticism, this genre remains perhaps as popular today, with seemingly endless remakes and imitations of Bram Stoker's Victorian chiller *Count Dracula*.<sup>348</sup>

Perhaps there is no greater demarcation between Romanticism and Modernism than the concept and experience of the Sublime. The Sublime may be defined as an aesthetic category which describes (or implies) a sense of awe and of dread, a sense of intense beauty and power, that exceeds our grasp and dwarfs our sense of individuality. Discussions of the Sublime date from the seventeenth century, and it becomes a significant performance style of the Baroque. Undoubtedly the most influential writing on this subject was that of Edmund Burke in his work *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*.<sup>349</sup> The Sublime can perhaps best be approached through consideration of what it is and is not. The Sublime is not the Beautiful. For Burke, the Beautiful is associated with social and sexual relationships, engendering feelings of pleasure, while the Sublime is a an experience of the individual, associated with the strongest feelings of a certain kind of terror or pain. Emmanuel Kant, in *The Critique of the Power of Judgement*,<sup>350</sup> describes the Beautiful as judgement on the form of the object, as distinct from the Sublime which is a judgement beyond the limits of comprehension, a sense rather than a cognitive understanding of limitlessness and yet totality. The normal reaction to the Sublime is one of fear, not that there is a sense of being threatened but that the object is deserving of Fear. In many ways, this view allies with the Biblical sense of the Fear of the Lord - both Blake and Coleridge consider the roots of the

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<sup>345</sup> Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein: Or, the Modern Prometheus* (London: Penguin Classics, 2003).

<sup>346</sup> Her husband, Percy Bysshe Shelley, later brought a different message through another re-imagining the Greek Titan in his lyrical drama *Prometheus Unbound*.

<sup>347</sup> Nicola Trott, "Gothic" in Roe (ed), *Romanticism: An Oxford Guide*, 484.

<sup>348</sup> Bram Stoker, *Dracula and Other Horror Classics* (London: Everyman, 2010).

<sup>349</sup> First published anonymously in 1757.

<sup>350</sup> Kant's third *Critique*, after those of *Pure Reason* and *Practical Reason*, and published in 1790.

Sublime as religious.<sup>351</sup> For example, Wordsworth describes the Alps in terms of the Sublime, given their magnitude and effect, far beyond the Beautiful or the Picturesque.<sup>352</sup> There is often a sense in the Sublime of inexpressibility (literature) and beyond the limits of representation (painting).

This aesthetic category became central to the Romanticists' understanding of the divine, of nature, of human history and of art. Liszt was especially concerned with the Sublime, and much of his music seeks to express this aesthetic experience in reaction to landscape, literature, and the visual arts. He writes the following in his 1839 letter *To Hector Berlioz*, one of the collection entitled *Letters of a Traveling Bachelor of Music* and which provides much insight into his early inspiration: "The Beautiful, of which these lands have been bestowed its privileges, was revealed to me in its purest, most Sublime forms."<sup>353</sup>

A darker Romanticist strand should be mentioned, that of pessimism and the *fin de siècle*, of Chateaubriand, Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther*,<sup>354</sup> and (as we have Liszt ultimately in mind) of de Senancour's *Obermann*.<sup>355</sup> This pessimism was based on a sense of the injustice in society, of failed political and social revolutions, of the futility of growing industrial wealth and power, and of the mortality of all things, as poignantly expressed by Liszt in his work *Sunt lacrimae rerum*.<sup>356</sup> A less dark yet related sense of Romanticist life and Art is that of a certain Homesickness or longing for home. Isaiah Berlin writes:

When Novalis was asked where he thought he was tending, what his art was about, he said 'I am always going home, always to my father's house.' this was in one sense a religious remark, but he also meant that all these attempts ...at writing down stories which are symbolic or allegorical or contain all kinds of mystical and veiled references ... are all attempts to go back, to go home to what is pulling and drawing him, the

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<sup>351</sup> See Nicola Trott, "The Picturesque, the Beautiful and the Sublime" in Wu (ed), *A Companion to Romanticism*, 84ff.

<sup>352</sup> See his *Descriptive Sketches*, published 1793.

<sup>353</sup> Liszt, as quoted in Franz Liszt, *The Collected Writings of Franz Liszt Vol.2*, ed. & trans. Janita Hall-Swadley (Toronto: The Scarecrow Press, 2012), 359.

<sup>354</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*, trans. Michael Hulse (London: Penguin Classics, 2006).

<sup>355</sup> Étienne Pivert de Senancour, *Obermann*, trans. Anthony Barnes (Baltimore, Noumena Press, 2010).

<sup>356</sup> In the cycle *Années de Pèlerinage: Troisième Année*.



famous infinite Sehnsucht of the romantics, the search for the blue flower, as Novalis called it.<sup>357</sup>

Although Romanticism placed particular emphasis on the genius, particularly of the poet and artist, this era was an age of revolution, both social and political, aiming at new outcomes for many, if not all citizens. Within two years of the French Revolution, a law was passed stating that “*no other interests exist but the particular interest of each individual and the general interest of all.*”<sup>358</sup> The subsequent rise of Napoleon initially confirmed a new, non-aristocratic, political age, sadly betrayed by his crowning as Emperor. Across Europe, this newly-potent Individualism was championed by political revolutions enacted with words and guns, sometimes all too briefly, until in 1848, the most widespread revolutionary phase of European history erupted. The historian Eric Hobsbawm has asserted that “the profundity of the revolution which broke out between 1789 and 1848 ... forms the greatest transformation in human history since the remote times when men invented agriculture and metallurgy, writing, the city and the state.”<sup>359</sup> In this context, the influential, if brief Paris *Commune* of 1871 is also indicative of the democratisation of the age. None of this is to deny the importance of the idea and example of the idea of genius to the Romantics, though as with the priesthood, the heart of the matter is to be a representative servant of the people. Barzun explains:

The Classical Age of Reason has in mind an aristocracy even when the new enlightenment reaches down to the lower middle class ... Romanticism is populist (not to use the ambiguous word “democratic”) even when the Romanticist, like Scott or Carlyle, preaches a feudal order. This divergence of Classic and Romantic corresponds to that which obtains in the conception of the individual: the eighteenth century entrusts everything to the intellect and loves Man abstractly, as an archetype, whereas Romanticism studies sensation and emotion and embraces man as he is actually found -diverse, mysterious, and irregular, which is to say, in the form of particular men and peoples.”<sup>360</sup>

The ethical requirement of *noblesse oblige* is transferred to the artistic genius in Liszt’s often-quoted aphorism *genie oblige*, meaning that the genius has obligations to society in general, often to express in Art the intuitions, hopes, and fears of “everyman”. Thus, the

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<sup>357</sup> Berlin, *The Roots of Romanticism*, 104.

<sup>358</sup> Quoted in Barzun, *From Dawn to Decadence: 1500 to the Present*, 519.

<sup>359</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution : Europe 1789-1848* (London: Abacus, 1993), 13.

<sup>360</sup> Barzun, *Classic, Romantic, and Modern*, xv.

C19th Romanticist's modern reputation for elitism, based on a cult of genius, is an oversimplification.

This love of particular people often led directly to social action, as exemplified by the Saint-Simonians. Founded by the disciples of Henri Saint-Simon in 1825, they have long been recognised as perhaps the most influential of such C19th movements. Ralph Locke comments:

The Saint-Simonians ... thought large and aimed high ... They felt that if society could be placed under the direction of the most competent and "productive" individuals ... The economy would prosper and the most serious social ills would be cured ... [its] ideology expanded to include other issues, such as the need for a new social religion, the liberation of women, the rehabilitation of sensual pleasure, and the restoration of a priestly "social" role for artists.<sup>361</sup>

Many musicians were members of, or in contact with, this movement, including Halévy, Nourrit, Hiller, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, and Liszt. For Romanticist musicians, art, social vision, and the underlying Romanticist philosophy were inseparable. There are elements of such social concerns in the previous century, for example in the social critique in Mozart's operas and in Beethoven's view of his nobility by right of ability, yet the flowering of such anti- aristocratic ideals is a Romanticist achievement.

A further characteristic of the C19th Romanticists was a powerful sense of energy. In this, they saw the example of Napoleon as a quintessential model, despite their opposition to much of his activity. For them, this was no mere abstract goal, as conclusively demonstrated by the output of so many, not merely in quantity but also in innovative variety: Scott, Balzac, Goethe, Delacroix, Turner, and Liszt to name a sample. So Blake writes in *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*,<sup>362</sup> that "Energy is the only life, and is from the Body; and Reason is the bound or outward circumference of Energy." This energy could be fatally darkened, as with Stendhal's Julien Sorel in *Le Rouge et le Noir*. Barzun goes so far as to assert that "*energy is the distinguishing mark of romantic life*"<sup>363</sup>, all the more remarkable when we remember how so many Romanticist artists laboured into the unrelenting gale of criticism, and/or died young.

The question remains as to what extent basic worldview affected Romanticist art. Even if we grant a ubiquitous unconscious influence through all ages, it may be argued

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<sup>361</sup> Ralph P. Locke: *Music, Musicians and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 6.

<sup>362</sup> Written between 1790-1793.

<sup>363</sup> Barzun, *Classic, Romantic and Modern*, 83.

that the Romanticist artists were particularly conscious of their *zeitgeist*, and embraced it not merely as the root of their cultural life, but as the wind in their artistic sails. In his important book *Music as thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven*,<sup>364</sup> Mark Bonds has shown how a radical change in the aesthetics of instrumental music from the latter C18th into the twilight of Romanticism is ultimately an expression of Romanticist - particularly Idealist - philosophies. Although Bonds' primary focus is the listener's approach to Beethoven's symphonies, much of his argument covers Romanticist arts in general. He writes:<sup>365</sup> "Composers as diverse as Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, and Wagner all agreed that music could and should be united with the broader world of ideas, objects, and events outside the concert hall." And he cites Theodor Adorno's equating of Beethoven's music with Hegelian philosophy. Elsewhere, Adorno explains in greater detail:

The relationship between Hegel's logic and Beethoven's method of composition, which can be demonstrated in detail ... is more than mere analogy. It is grounded in the historical constellations that form the organon of truth in both instances. And the position of philosophy vis-à-vis musical objectivity, i.e., the attempt to respond conceptually to the question of the enigmatic that music poses to its listeners, demands that these constellations be determined down to the most intimate details not only of the technical procedures but also of the musical characters themselves... Music is transformed from merely something existing into something intellectual and spiritual."<sup>366</sup>

Interestingly, Bonds links HIPP with aesthetics through listening in the following perceptive comment:

Historically informed performance practice has become a commonplace in the concert world in recent decades. Orchestras routinely perform Beethoven's symphonies on period instruments, and even non period orchestras play in a manner that reflects a heightened sensitivity to performance traditions of the composer's time. Historically informed listening, on the other hand, has been much slower to develop.<sup>367</sup>

Briefly, Bonds documents this shift in listening aesthetics from Kant through E.T.A. Hoffmann, culminating in the change of aesthetics in writing by the mid to late C19th critic

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<sup>364</sup> Mark Bonds, *Music as Thought: Listening to the Symphony in the Age of Beethoven* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006).

<sup>365</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, xvii.

<sup>366</sup> Adorno, "On the Contemporary Relationship of Philosophy and Music" in *Essays on Music*, Richard Leppert (ed.) and Susan Gillespie (trans.) (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2002), 144.

<sup>367</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 5.

Hanslick. He begins by quoting Kant In *Critique of Judgement*, where the philosopher describes instrumental music as “more pleasure than culture”, appealing to the senses rather than to reason.<sup>368</sup> He contrasts this view with that of Hoffmann in his famously influential 1810 review of Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony:

Hoffmann declared instrumental music to be the highest of all art forms, for it opened up to listeners the realm of the infinite, ‘a world that has nothing in common with the external world of the senses.’<sup>369</sup> ... Whereas Enlightenment rationalists had always universally dismissed instrumental music for its inability to incorporate and convey ideas, their Romantic successors ... were quick to embrace music without words precisely because of its ability to function outside the strictures of language.<sup>370</sup>

Bonds credits Idealism as being the main source of the new aesthetic,<sup>371</sup> by: shifting the focus of attention from effect to essence ... [where] the power of any given artwork lies in its ability to reflect a higher ideal and in the beholder’s ability to perceive that ideal ... <sup>372</sup>

Within the aesthetics of idealism, the composer assumed a new role as a mediator between heaven and earth, a divinely inspired human who could help to connect the mundane and the divine.<sup>373</sup> In his central chapters *Listening as Thinking: From Rhetoric to Philosophy* and *Listening to Truth: Beethoven’s Fifth Symphony* Bonds expands his argument by quoting Hegel, Friedrich Schlegel and Schelling among others, highlighting the newly philosophical and spiritual focus of the Romanticist artwork.

How does this affect music performance practice? Taruskin discusses this question in general terms, quoting Hanslick’s critique of Romanticism, and building on the Modernist ideas and terminology of the early C20th poet T.E. Hulme. I have briefly quoted these comments in the previous chapter; here is a longer context:

Hanslick contrasted the dynamic properties of music - ‘the ideas of intensity waxing and diminishing; of motion hastening and lingering’ - and the “forms” with which emotion presents itself to our consciousness ... That is why Romantic music - and Romantic performance practice - are more richly endowed than any other kind with crescendos and diminuendos, accelerandos and ritardandos, not to mention tempo rubato and a highly variegated timbral palette ... To vitalist [Romanticist] art (still

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<sup>368</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 7.

<sup>369</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 8.

<sup>370</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 10.

<sup>371</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 12.

<sup>372</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 14.

<sup>373</sup> Bonds, *Music as Thought*, 16.

following Worringer) Hulme opposed “geometrical” art, the kind which, he predicted, was going to gain ascendancy in the twentieth century.<sup>374</sup>

While Taruskin is correct, there is more to the Romanticist philosophical base than merely that of Vitalism. I suggest the following distillation of Romanticist cultural characteristics most clearly influential on the most foundational aspects of Romanticist HIPP, listed as follows:

1. General philosophical Idealism - all is Spirit (or Mind) including nature and humanity, and a corresponding sense of divine mystery,
2. Vitalism - a universal flux and dynamic movement, an intense energy and sense of evolutionary progression,
3. Models are organic rather than mechanical, based on the Vitalist high view of the life, rather than a Materialism which understands life as simply a form of matter/energy,
4. Integration of the intellect with the emotional and spiritual, a dramatic imperative,
5. Art as manifestation of the divine; the highest experience is that of the Sublime; art as (in fact) truth when it reveals the heart of a thing,
6. An embrace of both the beautiful and the grotesque, an exploration of extremes,
7. Powerful Individualism, yet at its best this is excised on behalf of the community as Liszt's motto *génie oblige*,
8. Life experienced as journey or pilgrimage, incomplete and perhaps fragmentary, with a sense of exile, often a certain disillusionment.

#### 4.7 Romanticist Performance Practice Characteristics

We will examine in detail the elements of, and evidence for C19th Romanticist performance styles in the following chapter. At this point I wish to focus on the most fundamental differences between Romanticist HIPP and Modernist performance, and their expression of fundamental cultural worldview. In many respects, they are difficult to separate out from each other, being mutually reinforcing. For example, improvisation, decoration, and poetic force are intertwined, all rooted in an Idealist universal flux, the first two essential for the third, while the third is reason for the others.

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<sup>374</sup> Taruskin, “The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past” in *Text and Act*, 108-110. See also T.E.Hulme, *Speculations: Essays on Humanism and the Philosophy of Art*, ed.Herbert Read (London: Routledge, 1924), 85-87.

First, and perhaps most significant, is a pervasive rhythmic flexibility, including *tempo rubato*, agogic accenting, pauses, uneven passagework, and heavily swung dance rhythms.<sup>375</sup> This approach to rhythm is primarily rooted in the Romanticist view of universal movement, and with the adoption of organic, vitalistic models for life in general. As has been discussed, the Romanticists were in conscious opposition to surviving C18th Enlightenment Rationalism and Atheism, and to much of the mechanisation of industrial and social development. Secondary influences include Idealism, with its emphasis on the immaterial, and the free expression of individualist artistic culture.

Second, there is a sometimes startling lack of synchronisation of ensemble parts, of hands, and of individual notes (especially in chords). Primarily, this can also be seen as resulting from both organic modelling and from strong Individualism. In particular, this is an aesthetic which values a sense of individuals expressing themselves while playing together, rather than that of the surpassed individualism of a Modernist, well-oiled music machine. Secondary influences may include a free ornamentation born from the sense of open-ended journeying. A degree of usage may also be due to C19th instrumental characteristics, particularly the tonal characteristics of pianos, where weak trebles in particular can be reinforced by melodic note delay and arpeggiated chords.

Third, there is an emphasis on poetic expression rather than note accuracy. Again, this is primarily consistent with both Idealist emphases on the spirit rather than the material, and the Romanticist view of art as deep truth; the notes merely carry the message. A secondary influence is Individualism, where each performer aims to communicate his vision, rather than reproduce a communal instruction set.

Fourth, there is a decidedly un-Modernist view of score flexibility, both in large scale additions and cuts, and in small scale score changes (for example in thickening or thinning textures). Once again, this can be seen as consistent with an Idealist view over the Materialist; the music is not the machine (the score), but the “ghost in the machine.”<sup>376</sup> A secondary influence is that of Individualism, as the score is to be personalised for individual performance by *this* musician and *this* audience at *this* time.

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<sup>375</sup> In a meeting with Clive Brown at Leeds University in 2011, we agreed that the approach to rhythm was the greatest single difference between Romanticist HIP and Modernist performance practice.

<sup>376</sup> To borrow a phrase coined by Gilbert Ryle in *The Concept of Mind* (1949) and popularised by Arthur Koestler in his book *The Ghost in the Machine* (1967).

Fifth, there is a generally high dramatic intensity, often seeking to express sublimity. This is primarily sourced in the understanding of art as divine manifestation (understood in a variety of ways), and with the general Romanticist exploration of extremes. A divinely focused art will tend towards the greatest poetic force, in contrast to an art expressive of (human) courtly elegance, or mere pleasure.

Sixth, individualistic performances are inescapable in a culture that prized individual genius and the individual's search for truth through each artwork and performance. Again, a dynamic Idealism is also a primary root, standing in opposition to the static existence of Platonic universal archetypes, and to an Enlightenment universe of clockwork repeatability.

Seventh, there is a powerful sense of dramatic flow and progression in large scale works, with the expectation of decoration, resulting in a varied performance approach to repeated sections and passages. This is primarily consistent with Idealism, and with evolutionary and individualistic spirits. A secondary influence is the conscious embrace of the beautiful and, equally, the grotesque, both enhanced through appropriate decoration.

Eighth, there is a general improvisatory approach, embracing spontaneous decoration. This has long been recognised in Romanticist compositional forms and processes, and extends also to performance. Once more, the primary cultural influences are a sense of art as divine, of universal movement, and of life unfolding both as journey and as a moment, a fragment. While much decoration is inherited from the previous Baroque and Classic eras, in Romanticism it is expanded and integrated to a unique degree. It should not be seen in Modernist terms as an optional veneer, but as essential to the style. A reading of many Romanticist scores, particularly of Liszt, shows a seamless progression from notated ornamentation (for example, in broken chord gestures) to shorthand signs, and finally requiring improvised and individualised additions. The table below summarises these relationships:

**Table 4.3 C19th Romanticist Culture and  
Romanticist Performance Practice**

<b>Romanticist Performance Practice Elements</b>	<b>ROMANTICIST CULTURAL ELEMENTS</b>
<b>Rhythmic flexibility, general <i>tempo rubato</i></b>	PRIMARY: Universal flux, organic modelling SECONDARY: Idealism, Individualism
<b>Non-synchronisation (chords, hands, parts)</b>	PRIMARY: Individualism, organic modelling, SECONDARY: Journey
<b>Poetic rather than note accurate</b>	PRIMARY: Idealism, art as truth SECONDARY: Individualism
<b>Score flexibility</b>	PRIMARY: Idealism SECONDARY: Individualism
<b>High dramatic intensity, Sublime</b>	PRIMARY: Art as divinity, exploration of extremes SECONDARY: Individualism
<b>Individualistic performances</b>	PRIMARY: Individualism, Idealism SECONDARY: Art as truth
<b>Dramatic progression and decoration (repeats, passages)</b>	PRIMARY: Evolutionary, life as journey, Individualism SECONDARY: Sense of the beautiful
<b>Improvisatory</b>	PRIMARY: Universal flux, life as journey, fragmentary SECONDARY: Evolutionary

#### 4.8 Integrating Romanticist Characteristics

When analysed through a cultural lens, the elements of Romanticist performance practice can be seen to be an inherent, appropriate means of cultural expression. Although there is much to be gained by musicological analysis and systemisation of performance practice data, merely to follow a set of HIPPP instructions is likely to result in a performance illustrative of Dr. Frankenstein's monster, materialistically complete yet mis-matched and misdirected. The mere adoption of a set of such practices is, at heart, un-Romanticist. A greater challenge, and a more satisfying result, is to understand the cultural roles of HIPPP elements, and to find ways of integration into an organic, coherent Romanticist meaning.

An important integration point of these performance elements is that of gesture, in particular what I wish to call rhetorical gesturalism. This requires some explanation in a Modernist context, and defence in a Romanticist context. The concept and practice of



rhetoric in music has become a focus of significant HIPP authors, including Bruce Haynes and Donna Louise Gunn.<sup>377</sup> Haynes writes:

Prior to the Romantic Revolution, music and the arts in general were based on values and practices that seem fundamentally different from those we call "modern". ... Rhetorical music had as its main aim to evoke and provoke emotions—the Affections, or Passions—that were shared by everyone, audience and performers alike.<sup>378</sup>

In *The Pathetick Musician* he quotes Johann Joachim Quantz:

Expression in music can be compared to that of an orator. The orator and the musician have the same goal, both in the composition of their productions and in their expression. They want to seize hearts, to excite or calm the movements of the soul, and transport the listener from one passion to another. It is in their interests to have some idea of each other's abilities.<sup>379</sup>

Haynes discusses rhetoric in music principally in the context of Baroque style, and does not seem to think it is applicable in Romanticism. Gunn moves the context into the Classic Era:

... the fortepiano was perfectly suited to a music aesthetic that was predicated on passionate, rhetorical speech. Classical repertoire abounds with correlations to grammatical accentuation - through musical segments containing varying levels of importance that are stressed rhythmically. This is the essence of rhetoric: it provides the means of delivery of meter and rhythm.<sup>380</sup>

There are two basic reasons for considering rhetorical gesture as important in Romanticism. First, such a foundational principle of C17th and C18th music would not suddenly disappear, but continue to evolve until met with a completely inhospitable cultural aesthetic (such as Modernism). This is particularly probable as the C19th continued to play earlier repertoire, the compositional shifts often being of an evolutionary nature. Second, given Haynes' description of rhetorical music as aiming to "evoke and promote emotions", it is clearly synchronous with much Romanticist ethos. This is not to say that rhetoric in C19th Romanticism is identical with past practices. There is not space here to deeply analyse rhetorical practices in C19th Romanticism, simply to suggest the following. Based

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<sup>377</sup> See Haynes, *The End of Early Music* and especially (with Geoffrey Burgess) *The Pathetick Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), and Donna Louise Gunn *Discoveries at the Fortepiano* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

<sup>378</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 8.

<sup>379</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu Spielen* (Berlin: Voss, 1752). English trans. E. R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971). Quoted in Haynes, *The Pathetick Musician*, 7.

<sup>380</sup> Donna Louise Gunn *Discoveries at the Fortepiano*, 103.

on the evidence to be discussed in the next chapter, particularly that found in the earliest recordings, a modified rhetorical gesture continued to be extensively used in C19th styles. Particularly audible are accentuation of phrasing through rubato, use of unequal short notes, exaggerated difference between long and short notes (especially double dotting), and delivery of dramatic engagement. What had changed were the extended (but not ubiquitous) phrases, and a certain systematic approach, a sense of common rules and practices, so that, for example, beat hierarchy and stress of dissonances are no longer inevitable in performance. The relaxation of Baroque systems of musical rhetoric, almost Newtonian in their systematic detail, has not distracted current scholars and musicians from finding much rhetorical gesture in Classic Era styles. It should not surprise us to find much remaining in C19th Romanticism.

#### 4.9 Conclusion

It can be argued that the Romanticists' conscious understanding of music as an expression of their worldview was especially potent, perhaps even exceeding both previous and future eras. Yet by the end of the century such views were not just superseded, but vehemently opposed and discredited. This is an important and surprising aspect of this C20th culture shift, that there seems to have been not merely a gradual transition from one era to the next, but a conscious and culturally violent rejection of the past. Beginning perhaps with the later writings of C19th music critic Eduard Hanslick, there has been a rejection of metaphysical meaning in general, and the emergence of a Reductionist, Structuralist view of aesthetic beauty residing in musical form alone.<sup>381</sup>

As with composition, so with performance practice. Robert Hill, in *Overcoming Romanticism: On the Modernisation of 20th Century Performance Practice* writes: "The way we play today directly reflects a polemical struggle that transpired three-quarters of a century ago."<sup>382</sup> As early as 1915, when the young prodigy Ervin Nyiregyházi announced his love of Liszt's compositions, and his intention to include them in his programmes, his mother was warned "Your son is finished in Berlin".<sup>383</sup> The young pianist noted that even some of Liszt's former students were already less than enthusiastic in defending the

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<sup>381</sup> See Bonds, *Music as Thought*, "Epilogue: Listening to Form: The Refuge of Absolute Music".

<sup>382</sup> Robert Hill, "Overcoming Romanticism: On the modernisation of 20th century performance practice" in Bryan Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). Quoted in Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 49.

<sup>383</sup> Kevin Bazzana, *Lost Genius* (New York: Carrol & Graf Publishers, 2007), 63.

composer, and in including his works in their recitals. Hill makes reference to the infamous *Stilkommission* introduced at the Vienna Konservatorium in the 1960's, whose goals included the elimination of "the virtuoso transcription and agogic freedom of the Liszt-school [which] have surrendered to the original version and to metrical rigour."<sup>384</sup> He further advocates "that late Romantic interpretation was itself a kind of monstrosity, an aberration in music history, a shameful descent into depths of vulgar excess."<sup>385</sup> It would seem that the emphatic anti-Romanticist stance of Modernist culture, emerging quickly from the last decade of the C19th, was in no doubt of the need to discredit and extinguish Romanticist performance style. Where this was not possible, as in the best works of core Romanticist composers, at least the performance style could be radically altered to reflect Modernist values and worldview. The next half-century or so would be a culture-wide reeducation of musicians to re-present C19th repertoire in a straightjacket of performance homogeneity, relatively inflexible rhythm, tepid drama, and textual fetishism.

Finally, the Romanticists adopted a radically new aesthetic of art, one which was perhaps uniquely focused on the integration, expression, and spread of their philosophical and spiritual truth. In this music, perhaps for the first time and certainly in contrast to either the music of the C18 Enlightenment or that of the Modernist C20th, the totality of the musical experience, in composition, performance and listening, is designed not merely to communicate Romanticist Idealism, but to incarnate it in spirit and in truth. At least in the case of Romanticist music, HIPH becomes not merely an historical focus, far less merely an individual performer's preference, but essential for communicating the essence of the music. Music will always be seen through a cultural lens, either that of the performer's own time, or (with effort) an historical alternative. The cultural change from C19th Romanticism to C20th Modernism was a radical paradigm shift, one based on a militant rejection of Romanticist thought, art, and practice. The contemporary performer's problem is that Romanticist repertoire presented through Modernist performance practice is therefore inherently schizophrenic, a problem particularly acute in those composers whose art is, for better and worse, most deeply Romanticist. The music of Liszt is especially vulnerable. The C21st century performer's choice is therefore not simply between differing sets of performance practice elements, but between opposing answers to a foundational aesthetic question: do we seek to present this music so as to express its deepest cultural meaning,

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<sup>384</sup> Cited in Hill, "Overcoming Romanticism", quoted in Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 57.

<sup>385</sup> Hill, "Overcoming Romanticism", quoted in Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 57.

the very reason most of it was written, or is this message now unimportant or irrelevant for contemporary audiences? For those performers who choose to explore Romanticist HIPP there is a need not merely to add a handful of C19th performance elements to otherwise standard presentations, but to enter a new cultural and philosophic world, to constantly look through the lens of Romanticist culture, lest the letter of positivist musicological research quench the spirit and meaning of the music.

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## **CHAPTER 5: TOO MUCH IS ONLY JUST ENOUGH - RECONSTRUCTING LATE ROMANTICIST PERFORMANCE PRACTICE**

### **5.1 Introduction**

As also previously noted, there has been a widespread assumption especially among teachers and performers that C20th performance aesthetic and style in Romanticist repertoire has not undergone significant change. Yet given the radical culture shift between C19th Romanticism and C20th Modernism, as previously discussed, it would be surprising if the arts in general, and music performance practice in particular, did not deeply reflect this change. One of the great advantages of studying Romanticist performance style is the relative wealth of sources. These include:

1. Romanticist values reflected in other arts and philosophies,
2. Concert programmes, performance reports, and performance etiquette reports (such as clapping, cheering or jeering during performances),
3. Much critical writing on music, especially by Romanticist composers such as Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, and Wagner,
4. Many pedagogic tutors and lesson notes, most voluminously by students of Liszt, but also including helpful material from others, such as students of Chopin, Clara Schumann, and Leschetizky,
5. Period instruments, many now sensitively restored to good playing condition,
6. Audio recordings from the last decade of the C19th, in the three distinct technologies (cylinders, phonograph disks, and reproducing piano rolls).

The first of these sources has already been discussed in detail, while the final source, unique to C19th HIPP studies, will be examined in the following chapter. The remaining sources (excepting period instruments) are all literary, and require some general comment.

### **5.2 The Written Evidence 1: Problems and Possibilities**

HIPP studies are mostly reliant on verbal descriptions and explanations, since apart from scores themselves, music ideas have only been able to be recorded in literary form. Given this form is the source of most HIPP data, HIPP discussion of pre-Romanticist styles remains based on sonic interpretations of verbal descriptions. Despite the obvious problems, the assumption has been - has had to be! - that such analysis can result in at least probable, applicable performance styles. Certain data can be accurately applied to

performance, for example the use of repeats, additions, and cuts to a score. On a smaller scale, instructions on individual elements, such as a possible reduction in note length, are also apparently clear. However, recent studies have called into question the overall results of an atomistic, verbally-based, stylistic reconstruction, particularly when comparing early recordings with contemporaneous verbal descriptions. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson writes:

But from around 1900 treatises and teaching books on how to play and sing can be compared with recordings - often recordings of their authors ... and what we find is devastating to the whole notion of historically informed performance. It would be impossible to come anywhere near the sounds people actually make by following only what they write. Documentary evidence now seems hopelessly insufficient without sound.<sup>386</sup>

He goes further, casting doubt on the conservative nature of score notation prior to the C20th, undermining the Modernist idea of *Urtext* scores:

And the same evidence has profound implications, too, for studies of scores, since their meanings appear to change far more quickly and radically than we could have supposed.<sup>387</sup>

Neil Peres Da Costa agrees. In summarising his detailed examination of multiple early recordings compared with written instructions, he concludes:

The comparison between early recordings and contemporaneous written texts has exposed striking contradictions time and time again. ... In fact, a style of performance based on the advice alone would seldom approach the style of the recordings.<sup>388</sup>

An important example of this apparent disagreement between descriptive text and recording concerns annotated arpeggiation. Peres Da Costa gives a very detailed account of this important topic, including the limitations and contradictions of pedagogic commentary:

In spite of its widespread use around the turn of the twentieth century, detailed contemporaneous written advice about annotated arpeggiation is somewhat scant. Many pedagogical texts fail to discuss it at all. Some consider it indispensable but describe it only in general terms or very briefly. Others advise its extremely judicious employment or absolute avoidance, branding it as a perfunctory device resulting in

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<sup>386</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style", in Nicholas Cook *et.al.* (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 247.

<sup>387</sup> Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, "Recordings and histories of performance style", 248.

<sup>388</sup> Neal Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 309.

over sentimentality. Here ... there is a significant gulf between written advice and practice.<sup>389</sup>

For example, the great pedagogue Leschetizky's own recording of Chopin's *Nocturne Op. 27 No.2* includes significant unnotated arpeggiation, yet his own edition of the work indicates none of his practice.<sup>390</sup> However, it would be wrong to assume *a priori* that the recordings are accurate and the verbal (or score) data is therefore unreliable. I will discuss issues surrounding the earliest recordings later in this chapter. However, there is a clear conflict between our expectation of style based on written descriptors and the performances captured from the end of the C19th. Can this be reasonably explained?

There are three central problems in converting verbal descriptions into performance style. First and most problematic, there is a lack of precisising definitions,<sup>391</sup> thus descriptions such as loud/soft, quick/slow, long/short, "not overdone" and (especially) "in time" assume an (untransmitted) context rather than including the criteria required to narrow the meaning of the terms, essential for applicable meaning. The problem is particularly acute in terms of measurement; how much is too much, or not enough? I write this in York, England, where a sunny day might be described as "hot" if the temperature reaches the mid 20's celsius; such a day would not be so described in York, Western Australia (where 40 degrees is common in Summer). An admonition to arrive "on time" in New York, where social time is applied in minutes, has very different limits in rural African villages. To play "in time" equally depends on a largely absent contextualising degree of rhythmic regularity. The problem is found even in the C20th, where playing jazz "in time" might mean the music should be swung to a notationally unspecified degree. In the same way, Moriz Rosenthal stated that Brahms "arpeggiated all chords".<sup>392</sup> Did Rosenthal really mean all chords, or was he making the kind of verbal generalisation common to discourse? Can we really take "all" as a mathematical datum? And even if so, was Brahms' practice desirable, or pianistic quirk of a great composer? And what of Liszt's remark that, much as he admired his compositions, that Brahms was a terrible pianist? Further confusion comes from a student of Brahms, Florence May, who reported that the

<sup>389</sup> Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, 102.

<sup>390</sup> See Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, 132-136.

<sup>391</sup> A precisising definition is one which requires additional criteria to narrow the data set indicated.

<sup>392</sup> "yet Rosenthal reported, according to Rosen, that Brahms himself 'arpeggiated all chords'." Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 333 (footnote 113).

composer “particularly disliked chords to be spread unless marked so by the composer for the sake of special effect.” Again, does she mean all, or even most chords? Was this perhaps a teaching method, to avoid excesses?

Second, character and drama indications suffer from the problem of personalised taste within cultural norms. Without contemporaneous culturally normalised expectations, it is impossible to apply accurately even the most generalised character indications. This problem is intensified by the inevitable individualised perspective of the author. What is the actual sonic result of “no sentimental dragging,” “with deep, pathetic feeling,” or “by no means immoderately excited,” all phrases taken at random from Czerny’s instructions on performing Beethoven?<sup>393</sup>

Third, and especially critical for the HIPP enterprise, even where individual performance elements have been clearly and simply presented, their effect depends on their placement within the totality of a performance. An historically accurate tempo, for example, may only be appropriately expressive when combined with particular rubato, articulation, dynamics, and instrumental timbre. The present author remembers clearly his early attempts to apply an C18th tempo based on cut common time signature to the First Movement of Beethoven’s *Sonata Op.27 No.2*. The much faster tempo initially rendered the music inexpressive, thus destroying the spirit of the work while applying the letter of musicology. The problem proved to be not the new tempo, but in the relatively inflexible rhythm carried from previous stylistic assumptions. Once a declamatory approach was applied to rhythm, the new tempo become expressively potent. Further, there may be differing valid reconstructions where performance elements continuously change in proportion to each other, for example pedalling in response to tempo and dynamic. Acoustics also play an inescapable role, as performance elements are adapted between large modern concert halls, smaller softly-furnished C19th ballrooms, and large apartments. As HIPP scholar-musicians, we are not completing a jigsaw of static pieces.

Despite these problems, valuable information can be deduced from verbal texts, even if it may be far from the detailed stylistic reconstruction hoped for HIPP specialists. As mentioned above, certain elements of touch and tempo may appear to provide clear specific data, yet need to be contextualised by an overarching cultural understanding derived from contemporaneous philosophical ideas, social practices, and the visual arts. However, while this is insufficient to generate the kind of stylistic detail sought by HIPP

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<sup>393</sup> Carl Czerny, *On the Proper Performance of All Beethoven’s Works for the Piano* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1970).



performers, textual uncertainty does not invalidate HIPP questing in general, but is cause for flexibility of conclusions and a certain scholarly humility. It simply needs to be acknowledged that HIPP can never be mere deductive analyses of textual sources (particularly scores and literature), but rather experimental reconstructions that include interpretative HIPP elements and produce musically coherent performances.

### 5.3 The Written Evidence 2: Scores

It may seem that we are on solid ground at least in one category of written evidence, that of the score. However, even superficial research will indicate that this ground is sand rather than rock, relying on a circularity of C20th century assumptions to arrive at Modernist conclusions of textual fidelity. These assumptions are clearly contradicted in the 19th century (as well as earlier eras), which embraced a different general philosophy of meaning for scores as texts. As has been mentioned, Modernism tends towards a fundamentalist view of texts based on a positivist view of epistemology. Thus, scores have become fixed texts, including what must be done, and excluding other possibilities; if it is in the score, it must be played, and if not, it must not be added. Ironically perhaps, this is the same approach as the famous warning found at the end of the Revelation of St. John: “I testify to anyone who hears the words of the prophecy of this book: if anyone adds to them, God will add to that person the plagues that are written in this book. And if anyone takes away from the words of the book of prophecy, God will take away that person’s share in the tree of life ...”.<sup>394</sup> Although widespread since the early C20th, this view does not attract uncritical musicological acceptance; José Bowen writes:

A score can be either a *sample* (a transcription of a single performance in all its particularity) or a *summary* (a unique, personal attempt to establish certain essential qualities for an idealised performance of the work). ... Similarly, in most or the ‘pro-active’ or ‘prescriptive’ scores of Western music, the score is an attempt to define boundaries for future performances. In either case, the score is a spatial representation of only *some* of the elements of the temporal phenomena we call music.<sup>395</sup>

The lack of textual fundamentalism in C19th scores is found in four areas:

1. The C19th practice of basic score modification, including cuts, additions, and substitutions,

<sup>394</sup> N.T.Wright trans., *The Kingdom New Testament* (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2011), 526.

<sup>395</sup> José A. Bowen, “Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works” in: Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 425.

2. An adoption of simplified notation, especially in rhythm, where this is clearer to the reader,
3. A diversity in understanding the meaning of certain common expressive symbols, such as hairpins,
4. The C19th practice of expressive enhancement of scores, such as annotated broken chords and tune delay.

