Performing practices in late-nineteenth-century piano playing: implications of the relationship between written texts and early recordings

Neal Peres Da Costa

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.
THESIS CONTAINS

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Abstract

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Early piano recordings provide audible evidence of the style of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century pianists. These clearly exhibit an approach to piano playing which differs radically from the present. The relationship between the practices preserved in the recordings and their description in contemporaneous written texts is the focus of attention here. The investigation shows that the important features of recordings are not faithfully conveyed by the written texts. Therefore, the recordings reveal a manner of execution and interpretation that could seldom have been envisaged from the written texts alone.

The recordings examined here include those of a generation of pianists who were trained, in some cases, 150 years ago. These include Carl Reinecke, Theodor Leschetizky, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Johannes Brahms, and those of a later generation have also been considered. Their recordings preserve vital information about general performing practices of the second half of the nineteenth century, as well as the idiosyncrasies of their playing.

The significance of early recordings and their importance as a means of appreciating lost traditions is outlined in the Introduction. Chapter 1 explores the early recording processes and draws conclusions about the value of the recordings as preserved evidence. The following chapters investigate practices that are prevalent in the recordings. These include dislocation (asynchrony of the hands), unnotated chordal arpeggiation, metrical rubato and various types of rhythmic alteration, and tempo modification. Each chapter compares contemporaneous and historical written references with numerous recorded examples provided on the accompanying compact discs. This process reveals, in many cases, striking inconsistencies, and highlights the gulf between theory and practice. It also suggests that descriptive language and musical notation have hidden meanings for which the recordings provide an indispensable key.

Early piano recordings capture an expressive style alien to modern taste. The implications of this study are that any attempt at historically informed performances must acknowledge the gulf between current aesthetics of performance and those of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.
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Introduction

Musicians have frequently expressed concern about the adequacy of written texts to convey all essential aspects of a composer's intentions. For example, Carl Czerny (1791-1857), writing in 1846, about the preservation of a style of performing Beethoven's piano sonatas that would have been recognizable to Viennese musicians of the first half of the nineteenth century, stated:

Here closes the series of the grand Solo-Sonatas by Beethoven, which alone would sufficiently render his name immortal. We have endeavoured by as exact an indication as possible of the right time, as well as by the accompanying remarks, to facilitate the study and performance of the same to every considerably advanced pianist.

Beethoven wrote all his works at Vienna, where he resided. It is therefore natural that here, the mind for comprehending and duly performing them would be preserved, as by tradition; and experience has proved that such is actually the case. For in other places, how frequently may not both the time and the character of these compositions have been mistaken! And this was still more to be feared for the future.1

And other revered musicians feared that neither musical notation nor verbal description would preserve subtle details of past styles. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the famous pianist, teacher and composer Carl Reinecke (1824-1910) gave the following advice to a young student, concerning Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.111:

The indication of the nuances, which Beethoven has bestowed on it, is exceedingly careful, and whoever follows it conscientiously will at all events miss nothing essential; but truly, there still remains much to be read between the lines which no composer can convey by signs, no editor by explanations.2

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1 C. Czerny, The Art of Playing the Ancient and Modern Piano Forte Works... Being a Supplement to the Royal Pianoforte School Op. 500 (London, 1846), 68.
The examination, collation and practical application of evidence about historical performing practices earlier than the mid-nineteenth century have inevitably focused on the study of data preserved in pedagogical texts, ear-witness accounts of performers and performances, and analyses of composers’ notational practices. This approach has provided invaluable information about evolving tastes and musical vocabulary. In his article ‘The Present Position of Authenticity’ (1989), Robert Donington vehemently argued in favour of the use of historical texts, extolling their virtues, but he is also more sanguine about what one can learn from them than may perhaps be warranted:

For the composer’s intentions, however intuitive and however elusive, at one time must certainly have existed; and something corresponding to them at least in some measure can hopefully be recovered provided that we have sufficient degree of information as to what his notational symbols and his unnotated conventions were. And this within reason we may claim to do. The contemporary treatises are not all confusing. It is perfectly possible to piece together a reasonably reliable and consistent view of large and important areas of factual information which we could never have guessed from musical intuition alone, provided that we are sufficiently alert to the many unavoidable divergences of taste and temperament, of time and place, of style and context, for all of which due and adequate allowance has to be made; and provided also that in our interpretations we bring to bear the same kind of musicianly flexibility, which is and always has been the mark of any genuine responsiveness and spontaneity in the performing arts. A kind of educated flexibility is how I have always been inclined to define our proper attitude. 3

Is it really possible ‘to piece together a reasonably reliable and consistent view’ of information about historical performing practices? However much it may be possible to glean, within certain boundaries, the meaning of particular notational symbols or some of the many unnotated conventions that existed for a specific time and place, the precise aural effect of such practices remains largely unclear. Despite the abundance of information presented in written sources, it is obvious that this can only convey, in the

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majority of cases, an approximation to actual practice. Without audible evidence, it is impossible to appreciate many of the features of past performing styles that were transmitted aurally and taken for granted.

The development of recording in the late-nineteenth century is of great significance, providing for the first time direct evidence, which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost, of the features of individual musicians' performance styles. Early acoustic recordings, and of pianists, player-piano recordings (rolls), shed light on the performance traditions of approximately the last hundred and fifty years. From these, it has become clear that late-twentieth-century traditions and styles are quite different from those of even sixty or seventy years ago. Robert Philip's analysis and comparison of recordings from 1900 to 1950,\(^4\) clearly illustrates that the following aspects of performance style have changed significantly: accentuation, articulation, ideals of tone colour and timbre, tempo fluctuation, tempo rubato; and in the case of vocalists, string and wind players, portamento and the variation and shading of tone production through the use of vibrato and non-vibrato. Indeed, reference to a significant change in playing style in the second half of the twentieth century was made by Edward Sackville-West. Comparing the recordings of the pianist Moriz Rosenthal (1862-1946) with those of a later generation, he remarked in 1962 that:

Such recordings as we possess [of Rosenthal] were most of them made thirty-five years ago or more when Rosenthal was, technically speaking, past his prime, but there is scarcely one of them that is not stamped with a musical personality strikingly different from any presented by the foremost pianists of to-day: If one listens for instance to any of the Chopin mazurkas which Rosenthal recorded... the poetry and

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distinction seem to belong to another age. The pianist seems unconcerned - as if he were playing for his own pleasure, and did not care whether we listened or not.⁵

Furthermore, Sackville-West describes Rosenthal’s practice of non-synchrony of the hands, as well as an apparently ‘cavalier’ attitude to wrong notes, saying that such things would no longer be acceptable and that ‘nothing but a cast-iron technique... makes sufficient impression to keep a performer before the public.’⁶

Without doubt, such changes in attitude and playing style went hand-in-hand with developments in sound recording techniques during the second half of the twentieth century. But, disregarding distractions caused by poor sound quality in many of the earliest recordings, further and closer listening reveals that features such as the ad hoc or seemingly careless approach to the literal notated rhythm, tuning, and basic pulse (which seem primitive, old-fashioned and curious-sounding to ‘modern’ sensibilities) are intrinsic performing practice elements.

Audible evidence, particularly from an era when few or no artificial editing techniques were available, has to be regarded as the most important primary source for appreciating performing traditions of that period. In stark contrast, much in present-day commercial recordings does not necessarily give a true impression of actual performance style. A producer’s power of intervention through the use of modern editing techniques can, and often does, alter several significant elements of the initial performance, in some cases devaluing their worth as preserved evidence. This, coupled with the recording industry’s

⁶ Ibid., 214.
drive towards artificial perfection and the resulting consumer expectation, has shaped late-twentieth-century taste. In this context, and as Robert Philip has shown, perfection has come to mean stricter rhythmic precision of ensemble, absolute respect for notation, and an eradication of the various types of tempo rubato that were integral aspects of expression and phrasing around the turn of the twentieth century.

Scholars have only recently begun to engage significantly in the academic study of recordings from the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. The transfers and reissues of many of the earliest acoustic recordings (in the case of Johannes Brahms (1833-1897) as early as 1889) and piano rolls to long-playing records and compact discs provide the most important primary evidence for late nineteenth-century, and in some cases earlier traditions. Several of these transfers provide examples of the most famous and revered artists of the second half of the nineteenth century such as the soprano Adelina Patti (1843-1919), the violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907), the pianists Carl Reinecke, Theodor Leschetizky (1830-1915), Camille Saint-Saëns (1838-1921), Edvard Grieg (1843-1907), and Vladimir de Pachmann (1848-1933), as well as a younger generation of pianists such as Jan Paderewski (1860-1941), Fanny Davies (1861-1934), Moriz Rosenthal (1862-1946), Carl Friedberg (1872-1955), Adelina de Lara (1872-1961), Ilona Eibenschütz (1873-1967), Etelka Freund (1879-1977), and many others. The surviving audible evidence preserves vital information about general performing practices of the mid- to late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as well as the idiosyncrasies of their music-making.
A significant factor for consideration is the extent to which early recordings represent an ongoing tradition. The nineteenth-century musicians noted above may well have modified elements of their style to some extent, but any change was probably much more gradual than the rate of change in the late-twentieth century. Communication systems and multimedia have hastened both the transfer and absorption of information, increasing the possibility of rapid change. A fascinating example illustrating a fairly slow rate of change can be seen in the evolution of expressive devices used in string playing from the latter part of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century. The earliest recordings show that, around the turn of the century, many string players of the German school still played without continuous vibrato and employed varied portamento as the main expressive device. Vibrato is treated as an ornament, reserved for certain musical effects like accent or emphasis. During the first decades of the twentieth century, however, vibrato can be heard more continuously alongside portamento. It is not until the mid-twentieth century or later that portamento falls almost completely out of use, leaving vibrato predominant as a means of colouring tone. Yet even this type of vibrato is narrower, less continuous and less intrusive than the vibrato generally employed at present. Therefore the transition from the judicious use of vibrato with frequent portamento to one employing a wide, continuous and largely unvarying vibrato, with little or no portamento, has taken almost one hundred years.

An analogous development in keyboard playing may be seen in the employment of techniques such as the dislocation between melody and accompaniment caused by

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7 This is not true of the period instrument movement that, in general, seems to have rejected portamento as a general expressive device and uses varying speeds of vibrato ornamentally, combined with vibratoless tone.
asynchrony between the hands. This expressive device was used particularly in slow movements and can be heard in the playing of the earliest generation of pianists to record, and to varying degrees by those of later generations. Remnants of this technique can be heard on recordings made as late as the 1940s and 1950s. It is noticeable however, that some late-nineteenth-century pianists and the majority of pianists trained during the twentieth century employ these devices to a much lesser extent or, in some cases, not at all. Changing tastes and perhaps technical developments must account for the move away from performing practices once considered indispensable.

One must always be aware that musical traditions are constantly evolving and that it is dangerous to assume that one musician’s playing style, no matter how venerated, has been adopted and transmitted by following generations. In this respect Will Crutchfield has concluded that:

if everyone played as he was taught, musical style would never change at all. Pupils play not as their teachers did, but as their reactions to their teachers (imitative, rebellious, progressive, myriad), and to their musical environments, dictate. And they do not play in the style that was current when they were trained, but rather in the style that was being developed among the twenty-year-olds when they were trained.\(^8\)

It is evident that the recording process itself may also be largely responsible for changes in taste and performance style. Before recording became possible, musicians employed certain techniques considered expressive without being able to appreciate purely from a listener’s point of view, the aural effect. The accompanist Gerald Moore remarks that with the advent of the microphone:

It is still beyond our capacity to see ourselves as others see us - perhaps this is just as well for our peace of mind - but now it was possible to hear ourselves in very truth. A

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newcomer to recording, hearing his voice for the first time, would ask with dismay, 'Is this really what I sound like'?\(^9\)

Once it became possible to hear one's own performance, however, critical listening intermingled with anxiety about the fact that the recorded result would survive for posterity must surely have influenced certain aspects of performing style. Moore, whose experience of recording was wide-ranging, noted the effect it had on his own playing:

The microphone exposed - and continues to expose - so many shortcomings in my playing that I sometimes wonder why I am ever re-engaged. I can only assume it is because I have never been found out. It is a humiliation to record a piece of music one has performed in public for years and then to discover how poorly one has played it.

But at least the mike has taught me to listen to myself mighty critically. I owe much to it though still hating and fearing it.\(^{10}\)

The majority of the earliest extant recordings considered here were made in the first decade of the twentieth century, and some later electrical recordings have also been considered. These capture the styles of musicians at the end of their careers, in some cases trained one hundred and sixty years ago. The research to date has largely overlooked some of the earliest recordings made by pianists such as Reinecke, Leschetizky and Saint-Saëns. This dissertation investigates what is happening in these musical 'snapshots' in order to distinguish what is old-fashioned or 'modern', idiosyncratic or a general trend. Given the limitations of the recording process discussed in the following section, the investigation deals only with such practices as rhythmic dislocation between the right and left hands, arpeggiation, rhythmic alteration (metrical rubato and inequality) and tempo modification, excluding those practices specifically based on dynamic nuance or pedalling. These important practices are compared with

\(^{10}\) Ibid., 58.
contemporaneous written texts on performance (some highly detailed, others more general) in order to evaluate the correspondence between actual practice and its written description. The study of recordings of the oldest generation of pianists, as well as of those who followed, in specific conjunction with written texts reveals far more than is possible from a study of recordings or written texts alone.
Early recordings: their value as evidence

For pianists, two methods of recording were possible around the turn of the twentieth century: acoustic recordings (pre-electrical recordings) and player-piano (roll) recordings. Acoustic recordings relied on the transmission of sound vibrations via a conically shaped funnel called a horn or trumpet to a sensitive membrane attached to a needle. Sympathetic movements of the membrane caused the needle to make an impression into a suitable medium. Peter Ford’s ‘History of Sound Recording’ (1962) provides many enlightening details about the development of early acoustic recording technology, including the following description of Thomas Edison’s phonograph devised in 1877:

It was quite a simple machine. It consisted of a cylinder, 4in. in length and 4in. in diameter, which had a helical groove of 0.1in. pitch inscribed on its surface. The cylinder was mounted on a threaded shaft of the same pitch as the groove on the cylinder. A handle rotated the cylinder and shaft. On each side of the cylinder there was a framed diaphragm and in the center of each diaphragm there was a steel point. A sheet of soft tinfoil was wrapped around the cylinder. The point of the recording stylus was brought to bear on the tinfoil and the cylinder was then rotated as the operator spoke. The resulting vibrations of the diaphragm were indented into the foil and the foil was indented into the groove on the cylinder. For replay, the more sensitive diaphragm at the other side of the cylinder was employed.¹

By 1885, however, wax was used instead of tinfoil in order to reduce the insupportable distortion factor, though this remained a problem for many decades. According to Ford, instead of using foil, the basic phonograph was adapted ‘by filling the groove of the cylinder with beeswax’.² Even after shellac discs were invented, the initial recording was

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² Ibid., 223.
made on to wax and subsequently transferred. Acoustic recordings continued until the invention of the microphone in the mid-1920s when it became possible to convert sound waves into an electrical impulse and amplify this impulse to 'almost any required strength'.