First, although there was clearly a range of C19th practice, basic score modification was widespread, continuing an approach common in the Baroque and Classic eras. Scores were actively changed by cuts, additions, substitutions, and disregard of expressive instructions. For example, in her book *Changing the Score*, Hilary Poriss cites an example of common textual infidelity practiced in the first half of the C19th, that of aria insertion.<sup>396</sup> Continuing this C18th tradition, C19th aria insertion replaced certain arias with those preferred by the prima donna, on the basis of vocal type, expressive preference, popularity, and to enjoy the freedom of choice. Obviously, the danger is that aria insertion could be either artistically sensitive to the opera, or a gratuitous vanity damaging structure, style, and drama. In addition, Poriss comments on smaller-scale deviations from the strict letter of the score, in the form of “the proliferation of vocal embellishments punctuating cadential points and the middle of phrases.”<sup>397</sup> The tradition gradually declined throughout the latter half of the C19th, although it was by no means unknown by its end; Adelina Patti has commented:

I like the *Barbiere* best of all my operas. I love the comedy and the constant fun ... Besides, I revel in the lesson scene. I can do just as I please there and it always amuses me when I introduce music that was written years after Rossini wrote the opera.<sup>398</sup>

In particular, despite Liszt's *mea culpa* concerning his youthful excesses in adding embellishments, changing tempi, and ignoring many a composer's intentions, he continued to modify his own and others' works in performance, although his last students report an increased resistance to score modification in certain composers (including Beethoven and Chopin). Cuts and repetitions are commonly suggested for his own music, including the startling suggestion that the *Vallée d'Obermann* may be concluded at bar 74, omitting the

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<sup>396</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

<sup>397</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score*, 90.

<sup>398</sup> Attributed to Adelina Patti, quoted in Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score*, 156.

bulk of the piece!<sup>399</sup> Even Chopin, refined and precise as he was as composer, made changes to his works in students' scores, and between publishers. It would seem likely that such a plastic approach to at least a significant body of composition is related to the fundamental cultural elements of Romanticism (discussed previously) and to the still-basic practices of improvisation and ornamentation. A more subtle yet suggestive example of this attitude, modifying expressive instructions, is remembered by Moriz Rosenthal, who recalls an Anton Rubinstein concert in 1885, attended with Liszt, which I will therefore quote at some length:

And then came the [Chopin] "Funeral March" to which all of us were feverishly looking forward. But - what was that? This was not Chopin! Four crashing B-flat Minor chords in the deepest bass region of the piano! Were they perhaps funeral knells? But there was no time for solving puzzles, since the "Funeral March" had already started in a distant *pianissimo*, which then swelled through *piano*, *mezzo forte*, *forte*, and *fortissimo* with an orchestral power. The funeral procession came to a halt. A melody of pious childhood faith arose ... and then again the "Funeral March" but now in triple *fortissimo* which descended uniformly, all too uniformly, gliding into *piano* and *pianissimo*. ... And once again four merciless B-flat Minor chords, a proclamation: *tragedia finita est*. ... I called on the master [Liszt] in the morning, and he subjected Rubinstein's program to a thorough but generally benevolent criticism. ... With charming urbanity, he continued: "I don't have to tell you that the Chopin Sonata, especially the Scherzo, was full of effects, but quite superficial, and by subordinating the contents to an arbitrary dynamic principle, it became musically less interesting than it would have been had he followed Chopin's carefully considered nuances."<sup>400</sup>

What is interesting here is that the young Rosenthal's initial reaction "this was not Chopin!" was not the grounds of Liszt's critique. Evidently, Liszt accepted Rubinstein's textual changes in principle, but found them artistically lacking. Rosenthal also recollects discussion with Brahms over selecting from the composer's *Paganini Variations*:

I asked the Master whether he approved of my selection, approximately twenty of the twenty-eight ... Then, for the first time that evening, his wit flashed. he answered, self-mockingly: "Your selection is good. But you can also do what I do, I play the First Book, and then wait to see if the applause is stormy enough, in which case I play the second one. But so far this has never happened."<sup>401</sup>

<sup>399</sup> See Richard Zimdars (ed. & trans.), *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt 1884-1886: Diary Notes of August Göllerich*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996), 151.

<sup>400</sup> Quoted in Mark Mitchell & Allan Evans, *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 99-101.

<sup>401</sup> Mark Mitchell and Allan Evens (eds), *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 105.

Such commonplace score flexibility in even the least excessive of Romanticist composers stands in complete opposition to Modernist views of textual fidelity. Roger Scruton differentiates between “template Works” such as jazz classics and Indian ragas, from the “filled in” works of Western concert-hall repertoire.<sup>402</sup> In terms of C19th Romanticism, this difference is much less clear cut than is still regularly supposed.

Second, there are problems inherent in the meaning, as opposed to the appearance, of notation in C19th scores. Most fundamental is that of rhythm in identical note values. Visually, and positivistically, passagework of even note values (for example, semiquavers) imply to the Modernist mind an even rhythm, while differing note values are assumed to have fixed relative values. Yet is the rhythm to be understood as literal, or as a simplified notation to make reading easier, and relying on sympathetic modification? There now seems to be an overwhelming body of evidence to indicate the latter rather than the former. Certain dance forms require specific rhythmic shaping, rarely indicated in the score. In 1848, a reviewer in the *Athenaeum* suggested Mazurkas would “lose half their characteristic wildness if played without a certain freak and licence”<sup>403</sup>, while Moscheles famously reports that his daughter, taking lessons from Chopin in 1848, “had played ... a new Chopin Mazurka with such a rubato that the entire piece gave the impression of being in 2/4 instead of 3/4.”<sup>404</sup> However, the greatest freedom was probably exercised by Liszt, who repeatedly asserted rhythmic freedom. As early as 1831, Madame August Boissier quotes him:

[Liszt] spoke about measure. “I don't play according to the measure,” he said. As I expressed astonishment at this frank statement, he proceeded to comment on it. Measure is in a musical sense what rhythm is in verse - not a heavy cadence that falls like a burden on the caesura. Music must not be subject to a uniform balance; it must be kindled, or slowed down with judgement and according to the meaning it carries. This goes for all romantic music of the present time. The old-fashioned classics must be rendered with greater regularity.<sup>405</sup>

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<sup>402</sup> Roger Scruton, *Understanding Music* (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 12.

<sup>403</sup> *The Athenaeum*, no.1079 (1 July 1848), 660; quoted in Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), 185.

<sup>404</sup> Moscheles as reported by Hans von Bülow, *Briefe und Schriften* ed. Marie von Bülow, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1899)133. Quoted in Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), 185.

<sup>405</sup> Mme. Auguste Boissier, *Liszt pédagogue: Leçons de piano données par Liszt à Mlle. Valérie Boissier en 1832* (Paris, 1927); trans. in Elyse Mach (ed.), *The Liszt Studies* (New York: AMP, 1973), xv.

Even more telling is the negative reaction to his conducting of a performance of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in 1853:

The unanimous opinion was that he was not fit to wield the baton ... It is not merely that in general he does not mark the beat ... but rather that by his baroque animation he continually, and sometimes dangerously, causes the orchestra to vacillate ... having previously told the orchestra 'not to keep too strictly to the beat' (his own words at a rehearsal) ...<sup>406</sup>

Liszt's response to the criticism was: "We are helmsmen, not oarsmen".<sup>407</sup> Two deductions can be made from this account: first, that Liszt's rhythmic freedom was at the very heart of his style, even to large orchestral ensembles and "classic" repertoire, and second, that he occupied an end of the spectrum of rhythmic common practice, critiqued by those who were less flexible, probably including Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn. Clive Brown notes the following rhythmic modifications in the context of Brahmsian performance:

In the case of Brahms' music, the changing approach reflected a misunderstanding of the range of meanings embodied in his notation. For instance, dotted figures that literally prescribe a 3 : 1 ratio, will seldom have been expected to be played strictly, being sometimes under- and sometimes over-dotted; and figures of equal notes, especially short slurred groups, above all slurred pairs, will often have been expected to be played unequally.<sup>408</sup>

Third, there are problems of specific translation in the scores. There is significant scholarly debate as to the meaning of many signs critical for understanding expressive style, including *sforzandi*, *tenuti*, accents, elongated accents (covering several notes), and hairpins. In pianistic terms, all these signs are now either removed from modern editions (especially in the case of elongated accents), or restricted to dynamic meaning only. Given the Modernist rejection of substantial tempo and rhythmic flexibility, and its embrace of Stravinsky's measured ontological time over the earlier psychological time (already discussed), such redefining of these signs was perhaps inevitable. Recently, there have been several attempts to rediscover their original meaning(s), particularly any agogic meaning(s), in the context of a reapplication of Romanticist style and rhythm. The

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<sup>406</sup> *Niederrheinische Musikzeitung* (1853), 139. Quoted in Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: The History of Tempo Rubato* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997), 259.

<sup>407</sup> La Mara (ed), *Franz Liszt's Briefe* (Leipzig, 1893-1905) Vol 1, 145. Quoted in Alan Walker, *Liszt: The Weimar Years 1848-1861* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1989), 282.

<sup>408</sup> Clive Brown, "General Issues of Performing Practice" in Clive Brown, Neal Peres Da Costa & Kate Bennett Wadsworth, *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 6.

complexity of interpreting expressive notation from the early to mid C19th is exemplified by the hairpin sign. Clive Brown makes the following comments:

As early as 1826, Mendelssohn's sister Fanny Hensel wrote on the autograph of her *Allegro ma non troppo* in F minor: "This piece must be performed with much variation of tempo, but always gentle and without disorderliness. The signs  $\text{<}$   $\text{>}$  stand for *accelerando* and *ritardando*. F.H." ... And the theorist Hugo Reimann observed in 1894: "The  $\text{<}$   $\text{>}$  is to be understood more as agogic:  $\text{<}$  increasing shortening of values,  $\text{>}$  decreasing stress."<sup>409</sup>

Brown suggests that other expressive devices may be implied by the hairpin:

That Brahms also considered these functions to be inherent in "hairpin" signs, though not necessarily in a mechanistic and straight-forward manner, is beyond doubt. Of course, these signs might have elicited not only various kinds of tempo rubato, but also, according to context, might have prompted portamento, vibrato, dislocation, or arpeggiation, as can be heard on early recordings.<sup>410</sup>

Brown also quotes Fanny Davis' memory of Brahms' playing:

[H]e was most particular that his marks of expression ... should be the means of conveying the inner musical meaning. The sign  $\text{<}$   $\text{>}$  as used by Brahms, often occurs when he wishes to express great sincerity and warmth, applied not only to tone but to rhythm also. He would linger not on one note alone, but on a whole idea ...<sup>411</sup>

Given these are significant musicians, their comments must be taken as indicative of at least partial practice.



A different interpretation of hairpins has been suggested by Roberto Poli. Although he does conclude that "no rule can apply strictly to every composer, or to the entire canon of any one composer,"<sup>412</sup> his examination of selected repertoire from Haydn and Beethoven, through Chopin and to Debussy, leads him to conclude the following broad principles:

<sup>409</sup> Clive Brown, "General Issues of Performing Practice", in *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 6.

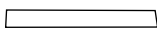


<sup>410</sup> Clive Brown, "General Issues of Performing Practice", in *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 6.

<sup>411</sup> Fanny Davies, "Some Personal Recollections of Brahms as Pianist and Interpreter", in *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music* (London, 1929), Vol.1, 182-184. Quoted in: Clive Brown, "General Issues of Performing Practice", in *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 6.

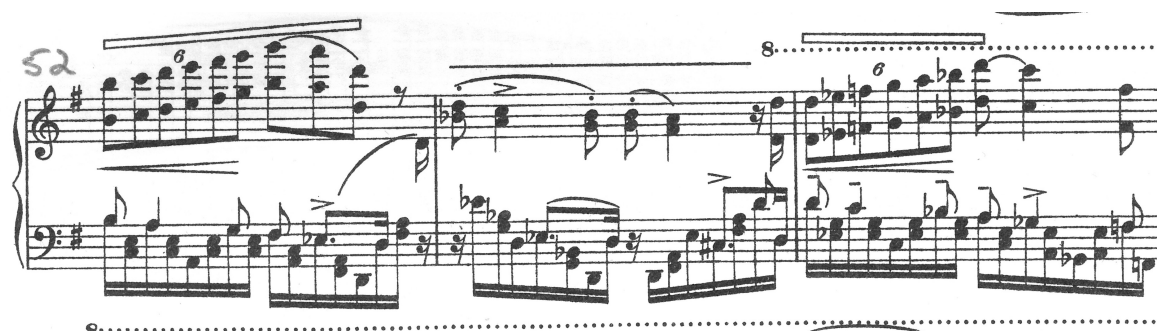
<sup>412</sup> Roberto Poli, *The Secret Life of Musical Notation* (Milwaukee, WI: Amadeus Press, 2010), 67.

1.  indicates taking time as the end of the symbol approaches, slightly slowing down,
2.  indicates lingering on the note or group of notes at the beginning of the symbol, gradually returning to the former speed.<sup>413</sup>

So, although all these authors do acknowledge an agogic meaning in hairpin signs, there is dispute as to what precisely that general meaning is. That there was diversity of meaning may be confusing, yet seems probable given the stylistic transition underway.

In his early work *Album d'un Voyageur*, Liszt experimented with three signs to indicate rhythmic flexibility. The closed double lines  indicate “a crescendo of movement” (meaning acceleration), the single line  indicates “a decrescendo of movement” (meaning slowing), and the short open double lines  indicate pauses of less duration than a full fermata.<sup>414</sup> It seems plausible that Liszt’s description of the first two signs in terms of crescendo and diminuendo (published by Breitkopf & Härtel in German, French and English) reflect the closeness of association between dynamic and agogic expression at this time. The addition of these signs clearly did not limit Liszt’s extensive use of hairpins, though he rarely combines the two systems. Notable exceptions are found in the early version of the *Vallée d’Obermann* in the piano cycle *Album d’un Voyageur* (Example 5.1) where closed double lines are placed above octaves, with an opening hairpin below at bars 52 and 54, indicating both a crescendo of dynamic and of movement:

**Example 5.1 Closed Double Lines**  
in Liszt’s *Vallée d’Obermann* from *Album d’un Voyageur* Bars 52-54



<sup>413</sup> Roberto Poli, *The Secret Life of Musical Notation*, 9.

<sup>414</sup> Franz Liszt, *Franz Liszt Musicalische Werk II : Pianofortewerke Band IV Tagebuch Eines Wanderers* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel), reprint (Farnborough, Hants: Gregg Press Ltd., 1966), 5.

The opposite expression is indicated by a single line is placed over an octave passage with a closing hairpin beneath, from the same work at bar 53 (Example 5.1) and at bar 69 (Example 5.2):

**Example 5.2 Single Line**  
**in Liszt's *Vallée d'Obermann* from *Album d'un Voyageur* Bars 67-69**



As so often seems to be the case, Liszt's additional score information raises as many questions as it answers. Does his use of these new signs mean his hairpins have no agogic meaning, or do his signs aim to further intensify rhythmic movement? Does the occasional conjunction of signs exemplified above indicate an exception or a generality of synchronicity, or perhaps a particularly extreme application of a generality?

A further possible shape may be discussed here. I was taught by students of Claudio Arrau, who was in turn deeply instructed by the Liszt student Martin Krause. Lisztian tradition tended to agogically broaden phrases at their climax, as a tendency rather than an inflexible rule, and in dramatic context. Is there any indication that Liszt's hairpins might include this? It may be significant that Liszt's use of  $\text{<}$   $\text{>}$  is often, but not always, printed with a significant gap between the expanding and contracting signs, at the point of phrase climax (large or small). That this is not always the case seems to mitigate against the gap simply being a printing convention (unless the convention also regularly fitted Liszt's approach), so is there a circumstance in which the signs indicate a definite broadening at this point? One of the clear ways of creating a broadening agogic emphasis is to arpeggiate the chord at the climax, so if Liszt sometimes specifies this, it may be an indication of a general tendency; it certainly indicates a possibility.

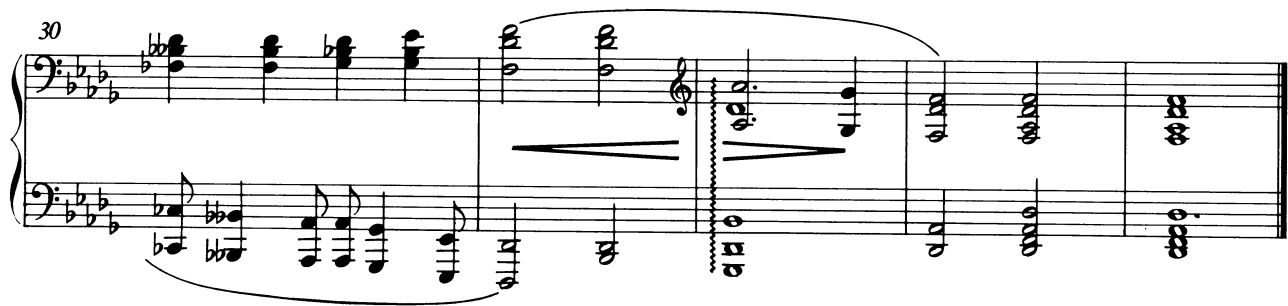
In the works considered in this thesis, Liszt specifies such an arpeggiation in the following instances:



1. *Consolation No.4* at bar 32 (Example 5.3),
2. *Consolation No.5* at bars 19 and 28 (Example 5.4),
3. *Vallée d'Obermann* from the *Années de Pèlerinage* (the final version) at bar 92 (Example 5.5),
4. *Cloches de Genève* at bars 17, 40 and 107 (Examples 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8).<sup>415</sup>

### Example 5.3

#### Liszt *Consolation No.4* Bars 30-34



### Example 5.4

#### Liszt *Consolation No.5* Bars 17-28

<sup>415</sup> All examples from the *New Liszt Edition Series I* Vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter & Budapest: Editio Musica, 1976) and Series I Vol. 9 (Kassel: Bärenreiter & Budapest: Editio Musica, 1981.)

## Example 5.5

Liszt *Vallée d'Obermann* from *Années de Pèlerinage* Bars 91-94

91

smorzando

espr.

## Example 5.6

Liszt *Cloches de Genève* from *Années de Pèlerinage* Bars 15-18

15

ppp

## Example 5.7

Liszt *Cloches de Genève* from *Années de Pèlerinage* Bars 34-45

34

8

poco cresc.

40

8

ritenuto molto

4

espressivo

## Example 5.8

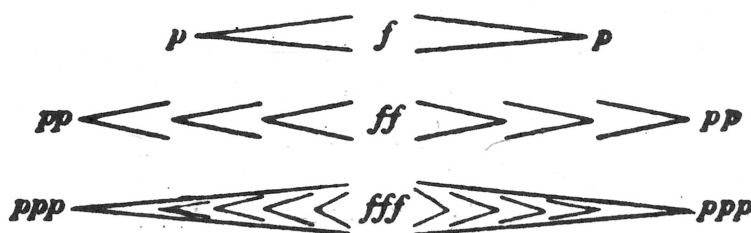
Liszt *Cloches de Genève* from *Années de Pèlerinage* Bars 104-107

Even in the above examples, it will be seen that there are gaps of greatly differing lengths, and virtually no gap at all in some. It can be argued that in some cases, the lack of hairpin gap indicates that arpeggiation begins quickly and then provides a rallentando effect on the melodic line. Given the free addition of annotated arpeggiation already included in Romanticist performance style, it is probable that Liszt is taking specific control in these examples, and removing the usual choice to arpeggiate or not according to taste. The combination of hairpin and arpeggiation at climax indicates that, at least in Liszt's usage, the hairpin does not necessarily indicate a simple quickening and/or slowing (or the opposite!), but may include more complex agogic expressive shapes.

A final element in Liszt's usage of hairpins is important, that of subtle shapes within the general. He gave the following exercise to an early student, Valérie Boissier, in 1832, indicating a wave-like progression within the overall dramatic indication (Example 5.9):<sup>416</sup>

## Example 5.9

## Liszt's Hairpin Exercise from Valérie Boissier Lesson Notes



<sup>416</sup> Mme. August Boissier, *Liszt Pédagogue*, in Elyse Mach (ed. & trans.), *The Liszt Studies* (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1973), xxiii.

Such subtleties are most likely, given the dramatic power of Liszt's performances, and are a further reminder of the summary nature of Romanticist score indications.

Liszt did not continue to use most his own agogic signs, perhaps given a growing general understanding of Romanticist style, a wish to leave expressive freedom to the individual performer, and/or a more general adoption of the hairpin as agogic as well as dynamic indicator. He did, however, continue to use both small and large vertical accents, to suggest for dynamic and agogic emphasis. Below is a typical example of the latter which emphasises both notes under the sign, from bars 68 and 70 of the *Vallée d'Obermann* from the *Années de Pèlerinage* (Example 5.10):<sup>417</sup>

### Example 5.10

#### Liszt *Vallée d'Obermann* from *Années de Pèlerinage* Bars 66-70



What cannot be in doubt is Liszt's use - some of his contemporaries would say extreme use - of flexible rhythm and tempo, whether specifically indicated in his scores or not.

To summarise, the hairpin stands as a quintessential example of the difficulty in allocating simple, universal meaning to even widely-used signs. We may summarise the range of suggested meaning thus:

1. There was a growing concern from early in the C19th to find ways of indicating tempo and rhythmic fluctuations, perhaps due to the newly developing (thus unfamiliar to many) Romanticist style,

<sup>417</sup> Example from the *New Liszt Edition* Series I Vol. 6 (Kassel: Bärenreiter & Budapest: Editio Musica, 1976.)

2. By the early C19th at least, there was no clear common practice in the meaning of the hairpin, hence meaning was specified by some composers and theorists (e.g. Hensel),
3. The hairpin is used by some (Hensel and Reimann) both early and late in the C19th to primarily indicate some of these fluctuations, the opening hairpin expressing increased movement, the closing hairpin a decrease, and (confusingly) these meanings may be reversed,
4. The hairpin is used by others (early Liszt?) to primarily indicate dynamics, although dynamics are generally considered to have agogic implications,
5. The hairpin indicates expressive gesture, by whatever means appropriate, and may include the opportunity for other expressive devices, including dislocation of hands and arpeggiation,
6. The hairpin may not imply a regular, even change in drama, but a series of increasing or decreasing waves (as indicated by Liszt),
7. The hairpin probably includes the current understanding of dynamic change, as contextually appropriate.

Fourth, there is the practice of expressive enhancement of the score, including an assumption of the addition of unnotated agogic accents, dislocation of hands, and perhaps quintessentially exemplified by unnotated arpeggiated (broken) chords. An excellent discussion of this latter practice is provided by Neil Peres Da Costa,<sup>418</sup> drawing on contemporaneous suggestions by a range of authors, notably including Philip Corri, Moscheles, Czerny, Thalberg, Stanford, and even Edward MacDowell. While it would not be safe to conclude a clear systematic practice of arpeggiation across the entire century, there is broad agreement in many suggestions, and certainly a clear expectation that the technique will be regularly employed. Their advice may be summarised thus:

1. Short chords should not be arpeggiated, while longer chords may be,
2. Arpeggiation may be used for concluding chords,
3. Arpeggiation may be used often in passages marked *con expression*, *con anima*, and *dolce*,
4. Arpeggiation may be used slightly when dots are written under slurs for double notes and chords (*portato*),

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<sup>418</sup> Neil Peres Da Costa, "Performing Practice in Piano Playing", in *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 20-22.

5. Arpeggiation may be used to achieve a certain characterful languor and despondency,
6. Arpeggiation may be used when supporting the melody, emphasising the melodic notes,
7. Arpeggiation may be used for greater breath of harmonic effect, especially under a fermata,
8. Arpeggiation may be used to soften hardness of touch in *ff* or *sfz*, and in abrupt dissonances,
9. Arpeggiation may use a range of tempi, from fast (for brilliance, perhaps almost as if unbroken) to extremely slow,
10. Arpeggiation may be used in the RH without breaking in the LH, for a tender or delicate effect,
11. Arpeggiation may be used in the LH without breaking the RH, for an energetic yet not harsh effect.

In conclusion, it is both interesting and significant that the need to add signs for expressive agogic change to published scores continued well into the C20th and to Modernist compositional style. Peter Stadlen's annotated copy of Webern's *Variations Op. 27*, containing the composer's instructions, documents many expressive additions, including a wavy line to indicate "a modest holding back, taken very seriously, nonetheless."<sup>419</sup> It would appear probable, that much early Modernist repertoire still assumed elements of a (fading) Romanticist performance style.

#### 5.4 A HIPP "Rosetta Stone"? Earliest Audio Recordings

For many centuries, the meaning of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs had been lost, and despite the efforts of European archeologists, translation remained impenetrable. The central problem was that the hieroglyphs were basically an ideographic rather than phonetic script, without direct equivalence to known (phonetic) languages. Stunningly, in 1799 a fragment of a stele was discovered by Napoleon's soldiers, with a decree written in three languages including both hieroglyphs and Ancient Greek. This combination provided

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<sup>419</sup> Anton Webern, *Variationen für Klavier* (Vienna: Universal Edition No.16845, 1979), vii.

the key to decoding the Egyptian pictographic language, making transliteration of hieroglyphs possible some twenty years later.<sup>420</sup>

As has been seen, the sonic meanings and performance application of linguistic descriptions are notoriously slippery. Are there alternative “texts” which together could provide a key for deciphering the linguistic code? Uniquely for C19th Romanticism, such documents do exist in the form of early recordings, with extant examples now available dating from the last decade of the C19th. It is extremely significant that much of this resource has been available throughout the C20th, yet it has been (and sadly remains) largely unexamined by the performance and pedagogy communities as a whole. The present author can testify that over several decades of professional activity, few colleagues teaching or performing even such mainstream composers as Scriabin, Rachmaninov or Debussy have been aware of the composers’ own recordings, let alone been stylistically influenced by them, despite their commitment to composer intentionality. Happily, in recent years this evidence has been analysed in increasing detail by academics and a small minority of performers, yet the results have not yet become widely influential. The question is, why have most performers and pedagogues maintained a goal of composer intentionality in performance while failing to consult the recordings of even these very same composers? This is such a commonplace occurrence that the logical contradiction can seem minor, yet it is remarkable. Given the ready availability of at least a significant proportion of these recordings in major university and public libraries over the last century, and the ubiquity of current YouTube uploads, the most reason is likely to be cultural and aesthetic. Philip’s comments, written some twenty years ago, sadly remain apt:

Twenty years ago, music historians paid virtually no attention to early twentieth-century recordings. At best they were thought to have a period charm, but they certainly had nothing to teach the sophisticated modern musician about the history of performance. They were old enough to be old-fashioned, but too recent to be historical. Even now, the performing habits of the early twentieth century are, on the whole, habits which musicians would like to think they have outgrown.<sup>421</sup>

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<sup>420</sup> See “The Rosetta Stone”, The British Museum, accessed October 6, 2017, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=117631&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=117631&partId=1).

<sup>421</sup> Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style : Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance, 1900-1950*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.

Philip's observation is acute. That the recordings were seen as "old-fashioned" rather than authoritative, even when performed by the composers themselves, is a radical inconsistency and indicates the strength of Modernist cultural winds. Of course, the inconsistency could have been removed by abandoning composer intentionality, yet this has generally not been done.

Despite their value, the recordings themselves, like the Rosetta Stone's Greek text, still require significant analysis due to two principal considerations. First, early recordings necessarily use primitive technology, thus requiring some adaptation of recorded performance and generally capturing only a fraction of the soundscape. Second, the very nature of recording, including unchanging playback and disembodied sound, may be less appropriate for some compositional goals and performer styles than for others. In particular, the rigid reproducibility of a performance may in itself be antithetical to an aesthetic. It is likely that the organic, improvisatory, and individualistically heartfelt nature of much Romanticist art is poorly served by such constraints.

### 5.5 Early Recording Technologies

Sound recording began at a surprisingly early date. Drawing on examples as early as the late Medieval and the Renaissance eras, the C18th and C19th produced a great number of extremely sophisticated mechanical automata, many with musical accompaniment. For example, the C18th inventor Jaques de Vaucanson produced a mechanical flute player where a current of air caused both lips and fingers to move on the instrument, playing a dozen tunes.<sup>422</sup> Given the sophistication of movement demonstrated by such automata, it may be that some of the more sophisticated music accompaniments are also expressively suggestive, perhaps providing sonic evidence of style as early as the beginning of the C18th. While outside the focus of this thesis, detailed study of these recordings seems a fruitful area for further HIPP research. Audio recording via analogue process seems to have been pioneered in 1857 by Édouard-Léon Scott de Martinville whose Phoneautograph could record sound (but not play back) by making a visual transcription.<sup>423</sup>

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<sup>422</sup> Automata, a Brief History of Automata. <http://www.mechanical-toys.com/History%20page.htm> ; accessed 8/12/16.

<sup>423</sup> But could not reverse the process to replay the recorded sounds. A recording of the French folk song *Au Clair de la Lune* was decoded and reproduced in 2008 by the Lawrence Berkeley National Library in California. See [www.firstsounds.org](http://www.firstsounds.org). Accessed 27/4/18.



Modern recording begins firstly with Thomas Edison's Phonograph cylinders, first developed in 1877, and secondly with Emile Berliner's more familiar Gramophone discs, patented in 1887. Invented by Thomas Edison, cylinders became the earliest commercial recordings after further development by Alexander Graham Bell and colleagues around a decade later. Earliest recordings may have included Hans von Bülow performing a Chopin mazurka and perhaps a complete Beethoven symphony (the "Eroica").<sup>424</sup> The earliest extant recordings include Sullivan's *The Lost Chord* made in 1888 and Brahms' brief excerpt from his *Hungarian Fantasy No.1* from the following year. Despite several attempts at sophisticated sonic filtering (including by the present author!), it remains one of the most frustrating of early recordings due to severely degraded sound. It had been thought that the earliest classical recordings were made in 1887 by Josef Hofmann,<sup>425</sup> however a cache of early cylinders was rediscovered in the Institute of Russian Literature in St. Petersburg in 2002. They were originally recorded between 1889 and 1923 by Julius Block, who organised private recording soirées in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vevey, (Switzerland). Although feared lost during the Second World War, a significant number are now available.<sup>426</sup> The breadth of recordings is significant, including piano solos and duets, violin, trio, choral, vocal, and spoken word performances. Pianists who recorded include some familiar from later recordings, Josef Hofmann and Egon Petri for example, as well as others who left no other examples of their artistry. Most important perhaps are Arensky, student of Rimsky-Korsakov and teacher of both Rachmaninov and Scriabin, and Paul Pabst, invited by Nikolai Rubinstein to teach at the Moscow Conservatory, and who spent time with Liszt in Weimar.

A second recording technology used the still familiar format of flat discs. The first records were marketed in 1894, made initially of rubber and then shellac. Although cylinders had the advantage of being both recording and playback (in this sense rather like the Philips Compact Cassette over half a century later) they were ultimately overtaken by records as the latter could be duplicated far more easily.<sup>427</sup> Early records from a great number of performers have been reissued on subsequent media, including LP records,

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<sup>424</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 1.

<sup>425</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 1.

<sup>426</sup> Discovered by John Anthony Maltese and released on CD transfers in 2008 as *The Dawn of Recording: the Julius Block Cylinders*, Marston 53011-2.

<sup>427</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 2.

compact discs, and now digital downloads (YouTube has a substantial collection). Early records were recorded acoustically, with performers playing (and singing) into one or more large horns to collect the sound, creating great difficulties of instrumental placement, dynamic range and noise floor on playback (from the friction of the “needle” in the grooves). Electrical recording was developed in 1925, creating both the electrical microphone (for recording) and speaker (for playback) diaphragms, and signal amplifiers. These developments greatly enhanced both audio strength and signal-to-noise ratio.

A third recording technology was that of the reproducing piano roll. The reproducing piano is not to be confused with the earlier, simpler player piano, which used perforated paper rolls to replay notes only, powered by foot pumps. (The present author remembers childhood hours spend on an aunt’s instrument). Like the player piano, the reproducing piano used perforations in a paper roll to record information rather than sound. This could then be used to play back the notes on another reproducing piano or through a machine that actually played a standard piano, using a set of mechanical “fingers” that pressed the keys. Unlike the player piano, the reproducing piano rolls could include not merely the notes, but the overall dynamics and pedalling, these latter recorded as coded perforations towards the edges of the rolls. The basic tempo was written on the roll, and set manually. There is a difference in sophistication between systems used over the three decades of the early C20th. For example, not all systems were equally able to record note voicing characteristics. An early example of progress in this area was the Hupfeld Animatic system of 1912, developed specifically to enable some differential voicing of melody, bass, and accompaniment. Furthermore, the rolls were edited by an engineer in cooperation with the artist, and so do not record a single, real performance. Beginning from 1904, a number of incompatible systems were sold, most famously Welte-Mignon, Duo-Art, Aeolian, and Ampico. Sadly, the reproducing piano market was crushed by the Great Depression in the 1930’s, given the expense of the machinery required. However, the basic concept has seen something of a recent resurrection with the conceptually similar if technologically distinct use of MIDI, and in particular the Yamaha Disklavier.<sup>428</sup>

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<sup>428</sup> The Musical Instrument Digital Interface (MIDI), became popular in the early 1980’s, and uses a system where note information rather than sound is recorded, edited and stored. The information is then used to “play” compatible instruments to generate musical performance. Yamaha integrates MIDI technology into a range of electronic pianos named Disklavier, thus duplicating the concept of the reproducing piano through contemporary digital means.

As with the rediscovery of Block's cylinders, it is fascinating to see that seemingly lost rolls are still emerging. In 2010 the Australian researcher Gerard Carter was contacted by a New York collector, and Carter discovered that the collector had a complete copy of the two-roll recording of Liszt's *B minor Sonata* made by Arthur Friedheim.<sup>429</sup> Although a copy of the second roll is also found in the National Museum of Musical Instruments in Rome, the first roll had been considered lost. As one of Liszt's most important students, Friedheim's recording is particularly valuable, most especially since he played the *Sonata* to Liszt himself. Friedheim remembers:

[Liszt] asked me to play for him, and I performed his B minor Sonata as well as several other numbers which I had formed the plan of introducing to the press and the public in Vienna. He made very few suggestions, saying: "We understand each other."<sup>430</sup>

The accuracy of reproducing piano rolls in playback has been challenged, and remains viewed by with some skepticism. Perhaps this explains a relative paucity of discussion in several important texts.<sup>431</sup> To be valid, such skepticism needs to be strongly argued, given the rolls' historically impressive combination of early dates, large repertoire, impressive artist catalogue, and clear, contemporary (re-recorded) sound. Some critics have questioned their nature as reliable source documents, given the substantial editing of the rolls. This seems unreasonably extreme, since much roll data was automatically recorded, and since the resultant edited rolls needed to be musically acceptable both to the performer and to an audience often familiar with the live performances of said musician. Further, all recording processes contain a degree of editing, including highly manipulated contemporary CDs. Skeptical concerns have no doubt been strengthened by crude early transfers of roll performances to other audio formats, particularly LP and CD. The reproducing piano roll is a complex electro-pneumatic technology, and some transfers have clearly suffered from the loss of technical skill in setup. The result seems obviously

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<sup>429</sup> See Carter & Adler: *Liszt Piano Sonata Monographs: Arthur Friedheim's Recently Discovered Roll Recording*, 23.

<sup>430</sup> Arthur Friedheim and Alexander Siloti, *Remembering Franz Liszt*. Including Arthur Friedheim, *Life and Liszt* and Alexander Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt*. (New York: Limelight Editions, 1986), 136.

<sup>431</sup> *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music* contains less than a page (171) briefly outlining the basic technological approach, while Timothy Day's *A Century of Recorded Music* contains little more than three pages (12-16) to the technology, noting its controversial status as accurate stylistic evidence.

mechanical, rhythmically angular, and unmusical, casting significant doubt on stylistic characteristics such as frequent dislocation between hands. Fortunately, a number of specialist companies have emerged, using engineers who have sought out the required subtleties, including Perian Recording Society, Tacet, and Dal Segno, their results generally convincing musically. But are the reproducing piano rolls at least reasonably accurate reproductions of the original performances? Certainly, the testimonies of great artists so recorded unequivocally make this claim, as illustrated by the following examples cited by Timothy Day:

Eugen d'Albert saluted the Welte-Mignon Reproducing Records as a means which could 'transmit [his] art to posterity'; it was 'astonishing and deeply affecting' for him to listen to his own playing, he said in the Company's catalogue. Darius Milhaud thought that Welte-Mignon rolls reproduced 'with the same accuracy the most minute details and manners of the artist ... his personal interpretation. Josef Lhévinne thought that a Welte-Mignon roll reproduced his 'exact interpretation ... with absolute accuracy as to tempo, touch and tone quality'.<sup>432</sup>

In our own time of post-truth marketing, it is perhaps easy to dismiss such comments as mere commercial spin, however it is unlikely that a roll call of the greatest artists would so debase their reputations, or that the musically educated public would be willing to spend considerable sums on such a fraud. Certainly, the claims were exaggerated, but there must have been a genuinely musically-recognisable result for the reproducing piano to sustain sales. The present author was fortunate to have a friend in Perth, Western Australia who was a serious collector of both instruments and rolls, and many hours were spent listening, discussing, and learning a little about the mechanisms. The engineering sophistication and resultant performance subtlety on a well-set-up reproducing piano can be musically convincing, and my conclusion is that this format provides genuine, if qualified, stylistic source data.

## 5.6 Inherent Limitations of Early Recordings

Although the sonic evidence from these three technologies is directly musical and substantially reliable, it does still require analysis and a practised ear. As with all recording technology, early recordings are coloured both by significant technical limitations and by experimental performance approaches, and must be sympathetically analysed to

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<sup>432</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 13-14.

compensate for a number of basic limitations. These limitations may be divided into two broad categories, those of technical limitations and artistic concerns.

First, and most obvious to modern ears, is poor sound quality. Early cylinders and discs have a high noise floor (often very high due to ageing), limited frequency range, compressed dynamics, and very short overall duration (around four minutes). Tone colour, voicing, dynamics, pedalling, arrangement cuts, and tempo may be affected in various degrees by these limitations. In cases of substantial change imposed on the artist (for example, playing within a very limited dynamic range, or increasing tempo to fit recording space) the result may be a radical change of the dramatic interpretation, and thus not representative of either the artist or style.

Second, there are inherent reproduction limitations. The most serious limitation of rolls is the most obvious: the performance is played back on a different instrument and in a different acoustic from those of the recording, and thus would inevitably require a host of subtle yet musically essential performance changes from a living pianist. To a degree, the same is true of any recording replayed in the listener's domestic environment. However, the case is most extreme with reproducing piano rolls. Further, while reproducing piano rolls do not suffer from poor sound quality, they may be compromised by insensitive post-recording editing, poorly set up playback mechanism, and technologically limited gradations of note velocity, losing dynamic subtlety and creating a false evenness in passagework. Such evenness may be either beneficial, resulting in extra brilliance of articulation, or detrimental, resulting in a loss of lyricism. I largely agree with the following assessment by Robert Philip:

Putting side by side a sound recording and even the most sophisticated piano-roll recording of the same pianist playing the same piece invariably reveals small but important differences, in the form of tiny dynamic nuances and subtleties of balance which are missed by a piano roll. ... An example is Sergei Rachmaninoff playing his own piece 'Lilacs' ... Rachmaninoff made three recordings of it: an Ampico piano roll in 1922, and acoustic recording in 1923, and an electrical recording in 1942. ... The 1922 Ampico roll sounds like someone who is having a go at imitating Rachmaninoff and making quite a good job of it. Although the timing is remarkably accurate the performance does not quite hang together, because the melodic fragments do not sing out as in the [1942] sound recording, and they therefore fail to achieve the right balance with the accompanying texture. One of the results of this is that the subtle rhythmic dislocations sound messy, like failures to coordinate rather than purposeful expressive devices.<sup>433</sup>

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<sup>433</sup> Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 33.

My own experience in listening to both early rolls and discs for many years confirms Philip's conclusion that certain stylistic features may have an increased prominence, particularly in areas of rhythm. Thus, dislocation between notes may be emphasised in effect (if not in actual rhythm), due to a loss of voicing subtlety and enhanced dynamic evenness. This is an effect the present author first noticed in early electronic instrument sequencing programmes during the 1980's for precisely this reason, a lack of sufficient gradations in note velocity data and timecode. Given this limitation, it is important to recognise that performance elements may be accurately reproduced by the rolls, but not their balance within a living performance. Any attempt to merely copy a roll performance may well end up as musically unsatisfying, a distortion of original style.

Third, early disc recordings necessitated difficult recording conditions. Unlike the comfortable soirées recorded on some cylinders (discussed below), or the relaxed recording and editing of rolls on studio grand pianos, early acoustic (i.e. pre-electric) disc recordings required significant physical and artistic discomfort. Robert Philip comments:

Before electrical amplification became available in 1925, music was recorded mechanically, with the sound being gathered by one or more large horns. ... because there was no electrical amplification, all the musicians had to be contained in a small room and within close range of the recording horn in order to be audible... [Accompanying] pianists in the early days had to play on an upright piano on a platform at the level of the singer's head, so that the recording horn had a chance of capturing some of its sound.<sup>434</sup>

Fourth, there are ambivalent performer attitudes towards making early recordings. Some musicians believe recorded, fixed performances cannot produce a genuine transcendental musical effect, a view adhered to as late as the 1990's by the great conductor Sergiu Celibidache.<sup>435</sup> A Romanticist view of art as organic and divine makes such a view particularly tenable, and may be the reason Anton Rubinstein refused Tchaikovsky's plea to play a little for posterity on Julius Block's cylinder recorder.<sup>436</sup> In addition, there is an understandable fear of (permanent) mistakes, and a tendency to safety and moderation in playing. Philip comments:

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<sup>434</sup> Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 27.

<sup>435</sup> See Wikipedia entry "Sergiu Celibidache", accessed 10/12/16. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergiu\\_Celibidache](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sergiu_Celibidache).

<sup>436</sup> In a soirée group including Tchaikovsky, the great Anton Rubinstein is asked to play something: *Anton Grigorievich, play something! For posterity! Please, a couple of chords! Please Anton Grigorievich, play!* But he does not ...

Busoni left a vivid description of his first experience of recording Liszt's arrangement of a waltz from Gounod's *Faust* in 1919. It involved 'watching the pedal (because it sounds bad); thinking of certain notes which had to be stronger or weaker in order to please this devilish machine; not letting oneself go for fear of inaccuracies and being conscious the whole time that every note was going to be there for eternity; how can there be any question of inspiration, freedom, swing, or poetry?'<sup>437</sup>

Even where adverse conditions and fear of mistakes are minimised, it is undeniable that most performers are energised by an audience, and will therefore play somewhat differently in a recording studio. Claudio Arrau described the performances of Edwin Fischer (with whom he shared a teacher) as being "possessed," having a "divinatory quality" - but "very seldom on his records... It's not *at all* like he was in concert. He was said to be terribly nervous in front of the microphone."<sup>438</sup> In 1952 Arrau wrote the following regarding Schnabel and Fischer:

Long before the war, Schnabel was already considered in Berlin to be the supreme intellectual authority on Beethoven, Schubert, and Brahms - hence, also, dry. Schnabel's younger contemporary Edwin Fischer, on the other hand, was known as a volcanic, eruptive Beethoven player.<sup>439</sup>

Based on their surviving recordings, a contemporary listener would reach the opposite conclusion! For this reason, the Bloch cylinders as well as those discs also recorded live are of great evidential value, despite their sonic limitations. Perhaps a balanced view of making early recordings is provided by Benno Moiseiwitsch, when in 1962 he was played rolls he had originally recorded in the 1920's:

The rolls were good, he thought, 'in parts'. . . he was not convinced that some of the tempo changes were quite genuine. At times he thought aspects of the performance he disliked were probably faithful reproductions: 'How could I be so stupid', was his simple explanation. But at other times he was 'really astonished' at the recordings' fidelity to his interpretative subtleties. If you were patient enough and careful enough in making piano rolls it was certainly possible, he believed, to reproduce faithfully the performer's intentions. Recording for the gramophone was unreal and nerve-racking; but when he made piano rolls he sat back in a chair and smoked and had a drink and would say: 'No, no, I want more crescendo there, too much accelerando' and the technician would punch the holes as Moiseiwitsch directed. He found it very agreeable.<sup>440</sup>

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<sup>437</sup> Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 27.

<sup>438</sup> Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (London: Collins, 1982), 89.

<sup>439</sup> Quoted in Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau*, 113.

<sup>440</sup> Quoted in Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 15.

Fifth, an individual recording made at a certain point in a performer's career may not be representative of his/her style over a career lasting decades. The present author, having studied in Claudio Arrau's circle for many years in the 1980's, remembers the initial shock of hearing reissues of pre-1960 (mainly pre-Philips) recordings by the Maestro. Although some continuity of gesture was common, the overall effect made it clear that Arrau had radically changed style around 1960, consciously enlarging gestural breadth and clarity, slowing tempi, and in performance sacrificing a level of accuracy and control for a more dramatic, more spontaneous approach. A comparison between Schnabel's two recordings of Schubert's *Impromptu D899/Op.90 No.4* 1905, the first on roll in 1905 and the second on disc in 1950<sup>441</sup> clearly indicates an opposite journey, not least from great rhythmic freedom within and between sections to a far more rhythmically-unified, dramatically-understated interpretation.

Sixth, it is necessary to remember that most extant early recordings are commercial products as well as artistic records. The economic requirements of fledgling gramophone and profitable piano roll companies alike may be unrepresentative of repertoire, with a bias towards popular works, virtuosic displays, and short encore pieces.

Seventh, as has been previously noted, in fundamental ways the very practice of recording is antithetical to the vitalist, organic spirit of Romanticism, creating a performance frozen in time and largely depersonalised, to be repeated without effort. Given our familiarity with recording, this can seem a merely theoretical concern, yet such a view actually demonstrates how deeply embedded Modernist materialist and consumerist culture has become. Adorno is sensitive to the conflict, writing:

[The phonograph record] stems from an era that cynically acknowledges the dominance of things over people through the emancipation of technology from human requirements and human needs and through the presentation of achievements whose significance is not primarily humane; ... phonograph records are nothing more than acoustic photographs ... the two-dimensional model of a reality that can multiplied without limit, displaced both spatially and temporally, and traded on the open market. This, at the price of sacrificing its third dimension: its height and its abyss.<sup>442</sup>

In particular, studio recordings and editing practices then and now might seem horrifically familiar to Mary Shelley (author of *Frankenstein*), as disparate parts are brought together

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<sup>441</sup> See the audio examples accompanying this thesis. Full publishing details in the Discography.

<sup>442</sup> Adorno, "The Form of the Phonograph Record" in Adorno, *Essays on Music*, ed. Richard Leppert, trans. Susan Gillespie (Berkeley, Calif. ; London: University of California Press, 2002), 227-8.



and re-animated through electrical process. I suspect also that the development of recordings assisted in the Modernist redefining of music from transitory experience to permanent object, from performance to printed score. Yet our most direct evidence of Romanticist performance style comes filtered through such recording. It is important to recognise this cultural and technological irony, as with the Modernist roots of HIPP itself, and to avoid a narrow *Urtext* philosophy in rigidly applying elements gleaned from recordings as much as from scores. A truly Romanticist HIPP by definition cannot be a performance fixed in detail, least of all a gesture-by-gesture reproduction of an early recording, no matter how accurate.<sup>443</sup>

Eighth, and perhaps most importantly, it is essential to remember that the recorded evidence details practices from the late C19th and early C20th. The question remains: to what extent do these performances reflect earlier practices of C19th Romanticism? Robert Philip recognises that these recordings illustrate performance styles in flux, and that there is a requirement to determine which recorded characteristics may be deemed truly Romanticist, rather than, for example, merely the products of temporary fashion or artistic idiosyncrasy. He writes:

In the use of vibrato and portamento, in flexibility of tempo, and in detailed rhythmic style, the performers of the early twentieth century can be heard moving towards what we now think of as modern style, and away from earlier practice ... The difficult question ... is what aspects of early twentieth-century performance can be identified as surviving from the nineteenth century. A good starting point is to ask what stylistic traits clearly do *not* derive from the nineteenth century. One obvious answer is, any practices which can be heard beginning to develop on the recordings themselves. ... So the stylistic features which sound most old-fashioned to modern ears are probably the ones which survived from the nineteenth century.<sup>444</sup>

This approach has merit, however if used exclusively it runs the risk of creating a stylistic parody; a reconstruction consisting solely of non-Modernist characteristics assumes no continuity between performance practice eras. This is culturally unlikely, as despite the radical nature of Modernism, no cultural era begins completely anew, and it is clear that other Modernist arts share significant elements with their C19th predecessors.

As valuable as they are, therefore, early recordings cannot be used as evidence without due consideration and analysis. However, their limitations may be overstated, and

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<sup>443</sup> Slåttembrekk and Harrison's careful recreation of Grieg's 1903 Paris recordings fall dangerously close to this fallacy, perhaps saved only as a tool for studying Grieg's style rather than as a model for performance detail.

<sup>444</sup> Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, 207-8.

were in some ways more problematic for the pioneers than for us; over a century later, we are used to interpreting an unnatural, mechanically-based, highly-edited, disembodied musical sound. We are also fortunate to have three early technologies, each with distinctive strengths and weaknesses as source material, covering both live and studio material, both unedited and edited, and in good sound and poor. This multiplicity of technology and environment enables a certain process of stylistic error-correction, given the technological disparity of strengths and weaknesses, a triangulation in reaching stylistic conclusions, given the number of great artists who recorded on both disc and roll. For example, concerns about exaggerated rhythmic distortions in piano rolls can be balanced by audio recordings, while indistinct, noisy audio recordings can be clarified by the rolls. Confined, artificial studio recordings can be balanced by the live performances of the Block cylinders. Table 5.1 below lists a selection of significant musicians extant on more than one recording technology and examined for this study:

**Table 5.1 Selection of Pianists and Composers Extant on Multiple Recording Technologies (in order of birth date)**

	CYLINDER	RECORD	ROLL
<b>de Pachmann (1848-1933)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Nikisch (1855-1922)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Friedheim (1859-1932)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Paderewski (1860-1941)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Siloti (1863-1945)</b>		yes	yes
<b>d'Albert (1864-1932)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Busoni (1866-1924)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Lamond (1868-1948)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Rachmaninoff (1873-1943)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Hofmann (1876-1957)</b>	yes	yes	yes
<b>Bartok (1881-1945)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Petri (1881-1962)</b>	yes	yes	yes
<b>Schnabel (1882-1951)</b>		yes	yes
<b>Arrau (1903-1991)</b>		yes	yes

Ultimately, enough of the musicianship of the time must have been recognisable in these recordings, or they would not have been purchased in increasing numbers, and in the case of reproducing pianos, at great expense. Many of their limitations also apply equally to contemporary edited recordings, yet we do not usually consider these to be invalid sources of performance style analysis. Given the substantial (though of course limited) technical capabilities of the technologies, and their widespread acceptance by both artists and audiences, it is clear that the onus of proof lies with those critics who do not accept this evidence as basically authoritative in determining late Romanticist performance practice.

### 5.7 Through a Glass Darkly: Performance Style Evidence of Early Audio Recordings

An increasing number of studies of early recordings have been published, analysing performance style in some detail. I will summarise, compare, and comment on their conclusions, before testing these through further recording analyses. In his chapter “Mind the Gap”<sup>445</sup> Bruce Haynes examines the Romanticist style through the vocal and orchestral recordings of Adelina Patti (vocal, Mozart, 1905), Alessandro Moreschi (vocal, Bach/Gounod, 1904), Mengelberg/Amsterdam Toonkunst Choir (choral, Bach, 1939), and Stokowski/unnamed orchestra (orchestral, Bach, 1957). He finds the following performance characteristics:

1. An overall expressive emphasis (even an “unrelenting earnestness”<sup>446</sup>),
2. An opulent Wagnerian symphonic sound,
3. Melodic emphasis,
4. Fluctuating tempi and rhythmic freedom,
5. Common portamenti
6. Relatively rare and subtle rubato,
7. Small-scale phasing gestures,
8. A lack of precision.

His comments contain some inconsistencies. Haynes writes:

Whether we recognise it or not, Romantic ideologies still hold most of us in thrall (like, for instance, composer-intention, *Werktreue*, the work concept, the transparent performer, the suppression of gracing and improvisation, Absolute music, the musical Canon, and repeatability.)<sup>447</sup>

<sup>445</sup> Bruce Haynes, “Mind the Gap” in *The End of early Music: A Period Performer’s History of Music for the Twenty-First Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 32-38.

<sup>446</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 33.

<sup>447</sup> Haynes, *The End of early Music*, 35.

Yet a little later, he partially contradicts much of the the above, noting Joachim's freedom with his own score:

Joachim's recording of his own Romance in C does indeed show, as Clive Brown says, a great nineteenth-century musician's sense of the important and the subsidiarity. Joachim took considerable freedom with rhythm and embellished extensively. Brown finds "disparities" between Joachim's performance and the text as published.<sup>448</sup>

There is therefore a certain contradiction between Haynes' attribution to Romanticism of both compositional fidelities (composer-intention, the transparent performer, etc) and compositional liberties (as exemplified by Joachim). Yet he may not be in error; it is certainly true that all great cultural movements contain contradictions, and that C19th musicians were not uniformly (or completely) Romanticist. However, there is a synthesis of these concepts to be achieved, a HIPPP fuzzy logic, which may vary from composer to composer, work to work.

A number of further criticisms are immediately apparent, no doubt due to the difficulty of anachronism, of projecting certain Modernist assumptions back onto Romanticism. They will be discussed in more detail later in the chapter. Most obviously, Haynes' brief analysis may be coloured by a lack of recording diversity, that is, of instruments (lacking piano and strings), of repertoire (only pre-romanticist) and of technology (discs only). The slow dramatic style to which he refers (of "unrelenting earnestness") is perhaps restricted to certain performers only, and perhaps also in the context of a respectful Romanticist interpretation of pre-romanticist composers. A few randomly chosen examples highlight the question. Arch-Romanticist conductor Willem Mengelberg's 1931 recording of Bach's *Orchestral Suite No. 2 Overture BWV 1067* is certainly in a "heavy" style, with broad tempi and serious intent, however, his 1937 recording of Vivaldi's *Concerto Grosso Op.3 No.8* and his 1935 version of *Bach's Concerto in D minor BWV 1043* are certainly not ponderous, with reasonably quick outer movements. His 1940 recording of Mozart's *Serenade No.13 KV 525* is also fairly brisk, with a rapid final *Rondo*.<sup>449</sup> On the other hand, Wilhelm Furtwängler's 1948 recording of Bach's *Orchestral Suite No.3 BWV 1068* does exemplify Haynes' "unrelenting

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<sup>448</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 37.

<sup>449</sup> Mengelberg, Concertgebouw Orchestra, *Mengelberg: Maestro Appassionato*, XXCM Century Masters 205254-303 (CD1 of 10 CD set), reissued 2000.

earnestness", as does his 1950 *Brandenburg Concerti No.3 BWV 1048* first movement - but not the third, which is taken at a reasonably brisk pace, given the limitations of ensemble size.<sup>450</sup> Busoni, meanwhile, takes his arrangement of Bach's *Chorale-Prelude BWV 734* at positively breakneck speed, while his Liszt *Hungarian Rhapsody No.13* contains breathtakingly rapid and controlled passagework.<sup>451</sup> There is one famous example of Haynes' earnest Romanticist style, that of Leopold Stokowski's symphonic arrangement with the New Philadelphia Orchestra of Bach's *Tocatta and Fugue in D minor*, which opens Disney's musical film *Fantasia*.<sup>452</sup> Here we have the epitome of grandeur and theatricality, but how much is Romanticism and how much Hollywood is a matter of debate! In summary, it would appear that Romanticist-style interpretations include a great deal of variety in tempo and character, and cannot always be generally characterised in Haynes' terms. On the basis of many years listening and analysing early recorded performances, the present author would certainly be prepared to agree that Romanticist performances may adopt a serious, heavily inflected approach, perhaps seeking a sense of the Sublime. However, to assert this as normative cannot be sustained.

A far more extensive examination of recordings has been conducted by Timothy Day in his volume *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History*. Day describes Patti's vocal style as pure in tone quality, with frequent portamenti and generous, constant rubato. He notes ornamentation added to repeats and extended cadenzas. Similarly, he writes the following description of recordings by the baritone Mattia Battistini, worth quoting at some length given the important analytical detail:

... the rubato, the portamenti, the narrow, quick flickering vibrato with some long notes characterised by an apparent absence of any at all, these are all easily discernible. And most startling of all, as with Patti, the actual notes - a great many of them - that aren't in the score at all, the ornamentation of melodic repeats and of internal cadences and the insertion of extended cadenzas at the ends of cabalettas and cavatinas. The pulse is constantly varied, held steady for barely two bars together; sudden fermatas are introduced just before cadences, and regularly before intermediate ones, not just for emphasis at the very end of an aria. Battistini continually adds ornamentation to the line as written, and where the composer has inserted *fiorature* in small notes he rarely keeps to these but embellishes in his own way. He will shorten long notes at the ends of phrases, he will sing through rests to create a long phrase out of two shorter ones. It is unimaginable that even the same performers could ever repeat these inflections exactly, since there is obviously a

<sup>450</sup> *Wilhelm Furtwängler: The Legacy* CD 1.

<sup>451</sup> Busoni, Pearl GEMM CD 9347, Bach: track 4, recorded 1922, Liszt: track 6, recorded 1922.

<sup>452</sup> *Fantasia*, DVD Walt Disney Classics 34762, Chapter 1

desire to avoid precise synchronisation all the time. ... [In comparison with modern recordings] it is the the steadiness in tempo and the meticulous coordination between singer and accompaniment in these modern performances ... that strike the listener first of all.<sup>453</sup>

Day sees this lack (by Modernist standards) of coordination between singer and accompanist further illustrated in pianistic hand dislocation in de Pachmann's 1925 recording of the Chopin *Nocturne Op.27 No.2*, and in Paderewski's 1924 recording of Schubert's *Impromptu in Bb D.935 No.3*. He notes the same expressive divergence in Rachmaninoff and Kreisler's 1928 recording of the Greig *Sonata for Violin and Piano Op. 45*, and in those by trios including Cortot, Thibaud, and Casals and by the Busch Quartet, described as "distinct musical personalities interacting, as they might express it, rather than the smooth, effortless, meticulous and precisely coordinated and integrated [Modernist] ensemble speaking with one voice."<sup>454</sup> Day also examines orchestral recordings of Nikisch and Elgar, with interesting results given the widespread claim that Romanticist tempi were generally particularly slow. Nikisch's 1913 recording of Beethoven's *Fifth Symphony* is not significantly different in overall tempo than more modern performances, but is clearly differentiated by tempo fluctuations, dropping some twenty metronome marks for the introduction of the second subject. Interestingly, Elgar takes some of his 1926 recorded *Enigma Variations* more rapidly than his own metronome markings, while the famous "Nimrod" begins very slowly and accelerates to the climax.

Day's summary of early recording style include the following:

1. Chopin is usually played more quickly than in modern performances,
2. Brahms and Elgar are generally conducted more quickly (on the basis of overall time) than in modern performances, mainly through increased tempo flexibility (especially *accelerandi*) rather than initial tempi,
3. Bach (as exemplified by the First Movement of the *Brandenburg Concerto No.5*) is conducted more slowly in early recordings, with tempi consistently increasing throughout the C20th,
4. Use of vibrato is sparing on strings, subtle by singers, and absent on woodwinds (excepting the French school),
5. Portamenti in strings and vocals are frequent and often slow,

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<sup>453</sup> Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 143.

<sup>454</sup> Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 144-5.

6. Changes in drama are expressed through significant tempo changes, including accelerandi combined with crescendi,
7. Rubato is varied and extensive,
8. Dislocation of tune and accompaniment is widespread,
9. In rhythm, short notes are often shortened, and dotted rhythms often overdotted.

My own analyses generally confirm these results. With respect to overall tempi, it is interesting to observe the difference between broadly contemporaneous music (Chopin, Brahms and Elgar) and that of previous eras (specifically Bach), with the former at least as quick as modern interpretations, and the latter significantly slower, partially explaining Haynes' view of Romanticist slow tempi, cited earlier.

In his book *Early Recordings and Musical Style*, Robert Philip arrives at similar conclusions, particularly:

1. Restraint in the use of vibrato,
2. Liberal use of portamento,
3. Great flexibility of tempo,
4. Rhythmic distortions, including overdotting, and *notes inégales*,
5. Dislocation of melody and accompaniment.

David Milsom's study *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*<sup>455</sup> analyses written documents and recordings, again finding the same Romanticist survivals in phrasing, portamento, vibrato, tempo, and rhythm, and reaching similar conclusions to the authors mentioned above. Interestingly, Milsom attempts to quantify a number of early recorded performance characteristics in an attempt to provide more objective evidence through use of computer analysis and graphic representation. Methodology for recording tempo fluctuations involved the author depressing a computer keyboard key with each beat of a recording, the process being repeated at least three times. The data was then exported for line-graph display. Milsom is clear to indicate the significant residual subjectivity in this process, from the variable human accuracy of beat input, particularly in noisy recordings, as well as in the range of scales for graphic representation. The results include tables of metronome marks, of longest and shortest beat duration, and line graphs of tempo fluctuations in 18 performances. Milsom is aware of a deeper problem with this methodology:

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<sup>455</sup> David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance 1850-1900* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003).

Indeed, there is an all-inclusiveness in the performances of this period that defies arbitrary categorisation. It seems clear that performers of the period 1850-1900 saw all aspects of musical style as part of an inter-dependent whole, with the aim being to highlight the musical text, make more obvious the underlying sentiments, and create contrast and heterogeneity.<sup>456</sup>

A useful experiment, the approach is nonetheless a perfect example of Modernist reductionist investigation; the broad results confirm those of purely human listening (that early recordings show great tempo flexibility), while the actual numerical quantities are not musically applicable, being unrelated to other performance elements. This kind of analysis, even when performed by a perceptive HIPP musician and scholar, seems of limited value in reconstructing an organic performance style.

A slim volume by Gerard Carter, entitled *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition*, includes three CD transfers of reproducing piano rolls, including performances from d'Albert, Friedheim, Lamond, Siloti, and Stavenhagen. Carter confirms the emerging consensus from written and aural sources, highlighting the pianistic techniques of melody delaying (dislocation), unnotated arpeggiation of chords, types of rubato, and tempo modification.<sup>457</sup>

Neil Peres Da Costa also provides a pianistic focus in recording analyses in his volume *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing*. He begins his *Introduction* by quoting Constantin von Sternberg on Anton Rubinstein, a description which so very well illustrates both the overarching ethos of Romanticist performance practice, and the flexible performance approach to a printed score, that it requires reproduction here:

*Rubinstein ... was a great stickler for the printed notes and annotations - but he was only so in his teaching, not in his playing. When he played, he played "Rubinstein", whether the piece was by Bach, Beethoven or Chopin: his intense personality broke through all barriers of indicative annotations. ... [N]o one could contain control over one's cool, critical faculties because - no matter what he played - he always delivered a consummate work of art, for there was so much of impressive beauty in his style of playing as to make even the most critical auditor forget all about the "composer's style", or the "code of art" ... and to lose himself in a sea of beauty both sensuous and emotional.*<sup>458</sup>

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<sup>456</sup> Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*, 207.

<sup>457</sup> Gerard Carter, *rediscovering the Liszt Tradition* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2006), 37.

<sup>458</sup> Constantin von Sternberg, "Keyboard Masters of Other Years", *The Etude* (Oct. 1920): 657. Quoted in Neil Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, xxi.



Peres Da Costa provides detailed commentary on the pianistic devices of hand dislocation and arpeggiation, while also discussing tempo and rhythmic modification (including rubato). One of the most valuable contributions Peres Da Costa has made to HIPP scholarship is his comparison of a number of performers' writings and annotated scores, and those of their educated observers, with their recordings, particularly highlighting the high degree of rhythmic and tempo modification, unexpected on the basis of the performer's warnings against excess, and (of course) interpreted through the lens of Modernist expectations. Performers discussed include Reineke, Leschetizky, Greig, Pederewsky, and Raoul Pugno. He writes:

The comparison between early recordings and contemporaneous written texts has exposed striking contradictions time and time again. In many cases, significant features heard on the recordings are not conveyed in the texts. Sometimes the verbal advice of particular pianists appears to conflict with their own recordings. ...To add to the complexity, many notational symbols and musical terms appear to have indicated something quite different from the meaning they now convey. The recordings therefore represent not only an audible key to understanding written descriptions and clarifying details that would otherwise have remained hidden, but are also a unique source of evidence in their own right.... Although many of the practices preserved on early piano recordings seem alien today, it is clear that these were integral to late Romantic pianism as exemplified in the playing of acknowledged masters of the period.<sup>459</sup>

This is of great significance, as has been discussed. Firstly, the comparisons between written and audio documents has clearly shown the dangers in drawing all but the most simple conclusions from written accounts alone. Second, at least in the case of late C19th Romanticism, the direction of misinterpretation is in one direction only. We are not presented with written critical and pedagogic directions of substantial rhythmic flexibility and textual infidelity only to find early recordings far straighter and more texturally fundamentalist than we supposed. The overwhelming majority of recordings, using three distinct technologies and including acclaimed composers, pedagogues and performers, overwhelmingly play with greater freedom than seems to be implied by the verbal texts when filtered through our own expectations. Of course, there are significant variations between these musicians, generally fitting the theory of a progressively waning declamatory Romanticist style overlapping with an increasingly Modernist approach. This is the evidential base; it must be explained away (faulty technology, performers past their

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<sup>459</sup> Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, 309-10.

prime, etc), or conditionally accepted. Ultimately, our response is a question of personal musical taste.

It will be clear that a strong consensus exists regarding the most obvious late Romanticist performance characteristics displayed in early recordings. Table 5.2 below summarises HIPP elements highlighted by these authors:

**Table 5.2 HIPP Elements Highlighted by Authors**

PERFORMANCE ELEMENTS	Haynes	Day	Philip	Milsom	Carter	Peres Da Costa
<b>Dramatic intensity</b>	yes					yes
<b>Extreme tempi</b>	yes (slower)	yes (slower and quicker)				
<b>Tempo modification</b>	yes		yes	yes	yes	yes
<b>Varied &amp; frequent rubatos</b>	yes	yes		yes	yes	yes
<b>Exaggerated rhythms, esp. overdotting</b>		yes	yes			yes
<b>Melodic emphasis</b>	yes					
<b>Dislocation of tune &amp; accompaniment</b>		yes	yes		yes	yes
<b>Unnoted chord arpeggiation</b>					yes	yes
<b>Frequent portamento</b>	yes	yes	yes	yes		
<b>Sparing vibrato</b>	yes	yes	yes	yes		
<b>Lack of precision (ensemble and notes)</b>	yes	yes				yes

### 5.8 Analysing Early Recordings: A Non-reductionist Proposal

Given the deep C19th stylistic roots in Romanticist culture, and the dramatic-poetic pedagogy of Romanticist performance, I propose an analysis of recordings and performances that includes these necessarily subjective areas. Further, in the context of performance application of HIPP analysis, a central goal of this thesis, a recording analysis should be designed to produce data that may be directly used to inform and facilitate practical performance. This requires both the analysis of a full range of Romanticist performance considerations, and the presentation of the data in a performance-applicable format. To the degree possible, the analytical process should recognise the broad goals of

Romanticism, and place analysis of individual performance elements in that context. In particular, it should attempt to avoid analytical reductionism, a mere numeralising of selected music characteristics.

The following analytical table has been developed on the basis of analyses and comments from major scholars discussed in the previous chapter, and from the present author's many years of performance experimentation and listening experience. The table aims to cover the four main areas important for early recordings and for Romanticist style:

1. The (extant) technological quality of the recording, which obviously has a significant effect on the amount and accuracy of HIPP data which can be mined. Early audio recordings suffer from high noise floors and limited frequency and dynamic ranges, while rolls may be replayed on poorly set up instruments and have limited range of voicing balance and dynamic,
2. The overarching spirit of Romanticism. These broad characteristics are examined early, to limit the reductionist anachronism of Romanticist performance reduced to a list of elements,
3. Key elements of the performance and their relationship to the score,
4. A variety of rhythmic elements.

The table does not include specific reproducible numerical measurements, but records subjective data only. In the current scholarly climate, with those such as Peres Da Costa and Robert Philip<sup>460</sup> producing tables of measurable numeric data, this requires justification. To begin, there is benefit in our Modernist age in producing numerical data, given the elevated status of such scientific (positivist) data. There is no doubt that producing a table of measurements is more convincing to the Modernist mind than simply listening to the recording and annotating musical impressions. In our culture, objectivism trumps subjectivism. Bowen comments:

While it may seem anomalous to use machines to measure what we might not otherwise hear, it is worth recalling that Czerny maintained that ... [playing passages] with greater tranquility ... would only be discovered by a reference to the beats of the Metronome. ... It seems unavoidable - desirable in fact - that future research in this field will continue to seek measurable quantities in musical performance. ... While few would claim that a musical performance can be entirely reduced to numbers, we still want objective and quantifiable information ... <sup>461</sup>

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<sup>460</sup> See the books already cited.

<sup>461</sup> José A. Bowen, "Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works" in: Nicholas Cook & Mark Everist, *Rethinking Music*, 431-2.

However, this approach is ultimately limited, and I would question why we “still want objective and quantifiable information” in a form “reduced to numbers” in seeking to describe and apply an inevitably subjective art style. Further, there are only a specific number of HIPP elements that can be so quantified, and the danger is that the HIPP enterprise begins to shrink to include only those elements measurable by (repeatable) audio analysis. Currently, analysis is focused around time data, measured either in metronome beats per second, in duration in minutes and seconds, or in percentage changes between bars and sections, measuring overall fluctuations in tempo at bar level or higher. Even if this is further refined, perhaps to an individual note level (as with a piano roll), it will remain a crude measurement, given the musical effect of micro-seconds in rhythm to musical effect.

More seriously, there is a danger in applying a reductionist, especially numerical, epistemology in music, that of inappropriately using the methods of “hard science” in areas where scientific answers are not possible, as famously parodied in *The Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy*, where the “answer to the ultimate question of life, the universe, and everything” is given as 42.<sup>462</sup> The philosopher Roger Scruton has made the following warning:

Over the last several decades, therefore, we have witnessed a steady invasion of the humanities by scientific methodology. This invasion provides us with a clear distinction between scientific and scientistic ways of thinking. The scientific thinker has a clear question, a body of data, and a theoretical answer to the question that can be tested against that data. The scientistic thinker borrows the *appearance* of a scientific question, the appearance of data, and the appearance of a method that will arrive at an answer.<sup>463</sup>

Scruton gives an example from the visual arts particularly apposite to this discussion, illustrating a materialist, reductionist approach that “describes” the painting, even reproduces it, but which provides none of the meaning of the work, none of the reason it is considered a masterpiece:

It is fairly obvious that Titian’s famous painting of the *Venus of Urbino* (1538) consists of a canvas on which are distorted pigments ... We could describe this distribution using geometrical coordinates in two-dimensional space, and so pixelize Titian’s picture in a digital formula that enables a machine to reproduce it. The formula makes

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<sup>462</sup> Douglas Adams, *The Hitchhiker’s Guide to the Galaxy* (London: Gollancz, 2005), 137-146.

<sup>463</sup> Roger Scruton, “Scientism in the Arts and Humanities”, *The New Atlantis*, Fall 2013, [www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/scientism-in-the-arts-and-humanities](http://www.thenewatlantis.com/publications/scientism-in-the-arts-and-humanities), accessed 12/5/17.

no mention of the woman, her servant, or the eyes that challenge and the hand that hides.<sup>464</sup>

In HIPP studies also, given the goal of performance, there is a critical gap between mere empirical measurement (either in units of time or as a percentage variation) and actual musical knowledge and effect. Demonstrating a numerically greater temporal and rhythmic performance variability within works between early and later recordings does not in itself demonstrate significant musical stylistic change. We do not leave the concert hall describing the evening as a string of numbers. To determine the musical significance of numeric data, the numbers must be re-translated back into the inevitably subjective effects on musical performance, where assessing the validity requires yet another subjective judgement. The HIPP question is not “Is the tempo range in early recordings measured in seconds greater or lesser than later recordings?”; it is “To what extent is the effect of tempo change in early recordings greater or lesser than in later recordings?”. Further, although tempo and rubato are essential elements in Romanticist HIPP study, there are others. Is it helpful to have a percentage figure on the number of unnotated broken chords per work? How can levels of drama or individuality be enumerated? Finally, as has been discussed, individual HIPP elements by themselves do not define musical effect, but must be explored in conjunction with the other elements. None of the above should be taken as dismissive of numerical analysis in HIPP studies, but as a recognition of its limitations. Having accepted Richard Taruskin’s argument (noted in an earlier chapter) that the HIPP project has inescapably Modernist roots, we must be careful not to assume Modernist critical assumptions and methodologies while attempting to avoid Modernist aesthetics and performance practices. Numerical data forms in and of themselves are no guarantee of either objectivity or analytical clarity, particularly in the case of Romanticist reaction against Enlightenment Rationalism.

Unlike mere sound, music analysis therefore remains an inescapably subjective phenomenon, and stylistic elements only have true musical meaning within the context of each other, within a performance. A reductionist analysis seems of limited value, and may easily lead to exaggerated, musically false conclusions. Therefore, I have developed a recording analytical table which attempts to place HIPP elements within a context of broad style, which I have termed Romanticist Spirit.

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<sup>464</sup> Roger Scruton, “Scientism in the Arts and Humanities”.

Further, when dealing with recordings, it is important to indicate the presence of mechanical intrusion that may mask HIP elements and distort style. Clearly the table below may be expanded further in each category; I have attempted to find a practical middle way between ease of use and detail of analysis. Brief descriptions of each category have been included in the explanatory version Table 5.3 below (with more detailed comments following):

**Table 5.3 Template for HIPP Romanticist Recording Analysis**

<b>0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.</b>			
<b>0</b>	<b>RECORDING TECHNOLOGY</b>	<b>Level</b>	<b>Description</b>
0.1	Audio distortion/mechanical intrusion		Effect of noise, limitation of frequency and dynamic ranges, rhythmic and voicing distortions
<b>1</b>	<b>ROMANTICIST SPIRIT</b>	<b>Overall performance characteristics</b>	
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity		Degree of dramatic focus and range
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo		Unusual by contemporary Modernist expectations
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style		A sense of spontaneity and performance freedom
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism		Focus on short-term phrase gesture, as opposed to long-term structuralist interpretation
1.5	Individualized Interpretation		Degree of performer's stylistic recognisability and contrast with Modernist interpretations of the work
1.6	Note inaccuracy		Level of acceptance of note inaccuracy
<b>2</b>	<b>TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY</b>	<b>Practices of score alteration</b>	
2.1	Prelude		Presence or absence
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions		Usage of large scale score variation
2.3	Alternate passagework		Usage of small scale score variation
2.4	Alternate ending		Notated by composer, or recalled by student
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords		Extent of changes of texture and harmonies
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation		Extent of effect of this practice
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation		Breadth of expressive variety of arpeggiation
<b>3</b>	<b>TEMPO &amp; RHYTHM</b>	<b>Practices or rhythmic distortion</b>	
3.1	Varied sectional tempi		Degree of effect tempo change between sections
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato		Degree of effect of general rubato
3.3	Dance swing		Degree of effect in regular dance rhythm distortion, particularly in accompaniment
3.4	Unequal passagework		Degree of rhythmic change between notes of equal printed length
3.5	Agogic accenting		Degree of effect of sudden broadening of notes
3.6	Unnotated short pauses		Degree of effect in sudden time cessation
3.7	Rhythmic intensification		Overdotting & lengthening of theoretical note values
3.8	Rhythmic layering		Degree of effect of different senses of tempo and shape between tune and accompaniment
3.9	Melodic dislocation		Degree of effect of melodic delay or advance relative to accompaniment

The practical questions are: to what extent are HIPP elements discernible in the musical mix of a particular recording, and what range of effects are demonstrated within the performance style? Consequently, I suggest an indication of musical effect through a simple four-step subjective rating scale, based on a close relationship with practical HIPP questions. The numerals are used merely as shorthand for an ascending scale of (subjective) musical response within a generalised contemporary Modernist performance expectation:

- 0 = no significant effect,
- 1 = a small, subtle effect,
- 2 = a clearly noticeable effect,
- 3 = a dominating effect.

Given the audio distortion and mechanical artefacts of early recording technologies, a clear judgement is not always possible, in which case a question mark (?) is used to indicate a lack of data rather than the absence of performance element.