Another early-twentieth-century pre-electrical recording process using a reproducing piano was popular and considered very sophisticated. A remarkable system employing electrical currents enabled pitch, rhythm, and tempo, as well as dynamic nuance and pedalling to be recorded by making perforations on to a paper roll. The roll could be played back on a specially adapted piano that used air pressure created by pneumatic pumps to depress the keys. The 'effect of the recreated piano performance was quite overwhelming.' One such system, the Welte-Mignon created by Edwin Welte in Freiburg in 1904, was purported to be able to replay 'with great accuracy the most rapid notes, the most complex rhythms and the most subtle tempo changes.' In 1948, Richard C. Simonton provided the following detailed description of the mechanism and technique involved in the Welte system:

There was a standard Steinway grand piano, equipped with a trough running the length of the keyboard and immediately under it. In this trough there was a pool of mercury, and when the key was depressed, a carbon rod attached to the bottom of the key engaged this mercury and caused an electrical contact to be made. The resistance of this contact varied with the pressure exerted on the carbon rod so that actually, depending upon the blow with which the key was struck, there was a corresponding change in the electrical resistance of the contact made. All of the keys were connected by wires to the recording machine, which was usually some feet away from the controlling piano. This machine had within it the conventional rolls of paper which

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5 Ibid., 101-3.
were entirely blank and without perforation, but were ruled their entire length with over one hundred fine lines, each corresponding to the center line of its control mechanism. Above the point at which the impression actually took place on the paper was a series of small rubber rollers of a composition similar to the type used in a printing press, and these rollers were linked with an ink similar to that used by the printing industry. The result was that as the keys of the piano were depressed, these rollers engaged [the piano] and transferred their inking to the paper in such a way that, depending upon the blow or touch exerted upon the keys of the piano, there was a corresponding difference of the inking of the paper on the master roll. Other functions of playing were also transferred, such as pedaling. After the recording was completed, it was sent to the laboratory and very carefully prepared for being used in the reproducing machine, or used in reverse in order to give a performance and re-create once again the actual playing of the artist as the roll had recorded it. For this purpose, the Weltes had constructed a machine which was the exact opposite of the recording piano. This device had felt covered levers - one for every key. It was a cumbersome thing that was placed in front of the keyboard of a piano and when a roll master was put inside, it actuated the mechanism within this monster in such a way that these levers came down and depressed the keys with the same dynamics in the same order as in the original performance. Every precaution was taken to get conditions as nearly equal as possible to the original performance so these wooden levers were made the same length as a man’s fingers from the pivot of his wrist to the tips, so that the same power of touch would produce the same dynamic strength on the piano as the artist when he struck the keys during the making of the recording.6

During the first half of the twentieth century many companies such as Duo-Art, Aeolian Company, and Ampico, produced piano rolls and most of the famous pianists were recorded in this manner.

Though acoustic and piano roll recording processes were seen as an important means of preserving the art of virtuoso pianists of the day, it is evident that both had particular limitations. Accounts about early acoustic recording sessions give a clear picture of some of the problems that plagued recording engineers as well as the conditions in which artists had to work. For instance, when the Gramophone Company first recorded Adelina Patti

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in 1906 it is clear from a description by the producer, Fred Gaisberg, that the experience was somewhat difficult:

It was an ordeal for her [Patti] to sing into this small funnel, while standing in one position. With her natural Italian temperament she was given to flashing movements and to acting her parts. It was my job to pull her back when she made those beautiful attacks on the high notes. At first she did not like this and was most indignant, but later when she heard the lovely records she showed her joy.7

Despite the difficulties, there is little doubt that Patti was charmed with the results. Her pleasure is recorded in a letter of the 8th of December 1905, to one of her accompanists Alfredo Barili:

You will be pleased to hear that I have been singing in a Gramophone & that it all has turned out satisfactorily - my voice & phrasing come easy & simply perfect out of the instrument & I think the company will make a fortune.8

It is clear however that the method of recording at this time resulted in certain nuances, such as dynamics and accentuation, being less well preserved than others. Patti's niece, Louise Barili, described what she witnessed at one of the sessions:

The facilities for making the records were crude...Aunt Adelina stood on a small movable platform which, for shading, was moved toward or away from the recording machine. As this was done while my aunt was singing, it made her very nervous. Father, too, was agitated, because he had to play with the piano elevated, high up, on boxes. Papa was told not to do any shading, as it would not record, but he could never play mechanically.9

Indeed for pianists there were even more serious difficulties with which to contend. Recalling his earliest experience of making records in 1921, Gerald Moore described how, in addition to the sterile surroundings and the over-resonant acoustic of the

7 J.F. Cone, Adelina Patti: Queen of Hearts (Oregon, 1993), 243.
8 Ibid., 244.
9 Ibid., 246.
recording studio which were necessary for maximum impact on the vibrating diaphragm, the piano itself had to be modified:

I ran my fingers over the keys of the pianoforte and was appalled at the metallic harshness of the tone; it had the brazen splendor [sic] of a brass spittoon. This brittle sound was not to be attributed entirely to the acoustics of the chamber, for I found on examination that the piano, by the tuner's art, had been rendered as percussive as possible by the filing down of the felts on the hammers. The anti-upholstery campaign had extended even to my piano.10

But as if this was not enough, Moore, like Barili, was instructed to play with unvarying dynamics and especially not to play softly. He recounts that:

In any recording session, the first record gives the most trouble because it is here that quality of sound and balance between the two instruments [the violin and the piano] have to be settled... They had great trouble with me because I tried to play softly. Mme Chemet and I were dealing with a Berceuse but Arthur Clark, opening his kennel window, insisted on my playing forte all the time. I protested that it was impossible to bang out all the notes of a lullaby; I should wake the baby. The result, in the test played back to us, was that I was unheard. I did not relish this. The piano could not be placed any nearer than it was; already the violinist had hardly enough room for her bowing arm between the trumpet [the recording horn] and the piano. In the last reckoning I obeyed official recommendation and clattered my part of the lullaby like a charge of cavalry, to the approval of all.11

The difficulty of recording dynamic shading and therefore presumably other nuances such as accentuation and articulation was a serious matter that naturally concerned many pianists. Having witnessed and marvelled at Paderewski's performances on many occasions, Moore commented on his acoustic recordings of Chopin's Mazurkas Op. 7 No. 2, Op. 17 No. 4 and Op. 33 No. 4, saying:

Listening now to Paderewski's recording of these frail pieces it comes as something of a shock to hear him inject so much passionate fervour into them. (A Mozart string quartet transcribed for brass band.) One cannot question the taste of this noble artist, and since he never hurt my sensibilities when I was present at a public performance, I conclude that he felt impelled to maintain a consistently penetrating forte to register on

10 Moore, Am I Too Loud?, 52.
11 Ibid., 53.
the soft wax of the old recording process. This was my own practice in the early twenties when to make a *diminuendo* or attempt to play softly reduced the recording engineer to despair.\(^{12}\)

Moore also makes it quite clear that, having learned how to adapt one’s playing to the requirements of the acoustic recording process, musicians had to reassess entirely their recording philosophy once microphone recording became possible:

To think in terms of accuracy and vigour which had sufficed in the past was not enough, we had to sing and play as musicians, with refinement, with light and shade, with delicacy of nuance. I even had to play very softly when necessary. The making of a good record, it was quickly realized, demanded infinitely more concentration and care from the artists. The microphone picked up everything.\(^{13}\)

The matter of tempo was another factor that caused great concern in some early acoustic recording sessions, particularly when the repertoire exceeded a certain length. The wax cylinders and discs in use up to the 1920s could only preserve, at most, just over four minutes of music. The repertoire would either have to be modified by making cuts or by playing it faster than was comfortable or indeed musical. Here again, Moore’s reminiscences prove very enlightening. He explains that:

Only two sizes of records were issued under the wax process; the twelve inch running normally for four and a quarter minutes and the ten inch lasting three minutes and ten seconds. An extra half-minute could be squeezed on to the disc in extreme cases by narrowing the playing grooves. This was avoided as much as possible since the quality of tone deteriorated when the needle approached too near to the centre. A symphony or sonata movement would take up much more space than could be contained in one record side and the movement would perforce be halted midway - sometimes on an unresolved discord. This hiatus was altogether unbearable even to us primitives. Often, therefore, in the case of a shorter piece the pace would be quickened to a preposterous tempo in our efforts to complete it in record time. When the red light gleamed, not a second was lost, we were away. Runners in a hundred yard sprint were not quicker off the mark than we. This, in fact, is how Selma Kurz - that wonderful soprano from the Vienna State Opera - and I endeavoured to record Beethoven’s

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\(^{13}\) Moore, *Am I Too Loud?*, 56-7.
Adelaide, a lengthy song with an extremely slow first section. Long before we had finished this larghetto we were ‘buzzed’ by the engineer who put his head through the window to inform us that he had come to the end of the wax. We tried again and now I played my introduction at a speed that would have shocked Beethoven but Mme Kurz was standing so far from the piano, with her head in the trumpet, that not hearing me, and no blame to her, she became slower and slower. I am afraid we had to abandon poor Adelaide.¹⁴

A similar problem beset the pianist Ferruccio Busoni. Writing to his wife in 1919 about his recording experiences, he related that:

Yesterday I suffered the gramophone drudge through to the end...they wanted the Gounod-Liszt Faust-waltz (which lasts a good 10 minutes) - but only four minutes’ worth! - so I quickly had to make cuts, patch and improvise, so that it still retained its sense; give due regard to the pedal (because it sounds bad), had to remember that particular notes must be struck louder or softer - to please the infernal machine; not let myself go - for the sake of accuracy - and remain conscious throughout that every note was being preserved for eternity.¹⁵

But these problems did not necessarily affect all recordings and certainly not those of shorter works. For example, Busoni’s 1919 acoustic recording of Chopin’s Prelude Op. 28 No. 7 takes approximately 59 seconds compared with his 1923 piano roll recording which takes 1.05 minutes. Edvard Grieg’s 1903 acoustic recording of his Bridal Procession Op. 19 No. 2 takes approximately 2.54 minutes, while his 1906 piano roll of the work takes 2.40 minutes on the 1934 transfer. A similar pattern is observable in comparing Saint-Saëns’s 1919 acoustic recording of his Valse mignonne with his 1905 piano roll recording of the same work. The variation is negligible at 2.15 minutes and 2.16 minutes respectively. In all the cases above and many others, the wax cylinder recording speeds are comparable with piano roll recording speeds. It is evident, therefore,

¹⁴ Ibid., 54-5.
that in the case of shorter works, acoustic recordings probably preserve, in most cases, the normal tempo intentions of the artist.

Pedalling is yet another factor that may not have been well preserved in the earliest acoustic recordings. In this respect, Ford has pointed out that:

Piano solo records and piano accompaniments were usually made using an upright instrument with its back to the recording horn. In the very early days it was deemed necessary to wedge the piano pedals so that they could not be used.\(^\text{16}\)

Given the need to play constantly at a high dynamic level, there seems little doubt that the use of the una-corda or soft pedal would in any case have been prohibited. The sostenuto pedal would certainly have contributed to a blurring of the already disadvantaged piano sound in the over-resonant acoustic of the recording studio.

Contemporaneous accounts suggest that piano roll recordings during the early twentieth century were considered by many to preserve the playing of revered pianists more successfully. For example, Grieg, impressed by the results of the rolls he heard, commented in his diary on April 11, 1906:

Played 6 of my piano pieces at Hupfelds’ on his ‘Phonotist’ electric piano. What this instrument does is unbelievable. The pianola, which impressed me yesterday, is nothing by comparison. No ‘metrostyle’, nothing that is dependent on someone to guide the performance, because there is no such thing. I heard a Liszt Rhapsody played by Reisenauer, and it was indisputably Reisenauer’s personal style. I am very anxious to hear my things replayed by this instrument.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\) Ford, ‘History of Sound Recording’, 228.

And a reaction to Busoni’s Duo-Art piano rolls in 1924 by one of his students shows clearly how well the artist’s playing had been preserved:

It was with great interest, not I confess, unmingled with apprehension, that I prepared to hear the rolls which Busoni had made for the Duo-Art reproducing pianoforte. I may say quite frankly that I was amazed beyond measure. These rolls are not merely reproductions - they are Busoni himself. 18

It is evident that some people considered piano roll recording to be superior to acoustic recording. In the following extract from _The Musical Times_, the anonymous reviewer remarks:

How much more successful a Pachmann roll is than a Pachmann gramophone record! In the records the tone is usually bad, whereas, presuming the player piano to be a good instrument, it is impossible to get a bad tone from a roll. Moreover, Pachmann has been known to chip in with audible comments when recording, and such comments have been duly promulgated per gramophone. When making player-piano rolls he may talk to his heart’s content, and it gets no farther. His *rubato* in Chopin’s D flat Nocturne is on the lavish side, but the performance is exquisite in all other respects. 19

And another reference extolling the virtues of the piano roll recording above the acoustic recording is found in the following reference from _The Musical Times_. The writer gives the strong impression that even features such as dynamic nuance and pedalling are faithfully and successfully preserved, saying that:

For the first time I have had the pleasure of hearing some Ampico recordings. These, like the Animatic and Duo-Art, can be heard to advantage only on their own instruments. Ampico rolls seem to be able to reproduce every possible degree of tone-colour, phrasing, &c., and in so fluent a manner that the reproduction of the artist’s playing is almost uncannily faithful. I found the best example of this in Robert Schmitz’s excellent playing of Debussy’s ‘Jardins sous la pluie’... wherein the pedalling is specially good. The varied tones and details are beautifully reproduced. Such a roll as this leaves even the best gramophone records of piano-playing [sic] far

behind, if only on the score of tone quality - the weak point of the gramophone where
the pianoforte is concerned.\textsuperscript{20}

However, more recent research into the Welte-Mignon system reveals some
shortcomings. Apparently, 'dynamic range was considerably lower than that of the live
performer' and 'the player piano covered only the middle range of the potential dynamic
span of a concert grand.'\textsuperscript{21} Dynamics were only reproduced in a general sense, 'missing
the minute, barely perceptible nuances that are crucial for expressive delivery.'\textsuperscript{22} The
pedal mechanism was also apparently problematic; it could not specify the exact position
of the pedal (half, quarter, and so on).