Although Table 4.3 is largely based on the Romanticist performance elements discussed in the previous chapter, several individual categories require further definition and comment. First, elements under the general heading Romanticist Spirit:

1.1 Poetic/dramatic Focus. It is clear that Romanticist music, as would be expected, adopts the broad cultural focus of the time and aims to express itself in largely poetic fashion. As with Romanticist poetry, this requires more than mere notes, but a heart-to-heart communication of a deep sense of the subject, whether psychological drama or landscape. Works based on narrative do not aim to merely tell the story, but enable the listener to experience the dramatic flow. This is evidenced by the fact that so many Romanticist works allude to specific literary or landscape themes, most especially seen in the music of Liszt included in this thesis. In particular, Romanticism's significant focus on the Sublime aims for the utmost in dramatic intensity and profundity. Consequently, the performer does not aim to merely interpret the score, but rather live the drama of the work in performance. Such an approach may not seem similar too dissimilar to the best of contemporary performance, yet the extent and effect seem to have been radically different. Timothy Day reports on an historical analysis of political rhetoric in the 1950's versus that in the 1830's and 1840's, concluding that the former "would not have been considered eloquence at all a century earlier."<sup>465</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 152.



1.3 Re-creational/improvisational Style. As will be seen in the following chapter, one of the most prized characteristics of Liszt's performances was a sense of not merely interpreting or presenting a work, but of improvising the music as he played it. This was true for both his own compositions and those of others. This remains a central goal of Romanticist performance, beyond mere score reproduction, or even interpretation. Such an effect usually requires the performer to have a significant degree of improvisational freedom, a degree of genuine creation and adaptation, allied to the highest level of personal, emotional and intellectual and creative engagement in the performance, blurring the line between performance and composition.

1.4 Rhetorical Gesturalism. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, while Romanticist style is not closely based on Greek and Roman theories of rhetoric, unlike much C17th and C18th music, nonetheless it maintains significant gestural elements and a rhetorical dramatic sense. Adopting models from poetry and narrative, it is also gestural, with a variety of dramatic meaning to be emphasised through musical gesture, through musical declamation, hence Liszt's term use of the term "recital" to describe his solo concertising.<sup>466</sup> In this, Romanticism stands in contrast to a structuralist performance style, one focused on formal proportional balance, and can seem "broken up", even somewhat incoherent in effect to those expecting Modernist structural balance.

1.5 Individualized Interpretation. Clearly, this aspect is closely related to 1.3 above. If the performer is to truly vivify the performance as indicated above, the performance must be significantly individualised to be authentic to the performer. As in C20th Jazz, the expectation is that each performer, and even each individual performance, will express a unique blend of insights into the work, based on the unique life and gifts of the artist. It may even be argued that this approach takes precedence over textual fidelity, with all the freedoms and dangers that implies.

Second, under the heading Textual Flexibility, the following characteristics are examined:

2.1 Preluding. As a way of personalising the performance, as a means of adjusting to the performance environment, and as a gathering of audience focus, preluding is a convention ripe for revival. Although uncommon in recordings (for obvious reasons), the practice of improvising a short prelude before the main work was still fairly common until

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<sup>466</sup> See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt : the Virtuoso Years 1811-1847* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 285-6.

the Second World War. Hamilton indicates a few instances of recorded preluding, notably Busoni's use of a Chopin prelude before the *Etude Op.10 No.5*, and several live recordings of Josef Hofmann in the late 1930s.<sup>467</sup>

2.2 Unnotated Cuts and Repeats. These were often recommended by Liszt.<sup>468</sup> While many cuts in disc recordings were necessitated by limited recording time, those found in rolls are not so required. Siloti's roll recording of one of Liszt's finest works, the *Benediction de Dieu*, cuts from bar 86 to 252 (including the entire middle section) and is an extreme example of the textual freedom Liszt's students were encouraged to adopt.<sup>469</sup>

2.3 & 2.4 Alternate Passagework and Endings. These are all evident in the recorded repertoire, indicating a certain improvisational character, regular use of open ended forms, and flexible decoration. Examples in specific repertoire will be given in the next chapter. However, this may not apply in those works tightly structured in form.

2.5 Changes of texture. Added notes and chords are not uncommon, especially by adding harmony notes or octaves. Such changes may reflect differences in piano tone and concert acoustics as well as personal taste, and may include simplification of bass textures on modern pianos, and in softer repeats. Also in this category is the practice of finger pedalling,<sup>470</sup> an excellent example of which is found in Liszt's arrangement of Chopin's song *Frühling* (Example 5.11 below). Within a short page, Liszt notates the holding of certain bottom notes in a simple LH broken chord accompaniment, and in contrast to the second page texture which is thinner and more broken. The use of longer held and shorter held notes indicates something of the variety of finger pedalling possible in appropriate contexts. Again, it is important to stress that the composer is here removing a normal choice, specifying one of several normally unnotated options, rather than notating a rare event.

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<sup>467</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 102. Professor Larry Sitsky has helpfully indicated to the present author that further late examples are to be heard in live performance recordings of Dinu Lipatti.

<sup>468</sup> For example, suggesting a repeat of a middle part of *Au lac de Wallenstadt* to enhance its effect, as described in Lachmund, *Living with Liszt*, p.214.

<sup>469</sup> Alexander Siloti, Arthur Friedhelm, *Great Pianists of the Golden Era: Liszt's Pupils* (Fonè 90 F 07 CD, 1990) track 2.

<sup>470</sup> Finger pedalling involves notes being held with the fingers, rather than the sustaining pedal. The result is a clearer, more specific additional resonance.

### Example 5.11 Finger Pedalling in Chopin/Liszt *Früling*

**Andantino malinconico** [ $\text{♩} = \text{c.}56$ ]

CHOPIN-LISZT

*cantando*

*un poco pesante una corda*

*poco rall.*

2.6 & 2.7 Unnotated arpeggiation with a variety of shapes and effects. This is another clear difference between earlier recordings and Modernist practice. In the context of general rhythmic asynchronicity, it is not surprising that the early recordings reveal frequent use of unnotated arpeggiation, especially (but not solely) in *espressivo* passages. Claudio Arrau remembers his teacher, the Liszt student Martin Krause, giving specific instruction that sits well with the recordings:

He taught us several ways to break a chord: to start slowly, and then accelerate toward the highest note; or to make a crescendo to the highest note; or to make a diminuendo; or to do it freely, with rubato. But always so that the broken chords would have a meaning coming from what went before.<sup>471</sup>

Further, in Romanticist style there is a great number of broken chords written out in large noteheads to give a more specific rhythmic shape to the break,<sup>472</sup> so it may be best to consider chords as normally in a continuum, with unbroken chords at one extreme and deliberate large notehead arpeggiation, including notated suggestion for rhythm of the arpeggiation, at the other. Most chords may lie mid-spectrum, broken to some extent in

<sup>471</sup> Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau*, 38-9.

<sup>472</sup> For example, in Liszt's *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*, from bar 13.

appropriate dramatic character. In this context, both Chopin's *Étude Op.10 No.11* and (perhaps even more) Liszt's *Transcendental Étude No.11: Harmonies du soir* become essential training, and require fresh interpretative thinking to fully utilise the expressive possibilities of a diversity of shapes and speeds in arpeggiation.

Third, under the heading Tempo & Rhythm, a number of stylistic elements are examined which include those most obviously in opposition to Modernist mathematical precision and score literalism, particularly rhythmic layering and dislocation of hands:

3.1 & 3.2 Expressive tempo modification and rubato. As has been seen, this is perhaps the most obvious difference between Romanticist style and both Modernist and Period performance styles. Tempo changes are both more frequent and of greater extent, highlighting changes in drama and emphasising expressive gesture.

3.3 Dance movements have long been a major component of repertoire (not least complete forms such as the Baroque suite). In our own time, rhythm in major C20th and C21st dance styles have required a regular rhythmic modification, known in jazz as swing. Even within the environment of a rhythmically mechanical C20th Modernism and a beat-driven Afro-American aesthetic, rhythms of dance music often relied on regularised rhythmic distortion, lengthening and shortening beats within the bar. In C19th Romanticism, dance forms remained popular, their rhythms often characterised by regularised rhythmic distortions, for example, waltzes often lengthen first beats (or second beats in the case of Viennese style). Chopin's use of various dance forms, (the waltz, the mazurka, the polonaise) even in large works (such as the *Ballades*) is quintessential. The stylistic question then becomes the extent to which such rhythmic distortions were applied. The evidence of many early recordings is that such dance rhythms are swung more than has been normative since the 1930's, creating a greater sense of energy and passion.

3.5 Signs such as hairpins and tenuto markings should generally be assumed to have agogic function, and as a general rule, dynamic changes should have associated tempo and agogic implications. These are, however, not consistently used throughout the C19th, and are always dependent on dramatic context, so it may be possible for the same sign to require different treatment in different composers and works (as has been discussed with hairpins).

3.7 Rhythmic intensification. Early recordings often indicate an intensification of rhythm by a general lengthening of longer notes and shortening of shorter notes over their theoretical values. In particular, there is a frequent use of over-dotting, and interestingly,

some use of *inéga*le. Small breaks between phrases and chords are also evident. Interestingly, all these elements were recommended by pedagogic writers in the C18th, and provide an example of continuity between C18th and C19th performance styles.

3.8 Rhythmic layering. It is often helpful in understanding why notes in one hand (or part) are regularly out of sync with those in another hand (or part) to recognise an overall difference in rhythmic flow and tempo between the parts. I term this “rhythmic layering”. It is common in simple tune and accompaniment textures, particularly Field and Chopin nocturnes. It is, however, not limited to these works; an example is found on the last page of Liszt’s *Sonata in B minor*, where the ethereal ascending chords should remain calm and rhythmically even, yet the LH repeated note retains energy through rhythmic distortion.<sup>473</sup>

3.9 Melodic dislocation between the hands. This is also an obvious stylistic difference from contemporary practices, and comes in two overlapping forms. First, there is a general rhythmic layering between tune and accompaniment, and second, there is a specific agogic accenting of significant melodic points, mostly by agogic delay and (less frequently) by agogic advance. Obviously related to dislocation between hands, chamber ensemble rhythm is looser, with individual instrumentalists’ rhythm and even phrasing lacking rigid uniformity. The result is a sense of a dialoging group of musicians rather than of a single musical machine.

## 5.9 Early Recording Analysis: Three Examples

To demonstrate both the efficacy of the analysis chart above and the advantages of recording triangulation, I have chosen an example from each of the three early recording technologies: Edison cylinder, reproducing piano roll and (early) phonograph disc, all remastered to CD with no additional discernible sonic or performance artefacts. A comprehensive set of analyses deriving the late Romanticist style from early recordings is beyond the scope of this thesis, since I am basically satisfied with the work already done in this area by the leading scholars discussed in previous chapters. The major point I wish to make here is a demonstration of the breadth of performance characteristics required for Romanticist HIPP analysis, and in particular the importance of relating performance elements to an overarching dramatic direction. A broader analytical study (which is beyond the scope of this dissertation) would also require (chart-based) analyses of Modernist

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<sup>473</sup> See Claudio Arrau, Liszt, recorded 1969-1983, Philips 432 305-2,5 CDs, CD 4: *Sonata in B minor*.

recordings for stylistic comparison, and I have included below brief comments comparing an early (1905) and a late (1953) recording of the Schubert *Impromptu Op.90 No.4* performed by Artur Schnabel, which provide at least an intimation of the possible results of a broader study. Selecting three recordings of one of Liszt's major works would have been desirable, thus highlighting the triangulation possible from the three technologies, however such an example could not be found.

The first recording, analysed in Table 5.4 and included as Audio 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3, is an example from the remarkable Julius Block collection of Edison cylinders (discussed in an earlier chapter). These are the earliest extant pianoforte recordings with the famous exception of the (virtually inaudible) Brahms recording of 1889. Recorded in 1895 in Moscow by Paul Pabst,<sup>474</sup> a student of Liszt and professor at the Moscow Conservatory, it is a particularly important cylinder as this significant artist and pedagogue made no recordings on other formats, and is one of just eight short examples in this collection. The cylinder contains Pabst's arrangement of Chopin's *Waltz Op.64 No.1*, plus two short pieces from Schumann's *Carnaval*, "Chopin" and "Estrella". The recording was made "live" at one of Block's soirées, as evidenced by the enthusiastic clapping and cheering at the end. Mechanical noise is a major limitation on detailed stylistic analysis, yet much can still be discerned. The performance is particularly notable for its passionate character and fast tempi, its use of HIP elements such as tune delay in *espressivo* sections, and its freedom to arrange (thus personalise) the Chopin *Waltz*. Significant, also, is Pabst's performance choice in choosing to join together a small group of miniatures, particularly the two lifted from *Carnaval*, illustrating the Romanticist aesthetic love of the short fragment, or a fragment of a larger work (such as piano cycles, variations, etc.). This lack of focus on the complete and comprehensive is decidedly unmodernist.

The second example, Table 5.5 and Audio 5.4, is an early recording by Eugen d'Albert playing Chopin's *Waltz in A flat Op.42*.<sup>475</sup> In many ways, this recording is an example of a standardised late Romanticist style, a highly dramatic and virtuosic approach with significant rhythmic flexibility at times, yet with few radical personalisations. Adherence to the score notation is close to Modernist requirements (an occasional bass

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<sup>474</sup> Paul Pabst, Chopin-Pabst Waltz in D-flat Op.41 No.1, Schumann Carnaval Op.9 "Chopin" and "Estrella", on *The Dawn of Recording: the Julius Block Cylinders*, recorded 1895, Marston 2008, 3 CDs.

<sup>475</sup> Eugen d'Albert, *The Centaur Pianist: Complete studio Recordings 1910-1928*, recorded 1910-12, Arbiter 147, 2005, 2 CDs.

note is doubled). As such, it stands in significant contrast to the cylinder recording discussed above. Although this “standardisation” may be a partial effect both of the recording process and of company sales goals, the performance must nonetheless have been acceptable to the artist.

The third example, Table 5.6 and Audio 5.5, is of Artur Schnabel, who recorded the Schubert *Impromptu Op.90 No.4*, on reproducing piano roll in 1905,<sup>476</sup> and on LP nearly 50 years later.<sup>477</sup> Despite his contemporaneous reputation as rather formal and undemonstrative in interpretation,<sup>478</sup> the roll exhibits many HIPP Romanticist features, including significant tempo changes between sections, and an exaggerated rubato shape in repeated chords. Overall, the effect is moderately improvisational and highly dramatic. The reproducing piano has been very well set up for the recording, and has only a very slight mechanical intrusion. Interestingly, this interpretation stands in stylistic contrast to his later LP recording, and the two recordings are compared in Table 5.7, Audio 5.5 and Audio 5.6. In particular, it can be seen that the later recording is far less rhythmically varied in virtually all categories of Tempo and Rhythm, especially including melodic dislocation and rhythmic intensification in the LH repeated chords in the Trio. In the opening section (and its repeats), repeated chord gestures are taken at a slightly slower tempo than the surrounding semiquaver passagework, with the first chord often agogically lengthened, and from bar 47, the young Schnabel suddenly drops tempo to use an *accelerando* through to the climax of the passage. These changes might be expected as an adaption to the modernising effects of C20th performance culture, and result in very different drama conveyed, from passionate spontaneity of the first recording, to the interpretative seriousness of the second. They certainly exemplify the dangers of drawing uniform conclusions about a performer’s life-long style. Table 5.7 below compares HIPP characteristics of both roll and disc recordings.

Finally, Table 5.8 compares HIPP results across Tables 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6. Despite the limitations of comparing different works, performers, and technologies, the results are interesting. The basic tempo in the cylinder recording is very fast, perhaps indicating a “live” performance spontaneity and energy not usually captured by studio recordings. The same could be postulated for the altered passagework used by Pabst but not adopted

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<sup>476</sup> Artur Schnabel, *The Welte-Mignon Mystery Vo.VII*, recorded 1905, Tacet 146, 2007, CD.

<sup>477</sup> Artur Schnabel, *Schubert and Schnabel Vol. II*, LP recorded 1953, Arabesque Z6572, 1987, CD.

<sup>478</sup> See Joseph Horowitz, *Conversations with Arrau* (London: Collins, 1982), 113.

elsewhere. All three recordings are unanimous in adoption of basic Romanticist performance elements, including varied sectional tempi, fluctuating rubato, agogic accenting, rhythmic intensification of short notes, and melodic dislocation in espressivo passages.

The five tables are presented below:



**Table 5.4 and Audio 5.1, 5.2 & 5.3 Edison Cylinder: Paul Pabst**  
**Chopin *Waltz Op.64 No.1* and Schumann *Chopin & Estrella* from *Carnaval***

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	Level	Description
0.1	Audio distortion/mechanical intrusion	3	Extreme noise and limited frequency range
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Overall performance characteristics	
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	3	Passionate, virtuosic, excited clapping at end
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	3	Fast tempi throughout, highly energized
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	3	Substantial sense of freedom
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	2	Substantial in espressivo sections only
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	3	Substantial arrangement in Waltz
1.6	Note inaccuracy	2	Some inaccuracy in "Estrella"
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY	Practices of score alteration	
2.1	Prelude	0	
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	2	Repeat of opening section in Waltz, repetition of "Chopin", repetition of opening section in "Estrella"
2.3	Alternate passagework	3	Integration of themes in Waltz, extension of fioratura in "Chopin"
2.4	Alternate ending	0	
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	?	Not clearly discernible, due to noise floor
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	?	Not clearly discernible, due to noise floor
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	?	Not clearly discernible, due to noise floor
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM	Practices or rhythmic distortion	
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	2	Espressivo sections much slower
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	2	Significant compared with Modernist examples
3.3	Dance swing	0	Swing perhaps inappropriate in the fast tempo
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	Fast and even
3.5	Agogic accenting	2	Prevalent in appropriate espressivo sections
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	3	Short notes double dotted in both Schumann pieces
3.8	Rhythmic layering	2	Tune tempo slower in feel to accompaniment in espressivo sections
3.9	Melodic dislocation	3	Extensive in middle section of Waltz, in "Chopin"

**Table 5.5 and Audio 5.4 Gramophone Disc: Eugen d'Albert**  
**Chopin *Waltz in A flat Op.42***

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	Level	Description
0.1	Audio distortion/mechanical intrusion	2	Limited dynamic & frequency ranges, significant disc surface noise
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Overall performance characteristics	
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	2	Energised and virtuosic
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	2	Fast tempi
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	2	Significant compared with Modernist examples
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	2	Espressivo gestures strongly shaped
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	Significant compared with Modernist examples
1.6	Note inaccuracy	2	
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY	Practices of score alteration	
2.1	Prelude	0	Usually excluded in studio recording due to time constraints and aesthetic of unrepeatability
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	
2.4	Alternate ending	0	
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	1	Occasional 8va added in LH
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	1	Occasional in LH octaves
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	0	
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM	Practices or rhythmic distortion	
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	3	Wide tempo range
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	2	Significant in espressivo sections
3.3	Dance swing	1	A little used in slowest section only; perhaps inappropriate at the fast tempi chosen
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	
3.5	Agogic accenting	2	Significant in espressivo tune lines
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	3	Dotted rhythms and quick ornamental gestures or flourishes greatly intensified
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	
3.9	Melodic dislocation	2	Significant in espressivo tune lines

**Table 5.6 and Audio 5.5 Reproducing Piano Roll: Artur Schnabel**  
**Schubert *Impromptu Op.90 No.4***

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	Level	Description
0.1	Audio distortion/mechanical intrusion	2	Some obvious rhythmic & articulation artificiality in a few places, dynamic range limited, no voicing
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Overall performance characteristics	
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	3	Highly dramatic interpretation
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	1	Trio quick and turbulent in minor mode sections
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	2	Significant compared with Modernist examples
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	3	Substantial in Trio
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	Significant compared with Modernist examples (including his own disc)
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	Unlikely given standard roll editing
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY	Practices of score alteration	
2.1	Prelude	0	Usually excluded in studio recording due to time constraints and aesthetic of unrepeatability
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	
2.4	Alternate ending	0	
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	2	Many slower chords arpeggiated
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	1	Quick and rhythmically even arpeggiation
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM	Practices or rhythmic distortion	
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	3	Substantial changes between sections, e.g. at b.47
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	Repeated chords in particular very shaped, molto accel. in Trio ascending lines
3.3	Dance swing	0	Not appropriate in this work
3.4	Unequal passagework	1	An extreme accel. in RH ascending passage in Trio
3.5	Agogic accenting	2	Significant in espressivo tunes
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	2	Significant in repeated chords, especially in Trio
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	
3.9	Melodic dislocation	1	Melodies generally in sync., some delay in PP tune in final section.

**Table 5.7 and Audio 5.5 & 5.6 Comparison of Piano Roll and Gramophone Disc Recordings: Schnabel's recordings of the Schubert *Impromptu Op.90 No.4***

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	1905 Roll Level 0-3	1953 Disc Level 0-3
0.1	Audio clarity/mechanical intrusion	2	3
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT		
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	3	1
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	1	1
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	2	1
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	3	1
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	1
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	0
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY		
2.1	Prelude	0	0
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	0
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	0
2.4	Alternate ending	0	0
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	0
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	2	0
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	1	0
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	3	1
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	1
3.3	Dance swing	0	0
3.4	Unequal passagework	1	0
3.5	Agogic accenting	2	1
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	0
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	2	0
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	0
3.9	Melodic dislocation	2	0

**Table 5.8 Comparison of Data from the Three Recording Technologies  
Analysed in Tables 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.				
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	Cylinder	Disc	Roll
0.1	Audio distortion/mechanical intrusion	3	2	2
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT			
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	3	2	3
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	3	2	1
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	3	2	2
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	2	2	3
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	3	2	2
1.6	Note inaccuracy	2	2	0
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY			
2.1	Prelude	0	0	0
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	2	0	0
2.3	Alternate passagework	3	0	0
2.4	Alternate ending	0	0	0
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	?	1	0
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	?	1	2
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	?	0	1
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM			
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	2	3	3
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	2	2	3
3.3	Dance swing	0	1	0
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	0	1
3.5	Agogic accenting	2	2	2
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	0	0
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	3	3	2
3.8	Rhythmic layering	2	0	0
3.9	Melodic dislocation	3	2	2

In summary, the examples above demonstrate the value of a broadly analytic approach in Romanticist HIPP. First, they confirm the value of all three technological forms, most especially demonstrating the stylistic data discernible in both cylinder and reproducing piano roll despite obvious technological limitations. Second, the tables cover all Romanticist HIPP elements rarely found in Modernist performances. Importantly, the tables give clear indication of any absence of HIPP elements and practices, essential in understanding the range of contemporaneous performance styles. Third, they allow a basic contextualisation of HIPP elements within the broader Romanticist concerns of textual personalisation and dramatic spirit. Fourth, there is a notable intensification of Romanticist Spirit and extent of basic textual modification in the live cylinder recording over the two studio recordings, as has been commented. Unfortunately, the extent of any small-scale textures and unnotated arpeggiation in Pabst's cylinder are hidden under the high noise floor of the recording. The intensification of Romanticist Spirit generally discernible in the Block cylinder recordings, given they are recorded performances in front of live (and enthusiastic!) small audiences, is perhaps not unexpected, and may provide an important re-weighting of studio recording results.

### **5.10 Reconstructing Late Romanticist Performance Style: A Summary**

It is not possible to adequately describe any performance style in words, hence the annotated scores and (most importantly) the recordings that accompany this thesis. I propose the following overarching practices, developed through analysing and experimenting with this material in both performance and teaching, verifying and expanding on the scholarly work discussed above. Several initial comments are important to clarify:

1. I have argued for the necessity of a coherence between the spirit and goals of Romanticism on the one hand, and its stylistic expression on the other. The latter makes little sense without the former, becoming a mere set of HIPP rules applied in an unchanged Modernist ethos. It is essential therefore for the performer to begin by immersion in the Romanticist worldview via cultural exegesis, and from there to work backwards into application of HIPP elements (such as dislocation of hands).
2. It can easily be seen that many Romanticist HIPP elements are interrelated, particularly those of tempo and rhythm. Peres Da Costa has commented that "[s]ome might argue that all of these techniques amount to one and the same thing:

a way of creating rubato or displacement of time that influences phrase-shape, texture, and dynamic.”<sup>479</sup> They are certainly interactive in dramatic effect. In performance reconstruction, it is therefore insufficient to merely apply reductionist methodology. An understanding and demonstration of the integration of HIPP elements is essential for an accurate and musically coherent reconstruction.

3. We must acknowledge the complexities of varieties of Romanticist performance styles. As has been discussed in an earlier chapter, the C19th is a “long” century, a cultural era beginning with the French Revolution in 1789 to the First World War in 1914. Despite the cultural commonalities of this era, it must be assumed that such a length of time inevitably produced significant phases of performance practice, mirroring compositional variety, instrument development, and social change. For a long-lived composer such as Liszt (1811-1886), it is logical to assume these changes affected his performance style (and pianoforte technique). It seems particularly plausible that the young virtuoso, the mid-century *Kapellmeister* and the ageing pedagogue and compositional futurist played in distinctive, if related, styles. While core performance elements remained in common, it is clear that at any time during the period there was a range of performance effects, from conservative-refined to radical-dramatic, from Mendelssohn, Brahms, Clara Schumann, and von Bülow to Liszt, Wagner, and Anton Rubinstein. As an example of an evidently surprising degree of *tempo rubato*, Timothy Day comments:

A London violinist [Henry Smart] complained of the way that Wagner ‘prefaces the entry of an important point or the return of a theme - especially in a slow movement - by an exaggerated ritardando; and ... reduces the speed of an allegro - say in an overture or the first part of a symphony - fully one-third immediately on the entry of a cantabile phrase’<sup>480</sup>

4. We need to develop an understanding of Romanticist scores more as ‘template works’ (to use Roger Scruton’s term discussed above) than as fundamentalist scripture. Again, a spectrum of degree is evident, with the more improvisational works from the most Romanticist composers releasing the greatest possibilities for substantial notational change. All works, however, require significant dramatically-appropriate enhancement, even if restricted to ornamental and rhythmic levels.

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<sup>479</sup> Neil Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, 45.

<sup>480</sup> Henry Smart, quoted in Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No.9* (Cambridge, 1993), 49-51. Quoted in Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, 153.

### 5.11 Closing Remarks

Bruce Haynes has rightly prophesied:

How the Romanticists actually made music has been little understood. This is because - for a long time - we assumed we knew; that is, since we never stopped playing Beethoven, it was assumed his performing tradition had been handed down to us intact. But listening to recordings of Mengelberg's or Furtwängler's Beethoven, already so different from ours, suggests the possibility that performances in the nineteenth century were very far from our current taste. ... Meanwhile, if we continue to love the Romanticist repertoire, we may well find ourselves reviving the performing style that originally went with that music: Romanticist style. The irony is that it will be the Period music movement (already at work on this project as we speak) that will reawaken Romanticist practices, and lift its former arch-enemy from its early and undeserved grave.<sup>481</sup>

Recent scholarly interest has begun to revive this discarded performance style, and a broad consensus has emerged concerning the expressive elements that distinguish Romanticist HIPP. Confirmation of this basic reconstruction comes from two sources, at either end of the Romantic era. First, there is clear linkage between many Romanticist practices and those of the previous centuries, as has been made evident by an increasing number of contemporary HIPP performers of C18th and C17th repertoire. For example, a demonstration of improvisatory freedom and dramatic passion is powerfully present in the performance of Gerolamo Frescobaldi's *Toccata second* (1615) by harpsichordist Marco Mencoboni.<sup>482</sup> Rhetorical phrasing and declamatory rhythm is everywhere present in the Haydn and Mozart recordings of fortepianist Geoffrey Lancaster.<sup>483</sup> Elements such as unnotated arpeggiation of chords, unnotated rhythmic shaping of passagework (such as *inéale*) and melodic delay were basic techniques of these earlier centuries. Second, there have been C20th performers who for various reasons play in substantially unModernist styles, yet whose apparent idiosyncrasies make sense when compared with a reconstituted C19th performance style. For example, Alfred Cortot's "extreme" rubato and Claudio Arrau's post-1960 "ponderous" declamatory phrasing are now revealed as a late survival and a considered revival respectively, while Furtwängler's (and Sergiu Celibidache's) dramatic religiosity and sectional tempo variety can also be seen as final

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<sup>481</sup> Haynes, *The End of Early Music*, 217-219.

<sup>482</sup> Gerolamo Frescobaldi, *Toccata second*, performed by Marco Mencoboni, YouTube video: <https://youtu.be/mVENq7tlxBU>, published 27th September 2014, accessed 1/5/2017.

<sup>483</sup> For example, Geoffrey Lancaster, *Haydn Complete Keyboard Sonatas Vol.2* (CD: Tall Poppies TP208, 2010).



examples of a long aesthetic and performance tradition. Most startling of all perhaps is the tragic case of pianist Erin Nyiregyhazi, whose extreme Romanticist passion, surprising tempi, and radical disinterest in note accuracy has arguable left the most representative yet technically flawed Romanticist survival, a reincarnation of Anton Rubinstein on a bad day!<sup>484</sup>

In 1948, a perhaps surprising assessment of the loss of Romanticist performance style was made by Arnold Schoenberg:

Today's manner of performing classical music of the so-called 'romantic' type, [surpresses] all emotional qualities and all unnotated changes of tempo and expression ... Thus almost everywhere in Europe music is played in a stiff inflexible metre - not in tempo, i.e. according to a yardstick of freely measured quantities.<sup>485</sup>

This remains the heart of the matter; the rise of the Modernist performance style, and the rejection of the Romanticist is centred on a cultural and psychological aversion to strong emotion and drama, and this is expressed through regularised mechanical rhythm, lack of ornamentation, and de-personalisation. In terms of HIPP research there remains much work yet to be done. Romanticist HIPP research has naturally focused on the late C19th/early C20th, a period of decadence as Romanticism splintered into Symbolism, Impressionism, Expressionism, Primitivism, Exoticism, and others. Already, most Romanticist repertoire was a generation old, already beginning to be bound by respect and diluted by familiarity. What would a performance from the first half of the century be like, from High Romanticism? Would we be appalled (at least initially) at its wild freedom and individuality, its bad taste populist excesses, its chasing of the Sublime, and its determination to move listeners to extremes of emotion and even to political motivation?

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<sup>484</sup> A selection of these fascinating and often terrifying performances is available on: Erin Nyiregyhazi in Performance (Music & Arts CD-1202(2), remastered 2007).

<sup>485</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein (London: Faber & Faber, 1975), 320.

## CHAPTER 6: PREPARING ANNOTATED SCORES AND HIPP RECORDINGS

### 6.1 Overview of the Chapter

This chapter will focus on the varieties of evidence required to produce a credible and practical HIPP Romanticist performance style in two of Liszt's most popular and respected piano cycles, the *Consolations* and the *Années de Pèlerinage Première Année*. In particular, it is my conclusion from this study that many stylistic elements are best demonstrated, and are most necessary, in many of the shorter character pieces exemplified here. It is certainly true that stylistic weaknesses are best hidden in a plethora of notes and avalanche of virtuosity!

The chapter will begin with (necessarily brief) background discussion, beginning with a selection of verbal accounts of Liszt's performance style, especially major reports of specific aspects of his pedagogic practice. Many of Liszt's most celebrated students left memoirs containing detailed accounts of the lessons of his last decade, and these are a vital source of data. Interestingly, many performers and teachers have ignored this material, and some remains unavailable in English. Second, the chapter will move to a discussion of the direct audio recorded evidence, of Liszt's compositions in general and of these works in particular. The perhaps mysterious lack of early recordings of Liszt's piano works, including by his own former students, is noted and theorised. Third, observations of the changes between mid-century European pianofortes and the emerging American designs will be briefly discussed. These structural and aesthetic changes greatly influenced instrumental properties, and should be taken into account when playing these works, composed for the former designs yet now performed on the latter.

The chapter will then turn to the application of HIPP data and conclusions through production of the Annotated Scores of the specific works chosen (Appendices 2 & 3) and through the attached original recordings. A number of issues arise from the performance annotation of scores, both in general and specific to the C19th, will be discussed, and a Score Annotation Key explained. Finally, practical issues defining my performance goals will be presented, along with an interpretative commentary of each work in the cycles, including discussion of written and audio recording historical evidence. This aspect of the research has been at the same time exciting and illuminating, and frustrating. As will be discussed later, the application of HIPP elements can easily become a mere technical exercise, rather than a means to expressing Romanticist drama, and I have not yet been

completely successful in this. Additionally, the available Érard pianoforte, while in fair condition, requires further maintenance, especially new hammers, and consequently does not produce a sound as helpful to works requiring a gentle, perhaps dreamlike quality as in its prime. An 1864 Érard 7'2" grand I have recently purchased has a warmer, more gentle sound, while retaining the clarity and basic tonal effects characteristic of this design of instrument.<sup>486</sup> Nonetheless, this practical experimentation has yielded invaluable insights into the subtleties of applying and combining C19th HIPP performance elements, and, importantly, has both reinforced their deep connection with C19th culture, and demonstrated their applicability for C21st pianists in this repertoire.

## 6.2 Considerations 1: Reported Lisztian Style

Although many verbal descriptions of Liszt's performances have come down to us from colleagues, critics, and students, these have not yet been sufficiently examined and applied to HIPP. It is not within the scope of this thesis to attempt a detailed reconstruction of Liszt's unique performance style(s) relative to those of his Romanticist contemporaries. However, a number of practical observations should be made. It is certain that much of Liszt's genius as performer cannot be reproduced by any mere application of HIPP data, as indicated by his student Alexander Siloti:

It is impossible to describe Liszt's playing. A pianist myself, I am yet unable to show how he played, or to give an idea of his playing in words. I cannot say he had a 'big' tone; it was rather that when he played there was no sound of the instrument. ...[He] would produce from [his piano], discordant as it was, music such as no one could form any idea without hearing it.<sup>487</sup>

The effect of his performance, both theatrically and musically, was in radical opposition to the comfortable conventionality of much of today's classical music culture. The music critic Vladimir Stasov commented on Liszt's 1842 concerts in St. Petersburg:

Four days later, on 8th April, Liszt gave his first concert before an overflow audience of more than three thousand in the Assembly Hall of the Nobility. Everything about this concert was unusual. First of all, Liszt appeared alone on the stage throughout the entire concert: there were no other performers - no orchestra, singers or any other instrumental soloists whatsoever. This was something unheard of, utterly novel, even somewhat brazen. ... Then, the idea of having a small stage erected in the very centre of the hall like an islet in the middle of an ocean, a throne high above the heads of the crowd, from which to pour forth his mighty torrents of sound. And then,

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<sup>486</sup> It does, however, require significant work on the keyboard action, which is extremely uneven.

<sup>487</sup> Alexander Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt*, in Alexander Siloti & Arthur Friedhelm, *Remembering Franz Liszt* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1986), 355.

what music he chose for his programmes: not just piano pieces, his own, his true métier - no, this could not satisfy his boundless conceit - he had to be both an orchestra and human voices. ... And in such an immense hall! ... After the concert, Serov and I were like madmen. We exchanged only a few words and then rushed home to write each other as quickly as possible of our impressions, our dreams, our ecstasy ... We had never in our lives heard anything like this; we had never been in the presence of such a brilliant, passionate, demonic temperament, at one moment rushing like a whirlwind, at another pouring forth cascades of tender beauty and grace. Liszt's playing was absolutely overwhelming, ...<sup>488</sup>

Remembering Liszt's playing of a decade later, William Mason, one of Liszt's students from the Weimar years, commented:

The difference between Liszt's playing and that of others was the difference between creative genius and [mere] interpretation. His genius flashed through every pianistic phrase, it illuminated a composition to its innermost recesses, and yet his wonderful effects, strange as it may seem, were produced without the advantage of a genuinely musical touch.<sup>489</sup>

Of course, Liszt's style of performance did not remain static over a long life, and it is important to recognise this process. While reports of his playing and teaching during the last fifteen years or so, particularly from student diaries, remain highly enthusiastic, there was both a moderation in style and a decline in capacity. The young Arthur Friedhelm remembers hearing Liszt accompany Beethoven's *Kreutzer* sonata in 1885:

His incredible rendition of the remarkable work produced the usual sensation of breathless awe. Emil Sauer was so transported that he turned somersaults afterward in the adjoining room, shouting with exuberance: "Where the devil does he get even the technique let alone all the rest?" As for me, I was conscious of nothing but a blinding revelation of the true majesty of a performance;<sup>490</sup>

Yet, as William Mason again recalls:

In March 1895, [one of Liszt's last students] Stavenhagen and Remenyi were dining at my house one evening, and the former began to speak in enthusiastic terms of Liszt's playing. Remenyi interrupted with emphasis: "You have never heard Liszt play - that is, as Liszt used to play in his prime" ...<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>488</sup> Vladimir Stasov, *Selected Essays on Music*, Florence Jonas trans. (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1968), 120-1.

<sup>489</sup> William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York, Da Capo Press, 1970), 112.

<sup>490</sup> Arthur Friedheim, *Life and Liszt in Remembering Franz Liszt* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1986), 147.

<sup>491</sup> William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life*, 112.

It seems clear from general commentary that during his early and middle years, Liszt occupied an artistically extreme position in performance style as well as in compositional practice, an exponent of a dramatic Romanticism perhaps unmatched in intensity, extravagance, breadth, and personal commitment. Yet in performance (if not in composition) the majority of critics and listeners were completely entranced by this unsettling dramatic range and intensity, even those as musically (and personally) unsympathetic as Clara Schumann and Eduard Hanslick. It would seem that Liszt's inevitable decline in latter years was from an exceeding height, and that he still retained a remarkable degree of technical and expressive power, while perhaps embracing a stylistic moderation, particularly in the teaching and performance of other composers' works. Immediately, the question arises: which Lisztian style are we aiming at? The young, wildly passionate improviser and deconstructor of classic scores, or the mature, disturbingly dramatic creator and re-animator of artworks, or the aged, wise keeper of a dimming Romanticist flame?

Kenneth Hamilton suggests eight points from Liszt's teaching,<sup>492</sup> most of which (by Hamilton's own admission) are "simply good musicianship", including a musical flow in large periodic phrases, a continuing musical sense, avoidance of sentimentality, orchestral imagination, lyrical figuration, and "a certain" flexibility in tempo rather than metronomic rhythm.<sup>493</sup> However, a comparison with even the few accounts quoted above makes clear that simple "good musicianship", especially a style considered musical in the current modernist aesthetic, falls far short of even the ageing Hungarian pedagogue. I suggest the following overarching considerations are of essential importance in Lisztian HIPP, based on a broad reading of the literature and my own experience in performance and teaching.

First, Lisztian performance is immersive for both performer and listener, and stems from the dramatic and poetic influences of the Romanticist literature. This cannot be overstated; his embrace of poetic drama is central to his concept of performance, as is especially clear in the *Années de Pèlerinage*. We need only remind ourselves that it was Liszt who adopted the term "recital" for his musical soliloquies, much to the initial confusion of his contemporaries, as seen in the previous chapter. In this, he demonstrates both the literary roots of his artistic imagination, and the sense of meaning embedded both in his

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<sup>492</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, "Performing Liszt's piano music", in Kenneth Hamilton *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, ed. Kenneth Hamilton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 182.

<sup>493</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 181.

and his contemporaries' music. In his twenties he had already confided to his mistress Marie d'Agoult that "My mission as I see it is to be the first to introduce poetry into piano music with some degree of style."<sup>494</sup> And in his *Preface to the Album of a Wanderer*, precursor to the *Années de Pèlerinage*, he writes:

As instrumental music progresses, develops and emerges from its early limitations ... it will cease to be a mere combination of sounds and will become a poetic language, more apt than poetry itself, may be, at expressing that within our souls which transcends the common horizon, all that eludes analysis, all that moves in hidden depths of imperishable desire and infinite intuition.<sup>495</sup>

A catalogue of his literary adoptions would be extensive, including Petrarch, Dante, Goethe, Lenau, Lamartine, Byron, Victor Hugo, Saint-Beuve, and Sénancour. With this last author, we find one of the clearest links between the improvisatory heart of the composer and a Romanticist fragmentary literary form. Most importantly, it must be understood that Liszt is not attempting mere musical descriptions of these subjects, but "at expressing that within our souls", as quoted above, a deeply personal, poetic approach. This is not mere theory, but an immersive goal in performance. His student Amy Fay made the following comments:

It was the first time I heard him [playing the Chopin *B minor Sonata*], and I don't know which was the most extraordinary, - the Scherzo, with its wonderful lightness and swiftness, the Adagio with its depth and pathos, or the last movement, where the whole keyboard seemed to "*donner und blitzes* (thunder and lighten[ing]). There is such a vividness about everything he plays that it does not seem as if it were mere music you were listening to, but it is as if he had called up a real, living *form*, and you saw it breathing before your face and eyes.<sup>496</sup>

And in both major compositions and in performance style, Liszt was in complete sympathy with Romanticism's embrace of the Sublime. Again, to quote from the *Album d'un voyageur*:

I have felt that the varied aspects of nature, and the different incidents associated with them, did not pass before my eyes like meaningless pictures, but that they

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<sup>494</sup> Marie d'Agoult, *Memoires*, quoted in *An Artist's Journey*, ed. Sutton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 183.

<sup>495</sup> Liszt: *Preface to the Album of a Traveller*, trans. Copeland and Roberts; edition Breitkopf & Härtel.

<sup>496</sup> Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, (New York, Da Capo Press, 1979), 213-4.

evoked profound emotions within my soul ... and I have tried to give musical utterance to some of my strongest sensations".<sup>497</sup>

Such a dramatic and emotive performance style stands in opposition to the cool, controlled, often emotionally-detached precision of Modernist performance practice.

Second, and obviously allied to the above discussion, Liszt's approach to rhythm was both fluid and declamatory to an unusual degree. We have already noted in the previous chapter an early account of his teaching, with Liszt's comment that "I don't play according to the measure,"<sup>498</sup> and the criticism of his "unrhythmic" conducting style. William Mason, a student from Liszt's middle years (from 1853), comments:

While I was playing to him for the first time, he said on one of those occasions when he pushed me from the chair: "Don't play it that way. Play it like this." Evidently I had been playing ahead in a steady, uniform way. He sat down, and gave the same phrases with an accentuated, elastic movement, which let in a flood of light upon me. ... It eradicated much that was mechanical, stilted, and unmusical in my playing, and developed an elasticity of touch which has lasted all my life, and which I have always tried to impart to my pupils.<sup>499</sup>

It is significant that there are no metronome marks in Liszt's scores; in a rhythmic flux, what would they indicate? A first bar, a first phrase, an average tempo? From this aspect, Liszt's compositions, especially the shorter more poetic vignettes, are most poorly served by modern performers. A student, Carl Lachmund, describes one aspect of this rhythm:

[The Lisztian *rubato*] is quite different from the Chopin hastening and tarrying *rubato*. The Liszt *rubato* is more like a momentary halting of the time, by a slight pause here or there on some significant note ... [and] brings out the phrasing in a way that is declamatory and remarkable convincing. In playing this, Liszt seemed unmindful of time, and yet the whole aesthetic symmetry of rhythm did not seem disturbed ... so convincing, so enchanting, that it seemed to hypnotize one.<sup>500</sup>

Such comments must always be read in the context of a general C19th unmetronomic rhythmic flow. It is unlikely that such an approach to rhythm would strike modern listeners as undisturbing of the aesthetic symmetry of rhythm! Further, much of Liszt's notation is to

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<sup>497</sup> Liszt: *Preface to the Album of a Traveller*, trans. Copeland and Roberts; edition Breitkopf & Härtel.

<sup>498</sup> Mme. August Boissier, Liszt Pédagogue, in Elyse Mach (ed. & trans.), *The Liszt Studies* (New York: Associated Music Publishers, 1973), xv.

<sup>499</sup> William Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 99-100.

<sup>500</sup> Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt: From the Diary of Carl Lachmund, an American Pupil of Liszt, 1882-1884 2nd edition*, Alan Walker (ed.) (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1995), 52-3.

be understood as indicative of written-out rubato, which makes sense when played with a particular sense of spontaneity. Liszt will often end a work with a passage of increasing note values to give a sense of pacing for the resultant *rallentando*; in performance the changes in value are not to be highlighted, but smoothed out into an organic shape.

Third, the virtuosic and powerful elements in Liszt's pianistic arsenal are often overemphasised, probably due to the frequent performances of various *Études*, *Hungarian Rhapsodies*, and paraphrases. Moriz Rosenthal remembered a different side:

You ask how [Liszt] played? As no one before him, and as no one probably will ever again. I remember when I first went to him as a boy ... he used to play for me in the evening by the hour - nocturnes by Chopin, études of his own - all of a soft, dreamy nature that caused me to open my eyes in wonder at the marvellous delicacy and finish of his touch. The embellishments were like a cobweb - so fine - or like the texture of the costliest lace.<sup>501</sup>

Or Emile von Sauer's recollection of Liszt's playing, after hearing a concert by Anton Rubinstein:

[Liszt] began to play [Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*], and I held my breath as I listened. Rubinstein had played [it] on a beautiful Beckstein in a hall with very good acoustic properties; Liszt was playing in a little carpeted room, in which small space thirty-five to forty people were sitting, and the piano was worn out, unequal and discordant. He had only played the opening triplets, however, when I felt as if the room no longer held me, and when, after the first four bars, the G sharp came in in the right hand, I was completely carried away. Not that he accentuated this G sharp; it was simply that he gave it an entirely new sound.<sup>502</sup>

Fourth, Liszt often made spontaneous changes to his scores, as exemplified in the quotation above. In the previous chapter. In his last years as teacher, he became relatively strict in adherence to the score in Beethoven and Chopin, yet was more flexible in many of his own works, as will be seen below. Such flexibility extends in two directions, first to make cuts, repetitions, and additions (especially endings), and second to make more subtle changes to texture and arrangement. Such changes are not, however, always appropriate; those works which follow an improvisatory form, or contain an internal prelude or postlude, may be treated in ways that those of formal tightness do not permit. In particular, changes of texture may be particularly appropriate on many modern pianos in certain acoustic conditions.

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<sup>501</sup> Mark Mitchell & Allan Evans, *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 72.

<sup>502</sup> Alexander Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt, in Remembering Franz Liszt* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1986), 356.



Fifth, related to the above, Liszt's approach to preluding is musically broad and expressively subtle. Many of his works contain a virtual prelude, and thus require no further preamble. Where this is not the case, he may recommend the simplest of improvisations; his student Göllnerich remembers Liszt critiquing a student for not preluding before *Liebesträume No.3*: " 'Take the whole thing somewhat lighter and play a little prelude.' The master made up one of three chords."<sup>503</sup> Or, in contrast to the usual tonic/dominant model he might recommend a prelude of harmonic subtlety, dependent on the work to follow:

Earlier, Sandt had played a couple of runs in A major [as prelude to Beethoven's *Op. 101*, incorrectly noted as *Op.2 No.2*]. "Oh," said the master, "that is of little consequence - Beethoven does not touch upon the key of A major for long at all - only on the third page - here you may not prelude in A major."<sup>504</sup>

In the same way, Amy Fay, another of his students, recalls his improvised transition from one piece to another:

Another day I heard him pass from one piece into another by making the finale of the first one play the part of prelude to the second. So exquisitely were the two woven together that you could hardly tell where the one left off and the other began.<sup>505</sup>

For Liszt, the prelude was a living art form, not a mere formality. And as with Beethoven's written-in concerti cadenzas, Liszt's written-in preludes do not indicate a diminution of the improvisatory prelude, but specific exceptions to a living practice.

### 6.3 Considerations 2: Specific Pedagogic Recollections

I have already referred to several comments by Liszt's students, and much can be gleaned from their general recollections and autobiographies. A small number of these student documents are focused on detailed pedagogy. However, it is essential to remember that comments made in these lesson diaries still retain the difficulty of a lack of precisising definitions, especially when faced with instructions containing "more" and "less". Further, metronomic instructions are particularly problematic in a general stylistic environment of tempo flexibility - do they refer to the first bar, the first phrase, the opening page, or a

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<sup>503</sup> August Göllnerich, trans. Richard Zindars, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt 1884-1886* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 87.

<sup>504</sup> August Göllnerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, 64.

<sup>505</sup> Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, 243.

guess of an average speed? Nonetheless, these documents provide interesting and helpful possibilities for performance. The most important sources include:

1. Lina Ramann, *Liszt-Pädagogium*<sup>506</sup> (subsequently referred to as *L-P*), comprising lesson notes from various students collected by Liszt's first biographer. Although detailed, they include discussion of many lesser works, and are sometimes unreliable given the occasional apparent reversal of metronome marks. Sadly, not one of the *Années de Pèlerinage* works are discussed, however all six *Consolations* are included.<sup>507</sup> The most important comments from the *L-P* related to the repertoire covered in this thesis are also included as footnotes (in German and English) in the *New Liszt Edition*;<sup>508</sup>
2. Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt*, the diary of this American student from 1882-1884, sprinkled with helpful details on a range of works;
3. August Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt 1884-1886*, containing detailed lesson notes, with many helpful and intriguing pedagogic comments by Liszt;
4. Alexander Siloti, *The Alexander Siloti Collection: editions, Transcriptions and Arrangements for Piano Solo*, containing small variations partly based on Liszt's playing. Siloti's comments preceding Liszt's *Concert Etude in D♭ Major* are particularly illuminating:

Franz Liszt's playing of this Etude differed greatly from the published version. In fact, he changed it so greatly and added so much that was new that I found it impossible to mark every individual change.<sup>509</sup>

### 6.4 Considerations 3: Early Recordings

The following Table 6.1 lists available early recordings of the repertoire examined and performed for this thesis, by pianists with strong pedagogic links to Liszt and other preeminent C19th teachers. Although not comprehensive, it is indicative of the rarity of recorded performances of this repertoire in the early decades of the C20th:

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<sup>506</sup> Lina Ramann, *Liszt-Pädagogium* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902 reprinted 1986).

<sup>507</sup> Ramann, *Liszt-Pädagogium II. Serie (Grössere und kleinere Formen)*, 7-12.

<sup>508</sup> *New Liszt Edition Series I vols. 5 & 9* (Budapest: Editio Musica Series I & II, 1976 & 1981).

<sup>509</sup> Alexander Siloti, *The Alexander Siloti Collection: Editions, Transcriptions and Arrangements for Piano Solo* (New York: Carl Fischer, 2003), 186.

**Table 6.1 Early Recordings of *Consolations* and  
*Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année***

Artist	Work(s)	Date	Format	Pedagogic Link
Emil von Sauer	<i>Consolation No.3</i>	1938	disc	Student of Liszt
Michael von Zadora	<i>Consolations 3 &amp; 4</i>	N/A	roll	Student of Leschetizky and Busoni
Ernest Hutcheson	<i>Consolation No.3</i>	N/A	roll	Student of Reinecke and Stavenhagen, the latter a student of Liszt
Eugene d'Albert	<i>Au bord dune source</i> <i>Au bord dune source</i>	1910-12 1916-22	disc disc	Student of Liszt
Arthur Friedheim	<i>Au lac de Wallenstadt</i>	N/A	roll	Student of Liszt
Alfred Cortot	<i>Au bord dune source</i>	N/A	disc	Student of Émile Decombes, a student of Chopin
Harold Bauer	<i>Eglogue</i>	N/A	roll	Student of Paderewski
Vladimir Horowitz	<i>Au bord dune source</i>	1947 1975	disc disc	- - -
Claudio Arrau	<i>Au bord dune source</i>	1928	disc	Student of Krause, a student of Liszt

The relative paucity of this list is initially surprising, particularly given the substantial number of Liszt's students who recorded in both roll and disc formats, and contrasts with widespread examples of his more virtuosic and populist repertoire. Three representative examples will illustrate. The following Table 6.2 includes the Liszt recordings by two of Liszt's most celebrated students, Eugen d'Albert and Moriz Rosenthal, and those by the most famous pianist of their age, Ignacy Jan Paderewski:<sup>510</sup>

<sup>510</sup> Eugen d'Albert, *the centaur pianist, complete studio recordings 1910-28*, Arbiter 147 (2 CDs); Moriz Rosenthal, *The Complete Recordings*, apr 7503 (5 CD's); Paderewski, *His earliest recordings: The complete European recordings 1911-1912*, Appian Publications & Recordings APR 6006 (2 CDs); Paderewski, *The American Recordings: The complete Victor recordings 1914-1931*, Appian Publications & Recordings APR 7505 (5 CDs); Paderewski, *His final recordings: the HMV recordings 1937 & 1938*, Appian Publications & Recordings APR 5636 (1 CD).

**Table 6.2 Liszt Recordings by d'Albert, Rosenthal and Paderewski**

Eugen d'Albert	Moriz Rosenthal	Ignacy Jan Paderewski
Au bord d'une source (twice)	Liebestraum No.3	Hungarian Rhapsody No.2
	Hungarian Rhapsody No.2	Hungarian Rhapsody No.10
	Soirée de Vienne No.6 (Schubert-Liszt)	Etude de concert No.2
	Chant polonais No.1 (Chopin-Liszt-Rosenthal) (x3)	La Campanella (x3)
	Chant polonais No.5 (Chopin-Liszt) (x2)	Hark! Hark! The Lark! (Schubert-Liszt) (x2)
		Chant polonais No.1 (Chopin-Liszt) (x3)
		Chant polonaise No.5 (Chopin-Liszt)
		Isoldens Liebestod (Wagner-Liszt)
		Spinning Chorus (Wagner-Liszt) (x2)

Despite scattered examples to the contrary (perhaps most significantly, Friedheim's and d'Albert's roll recordings of Liszt's *Sonata in B minor* for example) it seems barely conceivable that Liszt's own students would be so disinterested in passing on a tradition of performance of his most characteristic poetic works, not least the *Années de Pèlerinage*. Perhaps a partial answer may be found in two recollections. The first, by Liszt's student William Mason, records doubt in 1853 concerning Liszt's orchestral compositions:

When Liszt first began his career as an orchestral composer two parties were formed, one of which predicted success, the other disaster. ... Even in Weimar, in his own household, so to speak, opinions were divided. I remember one of my fellow pupils saying he did not think it was his [Liszt's] forte. Raff had pretty much the same opinion, and I inclined to agree with them. Liszt was in earnest, however ...<sup>511</sup>

It seems clear that Liszt was far more radical as musician than his students, given their conventional compositional output and performance careers, and it seems plausible that they remained somewhat ambivalent to his less facile, more radical compositions. Further, as the C19th rolled into the early Modernism of the C20th, Liszt's intensely Romanticist style was rapidly becoming not merely aesthetically *passé* but, as with Romanticism in general, deplored and actively opposed by the succeeding culture. The

<sup>511</sup> William Mason, *A Musical Life*, 121.

following anecdote from Ervin Nyregyházi, remembering the years from 1915 as a young prodigy, corroborates this development. His biographer writes:

The twelve-year-old quickly decided that there was no greater composer than Liszt and became a stubborn, vocal champion of this unfashionable cause. Max Fiedler, when the boy announced his conversion [to Liszt], told his mother, “Your son is finished in Berlin,” and [she] foresaw doom at the box office. But Ervin was not deterred. Wherever he went, he asked people what they thought of Liszt, defended his new cause fearlessly, challenged the biases of much older musicians, and scorned “the *puny* detractors of Liszt” as well as those self-proclaimed Lisztians (including some of his former pupils) whose championship he considered thin.<sup>512</sup>

This anecdote is a clear example of the interrelationship between performance styles and culture, and provides the main reason why for much of the C20th so few of Liszt’s more poetic works were deemed either artistically desirable or commercially viable.

Before leaving this brief overview, I wish to draw attention to surprising recordings from an unlikely source, those of Arthur Nikisch, revered predecessor to Wilhelm Furtwängler at the Berlin Philharmonic. Among his (tragically) few orchestral recordings with that orchestra and the London Symphony Orchestra between 1913 and 1921 are two orchestral versions of Liszt’s *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 in F minor* (one with each orchestra).<sup>513</sup> The interpretations are astounding, beginning with a slow, ultra-dramatic opening combined with extreme rhythmic double dotting. Overall, breadth of rubato is extraordinary, although always gesturally logical, while tempo changes between sections are equally acute. The result is a revelatory clarification of this often hackneyed work, becoming intensely Hungarian in character. Further, Nikisch made a handful of piano rolls, mostly of Brahms’ *Hungarian Dances*,<sup>514</sup> which further exemplify maximal Romanticist style and spirit.

## 6.5 Considerations 4: Mid-C19th Pianoforte Design Changes

Piano design changed radically during Liszt’s long life, and as performer, composer and teacher, he must have been completely aware of the issues raised. Not only were his early studies inevitably made on designs familiar to Beethoven, Liszt actually owned that

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<sup>512</sup> Kevin Bazzana, *Lost Genius* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2007), 63.

<sup>513</sup> Liszt *Hungarian Rhapsody No. 14 in F minor*, the London Symphony Orchestra and the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Arthur Nikisch, recorded 1913 & 1921, Symposium 1087/1088, 1991, 2 CDs.

<sup>514</sup> For example, Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, recorded 1906, YouTube accessed February 8, 2018, [https://youtu.be/Bz\\_iQeRP16E](https://youtu.be/Bz_iQeRP16E). For a full listing see Discography.

composer's Broadwood grand. Through his middle years, instruments had become much larger and stronger, but retained certain design features such as straight stringing, relatively narrow soundboards and (mostly) wooden frames, producing a characteristic sound. Basically, this includes a greater clarity with less resonance and strength, clear almost percussive basses and quick-decaying trebles producing an almost chamber music effect distinguishing between tonal characteristics of bass, midrange, and treble registers. All this began to change in the late 1850's with the rise of new American makers, particularly Chickering and Steinway. The Americans pioneered important changes, including effective transverse stringing (though early Steinways retained straight stringing until 1859), cast iron frames with increased string tension, bridges moved closer to the centre of the soundboard for richer tone, heavier hammers with thick felt, and much wider soundboards. The result was an instrument virtually identical in construction, design and sound to modern grands.<sup>515</sup> The effect of the modern design excels in projecting a strong voice; the earlier design is more conversational, more intimate, and (where appropriate) much more hushed.

Much can be gained from performance on the type of instrument familiar to the composer and his audience at the time of composition. However, this view can be pushed to extremes (insisting on a mid-century Érard for Liszt's earlier periods, a Pleyel for Chopin, perhaps a Streicher for Brahms, etc.) and as has been already noted in an earlier chapter, the current fashion of recording Liszt on a mid-century Érard, as if the instrument itself would Romanticise the performance, is to be resisted. In truth, the relatively small differences between the most accomplished mid-C19th makers is far less of an issue than is the surviving condition of an historic instrument. The finest pre-American design piano I have yet played was a Pleyel, and I would have used this instrument unhesitatingly for any Romanticist composer. Liszt's touring policy of using a local manufacturer puts this issue in some perspective, despite the political and practical factors which no doubt were also influential.<sup>516</sup> Further, the roll-call of pianos used in his last decades for teaching and composition include both modern and traditional European designs, for example, modern

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<sup>515</sup> See Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (London: J.M.Dent & Sons, 1976), 50-51.

<sup>516</sup> For an excellent summary of this topic, see Kenneth Hamilton, "Performing Liszt's piano music", in Hamilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 175-177.

Bösendorfer and Chickering, and traditional Érard and Steingraber instruments.<sup>517</sup> His admiration for Wagner's (modern) Steinway is also significant. Such flexibility is quite remarkable; as an older artist, it would be understandable if Liszt simply preferred the familiarity and memories of an instrumental type from his "golden years." Despite his testimonials to numerous manufacturers, clearly an affect of *politesse*, it is unclear what his opinions, strong or weak, actually were. Did he retain a preference for the earlier instruments, but resign himself (and his students) to the modern? Did he equally appreciate them both, perhaps for differing reasons? Did he consider the new designs simply superior to the old? Or did he consider it the task of the artist to perform in sympathy with whatever instrument was presented? What is clear is that he expected his students to be able to perform his music (and that of his contemporaries) on virtually modern instruments with minimal textual adaptation.

Certainly, there are general performance issues for a contemporary pianist when playing on the earlier type of instrument, and the 1867 Érard used in my accompanying original recording is typical in this respect. Finding a suitable instrument was surprisingly difficult. A search among major universities in the region (universities of York, Leeds and Huddersfield, for example) indicated either a complete lack of mid-C19th pianofortes, or problems with condition and/or accessibility. Happily, one of two Érard grands at Lotherton Hall, an historic house maintained as museum by Leeds City Council, is in appropriate condition, and the Curator of the museum could not have been more helpful. Access for both practice and recording has been excellent, and it has been both pleasurable and helpful for this research to present formal and informal lectures-performances on behalf of the Hall.<sup>518</sup>

With all pianos, but especially with historic ones, the pianist must resist any temptation to force the sound, to push the instrument beyond its natural limits. Most obviously, the general sound has a natural clarity, both in individual notes and in general texture, given the differing tonal characteristics across the entire compass. Although the treble is softer, tunes require less voicing, as their distinctive tone cuts through accompaniments. The narrower range of dynamics - especially strong dynamics - requires a greater expressive use of rhythmic variety in all the forms already discussed in earlier chapters, particularly dramatic tempo changes, generous rubato, regular agogic accenting

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<sup>517</sup> See The Metropolitan Museum, New York, <http://www.metmuseum.org/press/exhibitions/2001/franz-liszt-grand-piano>, accessed 24/3/17.

<sup>518</sup> Details of both Lotherton Hall and the Érard pianoforte are found in Appendix 1.

of important notes, and frequent dislocation of hands. The clear sound often needs to be thickened by more widespread use of finger pedalling and longer sustaining pedals, although the “inefficiency” of Érard’s underdamping system, and the ringing resonance of the frame of the instrument (a purposeful Érard effect clearly heard in almost all of the endings) automatically assist with this. Bass lines and textures, like treble tunes, are naturally clear, and speak easily. Overall, the effect is of a more intimate sound and effect, particularly suited to large rooms rather than concert halls.

With this clarity, rhythmic expressivity, and intimacy in mind, performance issues on a modern instrument revolve around the natural thickness of tone, especially in basses, requiring far more frequent pedal changes, and often non-legato articulation. Although treble notes last longer and “sing” more, their prominence and uniform tone requires them to be significantly voiced to cut through the general sound. Tempi may be slower, to achieve clarity or to take advantage of slower decay rates. In conclusion, each type of instrument has its strengths and weaknesses, leading the present author to oppose a simplistic notion of technological progress that renders the earlier type obsolete. This was confirmed in a concert series given on both types of instrument side-by-side by the present author in 2011, where audiences were quite evenly split in preference between the instruments.

## 6.6 Annotating Performance Scores

The annotated scores of this chapter are an attempt to document the goals of the accompanying recorded performances. A number of issues require comment:

1. A defence of such annotated scores, opposed as they are to the general philosophy underlying *Urtext*, is firstly based on Liszt’s own practice. As has been seen, Liszt’s publication of the *Album d’un Voyageur* included an attempt to indicate greater rhythmic suggestion through the use of personalised symbols, for increased rapidity, for decreased rapidity and for short pauses. These were used in addition to an already substantial density of familiar symbols and terms, indicating the expressive breadth and detail envisioned in performance style. Further, Liszt’s regular practice was to use poetically loaded terms rather than simple descriptors of speed and dynamic, for example *precipitato*, *energico*, *pesante*, or *andante placido*, indicative of his interpretative vision. In particular, *dolce* and *dolcissimo* regularly seem to be used in place of *piano* and *pianissimo*, again indicating an essential spirit of characterisation.



These annotated scores will therefore attempt to strike a balance between helpful additional description, score clarity, and performance freedom.

2. I have chosen to include both the complete *Consolations* and the *Années de Pèlerinage Première Année*. Virtually all the pieces in these sets are suitable vehicles for most C19th Romanticist HIPP elements, and the smallest character pieces are particularly conducive to HIPP performance. In fact, it may be argued that these pieces require application of HIPP elements for a convincing, expressive effect, and this may be a reason for their rare performance over the modernist century. It is to be emphasised that the goal of HIPP playing should not be merely a question of adding stylistic elements wherever possible, but of judiciously applying them for genuinely expressive, dramatic effect.
3. The original editions have been chosen for annotation.<sup>519</sup> This has not been done for mere musicological pedantry, but for three important reasons. First, while most modern editions include the literary quotations Liszt attached to his compositions, none reprints the important black and white line drawings essential to help establish the pictorial and dramatic nature of the *Années de Pèlerinage* pieces. This is not insignificant, as both the visual and poetic elements are essential for establishing Romanticist spirit and interpretative insight. Second, an additional undervalued aspect of these scores is their visual impression, which at least unconsciously affects assumptions about performance style. Most modern editions are blocky and upright, with strong blacks and thick lines in short-note passagework, designed for visual clarity and communicating rhythmic precision and uniformity. The original editions convey an elegant fluidity, facilitating a sense of gestural shape.<sup>520</sup> Further, the title pages use a similar decorated approach, again psychologically helpful to interpretation. Third, they adopt Liszt's "notational peculiarities"<sup>521</sup> such as theoretically inaccurate note values, bar lengths, and unshortened final bars, which not only clarify reading but (more importantly) indicate something of Liszt's rhythmically free performance style.

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<sup>519</sup> *Consolations*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1850; *Années de Pèlerinage Première Année*, Mainz: Schott, 1855.

<sup>520</sup> The present author remembers precisely this criticism made in the late 1970's by his teacher, the Arrau student and associate Greville Rother. He also remembers not understanding Rother's point at all - how could the mere layout affect interpretation?!

<sup>521</sup> *General Preface to the New Liszt Edition* (Budapest: Editio Musica, Series I & II 1970-2005).















4. The score annotations will use the following symbols, refined and expanded for this project from those I have previously used in teaching and performance. The symbols are designed to be simple, clear, and indicative of the major differences between C19th performance style and that of contemporary Modernist practice, particularly rhythmic fluidity, and expressive decoration through broken chords and dislocation between hands. In particular:

- I have adopted Liszt's sign for a short to moderate breathing pause;
- Hairpins are to be understood as both dynamic and agogic, in variable proportions, as appropriate for the drama;
- As with Liszt's common practice, I position increasing hairpins to end just before a climax, leaving the possibility of agogic broadening at that point;
- I adopt the unbroken chord bracket as used by Thalberg and MacDowell, while adding two signs, one for chord breaks beginning on the beat indicated by a downward arrow, and the other for breaks where the bottom note is sounded before the (unbroken) rest of the chord;<sup>522</sup>
- The sign for clear dislocation between hands arguably may be reversed, however I found this form most intuitive during the process of score reading, graphically indicating that the notes above are to be played shifted later in time. This may be merely a personal preference.

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<sup>522</sup> As described by Thalberg in *L'Art du chant* and MacDowell in a footnote to *Starlight Op.55 No.4*, as quoted in Neil Peres Da Costa, "Performing Practice in Piano Playing", in *Brahms: Performance Practices in Johannes Brahms' Chamber Music* (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2015), 20.

**Table 6.3 Score Annotation Key**

	RHYTHM 1: rubato movement forward (quickenings)
	RHYTHM 2: rubato movement back (slowing)
	RHYTHM 3: agogic accent, broadening the note
	RHYTHM 4: small to moderate pause (time extended), Liszt's symbol
	Phrase break (breath, time broken), perhaps with pedal break; often creates the effect of a small pause
	DRAMA 1: dramatic increase by dynamic & agogic increase
	DRAMA 2: dramatic release by dynamic & agogic decrease
	Broken chord, (multiple shapes dependent on dramatic context)
	Broken chord beginning on the beat
	Broken chord, bottom note separate, upper notes together
	Unbroken chord
	Clear dislocation between hands, RH delay
	<i>Una corda</i>
	<i>Tre corde</i>

## 6.7 Defining Performance Goals

The dual purpose of the annotated scores is to assist in both defining and documenting the performance goals of the accompanying recording. The following points are important:

1. The overarching goal of these interpretations is to apply a full range of C19th Romanticist HIPP elements, particularly including:
  - Continuous rhythmic modification, especially an underlying breathing flow, short declamatory pauses, and frequent agogic accents
  - Tempo modification to enhance dramatic contrast between sections
  - Dislocation of hands, especially melodic delay
  - Regular unnotated arpeggiation, in a variety of agogic/dynamic shapes and tempi;
2. The interpretations aim for an integrated poetic performance, where the HIPP elements are appropriately combined in service of the dramatic poetic vision of the work;
3. In the spirit of C19th Romanticism, neither annotated score nor performance is to be considered proscriptive in detail, a final solution to be copied by HIPP performers, but recognised as one possible realisation;
4. In the context of point 3 above, although both score and performance are closely matched, they are not identical at every point. This is a conscious decision, both to assert the basic improvisational practice of Romanticism and to avoid as far as possible the anachronism of Modernist score literalism. The annotated scores should be viewed as one performance, the recording as another, though both are closely related given that they come from the same musician at around the same time;
5. Score and performance tables for the *Consolations* are based on a version of the Recording Analysis Chart from the previous chapter, describing both Romanticist considerations in performance analysis, and the stylistic goals of the performer;
6. Tables of audio and written historical documentary evidence are also included for the *Consolations*, to indicate the prevalence of historical data available;
7. As has been discussed, a recording is in many ways an inherently anti-Romanticist process. I have therefore attempted to chart a compromise between the modern practice of assembling a recorded work from many “takes” to create perfect accuracy, and the flawed passion of a live performance. All works are therefore based on a single “take”, with minimal further editing, as near as practical a virtual live result. I therefore choose to leave a significant number of small errors, inevitable when focusing on the spirit of the moment. In addition, the approach to audio engineering has been to

capture as natural a sound as possible, the realistic sound of the piano from the perspective of an audience member in the centre of the room.

8. The instrument chosen is appropriate for the purpose of maximising HIPP elements, but retains weaknesses. An 1867 Érard (from the London factory), it suffers from the usual problems of most old instruments. The tone is inevitably thinner, given the age and flattening of the soundboard, the hammer felts are quite hard, and the action is somewhat uneven. Excellent work has been done by its technician Ken Forrest to minimise these faults, but they would only be rectified by an expensive refurbishment. The result creates obvious challenges for the performer.

### 6.8 Interpretative Commentary Parameters

It is not a goal of this thesis to provide extensive discussion of either the literary and graphic material associated with these works, nor a detailed pedagogic commentary on possible interpretations. Some discussion, however, is essential, as asserted by the great pianist and Liszt interpreter Claudio Arrau:

A great deal of Liszt's music is descriptive, and the performer must not fail to explore the extra-musical sources, which include literature as well as art. A knowledge of the locales Liszt describes in many of his works is necessary as well as an understanding of all the spiritual connections that Liszt invoked. As an example, water in the Fountains at Villa d'Este is used as a symbol for the soul's longing to become one with Infinite.<sup>523</sup>

Liszt's compositions often have deep and extensive linages with other arts, and the *Années de Pèlerinage* in particular are not merely inspired by, but are also manifestation in music of landscape, literature, painting, and sculpture. This extensive linkage provides both a justification for choosing these works to illustrate Romanticism, and strong examples of the interaction between the musical and extra-musical material required for performance.

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<sup>523</sup> Claudio Arrau, "Claudio Arrau on Liszt: From an Interview with Peter Warwick", *Liszt Saeculum* Vol.38 (1986): 93. Although I completely agree with Arrau as to the spiritual nature of this work, it seems almost certain that water here symbolises the Holy Spirit, as in traditional Christian (and especially Roman Catholic) thought. Half way through the work Liszt quotes from the *Gospel According to St. John*, where Jesus, speaking of the Holy Spirit, is telling a woman at a village well that he would give her water that would never run dry, if she asked. I can see no good reason not to take this at face value, and instead to attribute to the aged Abbé a sudden conversion to Buddhism!

## 6.9 Liszt *Consolations* - *Six pensées poétiques*: General Comments

The *Consolations* are sometimes described as Liszt's nocturnes, particularly as his attempt at updating the style of John Field. However, despite obvious similarities, the name is indicative of a more precise focus; as in English, the French word is synonymous with comfort and solace.<sup>524</sup> Their literary inspiration is usually credited to a collection of short poems by Sainte-Beuve with the same title. This is highly probable, given Sainte-Beuve's frequent visits with Marie d'Agoult, Liszt's first mistress.<sup>525</sup> However, the title is not unique to Sainte-Beuve, and at least two other possible influences will have been known to Liszt. First, a collection of songs by Jean-Jaques Rousseau (published after his death) is titled *Les consolations des misères de ma vie, ou Recueil d'airs romances et duos*. Second, and more certainly influential, is a poem by Lamartine attached to one of the works in Liszt's own piano cycle *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*. The overall title is taken from Lamartine, one of the central influences on Liszt's vision as Christian and artist. Liszt included the first two stanzas of the poem *Une larme ou consolation* by Lamartine as the superscript to the ninth piece:

Fall, silent tears,  
On a land without pity;  
No longer between pious hands,  
Nor in the bosom of friendship.

Fall like an arid rain  
That streaks on the rock,  
That no ray of heaven wipes away,  
That no breath comes to dry.<sup>526</sup>

Illustration 6.1 below shows the front cover of the original edition, published in 1850 by Breitkopf & Härtel, and showing the typically florid, decorated style:

<sup>524</sup> For example, as in the phrase "Elle est sa consolation/solace/comfort." See *Collins Robert French Dictionary* (London: Collins, 1978), entry under Consolation, 144.

<sup>525</sup> See Jeanne Faure-Cousin and France Clidat, *Aux sources littéraires de Franz Liszt, La Review Musicale, double numéro 292-293* (Paris: Éditions Richard-Masse, 1973), 49.

<sup>526</sup> My translation of the French text from the *New Liszt Edition Vol. 1/9* (Budapest: Bärenreiter/ Editio Musica, 1981), 89.



**Illustration 6.1 Front Cover of Liszt's *Consolations*, Edition Breitkopf & Härtel**



Below is the first *Consolation*, again illustrating elegant typefaces - both letter and notation - with subtle, beautiful border decoration:

**Illustration 6.2 Liszt's *Consolation No.1*, Edition Breitkopf & Hätel**

273

3

CONSOLATIONS.

1.

Andante con moto.

Piano.

dolce.

p.

a tempo.

poco rit.

poco rit.

8053

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



### 6.10 Performance Notes to No's 1 & 2, Performance: Audio Cons1 (1st & 2nd Parts)

The first two *Consolations* may be considered together, as indicated by a lack of final *fermata* in No.1, and by the *L-P* instruction to move straight on without a break. In many ways, No.1 functions as a prelude to the set, and may be imagined as a series of (largely unanswered) questions, ending in a gentle if temporary conclusion. As with so many of Liszt's smaller and more intimate pieces, No.1 suffers most from any rhythmic inflexibility. Overall, each gesture should be clearly delineated. The combination of forward flow within gestures with short pauses between creates a sense of direction (as indicated by Liszt's *con moto* indication) without losing the questioning, uncertain character. The second *Consolation* is more lyrical and flowing, with a warm and excited character in the middle section (page 2), yet the work must not become merely tuneful and beautiful; the outer sections are regularly punctuated by a sense of questioning with tender responses. In the spirit of Liszt's own arrangement instructions, as has been seen, I suggest the first 22 bars may be repeated. In this case, the first statement may be more hesitant in rhythm, softer in dynamic, and simplified in texture, removing broken chords. The repeat may then be a subtly embellished and thickened version of the original score.