Thus, there is reasonable doubt concerning the faithful preservation of dynamics,
accentuation and pedalling on some piano rolls. In addition, the playback of the final
product was, as suggested by the reference above, best suited to the instrument on which
it was recorded, but this was not always possible; these rolls were replayed on all types of
instruments. In this respect, Robert Philip has noted that the performance of the same roll
on different instruments might possibly produce varying results:

One question... is whether it can be wholly satisfactory to record the behaviour of the
hammers on one piano, and then transfer this information to a different piano with
different acoustical properties and with hammers in a different condition. Delicate
adjustment of the playback mechanism is needed to achieve a plausible result, and it
can never be known how close the reproduction is to the original performance on the
original instrument.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{20} Anon., 'Player-Piano Notes', \textit{The Musical Times} (1929), vol. 70, 905.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 101.
\textsuperscript{23} R. Philip, 'Pianists on Record in the Early Twentieth Century', \textit{The Cambridge Companion to
This factor was acknowledged by pianists of the era. Harold Bauer stated in 1948 that:

> The final result was always somewhat discouraging in spite of all this trouble, for the reason that the dynamics set to produce certain effects on the piano which was being used for such editorial purposes, varied when the record was played on another piano. This was due to minute differences in quality of tone, and in resistance within the action, and there was no way of overcoming the difficulty.24

Denis Hall, who has devoted much time and effort to the restoration and the understanding of player-pianos and rolls, referred to this particular problem, saying that:

> The pianos for which reproducing rolls were produced were very different animals from their modern counterparts. Fashions in piano tone alter over the years as much as fashions in piano playing. What was admired 70 or 80 years ago may be barely worthy of mention today. As to piano tone, the pianos of the first 30 or so years of this century [the twentieth century] in general had lighter and softer hammers than are fitted to new pianos; this also usually applies to the hammers fitted when old instruments are rebuilt.25

In this light, it is evident that unless piano rolls are replayed under strictly controlled conditions, certain features may be distorted. These factors aside, however, piano rolls do preserve with precision many features of the original performance such as the position of notes, and particularly the rhythmic relationship between notes in one hand and the other, as well as tempo modifications. Once the perforations were made, it was difficult to make changes. Thus it may be assumed that, in the majority of cases, the pianists’ placement of notes and the note duration are exactly reproduced. A photographic example from a Duo-Art piano roll, showing the roll perforations juxtaposed with the musical notation of a section from Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 recorded by Vladimir de Pachmann (1848-1943), was provided by John McEwen in *Tempo Rubato or Time-Variation in Musical Performance* (London, 1928). The length of each perforation (the horizontal lines)

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corresponds with the length of the respective note. The photograph gives a visual portrayal of important features such as the non-synchrony of the hands at moments that are notated in the music to be synchronous (Fig. 1.1).

Fig. 1.1 Chopin, Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 50 to 52 of Pachmann’s Duo-Art roll, annotated McEwen.²⁶

A criticism levelled at piano roll recordings is that in ‘modern’ playback, using instruments that are perhaps different in some way from the original, the tempo nuances may not be reproduced exactly as recorded. Comparison between several acoustic recordings and piano rolls of the same work by the same pianist reveal, however, a close relationship in these performance features. The tempo variations in Saint-Saëns’s performance of his Valse mignonne are recognizably similar in both types of recording. For example, the tempo remains steady from bar 1 to bar 48 in both recordings, after which there is a recognizably similar accelerando. The same is true for other tempo

²⁶ Cited in Philip, Early Recordings, 48.
changes and it is evident that Saint-Saëns's piano roll does closely resemble his acoustic recording. Grieg's two piano rolls of his *Bridal Procession* Op. 19 No. 2 both preserve very similar traits to his acoustic recording of it. For example, the characteristic rhythm quaver-crotchet that appears as a phrase ending throughout the work is often distorted in both types of recording, so that the crotchet is noticeably delayed. Many other tempo modifications are mirrored, such as the sudden hastening at bar 25 and the broadening in bars 31 and 32. Hall has presented other comparative information regarding Busoni's acoustic and piano roll recordings of Chopin's Prelude Op. 28 No. 7:

The one Prelude which appears on disc as well as roll (no. 7 in A) is remarkably similar in both versions. Busoni plays it twice, bringing out different features in the music on each occasion. The emphasis of the melody at the beginning of the repeat is clearly there, as is the accenting of the first chord in bar 12. The treatment of the alto line from bars 4 to 10 is not so obvious on the roll although the dynamic coding shows that Reynolds [the editor] was aware of what Busoni had played even if he did not translate the effect successfully to the roll. Nonetheless, the similarities are very marked; the two performances are quite clearly by the same pianist.27

Hall is also convinced that when piano rolls are played under the right conditions many aspects of the original performance are reproduced. Comparing the Duo-Art rolls of certain pianists with their acoustic recordings, he concludes in the case of Paderewski for example, that 'one may single out *The Maiden's Wish* (Chopin/Liszt), the *Nocturne Ragusa* (Schelling) and *Reflets dans l'eau* (Debussy) as instantly being recognisably the same pianist as on disc. The phrasing, dynamic effects and pedalling are identical. Only the subtlest of his tone colouring is missing.'28 And concerning Harold Bauer, Hall says that 'his general style is unmistakable in the many titles he recorded for the Duo-Art which did not appear on disc. His singing treatment of melody-lines, with the left hand

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28 Ibid., 49-50.
not quite together with the right, and his forthright playing of rhythmic passages come through very distinctly.\textsuperscript{29}

Without doubt, there is much important evidence preserved in early acoustic piano recordings and piano rolls. The above references show, however, that although they provide a very important window into the past, the information that may safely be extrapolated from them at this stage is limited to practices that are not directly influenced by dynamics, tone, touch and pedalling. These practices are investigated in the chapters that follow.

\textsuperscript{29} Ibid., 49-50.
Chapter 2

Dislocation

One of the most significant differences between the style of piano playing preserved on recordings from around the turn of the twentieth century and the characteristic style of piano playing in the late twentieth century is heard in the employment of such expressive devices as unnotated dislocation of melody from accompaniment,¹ and unnotated chordal arpeggiation.² Some recordings reveal frequent use of both techniques while more recently recordings and live performances employ them far less or not at all. In general, piano playing during the past forty or fifty years has become characterized by an increasingly neat and synchronized style of playing that is faithful to the musical notation. This significant change in attitude and practice is one of the many reasons why early piano recordings often sound curiously disjointed and ‘limping’³ by present standards. The synonymy of synchrony in piano playing and stylistic and tasteful playing has been generally regarded as axiomatic in recent times. This is clearly exemplified in the horrified reaction of a trained musician to the introduction of an unnotated arpeggio to a celebrated piece of nineteenth-century music by the pianist Melvyn Tan and the Australian Chamber Orchestra. In a criticism published in the Sydney Morning Herald

¹ Referred to as ‘rhythmic dislocation of melody from accompaniment’ in Philip, Early Recordings, 47. In Stolen Time: the History of Tempo Rubato (Oxford, 1994), 334, R. Hudson refers to this as the ‘breaking of hands’.
² Here, chords are composed of two or more notes and are aligned vertically in the notation.
(November, 1998), the reviewer takes obvious exception to Tan’s interpretation of the opening chord of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto No. 4 Op. 58, saying that:

Then there was the vexatious question of the first chord. For those unacquainted with the frailties of modern pianism, the first chord of Beethoven’s Fourth Piano Concerto is generally held to be the most difficult chord in the repertoire. Playing it is like performing brain surgery on Stephen Hawkings [sic]: if you don’t get the exact balance, the exact pressure, the exact weight, you risk killing one of the most sublime creations of the human spirit. Tan rolled it! He arpeggiated it (ie, he played the notes one after the other, rather than together). Many would regard this as the greatest dereliction of civic duty since Pontius Pilate. For Tan and Tognetti, however, it seemed to be an attempt to introduce some of the freedoms of 18th-century performance practice to this early 19th-century work.4

In spite of such strong present-day objections, it is evident that Beethoven fully accepted and utilized such practices. In this regard, Carl Czerny’s advice is of great significance. Recalling Beethoven’s own practices, he placed an arpeggio sign next to the first chord of this concerto (Fig. 2.1). Confirmation that, in many circles, such techniques were considered indispensable expressive devices throughout the nineteenth century is found in several written documents cited in Chapter 3. The aural effect of the application of an arpeggio to the first chord of this work is heard on Steven Lubin’s 1988 recording with the Academy of Ancient Music (CD 1/1).

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Several references demonstrate the negativity with which localized dislocation in piano playing has been regarded more recently. Recalling his dismay in 1975 on hearing a live recording from the 1949 Edinburgh Festival of Schumann’s Frauenliebe und -leben Op. 42 by the singer Kathleen Ferrier and the pianist Bruno Walter, the pianist Gerald Thompson (b. 1933) recounts that:

it was re-recorded on to 33s sometime, I think in 1975, and it just so transpired that in that year I'd given two performances of this same work with two local sopranos... and so when I saw this record I was very excited because I knew that Bruno Walter was very highly esteemed as a conductor, and I knew that Kathleen Ferrier had profound admiration for him as a pianist you see, so I couldn't wait to get back home and play this record. But as soon as I heard the very first bar, I realized there was something wrong, that Bruno Walter was putting down his left hand before his right hand, and this continued to the extent that I don't think I could listen to it to the end, I felt really so distressed, almost ill, and I haven't replayed it for twenty-six years.

In Speaking of Pianists (1957), Abraham Chasins denounced certain aspects of the piano playing of Jan Paderewski (1860-1941), saying that:

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6 K. Ferrier and B. Walter, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms, BBC live recording from the 1949 Edinburgh Festival (Decca - Mono 6BB197-8).
7 Transcript of part of an interview with G. Thompson, conducted by N. Peres Da Costa on September 15 (2001). Thompson conducted a semi-professional career as a piano accompanist in Wakefield, West Yorkshire.
Schumann’s “Warum?” discloses Paderewski’s beautiful tone and poetic feeling. It also discloses the unhappy traits of melodramatic expressivity - the agonized cantilena, the torn-to-tatters meter, the hands played one before the other.  

In his 1962 article about the pianist Moriz Rosenthal (1862-1946), Edward Sackville-West opines that ‘it is difficult to say how he compared... with pianists like Busoni, Paderewski and d’Albert. It is obvious that he shared with Paderewski an indifference to synchronizing the hands - indeed he probably thought it more expressive not to do so.’  

Sackville-West’s comments give the impression that Rosenthal and Paderewski employed manual non-synchrony somewhat carelessly, though he acknowledges that they may have considered it an indispensable device.

And in Furthermoore (1983), the accompanist Gerald Moore succinctly summarizes the late-twentieth-century attitude to localized dislocation in piano playing. Speaking of Paderewski, Moore says that:

When Neville Cardus described Paderewski as a visitant from a receding epoch, it was literally true, for his habit of bringing the bass [in] earlier than the treble when the hands should synchronize was a relic of bygone days and our ears had, perforce, to become accustomed to it. It is a practice regarded today as the hallmark of the amateur, evidence of inattentive self-listening, the first weakness that a reputable teacher seeks to eradicate. However, it may possibly have been regarded as the apogee of expressiveness a century or more ago. 

Localized dislocation of melody from accompaniment (henceforth called dislocation) describes a momentary separation between the left and right hands achieved by various means. This expressive technique is not exclusive to, but is particularly noticeable on,

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10 G. Moore, Furthermoore, 396-7.
recordings of solo pianists. The most popular method is to delay a note of the melody in
the right hand so that it is placed directly after the corresponding accompaniment note in
the left hand. In fewer cases, the right hand precedes the left. In this sense, dislocation
resembles the technique of metrical rubato, that is, the rhythmic alteration of melody
notes over an accompaniment that preserves the pulse. However, as will be seen, there
are fundamental differences between these practices and therefore metrical rubato is
considered separately in Chapter 4. Although dislocation and unnotated chordal
arpeggiation share the similar principle of separation of notes that should apparently, by
their vertical alignment in the musical text, be synchronized, they have significantly
differing characteristics and functions. Therefore, the practice of unnotated arpeggiation
is dealt with on its own in Chapter 3.

In piano playing, dislocation occurred much more often in slow expressive music than in
fast music. Often in compositions of varying characters, it was reserved for the most
expressive part. Some pianists, however, applied it universally. Typically, dislocation
occurred at: a) the beginnings of phrases; b) beginnings of bars; and c) moments which
are harmonically strong or dissonant. In some cases, it can be heard on every beat in a
bar. Dislocation occurred in a variety of combinations shown below (Fig. 2.2), the main
underlying criterion being the separation of the hands.

11 There are examples found in recordings of singers, string players and chamber ensembles,
some of which are cited below.
Fig. 2.2    Types of dislocation preserved in early recordings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RIGHT HAND</th>
<th>LEFT HAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single melody note</td>
<td>Single accompaniment note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single melody note</td>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single melody note</td>
<td>Chord (notes arpeggiated)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
<td>Single accompaniment note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chord (notes arpeggiated)</td>
<td>Single accompaniment note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chord (notes arpeggiated)</td>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chord (notes struck together)</td>
<td>Chord (notes arpeggiated)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At times, the aural effect of such dislocations is that the accompaniment seems aligned with the notional beat or pulse and the melody is displaced. At others, it is the melody that seems aligned with the pulse, the accompaniment sounding anticipated.\(^\text{12}\) It is not always possible to be sure what relationship the right and left hands have to a notional pulse, especially when dislocation occurs in conjunction with a modification of tempo. Dislocation is preserved on recordings as early as 1889 and continues well into the second half of the twentieth century, though with significantly declining incidence after the 1930s.\(^\text{13}\) Still, it can be heard clearly in some recordings up to the 1950s and is employed occasionally in recordings from more recent times. Figure 2.3 charts some significant examples where dislocation is prominent, and some in which it is almost completely absent. The pianists listed include those who used dislocation in a significant

\(^{12}\) This has led to the coining of the term 'bass-note anticipation' mentioned below.

\(^{13}\) See Philip, *Early Recordings*, for a fuller discussion.
number of recordings, as well as those in whose playing it might reasonably have been expected because of their age. Other pianists whose recordings reveal that they used dislocation occasionally or infrequently and who are not listed include Emil Sauer (1862-1942), Maurice Ravel (1875-1937), Sergei Rachmaninov (1873-1943), Ernő Dohnányi (1877-1960), Wilhelm Backhaus (1884-1969), Alfred Cortot (1870-1962), Harold Bauer (1873-1951), Elly Ney (1882-1968), Ignaz Friedman (1882-1948), Benno Moiseiwitsch (1890-1963), Ethel Leginska (b. 1890), Severin Eisenberger (1879-1945), Myra Hess (1890-1965), Olga Samaroff (1880-1948), Ossip Gabrilowitsch (1878-1936), Edwin Fischer (1886-1960), Alexander Brailowski (1896-1976), Leopold Godowsky (1870-1938) and Alexander Goldenweiser (1875-1961).

Fig. 2.3 Dislocation preserved in early recordings.14

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PIANISTS</th>
<th>COMPOSITIONS WITH FREQUENT DISLOCATIONS</th>
<th>COMPOSITIONS WITH INFREQUENT OR NO DISLOCATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannes Brahms (1833-1897)</td>
<td>Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, 1889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Saint-Saëns (1838-1921)</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 and Beethoven Sonata No. 16 Op. 31 No. 1 (2nd movement), 1905, piano roll</td>
<td>Saint-Saëns Valse mignonnette, 1919, and Valse mignonnette, 1905, piano roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edvard Grieg (1843-1907)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Grieg Butterfly Op. 43 No. 1, To Spring Op. 43 No. 6, Remembrances Op. 71 No. 7,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

14 Unless otherwise stated, recordings made before 1924 are acoustic; recordings from 1924 onwards are electrical. All piano roll recordings are indicated.
<p>| | | <em>Andante &amp; Variations</em> in F, 1937; Mozart Rondo KV 511, 1937; <em>Beethoven Sonata</em> All faster works of Chopin such as Etude Op. 10 No. 12, 1928, Etude Op. 10 No. 5, |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Polonaise Op. 26 No. 2, 1930, Waltz Op. 34 No. 1, 1912; and faster works of Liszt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>such as La leggierezza from 3 Etudes de Concert, and La Campanella from 6 Etudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>d’exécution transcendent d’après Paganini, recording dates unknown</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frank la Forge (b. 1879)</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Hofman (1876-1957)</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2; Schumann Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, 1912; Chopin Valse Op. 64 No. 2 1916</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Work Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Chopin Scherzo Op. 20 No. 1, 1921, piano roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Scarletti Sonatas in E and G, 1903; Beethoven Sonata Op. 109 second movement, c. 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Bach-D’Albert Organ Prelude in D major BWV 532, 1921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Not in works of Schubert, Liszt, Mendelssohn that are fast or in Beethoven Moonlight Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, 1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Gieseking</td>
<td>Beethoven Andante from Sonata Op. 109; Brahms Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 2, 1939-40; Mendelssohn Andante and Rondo Capriccioso, 1956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1895-1956)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feruccio Busoni</td>
<td>Chopin Prelude Op. 28 No. 7, 1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1866-1924)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1872-1955)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>(1879-1977)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The recordings presented in Figure 2.3 show that between the late-nineteenth century and at least the 1950s, many pianists made dislocations. It seems to have been considered most appropriate in slower expressive compositions of Classical and Romantic repertoire, less so in later nineteenth-century and more contemporary repertoire, or in music that was fast or required a more incisive and sharp rhythm. In addition, as noted above, several pianists seem to avoid its use altogether; their playing sounds much more synchronized. The possible reasons for this will be investigated further. During the past forty or fifty years, pianists have used it extremely rarely if at all.

Recent research about dislocation in piano playing does not appear to have taken into account significant evidence preserved in the earliest piano recordings. And certain important written texts have also been overlooked. Richard Hudson states that dislocation
'became a special characteristic of the period [the early-twentieth century] but that 'in spite of the widespread use... by most of the acclaimed pianists over a rather considerable period of time... the theorists and other writers never mention it as a valid means of expression.' Written references cited below show, however, that there was certainly positive support for the use of dislocation in certain circles. And even when some writers verbally opposed it, their recordings reveal, in some cases, a prolific use of it. In addition, there is strong basis for believing that dislocation was commonly employed throughout the nineteenth century and that early-twentieth-century recordings capture the end of a long tradition, not the beginning of a new one. In any case, Hudson makes no reference to the piano rolls of the oldest generation of pianists including Reinecke, Saint-Saëns and Leschetizky.

Sandra Rosemblum says that dislocation (which she describes as "splitting the hands") may represent a degeneration of the true contrametric separation of melody and accompaniment' associated with pianists such as Chopin. She does not, however, give any evidence for this theory. Robert Philip states that 'until the 1920s many pianists, particularly those of the older generation (Paderewski, Pachmann, Rosenthal et al.), made a habit of this non-synchronisation'. He mentions in passing that 'twentieth-century dislocation might be really old fashioned, and represent the end of a nineteenth-century tradition', but he does not present in sufficient depth the evidence for this. Elsewhere,

15 Hudson, Stolen Time, 334.
16 Ibid., 336
18 Philip, Early Recordings, 47
19 Ibid., 239.
Philip opines that 'it is impossible to judge what Leschetizky’s playing sounded like from his piano rolls, but that it is clear that 'he used as much dislocation of bass and treble as Paderewski at his most extreme.' However, the features and frequency of their dislocations are not described. Philip makes no reference to perhaps the oldest pianist to have made piano rolls, Carl Reinecke, nor does he mention the piano rolls of Saint-Saëns. These and other recordings warrant further examination because they capture intrinsic elements of the style of late-nineteenth-century pianism such as dislocation.

The practice of dislocation is discussed in some late-nineteenth-century written documents. However, considering its widespread utilization, it is surprising that many highly detailed performing practice codifications by pedagogues such as Adolphe Christiani (1836-1885), Mathis Lussy (1828-1910), and Hugo Riemann (1849-1919) fail to mention it at all. Nevertheless, its importance was noted by one of Theodor Leschetizky’s former students and teaching assistants, Malwine Brée (b. 1861), in 1902.

Leschetizky’s importance as a nineteenth-century performer and pedagogue is apparent by the vast number of pianists who sought his guidance. In a career that spanned 75 years, 'in excess of 1200 pianists are known to have studied with him.' After lessons with Czerny, Leschetizky embarked on concert tours and taught extensively. He was head of the piano department of the St. Petersburg Conservatory (founded by Anton

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20 Philip, 'Pianists on Record', The Cambridge Companion to the Piano, 87.
21 A. Christiani, The Principles of Expression in Pianoforte Playing (New York, 1885); M. Lussy, Traité de l'expression musicale, accents, nuances et mouvements dans la musique vocale et instrumentale (Paris, 1874); H. Riemann, Der Ausdruck in der Musik (Leipzig, 1878) and Katechismus des Klavierspiels (Leipzig, 1888).
Rubinstein) from 1862 to 1878 after which he returned to Vienna. His home there rapidly became a focus both for aspiring pianists and for various visiting musicians of the day, many of whom would be persuaded to play at the famed fortnightly classes. He soon became the most sought-after teacher of the day. Amongst those of his students who conducted active concert careers were Paderewski, Schnabel, Gabrilovich, Ney, Moiseiwitsch, Friedman, Hambourg, and Brailowsky. Leschetizky claimed to have upheld Czerny’s precepts and is also known to have enjoyed and adopted a style of playing melodies that he heard in the performances of the salon composer Julius Schulhoff (1825-1898).

The following letter from Leschetizky to Brée endorses his full acceptance of all that is propounded in Die Grundlage Der Methode Leschetizky (1902), translated in the same year as The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method:

"Vienna, Feb. 24, 1902
Mme. MALWINE BRÉE.

Honoured Madame: My best thanks for the dedication of your book, which I of course accept most gladly. As you know, I am from principle no friend of theoretical Piano-Methods; but your excellent work, which I have carefully examined, is such a brilliant exposition of my personal views, that I subscribe, word for word, to everything you advance therein. Your "Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method" leads with a practised hand along the same path on which, for many years, you have won such striking success as my assistant by teaching in accord with my intention. Moreover, the tone of your work is not monotonously didactic, but enlivened by clever conceits and humour.

Approving the illustrations of my hand as genuine and lifelike, I declare your book to be the sole authorized publication explanatory of my method, and wish it all success and popularity.

With sincerest regard, (Signed)

THEODOR LESCHETIZKY."

23 Ibid., 584-585.
Brée elucidates several of Leschetizky’s thoughts on arpeggio playing that will be examined in Chapter 3. Included in these, however, is the following reference to dislocation:25

Neither should bass tone and melody-note always be taken precisely together, but the melody-note may be struck an instant after the bass, which gives it more relief and a softer effect. However, this can be done only at the beginning of a phrase, and usually only on important notes and strong beats. (It is better for the hands to coincide precisely on weak beats.) The melody-note must follow so swiftly as to make the pause hardly noticeable for the uninitiated; e.g., in Chopin’s Nocturne:

The significance of Brée’s description and annotated musical example will be discussed below. Verification that Leschetizky considered dislocation indispensable is found in the reminiscences of another of his students, Frank Merrick (b. 1886). In an article commemorating the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Leschetizky’s birth, Merrick relates some of the insights gained during his lessons with Leschetizky at the turn of the twentieth century:

There are some habits which Leschetizky used to advocate which have now fallen out of fashion. One was the way in which chords would be spread out in one hand, or the hands not played together. In some places he said that the right hand should be played

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25 Ibid., 72-3.
slightly before the left, or that a 7th should be broken because of the dissonance. In those days people regarded these things as intensifying expression, but now think [of] them as over-sentimental.26

With little doubt, the practice of dislocation clearly described by Brée and mentioned by Merrick was not peculiar to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Dislocation must have been quite common, and perhaps even employed in a more exaggerated fashion, earlier in the nineteenth century. This notion is supported in an enlightening reference by Sigismund Thalberg (1812-1871) in his *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano*, Op. 70 (c. 1853), in which arrangements of opera arias were used as instructive pieces for the piano. Thalberg recommends the use of dislocation in a similar way to Brée, but criticizes its overuse. In his fifth rule he states that:

> It will be indispensable to avoid, in playing, the habit at once ridiculous and in bad taste, of withholding too long the production of the notes of the melody a long time after those of the bass have been sounded; thus producing from the beginning to the end of a composition, the effect of repeated syncopations. In a slow melody, written in notes of long duration, it produces a good effect, especially on the first delivery of each measure, or at the commencement of each phrase, to sound the melody after the bass, but only with an interval so brief as to be almost imperceptible.27

In terms of the present discussion, this rule is certainly an important one. Apart from documenting the existence of the practice of dislocation, it illustrates that it was widespread and, according to Thalberg’s sensibilities, used beyond the limits of good

27 S. Thalberg, *L'Art du chant appliqué au piano*, Op. 70, 1st series (Paris, 1853), unpaginated 2; trans. in Thalberg’s and Vieutemps’ *Grand Concert Book, containing Thalberg and Vieuxtemps’ Authentic Biographies and Sketch of the Rules for Piano Forte Playing etc* (New York, 1857), 5; ‘Il sera indispensable d'éviter, dans l'exécution, cette manière ridicule et de mauvais goût de retarder avec exagération le frappement des notes de chant longtemps après celles de la basse, et de produire ainsi, d'un bout à l'autre d'un morceau, des effets de syncopes continues. Dans une mélodie lente écrite en notes de longues durée, il est d'un bon effet, surtout au premier temps de chaque mesure ou en commençant chaque période de phrase, d'attaquer le chant après la basse, mais seulement avec un retard presque imperceptible.’
taste. It is obvious that the frequency with which the device was introduced, and the apparently exaggerated time lapse between the melody note and the corresponding note of the accompaniment, created in the playing of some pianists very noticeable and monotonous syncopations. How these practices actually sounded, however, cannot be determined with certainty.

A correlation between this and practices in singing is evident in the rules of the nineteenth-century singing teacher Manuel García (1805-1906). In his *New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London, 1857), García advised that the insertion of a rest, resulting in the dislocation of the melody from the accompaniment, enhances dynamic changes in certain types of repeated figures:

The *forte* should answer to the *forte* in energetic passages; in graceful ones, on the contrary, the *piano* should follow the *forte*. Every transition from one degree of strength to another, produces a marked effect; only when a *pianissimo* follows, it should be separated from the *forte* by a slight rest, striking the note an instant after the bass... This rest affords relief after loud notes, and prepares us for seizing all effects, however delicate, that follow, - especially if the first consonant that ensues after the rest is produced with vigour. 28

García also provided an annotated example (Fig. 2.4) from Rossini’s *Otello*. His advice to ‘strike the C after the bass’ must refer to the beginning of the word ‘consolar’. The similarity between this expressive vocal technique and dislocation in piano playing is clear. It is evident that García considered such practices to be different to those of metrical rubato because he discusses them in separate sections.

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In Germany during the mid-nineteenth century, the use of dislocation was certainly being positively advocated in some circles. Discussing ways of emphasizing melody notes, Sigmund Lebert and Ludwig Stark mention dislocation in their influential *Grosse theoretische-praktische Klavierschule* (1858), explaining that:

one is allowed, and even should in most cases, play the melody notes imperceptibly later than the accompaniment, which leads to a kind of “arpeggio”.

This reference to ‘a kind of arpeggio’ suggests that Lebert and Stark recognized a distinction between dislocation and arpeggiation. Dislocation produced the effect of arpeggio, but was strictly speaking a different technique; however, it is difficult to appreciate how such apparently imperceptible delays would have been perceived in reality.

Furthermore, the practice of dislocation can be traced back to a much earlier era. Documentary evidence shows that by at least the end of the seventeenth century, lutenists

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29 Ibid., 55.
30 S. Lebert and L. Stark, *Grosse theoretische-praktische Klavierschule für systematischen Unterricht nach allen Richtungen des Klavierspiels vom ersten Anfang bis zur höchsten Ausbildung*, 3 parts (Stuttgart, 1858), 3; ‘man darf also und soll sogar in den meisten Fällen 1) die Melodie unmerklich später anschlagen, als die Begleitung, was eine Art Harpeggio bewirkt...’
often separated a melody and bass note for special expressive effect. The French theorist
and lute teacher Perrine (b. 17th century) notated this effect, calling it *harpègement* or
*séparation*, in his *Pièces de luth en musique* (Paris, 1680) cited in Figures 2.5 a and
2.5 b. Perrine states that 'the oblique line drawn between two notes [Fig. 2.5 a] signifies
that it is necessary to play one after the other.\(^{32}\)

31 Perrine, *Pièces de luth en musique* (Paris, 1680); facs. repr. (Genève, Minkoff, 1982).
32 Ibid., Introduction, 6; 'La ligne obliquement tirée entre les notes comme [see above example]
signe qu'il les faut toucher l'une après l'autre.
33 Ibid., 6.
And during the late-seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, harpsichordists also made this type of dislocation apparently sparingly, considering it an invaluable expressive device.

In his *Pièces de clavecin* (1713), François Couperin gave a pictorial explanation for an ornament called the *suspension* (Fig. 2.6). Later, in his *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (1717), Couperin advised:

"As to the suspension, it must only be used in slow pieces of tender character. The duration of the silence preceding the note which is thus marked must be left to the good taste of the performer."

Furthermore, he explains that:

"at the times when the stringed instruments swell their sound, the suspension of those [sounds] of the harpsichord relate to the ear (by a contrary effect) the desired result."