Table 6.4 below provides a summary of historical performance evidence consulted:

**Table 6.4 *Consolations No.1 & 2* Historical Evidence**

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	COMMENTARY
<b>WRITTEN DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>L-P tempi: No. 1: minim = 52 No.2 crotchet = 126</b>	No.1 adopted as peak tempo of phrases, No.2 adopted as an approx. average tempo of main theme
<b>L-P: Bar 5 tenuto group with pedal</b>	Adopted. Contrast with bar 6 implied, so short pedals on the chords of bar 6 used
<b>L-P: Bar 13 grace = quaver</b>	Adopted
<b>L-P: Bar 23 rit. for bass only</b>	Adopted
<b>L-P: No break between no's 1 &amp; 2</b>	Adopted
<b>AUDIO DOCUMENTS</b>	None available

The following Table 6.5 indicates the extent of HIPP elements in the annotated scores of the first two *Consolations*, and the performance goals of the associated audio recording:

**Table 6.5 Consolations No.s 1 & 2 HIPP Score Annotation and Performance Goals**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Level	Comments
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	2	No.1 hesitant, No.2 gently passionate
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	0	
1.3	Re-creational/improvisational style	2	No. 2 especially free
1.4	Sub-rhetorical gesturalism	3	No.1 especially strongly gestured
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	Unusual compared with modernist interpretation
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY		
2.1	Prelude	0	Generally inappropriate, as No.1 functions as prelude to the set
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	2	No.2 b.1-22 repeated
2.3	Alternate passagework	2	No.2 b.1-22 textually thinned on first playing, then thickened on repeat
2.4	Alternate ending	1	Added final solo G-sharp in No.2, to link with No.3 & emphasise key relationship
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	1	Texture thinned to tune line in bb.1-22, texture thickened in repeat
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	3	Frequent
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	2	Longer broken chords atomically shaped, slowed
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	2	No.2 repeat quicker, middle section b.29-37 slower, statement from b.46 much quicker
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	Constant rubato between gestures in No.1, through phrases in No.2
3.3	Dance swing	0	
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	
3.5	Agogic accenting	3	Extensive
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	2	Regularly used in No.1, No.2 last page
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	1	No.2 appassionato quavers shortened
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	
3.9	Melodic dislocation	1	No.2 b.38-42

### 6.11 Performance Notes to No. 3, Performance: Audio Cons1 (3rd Part)

Little introductory discussion is required for this *Consolation*, by far the most popular and widely performed of the set. Sometimes regarded as Liszt's attempt at a Chopinesque nocturne, not least given its close character and LH figuration to that of Chopin's *Nocturne Op.27 No. 2*, it may be best regarded as closer to those of John Field, whom Liszt greatly admired and whose nocturnes he edited for publication. Table 6.6 below provides a summary of historical performance evidence consulted for *Consolation No.3*, including Audio 6.1 (von Sauer's disc recording) and Audio 6.2 (Zadora's roll recording):

**Table 6.6 and Audio 6.1 & 6.2 *Consolation No.3* Historical Evidence**

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	COMMENTARY
<b>WRITTEN DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>L-P tempo: crotchet = 80</b>	Adopted as average tempo for LH quavers
<b>L-P &amp; Siloti edition: LH tied Db's played quietly to renew the sound as pedal changes</b>	Liszt's meaning of these bass ties has been unclear to many teachers and performer. I adopt L-P's approach.
<b>L-P: ad lib cadenza b.56 until annihilation of the sound</b>	Adopted
<b>Siloti edition: hold LH notes last half of bar 13 into bar14 (as Eb major 1st inv. chord)</b>	Adopted (as common practice finger pedalling)
<b>Siloti edition: omit LH low F's b.32 &amp; low A's b.40</b>	Not adopted. I prefer the slight intensification of these half-bar fundamentals
<b>Siloti edition: silently depress and hold low Dd major chord in LH from b.59</b>	Enables frequent pedal changes in last 2 bars (also indicated by Siloti). Not adopted - I prefer the evaporating haze of a long, with 1/4 pedals as required by piano resonance (using the original RH notes only).
<b>Göllerich (p.69): triplets played somewhat freely, crotchet beat not stressed</b>	Adopted
<b>AUDIO DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>Zadora roll: significantly variable tempi</b>	Very slow overall tempo, perhaps an artefact of mechanically intrusive recording. LH quavers peak tempo sometimes at L-P. Variability of tempi adopted, but not slow overall approach.
<b>Zadora roll: Sounding of tied bass notes as in L-P</b>	This approach affirmed by L-P (above), and adopted in attached performance. However, the poor setup of the reproducing piano recorded makes the bass repetition unsubtle and unpoetic.
<b>Sauer disc: quick and even tempo, crotchet = 92</b>	Quick and generally even tempo not adopted.
<b>Sauer disc: Additional chords at end</b>	The addition is consistent with Liszt's score flexibility. However, I do not find them appropriate for the gentle fading end of this work, and do not adopt this approach. I suspect they were suggested to provide a definite end to the recording given a high noise floor.

Table 6.7 compares Sauer's disc (Audio 6.1) and Zadora's roll (Audio 6.2) recordings:

**Table 6.7 *Consolation No.3*: Recordings by Sauer and Zadora**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	Sauer	Zadora
0.1	Audio clarity/mechanical intrusion	1	3
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT		
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	2	1
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	1	3
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	1	1
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	1	1
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	1	1
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	0
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY		
2.1	Prelude	0	0
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	0
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	0
2.4	Alternate ending	2	0
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	1
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	0	0
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	0	0
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	1	1
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	1	2
3.3	Dance swing	0	0
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	2
3.5	Agogic accenting	1	1
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	0
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	0	0
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	0
3.9	Melodic dislocation	2	0

I have chosen to exceed the effects of Sauer and Zadora in general rubato (3.2) and melodic dislocation (3.9). Ultimately a personal preference, it may be argued that both the process of recording and increasing Modernism may have limited those pianists' extent.

**Table 6.8 *Consolation No.3* HIPP Score Annotation and Performance Goals**

<b>0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.</b>			
<b>1</b>	<b>ROMANTICIST SPIRIT</b>	<b>Level</b>	<b>Comments</b>
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	2	Radiant rather than soporific
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	1	LH quavers peaking a little quicker than usual
1.3	Re-creational/improvisational style	2	Freely flowing
1.4	Sub-rhetorical gesturalism	2	Each phrase carefully shaped
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	1	Not unusual in modern context
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	
<b>2</b>	<b>TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY</b>		
2.1	Prelude	0	Inappropriate when performing the set
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	1	additional groups in cadenza, b.56
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	
2.4	Alternate ending	0	
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	1	Tied bass notes sounded softly where harmony/ pedal changes, as per L-P
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	1	some octaves and chords
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	1	generally espressivo
<b>3</b>	<b>TEMPO &amp; RHYTHM</b>		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	1	Quicker in section bb.28-43
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	Constant rubato in LH phrases
3.3	Dance swing	0	
3.4	Unequal passagework	0	
3.5	Agogic accenting	3	Extensive, including most bass notes
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	1	Occasional, e.g. RH bb.30 to 31
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	1	Semiquaver filigree ornaments shortened
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	Already notated in RH 2/4 against LH 3
3.9	Melodic dislocation	3	Constant

## 6.12 Performance Notes to No. 4, Performance: Audio Cons2

Consolation No.4 is an excellent example of the kind of personal, intimate miniature for which Liszt should be more widely respected. Given the hymn-like nature of the piece, the work surely creates a religious atmosphere, perhaps of visiting and praying in a small, simple Calvinist chapel. Given the broad tempi and often sparse texture, fluid tempi and clear espressivo shapes are essential to carry the intimate, wondering character.

The historical evidence consulted is tabled below:

**Table 6.9 and Audio 6.2 Consolation No.4 Historical Evidence**

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	COMMENTARY
<b>WRITTEN DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>L-P tempo: crotchet = 58</b>	Adopted as average tempo for quicker phrases (e.g. bb.4-5, 10-15)
<b>L-P: no hand crossing from b.25</b>	Adopted (which raises the question: why did Liszt write it that way? I do not know.)
<b>AUDIO DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>Zadora roll: very variable tempi</b>	Opening 3 bars around half L-P tempo, following statement around L-P tempo, bars 10-15 faster than L-P, etc. Variable tempi, especially broad arpeggiation of chords adopted
<b>Zadora roll: LH 8va added to single line b.23-24</b>	Not adopted - I prefer the sudden loneliness of the original notation
<b>Zadora roll: some unnotated arpeggiation of chords, including bass to treble extensions (eg bb.3, 6, 7)</b>	Unnotated arpeggiation adopted, and used more extensively than Zadora
<b>Zadora roll: poco inégale b.15</b>	Adopted

This Consolation is one of those fascinating small character pieces for which Liszt should be more known. It is quite improvisational, perhaps descriptive of a religious meditation, with its free chorale opening, the *con divozione* instruction reminiscent of two contrasting harmonium stops. The work soon moves to thin textures, as if an individual wondering or questioning, before returning to the opening theme. A short coda brings a gentle conclusion. Given the highly personal, improvisational character, and slow tempo, I consider it appropriate for both sectional tempi and general rubato to be very free, with significant arpeggiation of chords in the climax (bars 20-23). Table 6.10 below analyses HIPP performance goals.

**Table 6.10 *Consolation No.4* HIPP Score Annotation and Performance Goals**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Level	Comments
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	2	Alternately calming and searching, anxious thoughts (during Mass?)
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	0	
1.3	Re-creational/improvisational style	2	Strong <i>con divozione</i> ,
1.4	Sub-rhetorical gesturalism	2	Each phrase a different tempo, texture
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY		
2.1	Prelude	0	
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	
2.4	Alternate ending	0	
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	2	Frequent in broader phrases
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	2	Variable tempi, on and off the beat
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	2	Strongly marked
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	
3.3	Dance swing	0	
3.4	Unequal passagework	1	Inégale b.15
3.5	Agogic accenting	3	Very frequent application
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	2	Between phrases, e.g. bb.12, 14, 16
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	0	
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	
3.9	Melodic dislocation	1	Mostly through chord arpeggiation

### 6.13 Performance Notes to No's 5 & 6, Performance: Audio Cons3

As with the first two *Consolations*, the last two may be successfully paired in performance, and will be considered together here. No.5 is another of those soulful Italianate songs which Liszt understood so well, and as such, it should be played with a pliable, slightly rocking rhythm. Liszt has notated various agogic accents, through broken chords and dotted notes, and these may be lengthened in the spirit of the gesture. Not all following short notes need be shortened, only where additional rhythmic energy is required. This style is particularly appropriate hand dislocation, to enhance melodic passion and shape. I choose to repeat the majority of the final final section (bars 46 to 53), to increase this soulful passion before gently fading to the end. To link with No.6, I immediately start the *bebung* G-sharps while resting on the final chord, adding one or two before reaching the melody of No.6. This opening seems to me quite tentative and unsure, so I freely use short pauses between gestures to create this sense of uncertainty. As has been seen, Lachmund has commented with regard to this piece that “the Liszt *rubato* is more like a momentary halting of the time, by a slight pause here or there on some significant note ...”<sup>527</sup> Further, to emphasise the tentative yet energised opening bars, I do not adopt Emile von Sauer’s suggestion in his edition of whole bar pedals,<sup>528</sup> beginning with dry pedal, gradually adding a little from around bar 11. This choice is an example of being historically informed, but not historically imprisoned, by the evidence. From bar 19, the tune should be broad and rich, with the accompaniment broken chords at a slightly quicker tempo. The final section, a written-in postlude, may swing a little as it meanders off into the distance. An interesting comment was made by Claudio Arrau referencing the final *Consolation*. In an interview with Lennart Rabes regarding the instruction of his teacher and former Liszt pupil Martin Krause, he commented:

Forgotten are the little things that Krause used to teach us, he would spend hours, making us break a chord in different ways, the same with trills. He would always say Liszt said so and so: for instance, in the “Consolation” with the broken chords, he used to tell us how Liszt played it: every chord was different and had a different meaning from the way he broke them.<sup>529</sup>

Historical evidence consulted and performance goals are summarised in Table 6.11 below:

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<sup>527</sup> Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt*, 52-3.

<sup>528</sup> Emile von Sauer (ed.), *Liszt Klavierwerke Band V* (Frankfurt: C.F. Peters, 1917), 132.

<sup>529</sup> Lennart Rabes, “Interview with Claudio Arrau: about his teacher Martin Krause,” *The International Liszt Centre Quarterly* No. 6, 1 (1974): 3.



**Table 6.11 *Consolations No.'s 5 & 6* Historical Evidence**

HISTORICAL EVIDENCE	COMMENTARY
<b>WRITTEN DOCUMENTS</b>	
<b>L-P tempi: No.5 crotchet = 84 No. 6 crotchet (meaning dotted crotchet) = 60</b>	No.5 tempo not adopted as mean tempo - slightly slower is preferred No.6 tempo adopted as average for the first section, then broaden
<b>L-P: No.6 b.19 onwards held back for expressive breadth</b>	Adopted
<b>L-P: possible extended cadenza b.68</b>	Adopted
<b>No. 6 Lachmund (52-3): halting agogic Liszt rubato</b>	Adopted
<b>No.6 Göllerich (p.69): first crotchet slightly sustained, arpeggiations not too heavy</b>	Both adopted
<b>No. 6 Sauer opening pedalling</b>	Not adopted due to differing personal interpretation
<b>No.6 Krause/Arrau great variety of breaking chords</b>	Adopted.
<b>AUDIO DOCUMENTS</b>	None available

**Table 6.12 Consolations No's 5 & 6 HIPP Score Annotation and Performance Goals**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.			
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT	Level	Comments
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	3	Strong characterisation throughout, from Italianate song of No.5 to hesitant then grandiose then gentle fade in No.6
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	0	
1.3	Re-creational/improvisational style	2	Free approach
1.4	Sub-rhetorical gesturalism	3	Strongly applied
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	2	Particularly free rubato in No.5 and the first section of No.6
1.6	Note inaccuracy	0	
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY		
2.1	Prelude	0	No.5 Opening phrase functions as prelude
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	2	Repetition of No.5 bb. 46 - 53, for added intensity at end; no pause between No's 5 and 6, join enhanced by further G-sharp <i>bebungs</i> ; extended cadenza in No.6 b.68
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	
2.4	Alternate ending	1	End of No.5 slightly extended to join with No.6
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	2	Frequent
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	3	Varied tempi and expression, especially in No.6
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM		
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	2	Significant variations
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	3	Extensive throughout
3.3	Dance swing		A little applied in No.5, and the final section of No.6
3.4	Unequal passagework	1	Little opportunity; No.5 bb19-21
3.5	Agogic accenting	3	Extensive
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	2	Several
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	1	Semiquaver filigree ornaments shortened
3.8	Rhythmic layering	2	Extensive in No.6, where accompaniment chords move at a quicker tempo than the tune
3.9	Melodic dislocation	3	Constant

### 6.14 Performance Summary to the *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année*

The following notes summarise important HIPP contexts and choices in my (experimental) performance of this cycle. The cycle was originally published by Schott in 1855, each piece presented as a separate booklet, including literary quotations and - significantly - drawings by the German artist Kretschmer dominating each title page.<sup>530</sup> It is a great error that this artwork has been deleted in all modern editions, as these visual interpretative aids are (mostly) important for communicating the works' dramatic spirit and specific direction of meaning. Although not completely definitive, these drawings are therefore examined for possible interpretative hints, as are the literary extracts (which, fortunately, are usually included in modern editions). An overarching concept and narrative is at once evident, that of pilgrimage. Many of these works were originally published (in different arrangements) as an earlier cycle, the *Album d'un voyageur* (in 1835-36),<sup>531</sup> and Liszt's musical intentions and musical meaning for them at that time are outlined in his Preface:

I have latterly travelled through many countries, and have seen many different places, and visited many spot hallowed by history and poetry; I have felt that the varied aspects of nature, and the different incidents associated with them, did not pass before my eyes like meaningless pictures, but that they evoked profound emotions within my soul; that a vague but direct affinity was established betwixt them and myself, a real, though indefinable understanding, a sure but inexplicable means of communication, and I have tried to give musical utterance to some of my strongest sensations, some of my liveliest impressions.<sup>532</sup>

Yet Liszt must have felt, some 15 years later, that not only could the compositions could be improved, refined, given greater power with fewer notes, but that the concept of the Romantic traveller itself, while still valid, was insufficient. Thus the change in title for the piano cycle, from discerning traveller's (or wanderer's) sketchbook and diary to long years of transforming pilgrimage. A pilgrim is a traveller with a metaphysical quest, a journey to see both outside and inside themselves, journeying for more than an experience of great culture or landscape, but to a holy place, if possible, to meet the Divine. This, too, is deeply Romanticist, as already discussed. From an interpretative point of view, this means that the works at their best are not superficial musical painting, but embodiments of both the heart of their subject and its spiritual connection. Revolutions become calls to justice

<sup>530</sup> See Preface to the *New Liszt Edition Series I Volume 6*, xi.

<sup>531</sup> *Album d'un voyageur* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, reprinted by: Farnborough, Hants.: The Gregg Press, 1966).

<sup>532</sup> *Album d'un voyageur*, Preface, 3. English translation provided by Fanny Copeland, revised by Mevanwy Roberts.

and liberty, landscapes reflect shared joys of creation, storms become sublime terrors, and bells become caught up in a blaze of worship. Clearly, this spiritual journeying reflects Liszt's Roman Catholicism, perhaps a personal pilgrimage back to a faith commitment that had grown weak in previous years. For an interpretation to capture the deep spirit of these works requires both an abdication of shallow virtuosity on the one hand, and of mere sentimentality on the other. Viewed from this perspective, also, the literary fragments included are more than mere hints or attachments, but are manifestations of the work's metaphysical experience.

Each of these pieces focuses on evoking many of the central concerns of C19th Romanticism, thus:

1. *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*: political and social revolution, heroic struggle often against the odds;
2. *Au Lac de Wallenstadt, Pastorale, Au bord d'un source, Eglogue*: deeply peaceful naturalist settings contrasting with the problems of the human world;
3. *Orage*: a different side of nature, an evocation of the Sublime, the terror and thrill of being out in a mighty storm;
4. *Vallée d'Obermann*: despair, *ennui*, struggles about life's meaning, yet with a triumphal conclusion;
5. *Le mal du pays*: homesickness, a deep Romantic sense of not belonging in this world;
6. *Les cloches de Genève*: the church bells calling to prayer, an evocation of beauty and spirituality combined.

In addition to the drawings, the majority of works have literary attachments. These of great significance. As has been noted, Liszt's music in general is often interlaced with a wide variety of authors, and in this collection, two authors dominate: Byron and Sénancour. The former is well known, and Liszt's regular mining of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* will become clear. The latter is less so, particularly his masterpiece *Obermann*.<sup>533</sup> Marina Van Zuylen provides an excellent introduction and study of this difficult work in her article "Sénancour's 'Oberman': Experiments in the Aesthetic Sublime":<sup>534</sup> The combination of the intensely personal, the universal questioning, and the powerfully descriptive can be seen to exemplify in literature Liszt's goals in music. In addition, it will be seen that Liszt

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<sup>533</sup> Étienne Pivert de Sénancour, *Obermann*, trans. Anthony Barnes (Baltimore: Noumena Press, 2010).

<sup>534</sup> Marina Van Zuylen, "Sénancour's 'Oberman': Experiments in the Aesthetic Sublime", *The Romantic Review* Vol.86 (1995).

regularly invokes core Romanticist tropes of nature (through the quotation of Swiss alpine melodies and echo effects invoking such calls in the Swiss mountains), of revolutionary heroism, and of the Sublime (reflecting a sense of awe evoked by the Swiss Alps).

### 6.15 *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*, Performance: Audio YoP1

Illustration 6.3 Original Drawing for *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell*



The front page drawing for *Chapelle de Guillaume Tell* (Illustration 6.3) evocatively depicts the small chapel mostly hidden behind rocky cliffs on the banks of Lake Lucerne. Musically, Liszt's opening bars suggest such a coming into view, and he later plays with horn call echoes in the mountains, illustrated in the distance. The recitativo section (bb. 21-37) quotes a Swiss Alpine horn melody,<sup>535</sup> as will be seen, a common characteristic of many of these works. The score contains a relatively sparse literary addition, simply the motto *Einer für All - Alle für Einen* which was a popular Swiss C19th political slogan, and is often associated with Alexandre Dumas' 1844 novel *The Three Musketeers*.<sup>536</sup> However brief, the slogan clearly identifies the central spirit of this work, not as an evocation of a peaceful lake-side chapel, but as a vision of heroic struggle inspired by William Tell's resistance against Austrian domination of Switzerland. Although the work was originally composed in 1835-6,<sup>537</sup> by the time of this final version Liszt will have been thinking of other, much more recent revolutions, particularly the (failed) Hungarian Revolution of 1848 which was also an attempt at independence from the Austrians.

Given the historic heroic and nationalist focus of this music, care must be taken to avoid mere virtuosity. Inexpressive forte passagework (especially in octaves) misses the mark, and tremolandi should create a sense of hushed tension rather than music hall "filler". Sectional tempo changes and broad annotated arpeggiation of chords are effective - I expand those in the LH of bars 5 and 9 as free versions of Liszt's arrangement from bar 13, for greater heroic effect. Göllerich reports that Liszt wished the opening "quite slow", yet with semiquavers and crotchets played quickly - an intensification of drama by rhythmic distortion within a tempo. The same source records Liszt's description of the passage from bar 61 as a "religious theme", and his instruction to play the triplet broken chords "fairly loud".<sup>538</sup> As was common C19th practice, I precede the first piece in the cycle with a short prelude, based on the second page of Liszt's own Prelude to his *Transcendental Etudes*, whose simple yet dramatically sweeping arpeggios provide a particularly appropriate introduction.

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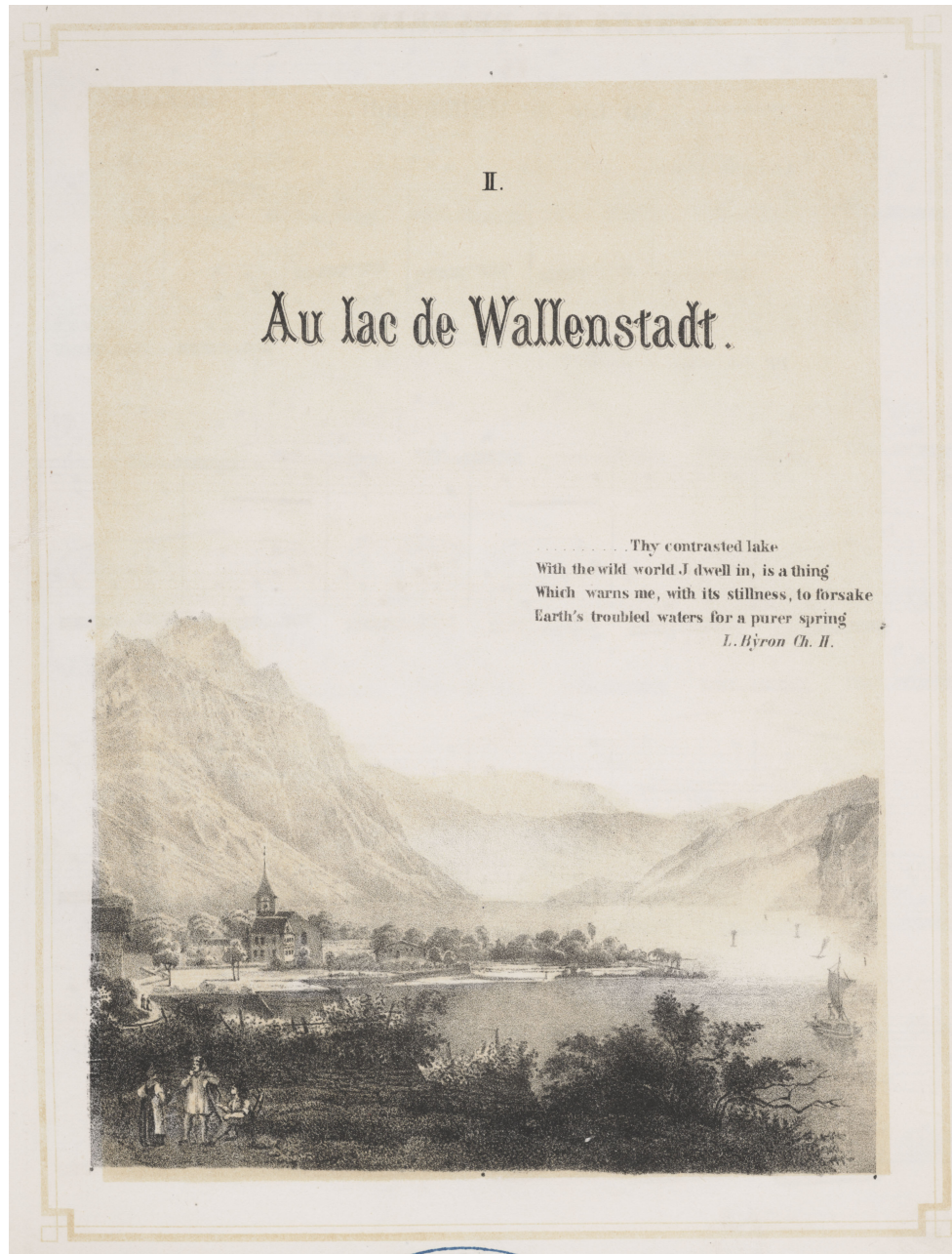
<sup>535</sup> Walter Rüşch, *Franz Liszt's Années de Pèlerinage* (Bellinzona: Leins & Vescovi, 1934) pp. 14, 17, 22-3. As quoted in the *Preface to the New Liszt Edition series I vol. 6*, xi.

<sup>536</sup> Alexandre Dumas, *The Three Musketeers* (London: Vintage Books, 2011).

<sup>537</sup> Work of the same name, included in the *Album d'un voyageur* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, reprinted by: Farnborough, Hants.: The Gregg Press, 1966).

<sup>538</sup> Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, trans. Zindars, 154-5.



**6.16 *Au lac de Wallenstadt*, Performance: Audio YoP2****Illustration 6.4 Original Drawing for *Au lac de Wallenstadt***

This simple work is one of Liszt's most beautiful character pieces. The front page drawing (Illustration 6.4 above) is of a peaceful pastoral scene by the lake, dotted with small sail boats, again with surrounding mountains. Importantly, this is no mere impression of a lake, but a sense of peace and joy, an escape from the cares of the world as made plain by the attached quote (in italics) from Byron:

Clear, placid Leman! *thy contrasted lake*  
*With the wild world I dwell in, is a thing*  
*Which warns me, in its stillness, to forsake*  
*Earth's troubled waters for a purer spring.*<sup>539</sup>

Marie d'Agoult, Liszt's first mistress, mentions the compositional setting for the work in her only comment on her (former) lover's music:

The shores of the lake of Wallenstadt kept us for a long time. There, Franz composed for me a melancholy harmony, imitative of the sigh of the waves and the cadence of oars, which I have never been able to hear without weeping.<sup>540</sup>

Again, the visual and literary influence musical interpretation. Most important is to keep the LH rhythm fluid in a gentle wave-like rhythm smoothing the groups of three and four into a single organic shape. The slight intensification of harmonic drama from bar 44 may be enhanced by a quicker tempo, yet carefully maintaining the gentle character. The off-beat RH from bar 62 may be treated as a free improvisation unchained from the LH, rather than as a locked syncopation. I repeat bars 37-79, given the following report from Liszt's student Carl Lachmund:

Fräulein Wappenhaus was called next and played the Master's poetic *Au lac de Wallenstadt* prettily. A middle part he advised her to repeat, to enhance its effect.<sup>541</sup>

The final bars from bar 103 may be rhythmically free, culminating in an improvisatory postlude as demonstrated by Arthur Friedheim.<sup>542</sup> I have add a little RH texture in bar 108 for variety, and may add extra ending patterns. Given the extreme and sudden dramatic change from *Chapelle*, I have eased the transition by use of a short, calming prelude.

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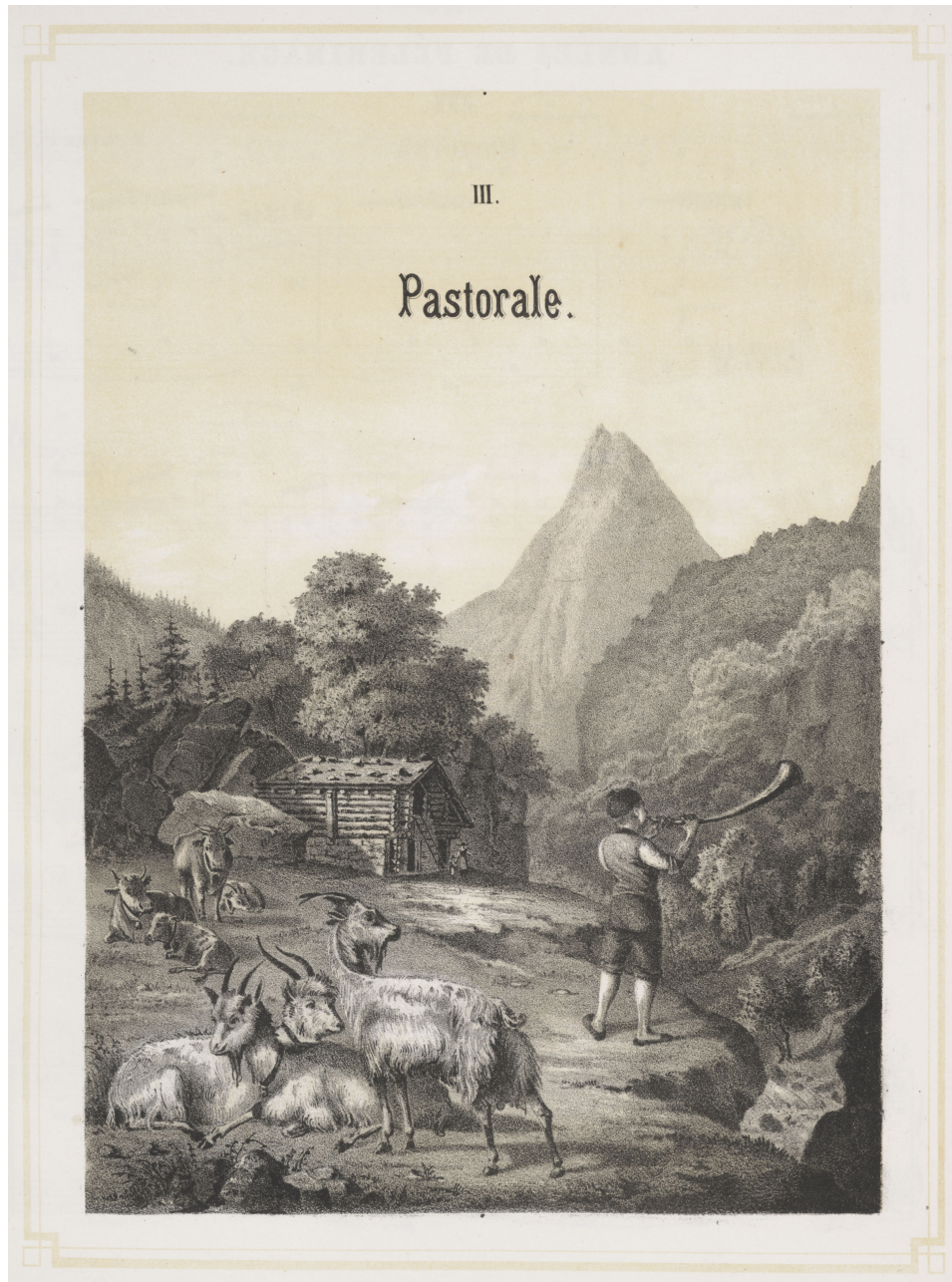
<sup>539</sup> Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third, stanza LXXXV*, in Byron, *Poetical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 221, italics mine.

<sup>540</sup> Marie d'Agoult, *Mémoires, souvenirs et journaux Vol. 1* (Paris, Mercure de France, 1990), 320; translation mine.

<sup>541</sup> Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1995), 214.

<sup>542</sup> Friedheim recording in Gerard Carter, *Rediscovering the Liszt Tradition* (Sydney: Wensleydale Press, 2006), book including 3 CDs, Friedhelm *On Lake Wallenstadt* (CD 2 track 4).



**6.17 Pastorale, Performance: Audio YoP3****Illustration 6.5 Original Drawing for *Pastorale***

This piece is an arrangement of an *Appenzell Kuhreigen*,<sup>543</sup> a Swiss alpine folk cowherding song, and the first version of the work was originally published by Liszt as the third *Fleurs mélodiques des Alpes*. The front page drawing (Illustration 6.5 above) depicts a herder (and animals) overlooking a valley, blowing his long horn. High mountains surround

<sup>543</sup> See *Preface to the New Liszt Edition series I vol. 6, XI*.

him, and the suggestion is of horn calls echoing off the rock faces, and across the valley. There is no literary attachment. An eloquent description of the effect of Swiss alphorns on C19th sensibilities has been made by John Murray, writing in the 1820's:

On the main road our delighted ear was charmed with a fine musical echo, produced from the blowing of a horn ... The sound, at first loud and full, vibrated from rock to rock, until its tones were so softened as to be heard only as a distant murmur, that gradually died away upon the astonished but delighted ear, though, in its last sigh, the tone and note were perfect and distinct.<sup>544</sup>

The piece begins with the briefest of preludes, a bar and a half of the LH drone. The alpine visual and folk music base encourages a gently swinging rhythm, and the earlier version's dynamics make clear Liszt's intention to create echo effects with horn calls (e.g. from bar 11). With Murray's description (above) in mind, I suggest a different echo pattern between the two relevant passages, the first with three close horn calls followed by three distant (bars 11-23), and the second, a series consisting of an initial close call followed by two progressively distant echoes (bars 34-45). In the last statement of the melody (bars 30-33), I suggest a thinning of texture by removing repetitions of the low E bass, to enhance the PPP effect of distance.

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<sup>544</sup> Murray, John, *A Glance at some of the Beauties and Sublimities of Switzerland* (London: Murray, 1829). Quoted in Frances Jones "Liszt and the Alphorn", *The Liszt Society Journal* vol.40 (2015): 19.



**6.18 *Au bord d'une source*, Performance: Audio YoP4****Illustration 6.6 Original Drawing for *Au bord d'une source***

This work, one of the most beautiful and expressive pieces in the cycle, is also visually depicted enclosed by high cliffs, topped with forest (see Illustration 6.6 above). The stream emerges through a small waterfall cut through rocks. Animals are drinking and a lone shepherd sits. Thus there is an implied mix of calming peace and sparkling watery

movement. The “motto” is from Schiller: “In murmuring coolness/The play of young Nature/Begins.”<sup>545</sup>

Both Schiller’s verse and the cover drawing combines Romanticist concerns of nature, youth, and innocent playfulness, particularly through the dynamic of the waterfall. Liszt’s student Amy Fay recalls a lesson on this work:

Yesterday I had prepared for him [Liszt] his *au Bord d’une Source* ... and then he sat down and played the whole piece himself, oh, so exquisitely! It made me feel like a wood-chopper. The notes just seemed to ripple off his fingers’ ends with scarce any perceptible motion. As he neared the end ... he suddenly took an unexpected chord and extemporised a poetical little end, quite different from the written one.<sup>546</sup>

The work is thus full of differing shades of joyful life and Romanticist energy, and the main interpretative issue is that of technical control to avoid mere virtuosity. As with Liszt himself, Siloti demonstrates score flexibility and true characterisation, writing this introduction to his own arrangement of the work:

[O]ne of my principal aims in editing this piece of music has been to aid towards a more correct interpretation. I am of the opinion that most of my colleagues, as well as concert players in general, treat *Au bord d’une source* as if “Au bord d’un mer agitée” [sic: should read “mer agitée”], which in the first place is contrary to the author’s own interpretation and secondly, does not agree with either the title of the piece, its tempo (*Allegretto gracioso*) or the meaning of its motto. ... Owing to the fact that the left-hand skips (at the beginning and near the end) may imbue the piece with too bravura-like a character, I have taken it upon myself to simplify these measures, however, without detriment to or omission of any detail of the original setting.<sup>547</sup>

Although this is an accurate assessment of the work’s character, I am unconvinced by Siloti’s arrangement and have retained the original in performance. Table 6.13 below compares four historically significant recordings of the work, two by Liszt student Eugen d’Albert (Audio 6.3 & 6.4), and one each by Alfred Cortot (Audio 6.5) and Claudio Arrau (Audio 6.6).<sup>548</sup> I include Cortot, since his style retains a Romanticist ethos well into the C20th, and Arrau, as his main teacher, Martin Krause, was a student of Liszt, and Arrau was conscious of carrying performance elements of the Lisztian stylistic tradition.

<sup>545</sup> Schiller, *Der Flüchtling (The Fugitive)*, lines 6-8; translation mine.

<sup>546</sup> Amy Fay, *Music-Study in Germany* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1979), 220.

<sup>547</sup> Siloti, *The Alexander Siloti Collection*, 161.

<sup>548</sup> *Eugen d’Albert, the centaur pianist, complete studio recordings: 1910-28*, CD 1 track 9 recorded 1910-12, CD 2 track 5 recorded 1916-22, Arbiter 147, 2005, 2xCDs. Alfred Cortot, *Alfred Cortot Plays Liszt*, track 2, undated recording, Pearl Gemm CD9396, 1990, CD. *Claudio Arrau, Les Enregistrements antérieurs à 1939*, track 10, recorded 1928, Dante Production HPC001, 1990.

**Table 6.13, Audio 6.3, 6.4, 6.5 & 6.6**  
***Au bord d'une source* Recording Comparisons**

0=no significant effect, 1=subtle effect, 2=clearly noticeable effect, 3=dominating effect.					
0	RECORDING TECHNOLOGY	d'Albert 1	d'Albert 2	Cortot	Arrau
0.1	Audio clarity/mechanical intrusion	2	2	1	0
1	ROMANTICIST SPIRIT				
1.1	Poetic/dramatic intensity	1	1	2	2
1.2	Unusually slow/fast basic tempo	1	1	1	2
1.3	Re-creational/ improvisational style	1	1	2	2
1.4	Rhetorical Gesturalism	1	1	2	2
1.5	Individualized Interpretation	1	1	2	2
1.6	Note inaccuracy	2	1	0	1
2	TEXTUAL FLEXIBILITY				
2.1	Prelude	0	0	0	0
2.2	Unnotated cuts and repetitions	0	0	0	0
2.3	Alternate passagework	0	0	0	0
2.4	Alternate ending	1	1	0	0
2.5	Misc. added notes, chords	0	1	0	0
2.6	Unnotated arpeggiation	0	0	0	0
2.7	Variety of annotated arpeggiation	1	1	1	0
3	TEMPO & RHYTHM				
3.1	Varied sectional tempi	0	1	2	2
3.2	Generalised fluctuating rubato	1	1	3	3
3.3	Dance swing	0	0	0	0
3.4	Unequal passagework	1	1	1	1
3.5	Agogic accenting	1	1	1	2
3.6	Unnotated short pauses	0	1	0	0
3.7	Rhythmic intensification	0	0	0	0
3.8	Rhythmic layering	0	0	0	0
3.9	Melodic dislocation	0	0	0	0

Interestingly, d'Albert is freest with the musical text, yet the later performers (Cortot and Arrau) are more dramatically expressive. In fact d'Albert's performance is rather perfunctory, and given these are his only Liszt recordings, perhaps this is an example of dimmed enthusiasm for his teacher's compositions.

Again, substantial tempo changes are required throughout to enhance the shifts in drama, which only becomes bravura through bars 41 to 50, before returning to the elegant yet sparkling opening material. Liszt wrote a further ending for his student Giovanni Syambati,<sup>549</sup> containing nine bars of free cadential oscillation, though it is unknown whether this bears any relation to the one heard by Amy Fay. It seems over long and fussy, basically oscillating between two broken chords. It seems a kind gesture to an adoring student rather than an artistic enhancement; I have chosen simply to add a pair of high Eb's to the final chords, reminiscent of the opening.

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<sup>549</sup> See *Journal of the American Liszt Society* Vol.65, 35 (note 45).