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35 F. Couperin, *L'Art de toucher le clavecin* (Paris, 1717); repr. (Genève, 1986), 18; 'A l’égard de la suspension! elle n’est gueres usitée que dans les morceaux tendres, et lents. Le silence qui précède [sic] la note sur laquelle elle est marquée doit être réglé par le goût de la personne qui exécute.'
36 Ibid., 16; '... dans les occasions où [sic] les instrumens à archet enflent leurs sons, la suspension de ceux du clavecin semble (par un effet contraire) retracer à l'oreille la chose souhaitée.'
It is apparent that, at this time, dislocation in harpsichord playing was intended to create an impression of dynamic nuance that was, strictly speaking, impossible to achieve by any other means.

Fig. 2.6 Couperin, pictorial explanation of the suspension.\textsuperscript{37}

In the 1724 and 1731 editions of his \textit{Pièces de clavecin}, Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764) gave a similar pictorial representation for the suspension. By the middle of the eighteenth century, particularly in France, dislocation seems to have become a mannerism in keyboard playing. The composer Pierre-Claude Foucquet (c. 1694-1772) in his \textit{Second livre de pièces de clavecin} (Paris, 1750-51) states that ‘in all pieces of a gracious or tender execution, one should play the note of the bass, before that of the

melody, without altering the beat, which produces a suspension on each note of the melody. 38

Dislocation was also prescribed for use in oration. In *A Course of Lectures on Elocution* (London, 1762) Thomas Sheridan (b. 18th century) advises that:

> in all speeches and harangues that are more loose, and free from fetters of measure, this circumstance has given the speaker such power over the pauses, as, judiciously used, may contribute much to the main point of view, that of strongly inculcating his meaning. For by this means, he may always proportion his pauses to the importance of the sense, and not merely to the grammatical structure of the words in sentences, making like pauses to all of like structure, without distinction. For instance, if there be any proposition or sentiment which he would enforce more strongly than the rest, he may either precede it by a longer pause than usual, which will rouze attention, and give it the more weight when it is delivered; or he may make a longer pause after it is closed, which will give time for the mind to ruminate upon it, and let it sink deeper into it by such reflection; or according to the importance of the point, he may do both. He may go still farther, and make a pause before some very emphatical word, where neither the sense nor common usage would admit of any; but this liberty is to be used with great caution. For as such pauses excite uncommon attention, and of course raise expectation, if the importance of the matter be not fully answerable to such expectation, it will occasion disappointment and disgust. This liberty therefore is to be seldom taken, and never but where something extraordinary is offered to the mind, which is likely to be attended with an agreeable surprise. For pauses of this sort put the mind into a state of suspense, which is ever attended with an uneasy sensation, and for which it will always expect to have compensation made, by a greater degree of pleasure, than it otherwise could have had. 39

The similarities between the Baroque styles of dislocation outlined in this and the references above are clear. Surprisingly, however, many late-eighteenth century writers

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were silent on the subject. In their influential pedagogical works, both C.P.E. Bach\textsuperscript{40} and Daniel Türk\textsuperscript{41} discuss metrical rubato but neither mentions the \textit{suspension}, or instances where dislocation would be appropriate. The same is true of many early-nineteenth-century writers. Perhaps the practice had become so much the ‘norm’ that it needed no discourse.

On the other hand, some early-nineteenth-century references to articulation signs such as the portato or slurred staccato, provide strong evidence that the delaying of melody notes achieved by dislocation between the left and right hands was desirable for expressive purposes. For example, in his \textit{Méthode du piano du conservatoire} (c. 1804) Louis Adam provides the example in Figure 2.7 and gives the following advice concerning the portato:

\begin{quote}
One must not jab at the key, but only lift the finger; this manner of detaching adds much to the expression of the melody and is sometimes made with a little retard on the note which one wishes to express thus.\textsuperscript{42}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{40}C.P.E., \textit{Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen}, vol.i (Berlin, 1753, rev. 2nd edn. 1787), vol.ii (Berlin, 1762, rev. 2nd edn. 1797); facs. repr. of 1st edns., incl. revs. of 1787 as a separate section (Leipzig, 1787); trans. and ed. W.J. Mitchell as \textit{Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments} (New York, 1949).

\textsuperscript{41}D.G. Türk, \textit{Klavierschule oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende mit kritischen Anmerkungen} (Leipzig and Halle, 1789); 2nd enlarged edn. (Leipzig and Halle, 1802), trans. R.H. Haggh as \textit{School of Clavier Playing} (Lincoln-Nebraska, 1982).

\textsuperscript{42}L. Adam, \textit{Méthode du piano du conservatoire} (Paris, 1804), 156; ‘On ne doit \textit{nullement piquer la touché}, mais seulement lever le doigt; cette manière de détacher ajoute beacoup à l’expression du chant, et se fait quelquefois avec un petit retard de la note qu’on veut exprimer ainsi.’
And in his *Metodo per clavicembalo* (1811), Francesco Pollini provided the illustration in Figure 2.8 noting that at the appearance of portato passages in music of a cantabile character, a little delay of the melody note ‘contributes not a little to the expression’.

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43 Ibid., 156.
44 F. Pollini, *Metodo per clavicembalo* (Milano, 1811), 59; ‘Un piccolo ritardo della Note segnate in quest’ultima maniera contribuirà non poco all’espressione di una frase cantabile, como per esempio.’
It is, however, possible that Pollini considered this style of playing only suitable where the portato sign was marked. Elsewhere, he warns:

Take particular care to see that the two hands move well together and that the notes to be played with the right hand are as a rule always struck precisely over those of the left hand to which they correspond. Such care will result in a continually equal tempo, and a strong, masterful performance. 46

From the evidence cited above the correlation between Brée’s description of dislocation and much earlier references is clear. She suggests that dislocation is to be made in order to achieve some particular heightened expressive effect by playing a melody note somewhat later than the corresponding note of the accompaniment. Notably, she does not

46 Ibid., 100; ‘Metta particolare attenzione, acciò le due mani vadano bene unite, e le Note da eseguirsi colla mano dritta siano per massima sempre precisamente battute sopra quelle della sinistra cui appartengono. Una continua eguaglianza di tempo, una robusta e maestrevole esecuzione saranno il risultato di tale avvertimento.’
mention cases where the melody note precedes the accompaniment, even though, according to Merrick, Leschetizky recommended the practice. That aside, her reference is of unquestionable significance, providing solid contemporary written evidence of some of the types of dislocation that can be heard on early recordings, and certainly those of Leschetizky. The recordings therefore validate the practice as general rather than idiosyncratic. But in spite of the detail provided, several matters lack clarity. For example, Brée does not and probably could not describe the myriad possible circumstances where dislocation was applicable, nor could she indicate what extremes of delay between the hands would still be considered in good taste. She used general expressions, leaving their interpretation to the reader who would acquire taste and experience of such matters by listening to the best artists of the day. Here, it is clear that the written text could convey only a basic impression of the practice. In a similar way, Thalberg’s rule cited above, which relies on verbal descriptions such as ‘almost imperceptible’ to quantify the amount of delay, leaves in doubt what was intended.

Furthermore, inconsistencies arise between Brée’s description and her annotated example. For instance, she states that dislocation between melody and bass notes may only occur at the beginning of a phrase and usually (but not always) on important notes and strong beats. However, her illustration shows dislocations at the beginning of every bar without exception. In addition, although the downbeats of each bar might be considered strong but with varying intensity according to position in the phrase or harmonic importance, Brée makes no distinction between them. She could, for example,
have notated multiple or darker dotted lines to differentiate the degrees of delay. On the other hand, too exact an indication might have been considered a hindrance to individual inspiration. Significantly, she also omits to describe in detail the other notes that might be considered important and thus worthy of dislocation. Nor does she make any indication of these in her illustration. With little doubt, Leschetizky considered matters such as harmonic hierarchy very important, as noted by Merrick above.

Recorded evidence

Thus it may be seen that, despite her best intentions, Brée omits some vital information. Fortunately, Leschetizky’s approach to the Chopin Nocturne annotated by Brée is preserved on a piano roll made in 1906. Here, he clearly uses dislocation to create both emphasis and relief. In this respect, the aural evidence corroborates well with Brée’s written text. But the recording also shows that Leschetizky made dislocations much more frequently than is advocated by Brée. An annotated illustration of these is cited in Figure 2.9 below. It shows that in addition to most downbeats, Leschetizky employed dislocation at several other moments in the bar. Often this seems to enhance the expression of poignant sequential melodic figures. Such figures may have been the type of important notes to which Brée alludes; however, her description does not make it clear. This type of larger-scale displacement corresponds with descriptions of metrical rubato

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47 N.B. the annotated examples provided throughout this dissertation are intended as an approximate indication of what can be heard on the recordings. In this chapter, the use of multiple dotted lines indicates a noticeably larger delay between melody and accompaniment.
presented in Chapter 4. They are mentioned here because of the difficulty of separating them from dislocation. In addition, on one occasion in bar 7, playing the melody note before the bass, a technique not mentioned by Brée, effects dislocation.

Another apparent discrepancy arises in Brée’s advice that dislocations ought to be imperceptible, giving the impression that they were hardly to be heard or noticed. By early-twenty-first-century standards, however, many of Leschetizky’s dislocations produce marked gaps. On certain downbeats such as at bars 2 and 4, these are wider than elsewhere. Here, it is obvious that varying time lapses between notes of the melody and accompaniment help create varying shades of intensity. None of these factors are made clear in Brée’s texts. Sceptics might argue that the length of delay could in some way be attributed to the speed of the roll reproduction. But similar time lapses between the left and right hands can also be heard in many acoustic and electrical recordings. Such dislocations were simply part of the current style. Taking into account, for instance, the present penchant for synchronized playing, it is quite possible that what sounds glaring and uncomfortably obvious to auditors now, might have been considered imperceptible or hardly noticeable to late-nineteenth-century ears. Whatever the conclusions, it is clear that Brée’s written text corresponds approximately with Leschetizky’s own practices but significantly fails to convey much of what his recording reveals. In reality Leschetizky made dislocations in many subtle different ways. Without aural evidence to qualify such a description, so many important aspects of the features and frequency of dislocation could not have been appreciated.
The style and frequency of dislocation shown in Figure 2.9 was not exclusive to Leschetizky, as is illustrated in the annotated examples from the same Nocturne, presented below, by pianists from within and outside his circle. For ease of comparison, the dislocations of each pianist are summarized in Figure 2.10. The numbers listed refer to the semiquaver beats in each bar, on which dislocation can be heard.
Fig. 2.10  Comparative table showing dislocation in Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 2 to 9.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bar 2</th>
<th>bar 3</th>
<th>bar 4</th>
<th>bar 5</th>
<th>bar 6</th>
<th>bar 7</th>
<th>bar 8</th>
<th>bar 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leschetizky</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9, 11</td>
<td>1, 11, 12</td>
<td>1, 9, 10, 11, 12</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
<td>1, 11, 12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Forge</td>
<td>1, 9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 9, 12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9, 11, 12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenthal</td>
<td>1, 9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1, 12</td>
<td>1, 7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two of Leschetizky’s students, Frank La Forge and John Powell, recorded the work in 1912 and 1921 respectively. Figures 2.11 and 2.12 show the position of their dislocations made between bars 1 and 9.
Fig. 2.11  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 1/3).
Other pianists not directly associated with Leschetizky, Vlademir de Pachmann and Moriz Rosenthal recorded the work in 1915 and 1936 respectively. Pachmann received the gold medal from the Vienna Conservatory in 1869, and ‘established a career as a supreme Chopin player and became a celebrity throughout Europe and America.’

Rosenthal, too, was highly regarded. He ‘became a pupil of Karol Mikuli, Chopin’s

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assistant in 1872 and in 1875, he moved to Vienna to study with Rafael Jossefy, a Liszt pupil. Figures 2.13 and 2.14 show the placement of their dislocations. The similarities between these and those of the Leschetizky School are clear. Pachmann's recording commences at bar 26 of the work, where the opening material is repeated. For this reason his dislocations have not been included in the comparative table in Figure 2.10 above.

Fig. 2.13 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 26 to 31, Pachmann, acoustic recording, 1915 (CD 1/5).

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50 Ibid., 703.
Though the above pianists made dislocations in subtly different ways, particularly in respect of the degree of delay between bass and melody notes, the underlying principle was the same. From this it is clear that the practice of dislocation was not an idiosyncrasy of a few players, but a general performing practice that had historical precedents and continued for a significant period in the twentieth century.
Brière's description of dislocation is one of few that are affirmative in nature. Others mention the practice, but give the impression that it was to be avoided altogether or, at most, applied very judiciously. Often their advice appears to contradict the evidence in recordings or may be taken to mean something significantly different. A good example of this may be witnessed in the interpretation of a particular reference to Johannes Brahms. The pianist Florence May (1845-1923) reports from her meeting with Brahms in 1871 that 'he particularly disliked chords to be spread unless marked so by the composer.'

May's words give the strong impression that Brahms did not tolerate any separation between notes unless specifically notated. By extension this might include those caused by dislocation of the hands. But Brahms's 1889 recording of a fragment of his Hungarian Dance No. 1 paints quite a different picture. Very careful listening reveals that he made dislocations at the beginning of several bars (CD 1/7, 8, 9, 10, 11). Will Crutchfield has noted that:

Some other facets of Brahms's performance are not indicated in the score. One is playing the left hand slightly before the right (you can't always tell, but where you can, he does this on just about all the accented first beats where the texture is melody/accompaniment – never on big accented chords). This he has in common with almost all of his contemporaries.

This information is significant for two reasons. First, the recording shows that, like so many other late-nineteenth-century pianists, Brahms employed dislocation as a particular expressive device. Secondly and more significantly, May's description does not convey aspects such as dislocation that are vitally important for an understanding of Brahms's

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52 These recordings include a pre-existing transfer from the original wax cylinder and various denoised versions. See J. Berger and C. Nicols, 'Brahms at the piano; an Analysis of Data from the Brahms Cylinder', Leonardo Music Journal (1994), vol. 4, 23-30.
53 Crutchfield, 'Brahms', 14.
performance style. The picture is therefore incomplete; she might only have mentioned the arpeggiation of chords because that was a particular point in one of her lessons. Indeed, she may not have used dislocation, or if she did, Brahms may have made no issue of it. This might also support the notion that dislocation and arpeggiation were considered two separate practices linked only by a superficial resemblance.

The knowledge that Brahms used dislocation is very significant from another point of view. His practice may have impacted on a later generation of pianists who heard him play or whom he taught and nurtured, and who left a legacy of recordings. Their playing could therefore, preserve at least remnants of a Brahmsian tradition. These recordings are examined below.