## 6.19 Orage, Performance: Audio YoP5

Illustration 6.7 Original Drawing for *Orage*



Marie d'Agoult, Liszt's first mistress, remembers an occasion during long walks with Liszt which may give a flavour of this work:

Who among us has ever felt in the forest a mysterious spreading silence? A sort of inaudible immobility, and as if nature held her breath, enveloping, penetrating all things, and suddenly succeeding in the cracking of dead branches, the murmur of the breeze beneath the leaf, the buzzing of insects, the flight of birds? Deceptive peace! - Threatening silence! - Apprehension of the storm in the clouds, tempest which

approaches and which is going to devastate everything! ... The storm was not far off.<sup>550</sup>

The front page scene depicts a wild, cloudy sky above forested mountains. In the foreground is a wind-blown tree with dead companion, and at the foot are two figures, one chasing his hat. The scene thus describes not merely the storm, but the sense of being out in the storm. Worked into the landscape drawing is another quotation from Byron, the last three lines of its stanza. The whole is illuminative:

Sky, mountains, river, winds, lake, lightings! Ye!  
 With night, and clouds, and thunder, and a soul  
 To make these felt and feeling, well may be  
 Things that have made me watchful; the far roll  
 Of your departing voices, is the knoll  
 Of what in me is sleepless - if I rest.  
*But where of ye, O tempests! is the goal?*  
*Are ye like those within the human breast?*  
*Or do you find, at length, like eagles, some high nest?*<sup>551</sup>

Here is the other side of nature, one terrible and dangerous yet exhilarating, an attempt at the Sublime, “to make these felt and feeling”. Byron indicates a further element, a psychological allegory of the storms “within the human breast”. Both literary and visual attachments thus combine to include both inner and outer storms.

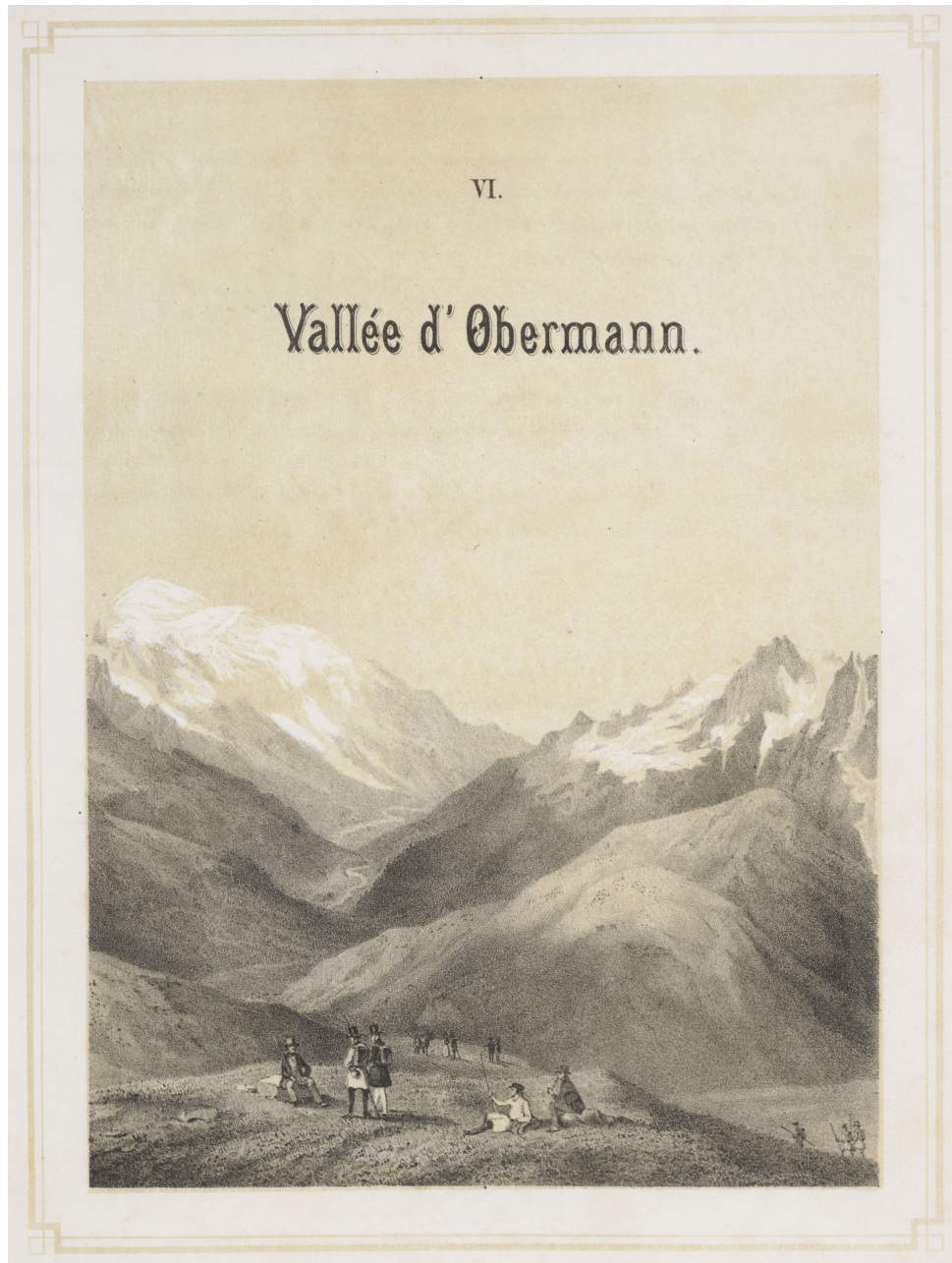
This is one of the most difficult works in the cycle to present in spirit, to truly create a terrifying storm rather than merely an octave étude. The tempo - *allegro* is more common than faster indications - is less important than are dynamic and rhythmic waves of sound, often merged in the pedal to thunderous effect. I find widespread use of slightly asynchronous double octaves creates both energy and resonance here. The *Cadenza ad lib* should of course be genuinely free. I add an additional final chord to return to the opening lightning strike of bar 1 (and others).

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<sup>550</sup> Marie d'Agoult, *Mémoires*, 310, translation mine.

<sup>551</sup> Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third, stanza XCVI*, in *Byron Poetical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 223, italics mine.



**6.20 Vallée d'Obermann, Performance: Audio YoP6****Illustration 6.8 Original Drawing for *Vallée d'Obermann***

This is the central work in the cycle, a dark masterpiece, with its three attached quotations from Sénancour's *Obermann* and Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Depicted on the front page is a calm mountain scene, with groups of hikers dwarfed by the landscape, and it is no surprise that Liszt did not approve of this particular illustration,<sup>552</sup>

<sup>552</sup> As reported in the *Preface to the New Liszt Edition Series I Volume 6*, xi.

the work itself being one of the composer's darkest and most brooding. There is in fact no such valley; this is a purely psychological landscape, structured as a collection of searching letters. It is not surprising that Liszt was drawn to S nancour's work, reflecting as it does both Romanticist paradoxes of fragmentary form yet within overarching structure, and of intimate soul-searching within universalist concerns. Its radical literary form no doubt appealed to the composer, who was also a pioneer of radical artistic forms. First, the two Obermann quotations, the first of which I will give at sufficient length to contextualise and reinforce Liszt's excerpts, which are in italics:

*What would I? What am I? What must I ask of Nature? Is there a universal system? Are there adaptations, rights corresponding to needs? Is a supreme intelligence bringing about the results that my intelligence would fain anticipate? Every cause is invisible, every aim deceptive; every form changes, all continuance comes to an end; and the torment of man's insatiable heart is the blind rush of a meteor through empty space to its doom ... Nothing possessed is the same as it was when pictured; nothing is known as it really is. We see relations, not essences; we do not deal with things, but their images. The Nature we return to without, and find inscrutable within, is everywhere wrapped in obscurity. I feel is the only word possible to a man who will have nothing but truth. And that which is the basis of reality in my life is at the same time its torture. I feel, I exist simply to be prey of untenable desires, to be besotted by the spell of a fantastic world, and to stand aghast at its dazzling falsity.*<sup>553</sup>

And the second, in similar vein, as quoted by Liszt:

Inexpressible responsiveness, alike the charm and torment of our idle years, profound sense of a Nature everywhere overwhelming and everywhere inscrutable; infinite passion, ripened wisdom, ecstatic self-surrender, everything a human heart can hold of need and utter weariness, I felt them all, sounded the depths of all, during that memorable night. I took an ominous stride towards the age of decline; I swallowed up ten years of my life.<sup>554</sup>

These texts leave no doubt about the work's quintessentially Romanticist quest for meaning, existentially ("What would I? What am I? What must I ask of Nature?"), spiritually ("Is a supreme intelligence bringing about the results?", and in nature ("The Nature we return to ... is everywhere wrapped in obscurity"). That these are not mere intellectual questions, but a grappling with overwhelming intellectual, emotional, and psychological experience is also evidenced ("infinite passion, ripened wisdom, ecstatic self-surrender ... I felt them all, sounded the depths of all"). Second, Liszt also attaches another excerpt

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<sup>553</sup> S nancour, *Obermann Letter LXIII*, trans. Anthony Barnes, 256, italics mine.

<sup>554</sup> S nancour, *Obermannn Letter IV*, trans. Barnes, 27.

from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, capturing the Romanticist sense of powerlessness, of the gulf between attempt and success:

Could I embody and unbosom now  
That which is most within me, - could I wreak  
My thoughts upon expression, and thus throw  
Soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings, strong to weak  
All that I would have sought and all I seek,  
bear, know, feel, and yet breathe, - into one word,  
And that one word were lightning, I would speak;  
But as it is, I live and die unheard,  
With a most voiceless thought, sheathing it as a sword.<sup>555</sup>

Here, Byron captures the deep frustration of life's powerlessness, and again combines great passion with intellect ("soul, heart, mind, passions"), a complete inventory of being human.

Liszt's work powerfully captures a journey from confusion to conclusion, from depths of despair to hope, ending in the hard-won triumph of the final pages. I wonder, given Liszt's difficult yet committed Catholicism, whether his valley is almost that of Psalm 23, a walking through the valley of the shadow of (psychological) death, yet ultimately comforted, at last graciously vindicated by Sénancour's "supreme intelligence". Such linking of the Sublime and the Divine was characteristic of Romanticism, as has been previously discussed. At the least, this work ends in psychological triumph, with a final, defiant metamorphosis of the opening descending line of despair. Amazingly, Liszt suggested a shortened version of just the first 3 pages(!)<sup>556</sup>, and despite the loss of so much great writing (and with some regret) I have chosen to record the work in this form as an experiment. A pliable rubato and minimum of unnotated arpeggiation are important to capture the stark, almost beyond tears character of these pages. Göllerich records Liszt's instruction that the opening LH theme be very accented,<sup>557</sup> and much agogic accenting is needed to create a hopeless staggering in the long sighing of the many descending phrases. As with *Lac de Wallenstadt*, I feel the sudden change in drama from *Orage* is aided by a short, reflective prelude, as in the accompanying recording.

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<sup>555</sup> Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *Canto the Third*, stanza XCVII in *Byron Poetical Works*, 223.

<sup>556</sup> Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, 151.

<sup>557</sup> Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, 151.



## 6.21 *Eglogue*, Performance: Audio YoP7

Illustration 6.9 Original Drawing for *Eglogue*



*Eglogue* is another arrangement of a folk song, this time of a Swiss shepherd's *Ranz de chèvre*.<sup>558</sup> The front illustration is also of dubious interpretative value, merely floral decoration of of a carved plinth, with sun hat, walking stick and horn, perhaps implying a

<sup>558</sup> See *Preface to the New Liszt Edition series I vol.6, x*.

joyful early morning walk. It is, however, given further depth by another quotation from Byron, this time all innocent freshness and play (Liszt's excerpt in italics):

*The morn is up again, the dewy morn  
With breath all incense, and with cheek all bloom  
Laughing the cloud away with playful scorn,  
And living as if earth contain'd no tomb! -*  
And glowing into day: we may resume  
The march of our existence: and thus I,  
Still on thy shores, fair Leman! may find room  
And food for meditation, nor pass by  
Much, that may give us pause, if ponder'd fittingly.<sup>559</sup>

Once again, the Romanticist focus on nature is evident from both drawing and poem, this time a fresh, playful joy contrasted with the (equally Romanticist) human experience of a hard, directed life ("the march of our existence") and sense of mortality. Although Liszt was no stranger to the dark elements of existence, both as man and as artist, this particular work does not include these darker elements, beautifully evoking different aspects of nature's playful vigour, between a gentle awakening and final rest at day's end. In this, it assists in balancing the dark and epic struggles of *Vallée d'Obermann*.

The opening 24 bars form a written-in prelude, setting the scene of a waking natural world, and I approach the opening as a rhythmically free yet not quite distinct harmonic atmosphere. Gradually there is an increasing energy, leading at bar 26 to the main theme. The gesture from bar 34 may rhythmically swing as indication of its folk music nature, while from bar 42, the *dolce grazioso* may soften and pull back. From bar 55, the LH should not sound virtuosically dominant, but provide an energised buzzing to the tune. Finally, over the last 27 bars Nature begins to settle down for another night. The wide broken chords from bar 96 may be integrated with the following quavers, forming on compete gesture each time.

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<sup>559</sup> Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third, stanza XCVIII* in *Byron Poetical Works*, 223, italics mine.



**6.22 *Le Mal du Pays*, Performance: Audio YoP8****Illustration 6.10 Original Drawing for *Mal du Pays***

As with *Pastorale*, this piece is a reworking of a previously arranged and published *Appenzell Kuhreigen*.<sup>560</sup> The front illustration is of a young woman walker, sitting with head leaning on one hand in a gesture of sadness. Behind her is a dark, tree-lined path, with no

<sup>560</sup> See *Preface to the New Liszt Edition series I vol. 6*, xi.

end point. A dead tree in the foreground adds to a sense of melancholy. Interestingly, the work is prefaced by a lengthy excerpt (not included in the annotated score scans) from S  nancour's *Obermann, the Third Fragment: The Romantic in Nature, and the "Ranz des vaches"*. The flavour of the Fragment can be sensed from the following extracts:

The sensational captivates crude and lively imaginations, but thoughtful minds of genuine susceptibility are satisfied with the purely romantic. Nature abounds in effects in out-of-the-way places, but in time-worn regions they are spoiled by incessant civilisation ... Imagine a vast though bounded sheet of clear transparent water, oblong in shape, and sweeping in a wide curve towards the western horizon. Lofty peaks and glorious ranges enclose it on three sides ... Behind you sheer precipices lift their heads to the clouds ... When the morning sun appears between the icy peaks above the mists, when mountain voices betray the whereabouts of chalets above the meadows still in shadow, that is the proof of what a destiny we have ignored. ... The "Ranz des Vaches" does more than awaken reminiscences; it paints a picture. ... The air is chilly; the wind drops as twilight falls; and nothing is left but the glimmer of perpetual snows, and the plunge of torrents whose lonely hum comes up from below, and seems to emphasise the unbroken silence of the towering peaks, the glaciers, and the night.<sup>561</sup>

Liszt would not agree with the exclusion of civilisation from the Romanticist (as evidenced by the works in his *Ann  es de P  lerinage Deuxi  me Ann  e* inspired by Italian art, sculpture and literature). However, he clearly shares the Romanticist embrace of nature. Liszt here combines both the innocence of nature with the deep grief of homesickness. As we have already seen, homesickness was a widespread metaphysical theme with the C19th Romanticists, and includes a deep sense of living in a foreign place and longing for another, of a life out of step with the world. It is rooted in both metaphysical, existential questioning and opposition to the the surrounding European reality of an increasingly materialist, industrialised culture.

This work is therefore miniature in length, but not in depth. Both the personal sadness (of the women) surrounded by nature's decay (the trees) contrasts with the Sublime profundity and vivid joy of S  nancour's prose, thus describing the pain of absence, of remembered, hoped-for, yet unreachable joy. Liszt creates the dramatic effect through fragmentary phrases and gestures which hardly resolve, contrasted with a hint of happy memory, until a brief climax of hope which in turn fades to sombre end. As with *Pastorale*, there are moments of Alpine echoing resonance - G  llerich reports Liszt's instruction to use much pedal in the opening themes, and not too slow as to become

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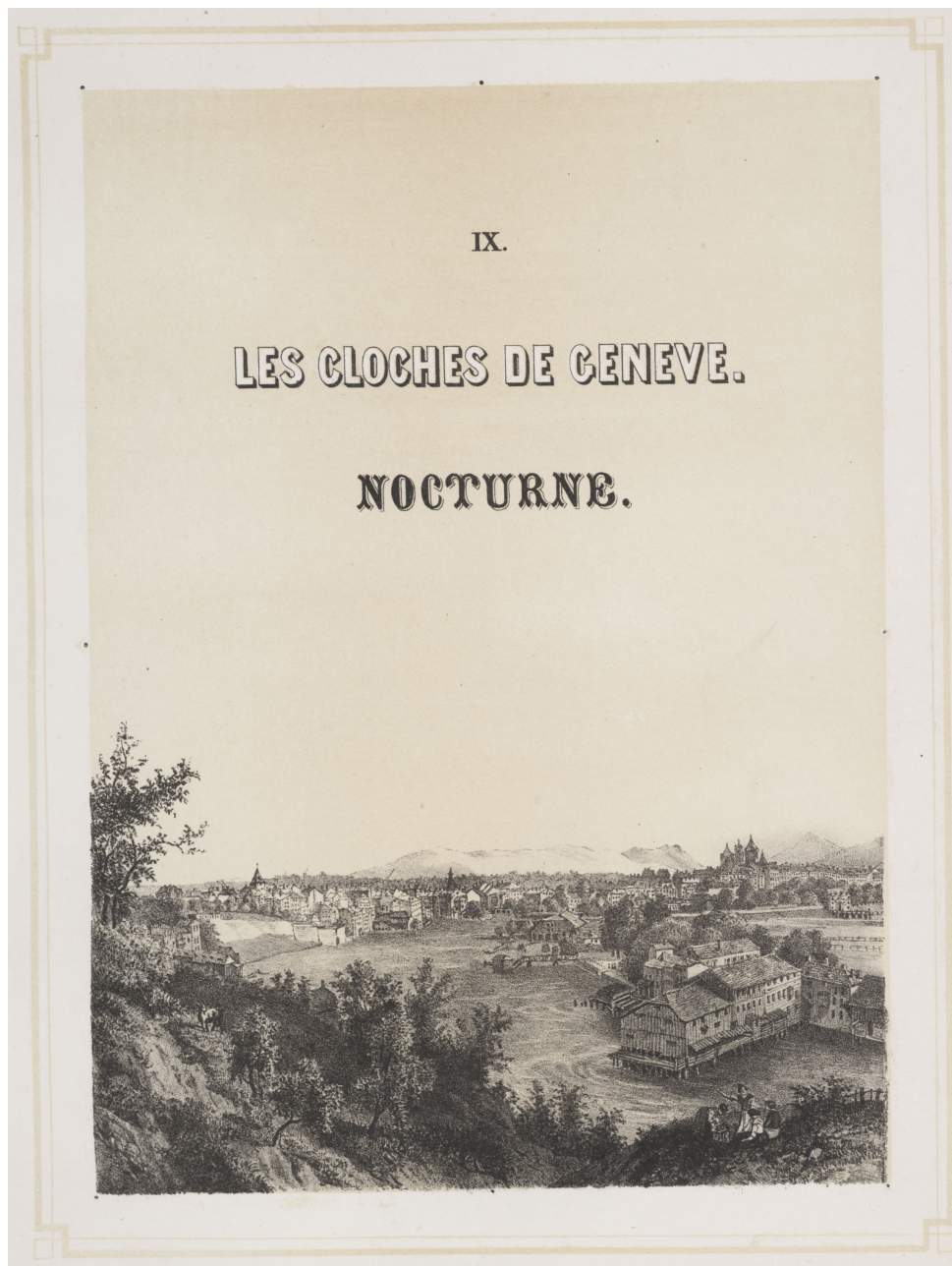
<sup>561</sup> S  nancour, *Obermann, Third Fragment*, trans. Barnes, 129-134. The "Ranz des vaches" is a Swiss folk melody usually played on the horn by herdsman.



bombastic. A further comment, to play the accompaniment quite short, may apply from bar 20.<sup>562</sup> The work thus requires considerable variety of tempo and rubato. I end simply, with no broken chords, to emphasise the stark loneliness.

### 6.23 *Les cloches de Genève*, Performance: Audio YoP9

Illustration 6.11 Original Drawing for *Les cloches de Genève*



<sup>562</sup> Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, 155.



This is perhaps the most beautiful piece in the cycle, a perfect process of dramatic intensification yet with no dark shadows. It is a journey from a gentle soundscape, through the beauty of ringing bells, to an evocation of ecstatic joy. The work is thus a brave conclusion to the pilgrimage, given Romanticism's tendency to seek profundity in darker things.

In the first version *Les cloches de G ...* (from *Album d'un voyageur*) Liszt attaches two poetic headpieces, which remain apt descriptions of at least the first section of the revised work:

*... Midnight slept; the lake  
Remained calm, the starry sky ...  
We drifted far from shore,*<sup>563</sup>

and from Byron:

*I live not in myself, but I become  
Portion of that around me.*<sup>564</sup>

The front page illustration looks down on a peaceful small town, steep foreground hills giving a sense of distance. The first inscription is perhaps the basis of the first section, a tranquility with the sound of bells somewhat distant and individually indistinct. The second and third sections may realise the second quotation, initially the beautiful pealing of the bells and an intensifying into a sublimity of radiant spirituality. The work begins with a written-in prelude of some four bars. Göllerich records Liszt's instruction to play "the theme quite simply. Always play spontaneously."<sup>565</sup> However, this does not mean rhythmic regularity; the rubato of the LH broken intervals may draw out their triplets, and I prefer those in the RH to be slightly asynchronous with the LH. In the second section, from bar 46, there are simply written out descending arpeggiated chords under the tune, and these may be played freely; I suspect they are written-out simply to ensure descending treatment, and give a guide to general tempo. Use of tune delay in this section may enhance its expressive, gentle beauty. As suggested above, if the first section is seen as coalescing the setting, and the second section as condensing into Beauty, then the third section, marked *animato fortissimo* is progression to the radiant Sublime, a sense of

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<sup>563</sup> Unknown author, possibly Liszt; translation mine.

<sup>564</sup> Byron, *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage, Canto the Third, stanza LXXII*, in *Byron Poetical Works*, 219, italics mine.

<sup>565</sup> Göllerich, *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt*, 155.

pealing, spirit-filled bells. Care should be taken to create a rich sound without a sense of mere virtuosic gesture. Finally, from bar 155 we begin to return to ourselves, with the arpeggios in bars 157 and 160 to be played quite freely, their note values indicating rubato, not literalism.

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## CONCLUSION - AN UNFINISHED PILGRIMAGE

### 7.1 Opening Comments

The title of this thesis, *Vital Performance*, may now be seen to carry double meaning, first as a reference to the vitalist philosophy central to C19th Romanticist culture and music performance, and second as a an affirmation of the importance of rediscovering and reengaging in such a culture when performing its repertoire. As has been argued in Chapter 4, both Vitalism as a foundational philosophy of life, and the sense of the numinous Sublime as a deep response to creation, stand in greatest contrast with the superseding mechanical materialism of Modernism. Such cultural analysis is, however, neither shortcut to HIPP “accuracy” nor a path to avoid complex questions about the contradictions inherent in the HIPP project; as Franz Brüggen has correctly observed:

We are *not* the same musicians, mentally *nor* the same human beings, and not being the same, it *is* very difficult to read an old music music treatise in its proper meaning and context. The solution, of course, is to read less about music and more about context.<sup>566</sup>

### 7.2 Outcomes of the Study: Scholarship

As outlined in the Introduction, this study has achieved the following outcomes:

1. A cultural exegesis of the foundations of both Modernism and Romanticism, particularly attentive to their influence on music performance style, has been undertaken. From this exegesis, a theory has been developed linking the cultural environment created by these philosophies with key HIPP elements of contemporaneous performance. It is hoped that this linkage of foundational culture with detailed performance practice will provide a further incentive for C19th HIPP to be seriously considered by those teachers, students and performers who wish their interpretation of C19th Romanticist repertoire to be at least somewhat as originally envisaged, heard, and understood;
2. A nuanced critique of the nature of HIPP has been proposed, examining significant major arguments for and against this aesthetic, and leading to a definition which avoids many earlier pitfalls and valid criticisms, while re-affirming the basic validity and coherence of the HIPP project. The result has been to develop a C19th HIPP practice not merely in reproductive letter but also in Romanticist spirit;

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<sup>566</sup> Frans Brüggen, Interview, *American Recorder* 15/3 (1974), 72. As quoted in Bruce Haynes & Geoffrey Burgess, *The Pathetic Musician: Moving and Audience in the Age of Eloquence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), xii.

3. A practical epistemology of C19th Romanticist music scores has been further developed, building on the work of other scholar-musicians in the field, and adopting a nuanced approach to *Werktrue* which separates out the Romanticist idea of true meaning in an artwork from the Modernist theory of textual fundamentalism and literalism. Included in this process is an investigative analysis of important C19th expressive symbols and practices;
4. A summary has been undertaken of recent scholarly Romanticist performance style analyses of late C19th and early C20th audio recordings, including discussion of the recordings' inherent technical and artistic limitations, and leading to a qualified acceptance of their value as HIPP evidence. An analytical tool for early recordings (in the form of a table) has been developed, including categories for levels of mechanical intrusion, Romanticist spirit, textual flexibility, and key rhythmic performance techniques. The tool has been designed to be non-reductionist, comprehensive, and to present data in a clear form readily applicable by performing musicians;
5. Eyewitness (earwitness?), pedagogic, recording, and other expressive performance data specific to Franz Liszt's general performance style(s), and his *Consolations* and *Années de Pèlerinage: Première Année* in particular has been collated and discussed;
6. A system of score annotation symbols particularly appropriate to C19th Romanticist style has been crafted, balancing the needs for both simplicity and coverage of essential HIPP techniques and gestures. The system uses both original and borrowed symbols. These symbols have been used to prepare annotated performance scores of the works performed in this thesis. Considerable care has been taken to avoid the Modernist anachronism of fixed performance detail, instead embracing C19th Romanticist aesthetic of variety and personal committed interpretation. In this spirit, differences in detail between the annotated scores and the performances have been retained, as no two Romanticist performances would have been identical, even by the same artist.

### 7.3 Outcomes of the Study: Performance

The recorded performances have included the following outcomes:

1. A testing of C19th HIPP resultant from scholarly consensus through performance experimentation, and the development of a personal HIPP synthesis. The outcome has been a practical validation of C19th HIPP performance elements as understood from

the sources discussed, and the author's own analysis. This result is not intended as binding on the contemporary music community, another version of moralistic "authentic" aesthetic, but as demonstrating the viability of C19th HIPP where chosen by the performer;

2. I have found the freedom and responsibility of making appropriate modifications to the score has facilitated a greater sense of personal and emotional involvement in performance. In particular, the addition of dramatically appropriate preludes in the *Années de Pèlerinage*, and a number of repeats, cuts, and altered beginnings and endings in both Liszt cycles created an enhanced sense of co-creation;
3. The recording has used a type of pianoforte contemporaneous to these compositions, a mid-century Érard, so as to examine as fully as possible the soundscapes within which these works, and Romanticist performance techniques in general, were developed (see point 4 below.) However, the author strongly rejects a facile usage of one particular pianoforte maker, on the basis that Liszt owned, or at one time preferred, that maker's instruments. Liszt owned and used a variety of instruments, including some of near-modern design (for example, Chickering, Bösendorfer, Bechstein, and Wagner's Steinway). He evidently expected his students to adapt to whatever piano he was using, particularly in Weimar, Rome, and Budapest, and I have found the modern piano adaptable to C19th HIPP style. Nonetheless, it has been extremely illuminating to study and perform these works on a piano of their time;
4. The use of an age-appropriate instrument has been particularly helpful in determining an appropriately expressive range and mix of HIPP elements. Most importantly, the soundscape has facilitated a better understanding of the interrelationship of these performance elements, how they are to be combined for expressive drama and not merely added as a catalogue. In particular:
  - i) Elements such as dislocation between hands and arpeggiation gestures make particular interpretative sense in the clearer sound environment of the earlier instrument, where they increase tonal effect without overly muddying the texture;
  - ii) The more intimate general soundscape of the earlier piano encourages a far greater degree and ubiquity of agogic shaping;
  - iii) The more intimate general soundscape of the earlier piano encourages a far greater degree and ubiquity of agogic shaping. In fact, this seems to be essential, as many expressive gestures conveyed dynamically on the modern piano must

instead be reinforced agogically on the earlier instrument. I have found this is especially true on the domestic instruments of the time, square pianos, where lack of dynamic range and tonal power does not necessarily lead to dull performance;

iv) I have long found one of the most difficult works in the *Années de Pèlerinage* to interpret convincingly is *Orage*. It is difficult to achieve sufficient clarity for a true sense of sublime terror with the rich basses of the modern instrument. It is easy for the work to sound like a mere exercise in octaves! I was surprised and pleased to find that the more percussive sound of the Érard created a far more successful (in my opinion) dramatic effect. I look forward to playing Liszt's *Ballade No.2*, with its low bass chromatic passagework, on an earlier instrument;

v) The clearer, thinner tone of the Érard led in some cases to more rapid tempi than I have normally used in these works. Much of this was unconscious, and on reflection, generally unsuccessful.

A number of negative observations may also be made:

1. Despite their research (and performance) benefits, most older C19th instruments may not give a truly accurate soundscape, requiring substantial repair and reconditioning. The Lotherton Érard exemplifies this, with its hard hammers leading to an overly percussive sound. I have recently purchased an Érard of very similar age which has a far more mellow tone (yet requires a complete keyboard action rebuild!) Performing and/or recording on an historically-appropriate instrument, even one in fair condition, does not guarantee a fully historic soundscape, and certainly not a genuine HIP style;
2. The keys of the Érard are very slightly narrower than that of modern grands, to the detriment of (my) note accuracy. Interestingly, it was a goal of the recording to attempt a C19th Romanticist view of accuracy, so this should not have been problematic. Despite this intention, I have found this inaccuracy disconcerting, and it has been a difficult decision to leave many of these inaccuracies in the recording. Anton Rubinstein would not have been so worried! It can of course be argued that the very process of recording is unRomanticist (for reasons already discussed), so in principle does not combine well with a unconcerned approach to accuracy;
3. As a musician inexperienced with making recordings in recent years, I noticed a greater conservatism in my interpretations once the process began. A sense of freedom and risk-taking in performance was significantly reduced. It seems therefore quite possible that many pianists recording at the end of the C19th and at the

beginning of the C20th, obviously inexperienced with the new recording process may have experienced a similar sense of increased caution when faced with the unfamiliarity of a studio microphone. This partially confirms a suspicion outlined earlier in this thesis, that in early studio recordings we are hearing the least expressively free performances, and not a typical “live” style.

To summarise, my general experience for the duration of this research has confirmed both the advantages of experience with instruments designed before the advent of the American System of construction, and the practicality of applying this performance style on modern instruments. Continued performance on modern pianofortes confirms that using the C19th HIPP outlined in this thesis is equally expressive, albeit with some differences in approach. Further, regardless of instrument, Romanticist HIPP seems particularly effective - almost necessary - for a significant proportion of the works selected. I propose that playing Liszt without such freedoms and ornamentation is like playing Jazz without swing or improvisation, perhaps possible but not preferable.

#### 7.4 Areas for Further Research and Application

Several areas of further research are apparent:

1. The evidence of the earliest recordings gives snapshots of performance current in the declining years of Romanticism, as it fragments into parts once held in balance, particularly Expressionism, Impressionism, Symbolism, Realism, Naturalism, and Exoticism. Already around 50 years from the mid-century height of Romanticism, the earliest recordings are already tacking into the mounting winds of early Modernism. The foundations laid by Nietzsche, Freud, Marx, and Darwin in the second half of the C19th have already begun to solidify. How differently did the waistcoated Liszt of the 1850's play from the cassocked old abbe of the 1880's? There are clues. Despite many affinities with, and a profound influence on, the early Romantics, the ageing Goethe finally decided against (in his view) Romanticist excess and confusion, and his criticism remains influential to this day.<sup>567</sup> A little later, Liszt toured across Europe, generating astonishment but also criticism for the freedom and flamboyance of his performances. Alan Walker writes:

This raises the question of Liszt's own interpretations. By all accounts they were unfettered by “performing tradition,” especially during his days as a touring

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<sup>567</sup> See “Goethe”, *From Enlightenment to Romanticism* (The Open University on iTunes U), accessed 22/3/2018, <https://itunes.apple.com/gb/course/from-enlightenment-to-romanticism/id495056874>.

virtuoso. He continually sought out new ways of playing old works. “The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life” was his watchword.<sup>568</sup>

While it is true that Liszt later disavowed some of his youthful performance excesses, he still regarded the restrained performances exemplified by Clara Schumann and Joachim as “a denial of the player’s artistic personality.” He aptly called it the “Pilate offence — washing one’s hands of musical interpretation in public.”<sup>569</sup> Alice Mangold (writing as A.M. Diehl) writes the following remembrance. If accurate, it is disturbingly challenging for those of us basing Romanticist style on early recordings:

In 1843 he [Liszt] created some excitement when he played in public in London ... His aim then seemed more to startle and to astound than to charm. With his grim features sternly set, his long hair flying, he flung his tightly-clad arms, with their attenuated hands, wildly about the keyboard, effecting a torrent of notes — showers of pearly sounds, doubtless, but sufficiently unlike the hitherto accepted styles first to confuse, then to almost alarm, the more sensitive among his audience. Nervous women became hysterical, and in some cases fainted.... Very different was the master when he was heard in London shortly before his death. A feeble, venerable old man, his touch was as magical as ever, his *technique* as exquisitely balanced as in his softer moments years before; but the fire and the extravagance were gone. It might have been Charles Hallé at his best, or one of his most faithful imitators among his pupils, such as Stavenhagen and the rest.<sup>570</sup>

Substantial change in performance style over a lifetime has also occurred closer to our own time, as exemplified through Schnabel’s roll and disc discussed in an earlier chapter. Perhaps even more surprising is the case of Claudio Arrau, whose pre-1960 recordings reveal a pristine, expressively conservative interpretative approach in great contrast to the radical (in Modernist context) rubato and tempi of many of his later recordings for Philips (and evident to me in the performances of his final years). What, therefore, would a mid-century High Romanticist performance practice really be like? How free, how passionate, how searching for dramatic extreme? How shocking? Having uncovered and absorbed the golden twilight of *fin de siècle* Romanticism, I suggest it is now time to continue the journey backwards into early and mid-century aesthetic and style.

<sup>568</sup> Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847* (London: Faber and Faber, 1983), 316.

<sup>569</sup> Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811-1847*, 317.

<sup>570</sup> Alice Mangold (writing as A.M. Diehl), *Musical Memories* (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1897), 240-241. Reprinted in *Liszt Saeculum* Vol.35 (1985): 34.



2. Beginning from the performance foundation exemplified in this thesis, we need to look more closely at cultural, artistic and musicological differences between different C19th strands to further develop HIPP Romanticism as a vivid stylistic spectrum rather than a uniform performance practice. While carefully avoiding mere imitation, a detailed understanding not merely of (for example) Liszt and Chopin, but also of Thalberg and Clara Schumann, would add depth and variety to our performances.
3. Further research into evolution of Baroque and Classic Era performance styles into those of Romanticism are needed, where commonalities would confirm the logic and probability of reconstructed C19th Romanticist HIPP. It would also be advantageous for the adoption of HIPP in Romanticist repertoire for such clear links to be widely known; virtually no one is now able to perform these earlier styles without substantial adoption of HIPP, and the same philosophy might thus extend to C19th Romanticism.
4. Centuries before the development of recording rolls, cylinders and discs, clockwork automations, often with musical accompaniments, had been in use. The surprising sophistication of their visual motion suggests an equal care and sophistication in their reproduced music. If so, they may contain invaluable data on early approaches to rhythm and articulation, not just in early Romanticism but also in Baroque and Classic Era styles. Perhaps these earlier styles may yet benefit from recorded music data.
5. Performance and pedagogic accounts of Franz Liszt are numerous but scattered, with much untranslated into English (the most accessible international language). A collection of this material, from lesson diaries, concert criticisms, Liszt's letters, and other sources should be gathered, analysed, and cross-referenced into an online relational database for students and professionals. It is not sufficient that this essential performance information be known mostly to musicologists, but to all those involved in performance.
6. Equally, early recordings are scattered, despite the emergence of much material on YouTube. An online audio database of recordings, with scholarly performance commentary, would greatly encourage both scholars and, most importantly, teachers to become familiar with these essential historical documents, and to consider how they might influence their teaching and performances in Romanticist repertoire.
7. Effort could also be spent on the production of annotated scores of core Romanticist repertoire, indicating as far as possible both the contemporaneous meaning of expressive signs, and the unwritten assumptions of the style. These no longer need to

- be printed, but may be published online, as with the Chopin *Variorum Edition*,<sup>571</sup> minimising cost and maximising access. In this way, the anachronistic Modernist ideas of Urtext scores and the myth of immutable meaning of signs can be demonstrated.
8. Basic elements of a musician's performance aesthetic usually begins to solidify in the middle years of tuition. A series of tutor books (and audio files) based around mid to late ABRSM grade C19th repertoire should be developed, explaining and illustrating Romanticist performance style, particularly including exercises in rubato, chord breaking, hand dislocation, passionate dramatisation, and an improvisatory general approach.
  9. Despite the significant of current leading journals, the establishment of a new journal with a specific focus on C19th Romanticist HIPP would further encourage discussion, research and practical performance experimentation.
  10. Above all, an increasing number of performances of C19th Romanticist repertoire should freely and bravely experiment with HIPP style, avoiding mere intellectualism (Modernism in a frock coat) in search for a personalised, expressive synthesis, a postmodern Romanticism. Such performances would particularly energise and engage both students and audiences.

## 7.5 Final Thoughts

The decades since the First World War have seen an unprecedented rapidity of development in many areas of human life and culture. One such development has been the extreme expression of a mechanistic worldview and lifestyle, dominated by numerical data, mechanical timekeeping, and materialism. In music, this has resulted in such performance practices as regularised, inflexible rhythm and undecorated, structuralist interpretation, sadly tending towards the dead letter of the score. Yet our culture has not remained there. As early as 1970, sociologists such as Peter L. Berger have noted both the need, and a growing trend towards a cultural re-spiritualisation.<sup>572</sup> If this is true, then it may be argued that a return to some kind of C19th Romanticist performance practice may become appropriate, perhaps even necessary, in a C21st cultural environment rediscovering its metaphysical roots. Perhaps a greater adoption of a flexible,

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<sup>571</sup> <http://www.chopinonline.ac.uk/ocve/>.