Other cases provide perplexing examples where, apparently, verbal advice differs from actual practice. This is particularly evident in comparing the references to dislocation by both Camille Saint-Saëns and Raoul Pugno with their own recordings. Saint-Saëns ‘developed into one of the most prodigious musicians of all time’.\(^{54}\) He excelled in both composition and performance and in his youth was compared to Mozart and Mendelssohn. Hans von Bülow rated him ‘as a score reader and all-round musician greater than Liszt’.\(^{55}\) Saint-Saëns seems to have taken particular interest in Chopin’s style of rubato. A description of Chopin’s playing, recounted by the famous singer Pauline Viardot-Garcia (1821-1910) to Saint-Saëns and published in *Le Courier musical* in 1910,

\(^{55}\) Ibid., 265.
gives the impression that a particular practice which shared the characteristics of
dislocation had become a substitute for true metrical rubato:

In the true [metrical rubato], the accompaniment remains undisturbed while the
melody floats capriciously, rushes or retards, sooner or later to find again the support
of the accompaniment. This manner of playing is very difficult, requiring a complete
independence of the two hands; and when some cannot achieve this, they give the
illusion to themselves and to others by playing the melody in time and dislocating the
accompaniment in order to make it fall at the wrong time; or else - and this is the
worst of all - they are content to play the two hands one after the other. It would be a
hundred times better to play everything evenly in time and the two hands together, but
then they would not have the ‘artistic air.’ \(^\text{56}\)

Elsewhere, Saint-Saëns appears to convey the same message:

She [Pauline Viardot] was a great friend of Chopin and she remembered his playing
almost exactly and could give the most valuable directions about the way he
interpreted his works. I learned from her that the great pianist’s (great musician’s,
rather) execution was much simpler than has been generally supposed. It was as far
removed from any manifestation of bad taste as it was from cold correctness. She told
me the secret of the true \textit{tempo rubato} without which Chopin’s music is disfigured. It
in no way resembles the dislocations by which it is so often caricatured. \(^\text{57}\)

Saint-Saëns’s description does seem to correspond with the types of dislocation heard on
early recordings. Furthermore, in his lecture on Early Music given in San Francisco in
1915, he seems again to have criticized the use of dislocation. Impling that the baroque
\textit{suspension} mentioned earlier was used only where indicated by a specific sign, Saint-

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\(^{56}\) C. Saint-Saëns, ‘Quelques mots sur l’exécution des œuvres de Chopin,’ \textit{Le Courier musical}

(Paris, 1913), 222; trans. E.G. Rich in \textit{Musical Memories} (Boston, 1919), 151-2; ‘Grand amie de
Chopin, eile avait conservé de son jeu un souvenir très précis et donnait les plus précieuses
indications sur la manière d’interpréter ses œuvres. Par elle, j’ai su que l’exécution du grand
pianistes (du grand musicien plutôt) était beaucoup plus simple qu’on ne se maniérisme de
mauvais gout que d’une froide correction. Par elle, j’ai connu les secrets du veritable Tempo
rubato sans lequel la musique de Chopin est défigurée et qui ne ressemble en rien aux
dislocations au moyen desquelles on en donne trop souvent la caricature.’
Saëns emphatically denounces the apparently over-frequent use of dislocation in the early-twentieth century:

With the clavecinistes, the multiplicity of grace notes is extreme. As a rule they give the explanation of these at the head of their works, just as Rameau did. I note a curious sign which indicates that the right hand should arrive upon the keys a little after the left. This shows that there was not then that frightful habit of playing one hand after the other as is often done nowadays.\(^{58}\)

More recently, the Chopin scholar Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger has argued that 'this practice, criticized by Saint-Saëns, is clearly recognizable in the recordings of 'renowned' Chopin players of the time, notably Leschetizky, Pugno, Pachmann, Friedman, and to a lesser extent, Paderewski, and Mauryce [Moriz] Rosenthal.'\(^{59}\) But what Eigeldinger has failed to notice or mention is that the practice is also clearly preserved on Saint-Saëns's piano roll of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 made in 1905 (CD 1/12). Figure 2.15 presents an annotated illustration of a segment of his performance. Here, it is clear that Saint-Saëns made many dislocations, sometimes on every quaver beat of the bar. In addition, sometimes the aural impression is that he aligned the melody note with the notional pulse, anticipating the bass note; at others, the bass seems aligned with the pulse. These types of dislocation can be heard throughout the first section and during the recapitulation of the work. Similar dislocations made by Eugene D'Albert are preserved on his 1916 recording of the same work (CD 1/13).

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Saint-Saëns appears to practise precisely what he forbids. How can this glaring inconsistency be explained? It is possible that during the period between making the piano roll in 1905 and the appearance of his Le Courier musical reference in 1910, he changed his mind about the use of dislocation. But this seems highly unlikely.

The answer must surely lie elsewhere. Perhaps the practices he was railing against were of a nature not preserved in recordings. These might include even more frequent dislocations with much wider gaps between the left and right hands. Another explanation might be that when he asked for the two hands to be played together, he meant almost together or more closely together. Yet another explanation may be that dislocation, which had existed alongside metrical rubato, had come to dominate piano playing. Thus, although its use was not altogether inappropriate, some pianists' playing exhibited an imbalance between it and metrical rubato. Whatever the reason for such an anomaly, the fact remains that in this case, written texts and audible evidence do not accord.
That Saint-Saëns may have been describing practices that shared the characteristics of dislocation, but were made in such a way as to have a detrimental effect, is supported by the following reference by Jan Kleczyński in 1879. He opines that the separation of the hands among other things supposedly led to effeminate performances of Chopin’s music:

His [Chopin’s] poetry and sweet melancholy which touch our hearts, injure him in the estimation of foreigners. These have styled him, as Field styled him, a man with the talent of the sick-chamber; they have exaggerated the weak side of his mind, and have instanced certain compositions written under peculiar circumstances. Even amongst ourselves this opinion has its adherents; we cannot too strongly combat it, for it is the cause of a performance diametrically opposed to the sense and meaning of the music. Numbers of school-girls playing Chopin’s music with that which is called feeling, are not aware that there is in it strong and noble matter which they debase and degrade ad. lib. This misnamed feeling has the following characteristics; (1) Exaggeration of the rubato; (2) The turning of the thought upside down, if one may so describe it, by giving the accents to the notes, which should be weak, and vice versa; (3) Striking the chords with the left hand just before the corresponding notes of the melody.  

It cannot be absolutely certain, however, that Kleczyński was not simply criticizing the type of dislocation made by Saint-Saëns, Leschetizky and others. As will be discussed later, he may have been one of many who were trying to eradicate dislocation practices from late-nineteenth-century pianism.

The acoustic recordings made in 1903 of the French pianist, teacher and composer Raoul Pugno provide more fascinating evidence of dislocation used as an expressive device.

Pugno had been a student at the Paris Conservatoire from 1866 to 1869 ‘where he won a premier prix for the piano (1866)’.  


perhaps the leading French pianist of the time... excelling in the music of Mozart, Chopin and Franck.\(^{62}\) A few years after his 1903 recordings, Pugno published a pedagogical work entitled *Les leçons écrites de Raoul Pugno* (1910) translated the following year as *The Lessons of Raoul Pugno*. Pugno tackles many aspects of performance with particular reference to a few of Chopin’s piano pieces including the Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2. Fortunately, this work is one that he recorded and thus there is an opportunity to make direct comparison between his verbal advice and his practice. Like Saint-Saëns, Pugno gives the impression of being completely opposed to the use of dislocation, making it abundantly clear that in the opening bars of this Nocturne, it was not to be tolerated.

Giving the example in Figure 2.16, he states that:

All the first part is in a mood of peacefulness and resignation. It should therefore be played with absolute tranquility. I repeat, and shall repeat again and again: *Keep the two hands well together [sic]*. To hear the C sharps and F sharps of each bar in the left hand preceding the note in the right hand is a thing to make the hair stand on end, and it is wholly anti-musical.\(^{63}\)

Fig. 2.16  Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 1 to 4.\(^{64}\)

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\(^{62}\) Ibid., 592.


\(^{64}\) Ibid., 66.
According to Pugno therefore, absolutely no separation between the right and left hands should occur at the downbeat of each bar in the illustration above. Curiously, however, in his recording made seven years earlier, he unabashedly dislocates each downbeat as well as various other beats in the bars. An annotated illustration of these is cited in Figure 2.17.

Fig. 2.17  Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 1 to 8, Pugno, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 1/14).

Furthermore, he adds the instruction that during bar 6, 'make your hearers wish for the F sharp. You may even isolate it a little by playing it (this is an exceptional thing) after the chord in the left hand.' Figure 2.17 above shows that first of all, this way of isolating a note was not exceptional and occurs at many other points in Pugno’s rendition. Secondly, at the moment in question, Pugno does delay the F sharp in the melody. Here, however, the left-hand chord is arpeggiated, an important aspect that he fails to mention.

65 Ibid., 67.
Pugno's use of dislocations was not confined to this particular Nocturne; he also employs them very frequently in Chopin's Berceuse Op. 57 and to mark sudden soft poignant moments in the coda of Chopin's Valse Op. 34 No. 1. Significantly, where he makes a dislocation between the melody and bass notes on the first beat of bar 274 (repeated at bar 282 an octave lower) in the Valse (Fig. 2.18), his annotation instructs the player to 'Give to this note a sentiment of regret and remoteness.' Pugno achieves this effect very successfully by making a sudden dislocation, yet this obviously indispensable technique could never have been envisaged from his verbal advice alone.

Although Pugno's version of the Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 is much slower and more languid than that of Saint-Saëns, their frequency of dislocation is unmistakably similar. Less obvious, however, are the explanations for the glaring discrepancy between Pugno's written text and actual practice. Like Saint-Saëns, it is possible (though unlikely) that Pugno changed his mind between the time of the recording and the time of writing his The Lessons. It is also possible that his advice was primarily for students who may not

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66 Ibid., 16.
yet have developed the taste required for the artistic use of such expressive devices. In this case, he may have considered it a lesser evil to hear the hands played absolutely together rather than with gaping and inartistically rendered silences. Yet another possibility might be that, as with Saint-Saëns, there is hidden meaning in Pugno’s advice to ‘keep the hands well together’. At present, this expression signifies absolute synchrony between the hands; in truth, he may simply have meant that the hands should not be played so apart as to cause ridiculously wide gaps. Hence, the expression ‘well together’ may mean ‘fairly closely’, instead of ‘absolutely together’. This might explain why, in spite of their verbal advice, dislocation can be heard in both their performances.

Pugno’s and Saint-Saëns’s own dislocations were acceptable to them, and without hearing what it was they found unacceptable, there is no way of appreciating the underlying meaning of the written texts in this matter. Their words give the impression that dislocation was to be employed very sparingly, if at all. However, to modern ears, they seem to use it much more frequently and in a way that sounds highly exaggerated compared with the synchronous style of today. Whatever the reasons for such discrepancies, it is an undeniable fact that a face-value interpretation of their advice would produce an effect completely divergent from that of their recordings. Here, the written text significantly fails to convey what happened in reality.

Several written references during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries document a move away from the use of dislocation in certain musical circles.
Some clarity as to the reasons for this may be found, for example, in the opinion of C.A. Ehrenfechter. The importance of Ehrenfechter’s technical advice is discussed in Reginald Gerig’s *Famous Pianists and Their Technique.* It is clear that his method was considered very important in the late-nineteenth century as is witnessed in the following letter from c. 1895:

*To the Editor—Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*

SIR, - Having seen with interest the letter respecting Herr Ehrenfechter’s “Technical Study in the Art of Pianoforte Playing,” in your issue of November, I should like to say a word in testimony of the highly beneficial results of a course of training on the Deppe principles inculcated by Herr Ehrenfechter, with whom I myself studied for two years, after having had my hands maimed and stiffened by utterly false teaching. My hands rapidly became loose and supple once more, and my touch was altogether altered. I now always base my lessons to my pupils upon Herr Ehrenfechter’s method and with the best results. His method is more especially valuable for teachers and busy professionals, as it is founded upon the few broad rules, which those of ordinary intelligence can work out for themselves.

In the chapter entitled ‘Melody and its Accompaniment’, Ehrenfechter makes reference to the ‘arpeggio manner’. As will be seen subsequently, this terminology seems to have become increasingly used to describe the separation of the hands in dislocation, as well as the arpeggiation of chords. Ehrenfechter states that:

Very often a *melody* and its *accompaniment* are played by the same hand, as in the following example from Beethoven’s Sonata in C sharp minor:

Here the *melody-notes* have to be played with stretched out fingers, yet there is no consequent bad effect because the melody with its lower accompanying note forms a firm interval. Were there a bad effect, i.e., insufficient singing quality, or hardness of tone, this could easily be altered by playing the interval in the arpeggio manner,

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68 Cited in *Musical Opinion and Musical Trade Review*, c. 1895, unpaginated.
although arpeggios may not be indicated by the composer, in which case its adoption can hardly be defended. For some players with small hands the performance of the interval of the ninth as at c may be a simple case of *non possumus*; in that case the arpeggio manner must be employed.  

Although Ehrenfechter’s description refers only to the problems of playing two parts in one hand, the principle of dislocation between accompaniment and melody is clear. Importantly, he gives a clue that such separations could be used to enhance the expressive quality of the melody only and specifically in cases where the pianist was incapable of producing a rounded tone or perhaps when a particular instrument had insufficient tone quality. But even then, Ehrenfechter is reluctant to permit it unless expressly indicated by the composer. Ehrenfechter’s advice was not necessarily new. Many other significant references banishing such practices and encouraging others will be presented in Chapter 3.

No nineteenth-century editions have been found that employ notation such as Brée’s to indicate dislocation. Indeed Leschetizky’s own edition of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 published in Leipzig in 1880, gives no indication of dislocation even though the publisher’s general prefatory remarks imply that the edition preserves Leschetizky’s and his wife’s (Annette Essipoff’s) style:

> The present repertoire - pieces of the esteemed artistic couple, Professor T. Leschetizky and his wife Madame Leschetizky-Essipoff, are given herein exactly as played by them in their concerts everywhere with the greatest effect.  

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In this case the exactness of the notation actually refers to the variants that Leschetizky added to the work and which do accord with his recording. However, Leschetizky did not make any indication of dislocation. No doubt it was considered to be as normal as vibrato or portamento in string playing and singing, and left to individual taste. In any case its use would probably change from performance to performance according to such considerations as the player’s mood, the sonority of the piano and the acoustic of the performance space.

The verbal annotations in certain late-nineteenth-century editions document the negative attitude of some musicians towards the use of dislocation. For example, the Augener edition of Schumann’s piano works contains very enlightening notes concerning various performing practice issues. Regarding Schumann’s Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, the editor Moritz Moskowski states that:

The difficulty of bringing out clearly with one hand two themes moving independently requires a fine feeling for musical phrasing, and a close study of every individual effect. To evade or circumvent this difficulty by means of continual Arpeggio playing has always been considered as one of the most perfunctory styles of which a pianist can be guilty. Yet it would be pedantic to disallow absolutely the use of arpeggios in such cases; and the works of great masters contain examples where the composer has written two parts for one hand, but at such intervals that they cannot possibly be played simultaneously as written. See for example Schumann’s Symphonic Studies No.11. But in the work before us [Warum?] all is playable, even for small hands, and with the exception of the Ninth (A flat to B) in the seventh bar, the simultaneous striking of intervals is required by good taste.72

Here Moskowski is referring to compositions of a polyphonic or canonic nature such as Warum?, where at times two different voices in one hand overlap and therefore need particular emphasis for their delineation. He is completely opposed to the use of arpeggio

for achieving this, apart from when the intervals are too widely spaced to be played together. And he is certainly correct in saying that in *Warum?* all intervals apart from the ninth in bar seven are manageable. It is therefore curious that he chose this work to bring up the point about separation. The reason for this must lie in some manner of playing *Warum?* that was commonly to be heard. In the work, Schumann himself occasionally helps to delineate such compound melodies by decorating certain notes with ornaments, thus emphasizing them in the texture, for example on the second crotchet beat in the right hand in bar 10 (Fig. 2.19), or by notating an acciaccatura anticipation at the point where one voice momentarily finishes and another commences, for example in the right hand between bar 8 and bar 9 (Fig. 2.19). Other places are naturally delineated because one voice is written in syncopation with another in the same hand, for example in the right hand in bar 5 and bar 6 (Fig. 2.19). That leaves only a few instances where no delineation is apparent for places composed of two separate melodies to be played by one hand, for example at bars 35, 38 and 39 (Fig. 2.20). Therefore, even if certain pianists were to have arpeggiated these, they could not have produced anything amounting to continual or exaggerated arpeggiation. It is difficult to appreciate exactly what the editor was complaining about.
Fig. 2.19 Schumann *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3, bars 1 to 16.\(^{73}\)

Fig. 2.20 Schumann *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3, bars 34 to 42.\(^{74}\)

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\(^{74}\) Ibid., 86.
Certain early recordings of Warum? may hold the key to the explanation. These show use of dislocation and arpeggiation in a manner that may have been the stimulus for such censure. Carl Reinecke’s piano roll of the work made in 1905 is of particular significance. During the 1840s, Reinecke’s skills as a pianist and composer were highly regarded in Leipzig, particularly by Mendelssohn, the Schumanns and Liszt. His link there was firmly established around 1860 when he became a Professor at the Conservatory and eventually its director in 1897. Many important musicians studied there during Reinecke’s successful tenure including Edvard Grieg, Hugo Riemann and Felix Weingartner (1863-1942). Reinecke apparently regarded it as his role to ‘perpetuate the example of the Classical composers’ and to be a ‘representative and guardian of tradition’. Indeed tributes, such as the following by Fritz von Bose, a Professor at the Leipzig Conservatory who had direct contact with Reinecke, show the esteem in which some held him:

With the death at Leipzig [sic] on March 10 of Carl Reinecke, the last noteworthy representative of the Mendelssohn-Schumann period, a chapter of musical history has been closed... The thought alone that he first saw the light of the world when Beethoven, Schubert and Goethe were still among the living, and that he was in personal contact with Mendelssohn, and Schumann, inspires a certain feeling of reverence for him... He was an artist of truly aristocratic and fine feeling, one who as pianist and conductor invariably made his own personality subordinate to the work he was interpreting. All who have heard him in his best years play a Mozart concerto, or the C minor of Beethoven, or have seen him conduct a classical symphony in the Gewandhaus, must have received an impression never to be forgotten.  

And according to the article on Reinecke in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (1963), Reinecke roused Mendelssohn’s interest after playing at the Gewandhaus in

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1843, where he remained for three years. Schumann bestowed his esteem upon Reinecke saying ‘you understand me like few others’ (presumably referring to Schumann’s music). Liszt admired Reinecke’s ‘beautiful, soft, legato and singing touch’, and employed him as piano teacher to his daughter.\textsuperscript{77}

Reinecke, of all players, was most likely to have known the style appropriate to Schumann’s works. The most striking element of his rendition of Warum? is the very frequent, almost continual separation between melody and accompaniment by dislocation between the right and left hands. In addition, he arpeggiates compound melodies written in one hand as well as several syncopated chord figures that will be examined in Chapter 3. Reinecke’s dislocations between bars 1 and 12 are annotated below (Fig. 2.21).

Here, on almost every beat, Reinecke’s hands are non-synchronized, giving the effect of continual arpeggiation. The effect is obvious when compared with the much less frequently dislocated performance of Ossip Gabrilowitsch who recorded the work in 1924 (CD 1/17). In this way, it becomes apparent that Moskowski may have applied the term ‘arpeggiation’ in a manner incorporating within it dislocation of the hands. It must surely have been this frequency of separation of notes written in strict vertical alignment against which Moskowski was railing. Yet could the highly respected Reinecke have been considered one of the main sinners? Given the frequency with which Reinecke introduces dislocation, one might expect some mention of it in his collected letters to a student published in 1895,\textsuperscript{78} in which he discusses many other general performing

\textsuperscript{78} Reinecke, \textit{The Beethoven Pianoforte Sonatas}.
practice issues, but this is not the case. Nor are there any verbal descriptions or notational symbols in his edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas.\textsuperscript{79}

Reinecke had a predilection for arranging movements from Mozart's piano concertos. It is indeed fortunate that his arrangement of the second movement, Larghetto, from Mozart's Piano Concerto K 537, is the same work on his only other currently extant piano roll.\textsuperscript{80} Thus there is an invaluable opportunity to compare his musical notation with his practice. Considering the current obsession with faithfulness to musical texts such as 'urtexts', it might be expected that Reinecke's arrangement preserves some of his own practices. He is quite specific, for example, in his use of arpeggio signs, giving the impression that arpeggios are only to be used at the indicated moments. These will be examined in Chapter 3. Bars 1 to 4 and bars 9 to 12, as they appear in Reinecke's arrangement, are cited below (Figs. 2.22 and 2.23). Here, the only apparent separations to be made are between bars 9 and 12, in the form of arpeggiations of widely spaced and richly textured chords in both hands.

\textsuperscript{80} See Appendix A for a catalogue of the other piano rolls of Reinecke.
However, Reinecke’s recording of the Larghetto reveals that throughout these bars, he added arpeggios freely as well as introducing an astonishing number of dislocations of the hands as annotated below (Figs. 2.24 and 2.25).  

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82 Ibid. 2.

83 In fact, Reinecke reordered certain sections in his recording of the *Larghetto*. Thus instead of playing bars 9-16 where they appear in his arrangement, he inserts bars 17-27 after bars 1-8, followed by bars 9-16. For the purpose of this discussion however, bars 9-12 refer to the musical material as it occurs in Reinecke’s arrangement.
Based on this evidence, Reinecke seems to have had a very flexible approach towards the dislocation of melody notes and accompaniment, as well as the addition of notes to, or the subtraction of notes from, the original notation (see bars 1, 9 and 12). Sometimes, as exemplified in bars 2, 3 and 4, dislocations are produced by delaying the right-hand melody note until after the left-hand accompanying chord (played unarpeggiated) is sounded. At other times, there is a significant gap between the right-hand melody note and the final note of the arpeggiated left-hand accompaniment chord, as exemplified in bar 1. And in a similar way, the section from bar 9 to bar 12 preserves examples where a gap is made between the unarpeggiated right-hand chord (embellishing the melody) and the final note of the arpeggiated left-hand accompanying chord. Therefore, in addition to
frequent arpeggiation, Reinecke made around fifteen dislocations of the hands between bars 1 and 4, and a further nineteen between bars 9 and 12.

The implications here are manifold. Reinecke does not seem to have regarded his notation as binding and added much more than was indicated. The musical notation in this case does not appear to indicate dislocation. On the other hand, Reinecke’s practice of delaying melody notes, particularly when marked, as in this case, with portato articulations, is significant. He seems to have had the same regard as Adam and Pollini (cited above) for such notational marks. In this respect, Reinecke’s playing can be seen to preserve a style that had historical precedents. Thus, a strict face-value adherence to Reinecke’s notation without knowledge of the possible hidden meanings, would undoubtedly lead to a performance completely different from his own.

Returning to interpretations of Warum?, it is evident that Reinecke was not alone in employing dislocation in it for expressive purposes. Leschetizky’s famous student, Ignacy Jan Paderewski, made similar ones in his 1912 recording of the work (Fig. 2.26). After lessons with Leschetizky, ‘he had immediate success in Paris, and concert tours throughout Europe and America quickly followed...it is clear from the testimony of musicians and critics that he was an outstandingly imaginative performer.’

In terms of frequency of dislocation, the similarities between Reinecke’s and Paderewski’s recordings of *Warum?* are clear. They both seem to have used dislocation to enhance the expressive quality of melody notes. This was applied not only to the most poignant moments but to almost any part of the bar where it was possible. In other works, Paderewski, like Reinecke, applied dislocation in a variety of ways. The aural effect of such dislocations for listeners now is one of continual syncopation, over and above what is already notated by Schumann, creating curiously disjointed and hesitant effects. A significant inconsistency again appears in the case of Paderewski. In ‘The Best Way to Study the Piano’ (c. 1895), he remarks upon tempo modification, agogic nuance, and rubato, stating that:

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85 A term coined by Riemann in *Der Ausdruck in der Musik* (Leipzig, 1883).
Only too many think that they display a vast deal of feeling if they make frequent ritardandi and long pauses on single notes. I would call this over-sentimentalism simply the abuse of rhythm. The only way to avoid this is to keep strictly as possible to the rhythm and the tempo. Nothing is to be gained by such affectation but distortion of the composer's ideas. Under the same head comes the exaggeration of the rubato, so deplorably frequent in the playing of Chopin. This springs from the same mistaken notion that it adds feeling and character. The only remedy of the fault is to stick closely to both rhythm and tempo.86

Paderewski's advice gives the impression that he deplored the overuse of certain expressive techniques such as alterations of note values or fluctuation of tempo, and would employ them carefully and perhaps only sparsely himself. Like Kleczyński cited earlier, Paderewski apparently considered that such alterations emasculated the music. Furthermore, in an essay entitled 'Tempo Rubato' published in Henry T. Finck's Success in Music and how it is won (1909), Paderewski concludes that 'real knowledge of different styles, a cultured musical taste, and a well-balanced sense of vivid rhythm should guard the interpreter against any abuse. Excess of freedom is often more pernicious than the severity of the law.'87

Though apparently enlightening, this advice gives no tangible indication of the boundaries governing the excesses of freedom around the turn of the twentieth century and particularly for Paderewski. The fact that style and taste are so radically different now makes it difficult, almost impossible, to understand what constituted 'a cultured musical taste' or 'a well-balanced sense of vivid rhythm' one hundred years ago.

Fortunately, the wealth of recordings by Paderewski preserves his style. From these it is

87 I.J. Paderewski, 'Tempo Rubato', A Chapter Published in H.T. Finck, Success in Music and How it is Won (New York, 1909); repub. in R. Stevenson, The Paderewski Paradox (Lincoln, 1992), 32.
clear that he employed devices such as dislocation to a degree which is obtrusive and certainly an ‘excess of freedom’ by modern standards.

Paderewski’s use of dislocation is also particularly noticeable in his playing of Chopin’s works. An annotated example of the first four bars from Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 is cited in Figure 2.27. Here, dislocations occur frequently throughout each bar.

Fig. 2.27 Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, bars 1 to 4, Paderewski, electrical recording, 1930 (CD 1/21).

Compared with the almost completely synchronous style of piano playing at present, the aural effect of such a manner of dislocation is a major distortion of the original rhythms. Paderewski certainly did not adhere exactly, or even closely, to Chopin’s notation.
Perhaps like Saint-Saëns and Pugno, the acceptable and normal boundaries of distortion and exaggeration were much wider for Paderewski than they are at present. In this light some of his conservative advice may be attributed to the desire to halt practices he considered lacking in artistry and skill; practices that are not fully described in written texts or preserved in aural evidence. Ultimately, however, it may be seen that a literal interpretation of Paderewski’s written advice, according to our current understanding of words such as ‘strict’, ‘slight’, ‘affectation’, ‘distortion’, and ‘exaggeration’, gives a confused and significantly false impression of the way he actually played.

It is interesting to compare Paderewski’s recording with Pachmann’s 1915 recording of the same Nocturne (Fig. 2.28, CD 1/22). And Olga Samaroff made similar, though significantly less frequent dislocations in her 1923 recording of the same work (CD 1/23).

Fig. 2.28 Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, bars 1 to 4, Pachmann, acoustic recording, 1915.
Though their dislocations are subtly different in terms of time lapse between melody and accompaniment, the similarities between Paderewski’s and Pachmann’s and, to a lesser extent, Samaroff’s placement and frequency of dislocation are striking. Clearly such practices were a norm of the era.

Paderewski also used dislocation prolifically in compositions of earlier composers such as Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven. Indeed, during the first movement of Beethoven’s *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 2, he dislocates the beginning of almost every bar and every change of harmony (Fig. 2.29).
In complete contrast to Paderewski, his compatriot and fellow student of Leschetizky, Ignaz Friedman makes extremely few dislocations in the same work. His playing sounds markedly synchronized (CD 1/25).
Changing tastes

The move away from the practice of dislocation must surely have been accelerated by the strong advice given in other late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century texts. For example, in his *Klavierschule* (1879), Gustave Damm makes it clear that the separation of the hands was strictly to be avoided, describing this technique as incorrect and faulty. Here, it is worthy of note that the anonymous English translator further denigrated the practice, describing it as one of the 'vicious habits' in piano playing. Damm says:

We once more recommend the strictest observation of the rule we have given... it must be acknowledged that solid instructions in the beginning are of the highest importance for all the future, for it is very difficult, nay, sometimes even impossible, to give up a bad practice that has been easily assumed. We count amongst such bad habits... the absurd manner of touching the keys, when playing with both hands together, so as to make two successive motions where there should be one united motion, which execution produces the impression as if there were syncopes.

In another publication, the *Magazine of Music: Pictorial Pianoforte Tutor* (1891), the annotations of an anonymous editor advise that absolutely no dislocation must be tolerated. Appended to a work in the popular genre entitled *Fairy Revels* by Marian Saunders (Fig. 2.30) is the following notice:

Here the quavers in sixths are to be played very smoothly, with a full soft, singing tone and very exactly with each other. The common and very amateurish fault of playing the first, and any other accented notes of the bar, with the left hand before the right, must be avoided.