<sup>572</sup> See Peter L. Berger, *A Rumor of Angels: Modern Society and the Rediscovery of the Supernatural* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1970) and Peter L. Berger (ed.), *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1999).

personalised C19th HIPP in relevant repertoire might reanimate the expressive power this music for our age, an infusion of Jazz spirit in Byronic clothes. What is certain is the need to recant our addiction to Peter Brook's famous "deadly theatre":

In a living theatre, we would each day approach the rehearsal putting yesterday's discoveries to the test, ready to believe that the true play has once again escaped us. But the Deadly Theatre approaches the classics from the viewpoint that somewhere, someone has found out and defined how the play should be done.<sup>573</sup>

Whatever our performance choices, whether Modernist, HIPP, or an individualist fusion of influences, we must further learn to embrace, in historical repertoire, performance style as vital, communicative performance art. I will give the last word to Claudio Arrau, a great artist, and a student of Martin Krause who was himself a student of Liszt's middle years, the height of Romanticism. Arrau remains, for me, the most inspirational and close link with this quintessentially Romanticist composer it has been my privilege to know. He affirms:

Most important of all is that Krause always looked for poetry, drama, passion - Liszt's heritage.<sup>574</sup>

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<sup>573</sup> Peter Brook, *The Empty Space* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 17.

<sup>574</sup> Claudio Arrau, "Claudio Arrau on Liszt : From a an Interview with Peter Warwick," *Liszt Saeculum* Vol.38 (1986): 92.

## APPENDIX 1

### ORIGINAL RECORDING DETAILS

#### **Franz Liszt *Consolations, Six pensées poétiques* S.172**

No's 1-3 *Andante con moto - Un poco più mosso - Lento placido*

	Audio Cons1	10'23"
No.4 <i>Quasi adagio</i>	Audio Cons2	3'17"
No's 5-6 <i>Andantino - Allegretto sempre cantabile</i>	Audio Cons3	6'46"

#### **Franz Liszt *Années de Pèlerinage Première Année* S.160**

Prelude and <i>Chapelle de Guillaume Tell</i>	Audio YoP1	6'38"
Prelude and <i>Au lac de Wallenstadt</i>	Audio YoP2	4'39"
<i>Pastorale</i>	Audio YoP3	2'12"
<i>Au bord d'une source</i>	Audio YoP4	4'54"
<i>Orage</i>	Audio YoP5	6'23"
Prelude and <i>Vallée d'Obermann</i>	Audio YoP6	6'39"
<i>Eglogue</i>	Audio YoP7	3'54"
<i>Le mal du pays</i>	Audio YoP8	6'01"
<i>Les cloches de Genève: Nocturne</i>	Audio YoP9	7'20"

Recorded in the Drawing Room at Lotherton Hall, Aberford, Leeds  
on the 20th & 21st September, 2017.

Recording Engineer: Paul Baily.

Pianoforte by Sebastian Érard, cabinetwork designed by Charles Bevan, made by Marsh and Jones of Leeds, mid 1860's.

The piano was originally made for Titus Salt the Younger.

This recording was made possible by kind assistance of Adam Toole,  
Curator, Lotherton Hall, Leeds Museums and Galleries.

**Illustration 8.1 The Drawing Room, Lotherton Hall**  
(The Salt Érard pianoforte is to the left of the image.)





**Illustration 8.2 The Salt Érad Pianoforte**





APPENDIX 2: Liszt *CONSOLATIONS*





273

3

## CONSOLATIONS.

1.

Andante con moto.

Piano.

*dolce.*

Handwritten musical score for "CONSOLATIONS." (1.) in G major, 3/4 time. The score consists of four systems of piano music. The first system is marked "Andante con moto." and "Piano." with a "dolce." instruction. The second system continues the piece. The third system is marked "a tempo." and "poco rit." with a "PP" marking. The fourth system is marked "poco rit." and "P". Red handwritten annotations include arrows indicating phrasing or dynamics, and various letters and symbols such as "P", "P\*", "PP", "UC", "poco rit.", and "a tempo." at the bottom of the systems.

8083

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



274

2.

*Un poco più mosso.*

*cantando espressivo.*

Piano.

*p*

*SHORZ.*

8083

The image shows a handwritten musical score on page 274. The score is written on four systems of grand staves. The first system is marked with a '2.' and a 'repeat' annotation with a red curved line. The tempo is marked 'Un poco più mosso.' and the performance instruction is 'cantando espressivo.' The piano part is marked 'Piano.' and 'p'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Handwritten red annotations are present throughout, including a large 'repeat' with a curved line over the first system, and several red arrows pointing to specific notes and measures. The page is framed by a decorative green border.



275

5

*rinforz.*

*din - nu - en - do*

*smorzando*

*poco rit.*

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



276

6 a tempo.

*ben marcato ed espressivo il canto.*

*smorz.*

*cantando*

*appassionato*

*poco rit.*

*accentato ed espressivo assai.*

*smorz.*

8083



277

The page contains five systems of handwritten musical notation in treble and bass staves. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#). Red annotations include arrows indicating phrasing or dynamics, and various markings such as '7', 'rinforz.', 'smorz.', 'pp', 'poco a poco più ritenuto', and 'pp'. The page is decorated with a green floral border. A red circular stamp at the bottom center reads 'NEW YORK 701 BROADWAY'.

7

rinforz. smorz.

pp

poco a poco più ritenuto

pp

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



277 278

8

3.

Lento placido.

Piano. *ppp sempre legatissimo.*

*uc Ped.*

*Cantando.*

*etc.* *X* *\* Ped.* *X* *\**

*Ped.* *X* *\* Ped.*

*Ped.* *\* Ped.*

8085



279

9

Red. \* Red. \*

\* Red. \*

Red. \* Red. \*

Red. \* Red. \*

8055 Red.

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



27 280

10

The musical score is for a piano piece, measures 10 through 13. It is written in a key with two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The score is decorated with a green floral border. Red annotations are present throughout: a red arrow points left in measure 10, a red 'X' is over the first 'Ped.' in measure 11, a red arrow points right in measure 12, a red 'X' is over the second 'Ped.' in measure 12, a red arrow points right in measure 13, and a red double bar line is at the end of measure 13. The text 'mf espressivo' is written above the first staff in measure 13. The word 'Ped.' is written below the first staff in measures 10, 11, 12, and 13. The number '3C' is written in red below the first staff in measure 13. The number '8083' is printed below the first staff in measure 13.

mf espressivo

3C Ped. 8083 Ped. Ped. Ped.



281

11

*dolcissimo.*

*mf espressivo*

*dolcissimo.*

UC Ped. Ped. Ped. \*

Ped. \* Ped. 3C Ped. \*

Ped. \* Ped. \*

UC Ped. \*

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



[illegible]



283

The image shows four staves of musical notation, likely from a vocal score. The notation includes piano accompaniment and vocal lines. The first staff has a red arrow pointing to a measure. The second staff has a red bracket under a measure. The third staff has a red arrow pointing to a measure. The fourth staff has a red arrow pointing to a measure. The page is decorated with a green floral border.

Red.

Red.

Red.

Red.

8055

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



27

284

14

4.

Quasi Adagio.

Piano.

*Cantabile con divozione.*

Ped.

Non ped.

Ped.  
3c

non ped.  
UC

Ped.  
3c

8055



285

15

*marcato ed espressivo il basso*

*dimin.*

*stargando*

*scendo*

*pp*

*uc*

*clap*

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



286

16

5.

*Andantino.*  
*con grazia.*  
*dolce.*

**Piano.**

*poco rit.*

*in tempo.*  
*espresso con anima*

8085



287

17

The musical score is written on five systems of staves. The first system consists of a piano accompaniment (treble and bass clef) and a vocal line (treble clef). The second system continues the piano accompaniment and vocal line, with a red arrow pointing to a specific note. The third system shows the piano accompaniment and vocal line, with a red bracket under a group of notes. The fourth system includes the piano accompaniment and vocal line, with a red arrow pointing to a specific note and the instruction "espr. a piacere" written below the vocal line. The fifth system shows the piano accompaniment and vocal line, with the instruction "sempre dolce." written below the piano part. The page is framed by a decorative green border.

espr. a piacere

sempre dolce.

8085

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277

288

18

*crescendo*

*espressivo* *ritenuto*

*P*

8085



287

19

B.

Allegretto sempre cantabile.

Piano. *rubato.*

— x non ped.

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



27

20

The image shows a handwritten musical score for piano, page 20. The score is written on five systems of music, each consisting of a treble and bass staff. The music is in a key with two sharps (F# and C#) and a 2/4 time signature. The notation includes various chords, arpeggios, and melodic lines. Red handwritten annotations are present throughout the score, including the word "Ped." (pedal) under the first two systems, "etc." under the third system, and "appassionato e molto accentato." under the fourth system. Red arrows and other markings indicate specific performance techniques or phrasing. The page is decorated with a green floral border. The number "27" is written in the top left corner, and "20" is written in the top center. The number "8085" is printed at the bottom center of the page.

Ped. Ped. etc.

appassionato e molto accentato.

8085



291

21

pp

cre - - - - - scen - - - - - do

8085

NEW YORK  
701 BROADWAY



27

292

22

*sempre più rinfor - - - zan - - - do*

*marcato il canto*

*vibrato*

8085

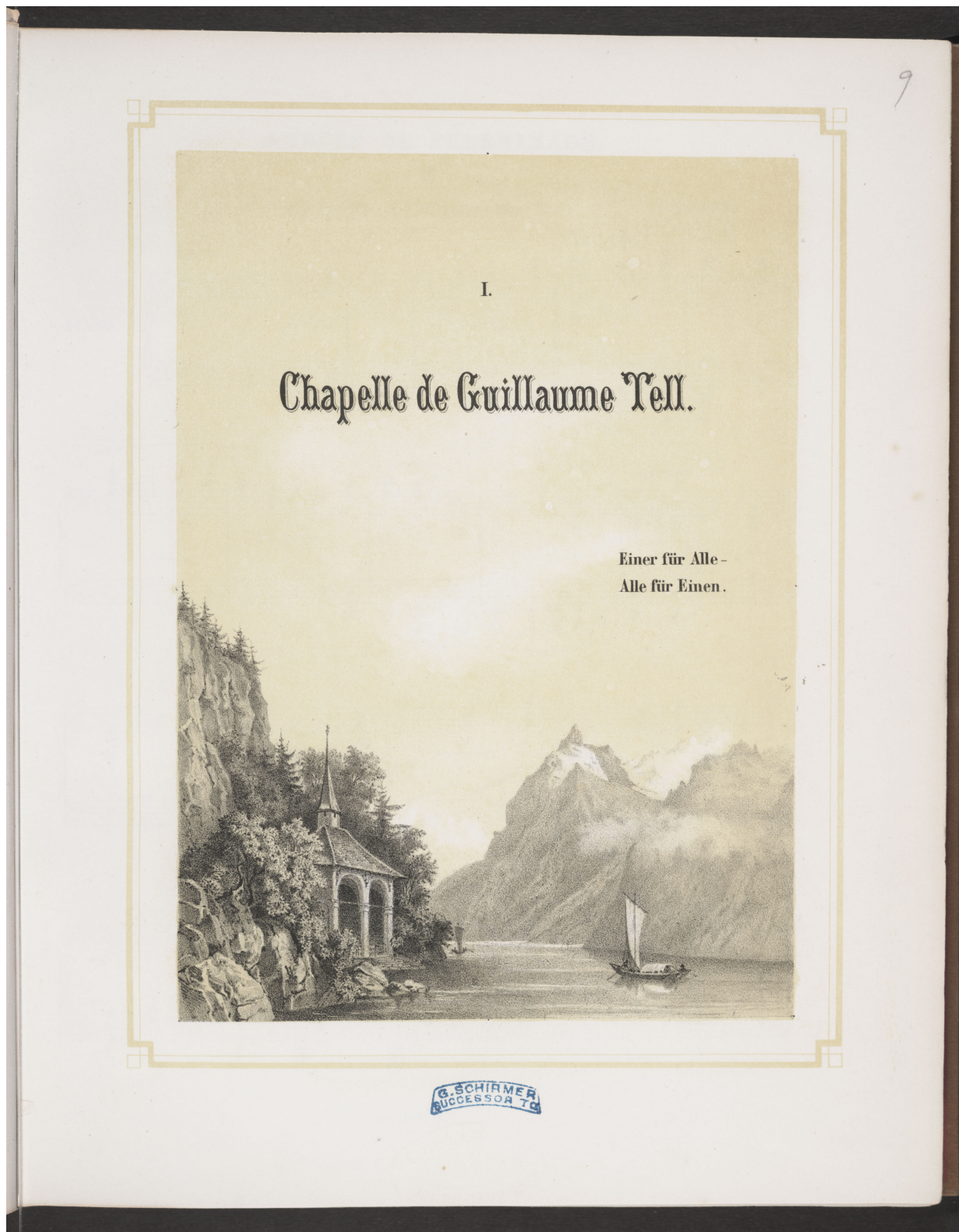


293 3-

Handwritten musical score on page 293 of a manuscript. The page features five systems of music, each with a treble and bass staff. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Red ink annotations are present throughout, including arrows, a 'C' symbol, and wavy lines. The page is framed by a decorative green border. A red circular stamp at the bottom center reads "NEW YORK 701 BROADWAY". The number "8083" is printed below the fifth system.



**APPENDIX 3: Liszt *ANNÉES DE PÈLERINAGE: PREMIÈRE ANNÉE***





— 1 —  
**ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.**

**I.**

**Chapelle de Guillaume Tell.**

**F. LISZT.**

**PIANO .**

*Lento .*

*Più Lento .*

*f* *ff* *mf*

*espressivo .*

*diminuendo* *dolce .* *rinforz.*

13577. 1.

124

2

— 2 —

*f marcato .*

**UC** *pp tremolando sempre .*



*cres* — — — — — *cen* — — — — —

**3C**



13377. 1 .



— 3 —

3

do - - - - - dim - - - - -

*ff* vibrato.

*pp*

*pp* (Echo)  
UC

*ppp*

*ff*

*pp* (Echo)  
UC

*ppp*

*crescendo e accelerando*

8.

15377. 1.

14

— 4 —

*Allegro vivace.*

*f energico*

*rinforz.*

*rinforz.*

*sempre più rinforzando.*

13377.1.



19 —

— 5 —

5

*poco rit.*

*Più Moderato.*

*ff*

*arps cont.*

*ff*

*ritand*

13377.1.

16

6

— 6 —

*largamente.*

*rinforz.*

*espressivo.*

13377. 1.



— 7 —

7

17

*marcato*

*p*

*mf*

*f*

*crescendo*

*ff*

13377. 1.



19

II.

# Au lac de Wallenstadt.

..... Thy contrasted lake  
With the wild world I dwell in, is a thing  
Which warns me, with its stillness, to forsake  
Earth's troubled waters for a purer spring  
*L. Byron Ch. II.*





20

9

— 8 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## II.

## Au lac de Wallenstadt.

F. LISZT.

Andante placido. *cantabile.*

PIANO. Ped. una corda. dolce. Ped

*pp dolcissimo egualmente.*

Ped

Ped

*sempre dolce.* Ped

13577. 2.



21

- 9 -

Handwritten musical score for piano, page 21, measures 133-142. The score is in B-flat major and 3/4 time. It features a continuous bass line of eighth-note triplets in the left hand and chords in the right hand. Pedal markings (Ped) are present throughout. Red handwritten annotations include "poco marcato" at measure 133, "sempre dolcissimo" at measure 134, "piv mosso" with a red arrow pointing left at measure 135, and "poco crescendo" at measure 138. A red "8" with an arrow points to measure 140. The page number "21" is in the top right, and "- 9 -" is centered above the staff.

13377. 2.



22

—10—

8

Ped

perdendosi.

cresc. -

un poco più animato.  
il tempo:

più forte la mano destra.

Ped

Ped

poco rallentando.

15577 2.



23

— 11 —

5

*rudolcente .*

*smorzando .*

*sempre dolcissimo .*

*mancando .*

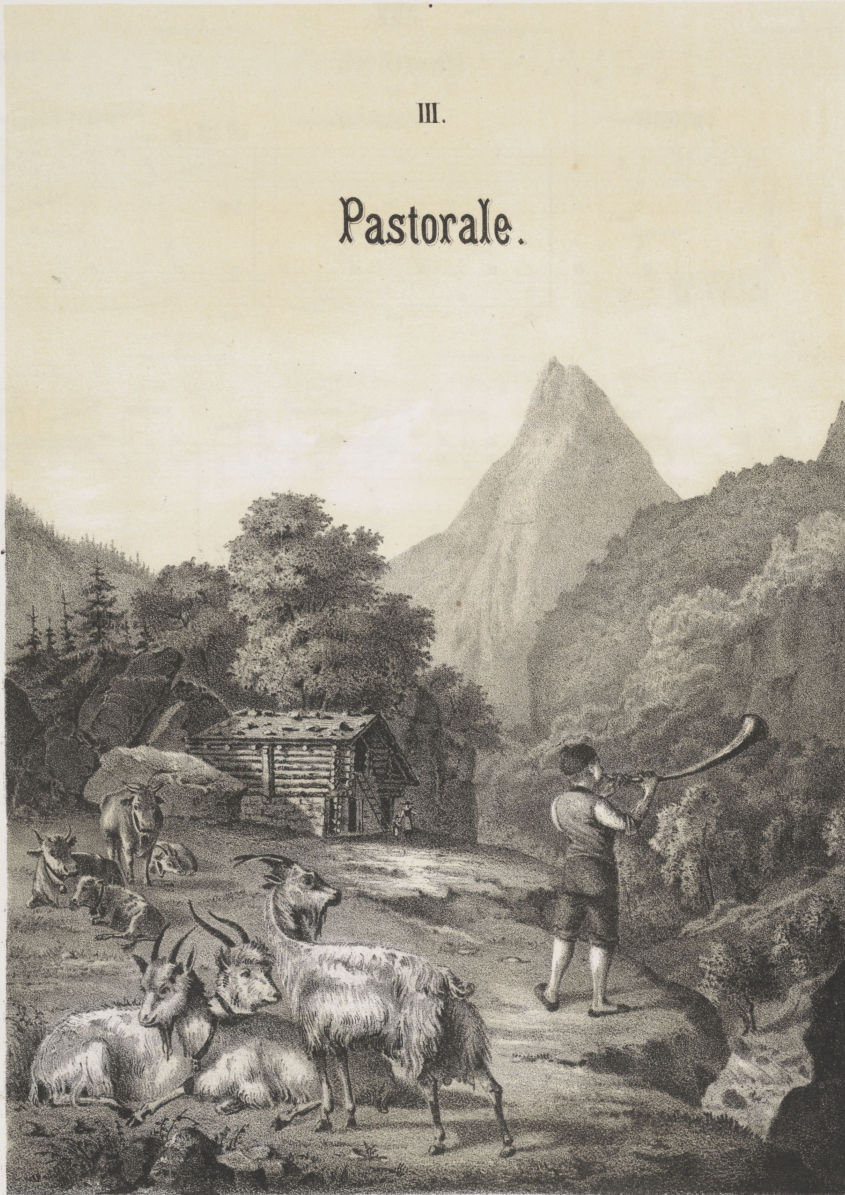
13377. 2.



23—

III.

Pastorale.



G. SCHIRMER  
SUCCESSOR TO  
BEER & SCHIRMER  
NEW-YORK



26

2

— 12 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## III.

## Pastorale .

F. LISZT .

Vivace .

PIANO .

Ped

pp

uc pp

13377. 3.

27

—13—

5

First system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves in 6/8 time, key of D major. The treble staff features a melody with eighth-note patterns and slurs, marked with a red **mf** and the instruction *un poco marcato*. The bass staff provides harmonic support with chords and eighth notes, marked with a red **uc**. Red wavy lines indicate specific performance techniques in the bass staff.

Second system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves in 6/8 time, key of D major. The treble staff continues the melody with eighth-note patterns and slurs, marked with a red **pp**. The bass staff continues the harmonic support, marked with a red **uc**. Red wavy lines indicate specific performance techniques in the bass staff.

Third system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves in 6/8 time, key of D major. The treble staff continues the melody with eighth-note patterns and slurs, marked with a red **mf**. The bass staff continues the harmonic support, marked with a red **3c**. Red wavy lines indicate specific performance techniques in the bass staff.

Fourth system of musical notation. Treble and bass staves in 6/8 time, key of D major. The treble staff continues the melody with eighth-note patterns and slurs, marked with a red **pp**. The bass staff continues the harmonic support, marked with a red **uc**. A red arrow points to the end of the treble staff, and a red equals sign is placed above the final bass staff note. The system concludes with a double bar line and a final chord.

15377.5.



28

4

— 14 —

meno mosso

Ped....

ppp

mf un poco marcato .

P

Ped.

13577. 5.

29

—15—

5

Handwritten musical score for piano, measures 15-18. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It features a treble and bass staff. The right hand plays a continuous eighth-note melody, while the left hand plays a steady eighth-note accompaniment. Performance annotations in red ink include:   
 - Measure 15: *mf* (middle of measure), *Ped* (end of measure), and an asterisk (\*) below the first eighth note.   
 - Measure 16: *P* (middle of measure), *Ped* (end of measure), and an asterisk (\*) below the first eighth note.   
 - Measure 17: *pp* (middle of measure), *Ped* (end of measure), an asterisk (\*) below the first eighth note, and the word *diminuendo* written above the staff.   
 - Measure 18: *smorzando e ritenuto* written above the staff, *ppp* written below the staff, and an asterisk (\*) below the final note.   
 The page number 15 is centered at the top, and the number 5 is in the top right corner. A handwritten page number 29 is in the upper right margin.

13377. 5.



31



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32

— 16 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## IV.

Au bord d'une source.

F. LISZT.

PIANO .

*Allegretto grazioso .*

*dolce tranquillo .*

*sempre staccato .*

15277. 4 .

33

— 12 —

The image shows a handwritten musical score for piano, consisting of four systems of music. The notation is in treble and bass clefs, with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Red annotations are present throughout the score, including arrows and a bracket.

The first system shows a melodic line in the right hand and a supporting line in the left hand. The second system features a *crescendo* marking and a red arrow pointing right. The third system includes a red arrow pointing left and a bracket labeled "8" above the staff. The fourth system shows a melodic line in the right hand and a supporting line in the left hand, with a red arrow pointing right.

15577. 4.



34

— 18 —

*sempre dolce grazioso.*

*p tranquillo.*

13577. 4.



—19—

33

Handwritten musical score on page 19, system 33. The score consists of four systems of music. The first system has a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Red arrows indicate phrasing. The second system features a treble staff with a complex melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Red arrows indicate phrasing. The third system has a treble staff with a complex melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Red arrows indicate phrasing. The fourth system has a treble staff with a complex melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Red arrows indicate phrasing. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *pp* and *pp equalmente*.

13577.4.



36

6

—20—

un poco marcato.

poco ritenuto.

p

15577. 4.



— 21 —

4 2 5 4 1 5 4 2 5 4 1 5 4 2 5 4 1 5

8

*crescendo .*

8

*rinforzando .*

8

*mf brillante.*

8

*piu rinforz*



38

—22—

Handwritten musical score for piano, page 22. The score is in B-flat major and 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music. The first system has a red arrow pointing right above the staff. The second system has a red arrow pointing left above the staff. The third system has a red arrow pointing right above the staff. The fourth system has a red arrow pointing left above the staff. The fifth system has a red arrow pointing right above the staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *p*, *dim*, *diminuendo*, *dolcissimo*, and *poco rall.*. There are also red markings on the staves, including a red '8' and a red '4'.



39

— 23 —

9

*poco diminuendo*

*ppp*

*ral.*

15377.4



41





42

— 24 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## V.

## Orage.

F. LISZT.

Allegro molto.  $\text{ff}$

PIANO

$\text{ff}$

$\text{p}$  *crescendo*

8

8

Presto furioso.  $\text{ff}$  Ped

Ped

13377.5.



43

— 25 —

Handwritten musical score on page 25, featuring four systems of piano music. The score is written in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notation includes treble and bass staves with various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Red annotations are present throughout the score, including arrows indicating phrasing or articulation, and the word "Ped" (pedal) written below the bass staff in several places. The first system includes a "rinforz." (rinforzando) marking. The second system includes a "ff" (fortissimo) marking. The third system includes a "Ped" marking. The fourth system includes a "rinforz." marking. The score is written in a clear, legible hand, and the red annotations are used to highlight specific performance details.

17377. 5.



44

— 26 —

The image shows a page of musical notation, likely a piano score, with four systems of staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The first system is marked "sempre ff" and includes a "Ped" (pedal) marking with a red arrow pointing right. The second system also includes a "Ped" marking with a red arrow pointing left. The third system includes a "ff" (fortissimo) marking and a "Ped" marking with a red arrow pointing right. The fourth system includes a "Ped" marking with a red arrow pointing left. Red arrows and markings are added to the original score, indicating specific performance instructions or corrections. The page number "44" is written in the top left corner, and the page number "— 26 —" is written in the top center.



40

— 27 —

5

First system of the musical score. The treble clef staff features a melodic line with a red arrow indicating a rightward sweep across the first measure. The bass clef staff contains a complex accompaniment with red wavy lines and a red '4' marking. A 'Ped' (pedal) instruction is present in the bass staff. The system concludes with a red arrow pointing leftward.

Second system of the musical score. The treble clef staff has a red arrow pointing rightward. The bass clef staff includes red wavy lines and a red '4' marking. A 'Ped' instruction is visible. The system ends with a red arrow pointing rightward.

Meno Allegro .

Third system of the musical score, marked 'Meno Allegro'. The treble clef staff begins with a red arrow pointing rightward, followed by a red arrow pointing leftward. The bass clef staff features red wavy lines and a red '4' marking. A 'Ped' instruction is present. The system concludes with a red arrow pointing rightward.

Fourth system of the musical score. The treble clef staff has a red arrow pointing leftward, followed by a red arrow pointing rightward. The bass clef staff includes red wavy lines and a red '4' marking. A 'Ped' instruction is visible. The system ends with a red arrow pointing leftward.

15577. 5.



46

6 — 28 —

tremolando.  
Ped

stringendo. crescendo.

a Tempo.  
Ped

stringendo. crescendo

15577. D.



13377.5.



48

— 30 —

*Cadenza ad libitum.*

**PP**

**UC** marcato.

**3C**

*cresc.*

15577.5.



49

— 31 —

9

Handwritten musical score on page 49, featuring five systems of piano and violin staves. The score includes various performance markings and annotations:

- System 1:** The piano part is marked *crescendo*. The violin part has a red arrow pointing right above it and a red arrow pointing left below it.
- System 2:** The violin part has a red arrow pointing right above it.
- System 3:** The piano part has a red arrow pointing right above it. The violin part has a red arrow pointing right above it and a red arrow pointing left below it. The word *rinforz.* is written above the violin staff.
- System 4:** The piano part has a red arrow pointing right above it. The violin part has a red arrow pointing right above it. The word *poco a poco diminuendo* is written above the violin staff, followed by a red arrow pointing right and the word *all*.
- System 5:** The violin part has a red arrow pointing left above it.

13377. 5.



Handwritten page number: 00

Page number: 10

Page number: 32

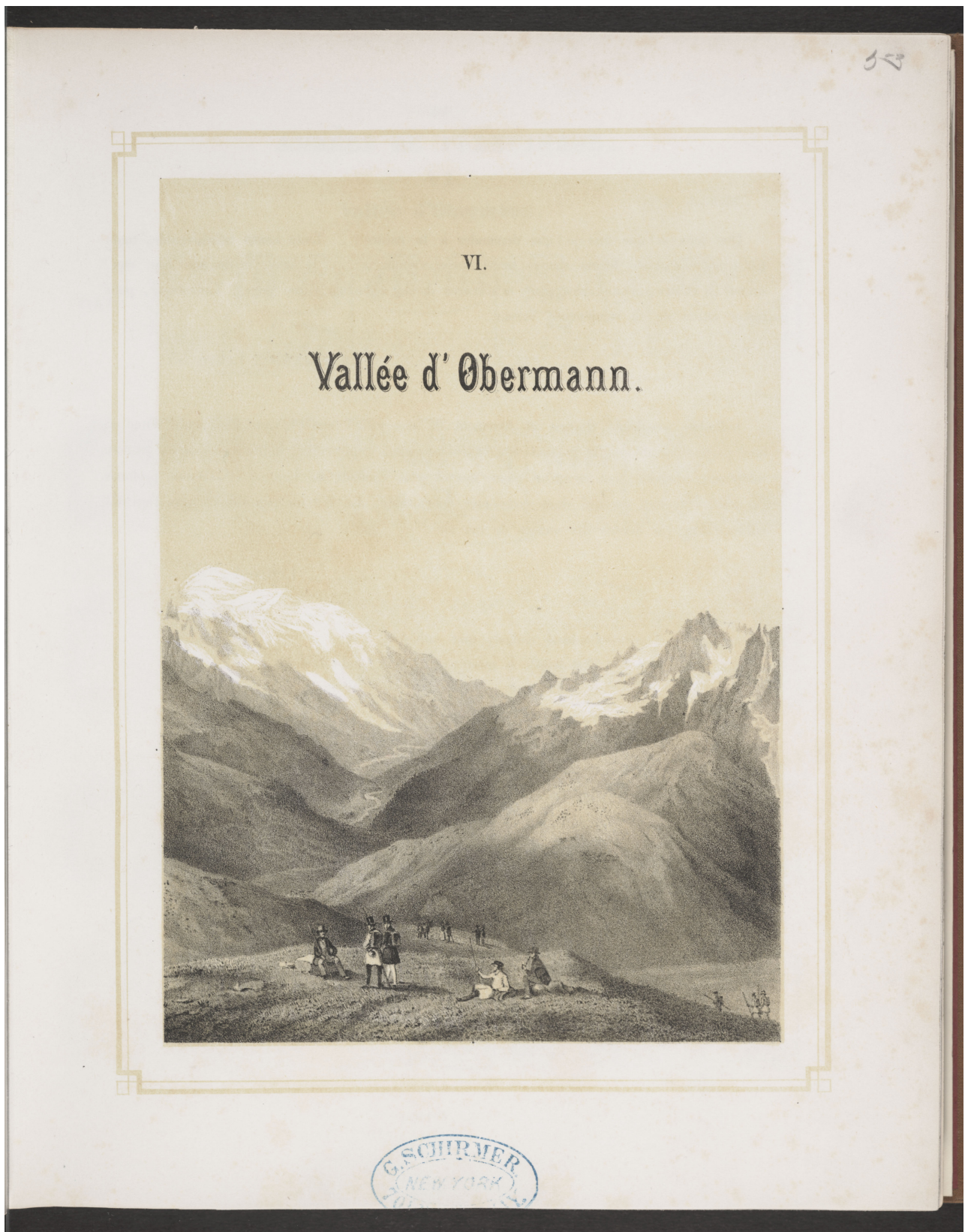
The musical score is written for piano and violin. It consists of five systems of staves. The piano part is in the lower register, and the violin part is in the upper register. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Red arrows and markings are added by hand, indicating specific performance instructions or corrections. The markings include slurs, accents, and dynamic changes like 'ff' and 'rinforz.'

Dynamic markings: *pesante.*, *rall.*, *ff*, *rinforz.*

Handwritten markings: Red arrows, slurs, and other annotations.

Page number: 317







54

Que veux-je ? que suis-je ? que demander à la nature ?..... Toute cause est invisible, toute fin trompeuse ; toute forme change, toute durée s'épuise :..... je sens, j'existe pour me consumer en désirs indomptables, pour m'abreuver de la séduction d'une monde fantastique, pour rester attéré de sa voluptueuse erreur .

**OBERMANN — Lettre 53 .**

Indicible sensibilité, charme et tourment de nos vaines années ; vaste conscience d'une nature partout accablante et partout impénétrable, passion universelle, indifférence, sagesse avancée, voluptueux abandon ; tout ce qu'un cœur mortel peut contenir de besoins et d'ennuis profonds, j'ai tout senti, tout éprouvé dans cette nuit mémorable . J'ai fait un pas sinistre vers l'âge d'affaiblissement ; j'ai dévoré dix années de ma vie .

**Lettre 4 .**

Could I embody and unbosom now  
That which is most within me,—could I wreak  
My thoughts upon expression, and thus throw  
Soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings, strong or weak  
All that I would have sought and all I seek,  
Bear, know, feel, and yet breathe,—into one word,  
And that one word were lightning, I would speak:  
But as it is, I live and die unheard,  
With a most voiceless thought, sheathing it as a sword .

**L. BYRON CH. H.**



— 33 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## VI.

## Vallée d'Obermann.

F. LISZT.

*Lento assai.*

PIANO .

*espressivo.*

*sotto voce.*

*p*

*rit.*

*cresc.*

*rinforz.*

*ritard.*

di o

The musical score is written for piano in G major, 2/4 time. It consists of five systems of music. The first system begins with a piano introduction marked 'Lento assai' and 'espressivo'. The second system includes a 'sotto voce' section marked 'p'. The third system features a 'rit.' (ritardando) marking. The fourth system includes a 'cresc.' (crescendo) marking. The fifth system includes a 'rinforz.' (rinforzando) marking and a 'ritard.' (ritardando) marking. The score is annotated with red arrows indicating phrasing and dynamics.

13377. 6.



56

2

—34—

*Più lento.*

*p*

*Tempo 1<sup>mo</sup>*

*espressivo.*

*p*

*rall.* *smorz.*

15377. 6.



— 35 —

57

*dolcissimo .*

*sempre dolcissimo .*

*Più lento .*

*poco rit.*

*p*

*ritard.*

*dolente .*

*lunga Pausa .*

*pesante .*

15577. 6 .

*VC*

*SC*

*P*

*\**

Handwritten musical score for piano, page 35. The score is in G major and 3/4 time. It consists of five systems of music. The first system has a treble and bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The second system has a treble and bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The third system has a treble and bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The fourth system has a treble and bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The fifth system has a treble and bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Handwritten red annotations include 'VC', 'SC', 'P', and '\*'.



21





72

2

—48—

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## VII.

## Eglogue.

F. LISZT.

*Ad libitum**Allegretto con moto.*

PIANO

*p dolce.*

15377. 7.



29

—49—

5

*f* *p* *f* *p* *f*

*p* *f*

*dolce grazioso*

*cresc.* *diminuendo*

74

4 — 50 —

Handwritten musical score on page 74 of a manuscript. The page is numbered "74" in the top left and "4" in the top center. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It consists of five systems of piano accompaniment. The first system has a piano (*p*) dynamic. The second system has an 8-measure repeat sign. The third system has a crescendo (*cres*) marking. The fourth system has lyrics "cen - do" and dynamic markings *f*, *p*, *f*, *p*. The fifth system has a "poco rallent" marking. Red annotations include arrows, accents, and dynamic markings (*p*, *f*, *F*) added to the original score.

13577. 7.



Handwritten number: 25

Page number: 51

Page number: 5

The musical score is written for piano and consists of five systems. The first system begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a 4/4 time signature. It features a complex melodic line in the right hand with many beamed sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and a more rhythmic bass line. Dynamics include *f* (forte), *p* (piano), and *pp* (pianissimo). The second system continues the melodic development with a *poco rall.* (poco rallentando) marking. The third system shows a *diminuendo* (diminishing) instruction. The fourth system is marked *pp* and features a *dolce* (sweetly) marking in the bass line. The fifth system concludes with a *smorzando* (fading out) instruction. Red handwritten arrows and wavy lines are used throughout to indicate phrasing and articulation. A handwritten number '25' is in the top right corner, and the page number '51' is centered at the top.

13377. 7.



27

VIII.

# Le Mal du Pays.

(HEIMWEH.)





78

2

— 52 —

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## VIII.

## Le Mal du Pays.

F. LISZT.

PIANO.

*Lento.*  
*Dolente*  
*f*

*accellerando.*  
*p*

*uc* *3c*

*rall.*

*accell.* *p dolce.* *cresc.* *rinforz.*

*dim.*

*Adagio dolente.*  
*espressivo assai.*

*uc*

13577. 8.



79

—53—

*dolciss.*

*Lento.* *f* *p* *accelerando.*

*P* *x*

*rall* *rall*

*Andantino.* *cresc.* *rinforz.*

15577. 8.

80

4

— 52 —

Adagio dolente .

dolcissimo . rit .

uc

agitato

crescendo

3c

rinforzando e più appassionato .

rinforz .

Più lento .

dolcissimo .

CFESC .

Lento .

45377.8 .



25

IX.

LES CLOCHES DE GENEVE.

NOCTURNE.





85 -

## ANNÉES DE PÉLERINAGE.

## IX.

## Les cloches de Genève.

F. LISZT.

NOCTURNE.

PIANO .

*Ad libitum*

*pp*

*Ped.*  
*sc*

*Quasi Allegretto .*

*pp dolcissimo*

*una Corda .*

*poco*

*ppp*

*pp*

*un poco marcato .*

45577, 9.

86

— 56 —

*sempre pp*  
*cantando.*  
*poco cresc.*  
*espressivo.*  
*ritenuto molto*  
*3C*  
*Cantabile con moto (sempre rubato)*  
*la Melodia accentato assai.*  
*L'accompagnamento dolce quasi arpa.*  
*etc.*

15377. 9.



87

dolcissimo.

UC 3C UC

3C

un poco stentando.

dim. più dolce.

43377. 9.



88

— 58 —

*rall.*

*smorz.*

*smorz.*

*agitato.*

*crescendo*

*e accelerando*

*rinforz.*

45577. 9.

89

*Andante.*

*ff con somma passione.*

*simile.*

*mf*

*cresc.*

*cresc.*

15377. 9.



90

— 60 —

Handwritten musical score for piano, page 90, measures 60-69. The score is in G major and 2/4 time. It features five systems of music with various dynamics and performance markings.

Measure 60: *stargando.* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 61: *stringendo* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 62: *mp* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 63: *cresc.* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 64: *cresc.* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 65: *fff* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 66: *fff* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 67: *ff* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 68: *poco rallentando.* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

Measure 69: *mf dolce* (Handwritten red arrow above the staff)

15377. 9.



— 64 —

pp

UC

8

8

Più lento..

1

P dolce.

FINE

15577. 9.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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