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88 N.B. This does not appear in the 1870 edition but is given in both German and English in the 1879 edition.
But at the same time many important and influential professionals were practising this amateurish fault. It appears however that by 1900 some pianists were actively trying to eliminate dislocation and arpeggiation from their playing. Ronald Stevenson (b. 1928) has stated that Ferruccio Busoni was one of the leaders of this trend. In his The Paderewski Paradox he writes:

Improvisation was featured in recitals throughout the 19th century. One of its masters, Ferrucio Busoni (1866-1924), banished it from his programmes because it ‘smacked too much of the circus’ for him. Busoni’s pupil Egon Petri attested that Busoni was the only pianist in Berlin around 1900 who studiously expunged from his pianism the gratuitous arpeggio and bass anticipation of melody. Busoni rightly felt that his chordal playing, attacked from the scapula, was proper to his monumental conception of Bach and late Beethoven. This austere style had many epigones, even down to our own day. But its now widespread application to Romantic piano literature is a misconception of the Romantic style.92

Proof that Busoni did indeed try to rid certain repertoire of the use of dislocation and arpeggiation is found in notes on ‘Interpretation’ in an accompanying volume to his edition of J.S. Bach’s Das wohltemperierte Klavier (c. 1894). Here, in relation to making

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91 Ibid., 213.
piano transcriptions of Bach’s works originally written for the organ, he advised the player to:

Let the interpretation be on broad lines, full and firm, and rather hard than too tender... Be specially careful to strike all the tones of a (solid) chord together. Arpeggios, or the hasty anticipation of the bass, are of very doubtful taste; firstly, because [they are] contrary to the character of the organ; secondly, because they produce the effect of over-exertion. Moreover, such basses lack the necessary weight. For these faults the transcriptions themselves are usually answerable; it is the editor’s business to forestall such awkward difficulties.93

Busoni’s appended examples in Figure 2.31 below show how better to space chords so that practices such as dislocation and arpeggiation may be avoided. It is possible that he only intended this advice to apply to the works of Bach. It appears that he did continue to use dislocation, albeit on far fewer occasions than his contemporaries, in the works of other composers. For example, dislocation can be heard in his 1922 recording of Chopin’s Prelude Op. 28 No.7 (CD 1/26).

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While Busoni was supposed to be actively avoiding the use of dislocation, other pianists noted in Figure 2.3, some among the oldest generation to record, seem already to have been using it very infrequently. One such pianist is Edvard Grieg whose 1903 recordings bring to the fore many questions about his apparent avoidance of dislocation of the hands. Compared with Reinecke or Leschetizky, Grieg’s playing sounds starkly synchronous. Unfortunately, he recorded only his own works. It might have been illuminating to hear him play works of Chopin, Schumann and others, to which dislocation seems to have been most readily applied by some other players. It is possible that in his own music as well as those of more contemporary composers, he made dislocations only where

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94 Ibid., 87.
specifically indicated, leaving freely applied dislocations to specific Classical and Romantic repertoire. Many other players seem to have differentiated between the type of repertoire for which dislocation was or was not appropriate, as can be seen in Figure 2.3 above. However, without audible evidence this is impossible to determine.

Grieg very occasionally makes dislocations in his recordings. In *Remembrances* Op. 71 No. 7 there appears to be a dislocation of the melody note F sharp from the accompanying chord on the first beat of bar 25 (Fig. 2.32). This corresponds with the indicated ‘pp dolce’ and the beginning of a new section. He also makes dislocations on the second beats in bars 30 and 38. In the Finale of his Sonata Op. 7, the only dislocation that can be clearly heard is at the beginning of bar 76, apparently to delineate the change of texture and figuration (Fig. 2.33). There seems also to be a dislocation of the last crotchet beat in bar 49 of the *Humoresque* Op. 6 No. 2 and another at the beginning of bar 72 in *Bridal Procession* Op. 19 No. 2.

**Fig. 2.32** Grieg *Remembrances* Op. 71 No. 7, bars 24 and 25, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903, (CD 1/27).
The evidence above shows clearly that Grieg made dislocations much less frequently than many of his contemporaries. Why he avoided it in some of the highly expressive and lyrical pieces that he recorded remains conjectural; however a clue may lie in his apparent desire to safeguard against over-interpretation. According to Per Dahl:

He wanted pianists to play the music as it was written and not to over-interpret it. For that reason he absolutely fumed over what he called the "rubato influenza." ... when one hears Grieg's own recordings of his music one understands this: they are by no means free of rubato, but everything is kept within a relatively strict framework with no exaggerations of any kind.\(^95\)

In this light, it is probable that Grieg found the current prolific use of dislocation, amongst other things, undesirable for his own music, perhaps for all repertoires, and avoided it altogether. On the other hand, his attitude to others' use of such devices may have been entirely different. In his 'Personal Recollections of Grieg', Percy Grainger remarked that 'no words could adequately enough tell the extent of his broadmindedness and generosity on artistic matters.'\(^96\) And further to this, Grainger recalls that Grieg was

\(^{96}\) P. Grainger, 'Personal Recollections of Grieg', The Musical Times (1907), vol. 48, 720.
very flexible even with the performance of his own works. In 1906, Grieg commented to Grainger, ‘Mind you! You don’t play the folksongs according to my intentions! But don’t alter a thing. I love individuality."\(^{97}\)

In that case, perhaps Grieg would also have approved of the playing of the pianist Landon Ronald who made the earliest recording of his *Bridal Procession* Op. 19 No. 2 in 1900. Ronald plays the first part in a synchronized manner. However in the very soft section from bars 40 to 48, he broadens the tempo considerably and dislocates the left and right hand. This gives a very heightened expressiveness to the melody notes at the beginning of bars 44 and 45 (Fig. 2.34). Grieg, on the other hand, makes no dislocations at this point in his recording of the work, or in his two piano rolls of it made in 1906.

**Fig. 2.34** Grieg *Bridal Procession* Op. 19 No. 2, bars 43 to 45, Ronald, acoustic recording, 1900, (CD 1/29).

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Ronald also makes dislocations in his recording of Grieg's *Dance Caprice* Op. 28 No. 3 in 1900 (CD 1/30). These enhance the characteristic dance rhythm effects. Dislocations are also heard in his 1900 recording of a fragment of Chopin's *Polonaise* Op. 40 No. 1. Ronald's use of dislocation is not reserved for solo works; they can be heard to very expressive effect in the piano accompaniments of songs in recordings made in 1905 with the soprano Adelina Patti. His dislocations in the introduction to Mozart's 'Voi che sapete' from *Le nozze di Figaro* (CD 1/31) are a good case in point. Quite clearly, dislocation was so much part of Ronald's style that he used it wherever he considered appropriate, regardless of composer or repertoire.

There is little evidence to suggest that Grieg would have disapproved of such practices, providing they were sparingly applied. On the other hand, what Grieg thought of the dislocation practices of pianists such as Reinecke, Leschetizky and others cited above, with whom he must have had a certain amount of contact, remains unknown.

In Grieg's case, the recorded evidence is not wide-ranging enough to reach firm conclusions. He may, like other pianists noted in Figure 2.3, have been selective in his employment of dislocation, saving it for certain repertoire. This type of judicious use is also exemplified in the playing of Alfred Grünfeld who enhances the beauty of Schumann's *Träumerei* Op. 15 No. 7 with many dislocations in his 1913 recording (CD 1/32). He also makes them in the arrangement of Wagner's *Liebestod*. And in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 32 No. 2 dislocation is made with the frequency exhibited in
some of Paderewski's and Pachmann's recordings. Yet in repertoire such as Bach and the faster movements of other composers, he makes no dislocations at all.

Francis Plante makes dislocations only at a few moments in his 1928 recordings. In Chopin's Etude Op. 25 No. 1 dislocations mark the points of climax. In Chopin's Etude Op. 25 No. 2 he makes a dislocation on the first note of the piece, heightening its expression and giving poise to the opening of the movement (CD 1/33). He also makes dislocations in Brahms's arrangement of Gluck's Gavotte. But in other repertoire, particularly of a faster and more rhythmically active nature, dislocation is noticeably absent.

The emerging pattern is that around the turn of the twentieth century, pianists made dislocations where they felt it appropriate to enhance expression, creating accents, colours and other poignant effects. One is reminded of Pugno's words cited above that one should make the hearer wish for the note. Current taste is so far removed from that of a century ago that, to our ears, dislocations, particularly when made very frequently or habitually, as in the playing of Leschetizky, Reinecke, Saint-Saëns, Paderewski, Pachmann and others, sound manneristic. However, it is obvious that a century ago many pianists employed it in a similar way to dynamic shading and accentuation, to enhance the character of specific repertoire.
In the early years of the twentieth century some pianists gave the strong impression of wanting to eradicate completely the practice of dislocation. In his *Piano Questions Answered* (1909), Josef Hofmann firmly advised against its use:

My teachers have always scolded me for playing my left hand a little before my right. It is probably a very bad habit, but I do not hear it when I do it. How can I cure it?

This "limping," as it is called, is the worst habit you can have in piano playing, and you are fortunate in having a teacher who persists in his efforts to combat it. There is only one way to rid yourself of this habit, namely, by constant attention and closest, keenest listening to your own playing. You are probably mistaking it when you say that you do not "hear" it when you "limp"; it seems more likely to me that you do not listen. 98

In 1922, Mark Hambourg advised strongly against the use of dislocation in his *How To Become a Pianist*. Discussing common mistakes and providing the annotated diagrams in Figures 2.35 and 2.36 below, he describes dislocation as 'Another Blunder', saying:

Now comes along the temperamental student, burning with ardour for the beauty of the music, longing to make the noble chords of some fine melody speak its message! What special pitfall lies ready to entrap his zealous endeavours? Why, in his enthusiasm that the melody in both hands should be properly brought out, he gets one hand playing after the other! Only a fraction of a second after the left hand does the right hand strike, but in that loss of simultaneousness of sound the whole grandeur after which the performer is striving will be dispelled in the irritating effect of one part of the harmony always reaching the ear at a slight interval after the other. This is the most frequent failing amongst very musical people who enjoy tremendously what they are playing; and especially does it occur with them in slow movements, when they will arpeggio the chords between the two hands so much that it sounds to me like drawling in speech, or even like stuttering. These enthusiasts lose their sense of symmetry of the sound in their intense pleasure over its component parts, and it is hard that the very virtue that lies in their love of the music can thus lead them into danger. 99

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Significantly, there is a direct correlation between the dislocation of the hands for the unison passages in bars 1 and 2 in the example above, and Leschetizky's dislocation of similar figures in bars 1, 3 and 5 in Mozart's Fantasia K 475 (Fig. 2.37). Hambourg seems, at least in verbal advice, to have been directly opposed to the style in which his teacher Leschetizky excelled.

100 Ibid., 57.
101 Ibid., 57.
Later, in 1930, the pianist Walter Gieseking confirms that dislocation was still being heard in the playing of many pianists; he called for its total abolition, saying:

A faulty and uneven rendering of chords is an error very often committed, even by well known concert pianists. How often in our concerts halls we hear pianists neglecting to sound their two hands exactly together. It is remarkable that even amateurs criticize an orchestra, if chords are not played precisely together; whereas on the concert platform this grievous offence against all musical feeling is nearly always overlooked. Both hands must strike the keys precisely at the same moment. This may not be easy, but it is a means of enormous importance to expression; and the concert player would do well to study it clearly.\textsuperscript{102}

It may not have been easy for some pianists to strike the keys simultaneously because this would have gone against their usual practice, particularly in highly expressive music. The difficulty may be more easily understood by reversing the situation. Pianists today find it abnormal to make separations between the hands because they are accustomed to an entirely different expressive practice that has as its basis synchrony of the hands.

It is clear from the above references, that dislocation of the hands in piano playing was a performing practice that persisted in a prolific manner well into the twentieth century.

\textsuperscript{102} W. Gieseking and K. Leimer, \textit{Modernes Klavierspiel nach Leimer-Gieseking} (Mainz, 1930); trans. as \textit{The Shortest Way to Pianistic Perfection} (Bryn Mayr, 1932); repr. in \textit{Piano Technique} (New York, 1972), 56.
Although its decline is signalled in late-nineteenth-century written texts, its continued use was widespread. Eventually, influential pianists like Hofmann, Hambourg and Gieseking actively tried to eradicate it; their own playing can be seen to match their verbal advice. It is apparent however that their influence was not widely felt until the second half of the twentieth century, when the practice seems to disappear.

Yet force of habit remained strong. Despite the strength of their warnings, recorded evidence shows that Hofmann, Hambourg, and Gieseking still occasionally employ dislocation. Hofmann makes a dislocation in bar 6 of Schumann's *Warum?* which enhances the expression of the interval between C flat and F (CD 1/35). Particularly noticeable are his dislocations in bars 1 and 5 of Chopin's Valse Op. 64 No. 2 (CD 1/36). Hambourg makes prolific use of dislocation as is evidenced in his recordings of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1 and Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 recorded in 1921 and 1927 respectively, and particularly during bars 1 to 12 of the second movement, Largo, from Beethoven's Concerto Op. 37 conducted by Malcolm Sargent, recorded in 1929 (CD 1/37). Like others noted above, it is impossible to know why there is such a discrepancy between his verbal advice and his actual practice. Gieseking also occasionally uses dislocation, though not in his 1939 recording of Beethoven's Andante from Sonata Op. 109, nor Brahms's Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 2, works in which it might be expected. But he cannot resist it in the opening section of Mendelssohn's *Andante and Rondo Capriccioso* recorded much later in 1956. Here dislocation enhances the beauty and poignancy of the music, giving an importance to certain melody notes (CD 1/38).
The more sparing use of dislocation evident in the playing of Hofmann and Gieseking cannot be said to be entirely representative of early-twentieth-century style; the legacy of recordings of several other pianists shows clearly that it survived very healthily until the 1950s. The legendary pianist Alfred Cortot was still using dislocation in his 1934 recordings of Chopin’s Preludes Nos. 7, 13, 15 and 17 Op. 28 and his 1949 recording of Chopin’s Berceuse Op. 57. Other recordings are of particular interest since they can be closely linked with late-nineteenth-century pianists, particularly Brahms and Clara Schumann. For example, the recordings of pianists such as Ilona Eibenschütz, Adelina de Lara and Fanny Davies, all of whom studied with Clara Schumann and Brahms, exhibit the use of dislocation for great expressive effects. The same is true of Carl Friedberg and Etelka Freund, both of whom were admired by Brahms, Freund particularly so.

Ilona Eibenschütz, the pianist entrusted with the premieres of many of Brahms’s piano pieces, makes dislocations in the middle section of his Ballade Op. 118 No. 3 recorded in 1903, throughout his Waltz Op. 39 No. 2 and at the beginning of the Intermezzo Op. 119 No. 2 recorded in a live broadcast in 1952 (CD 1/39). Though the taste for such practices had already changed during the fifty-year lapse between her recordings, Eibenschütz does not appear to have changed her ways. This is also evident in comparing her 1903 recording of Brahms’s Waltz Op. 39 No. 15 with her 1962 recording of the same work (CD 1/40 and 41).
Adelina de Lara employs dislocation at the beginning of Brahms’s Rhapsody Op. 79 No. 2, and Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1 both recorded in 1951 (CD 1/42 and 43) as well as Schumann’s Fantasiestücke Op. 12 No. 1 and No. 2, Kinderszenen Op. 15 No. 1 and Arabeske Op. 18 recorded in 1951. Although she was very old when the recordings were made and there are no earlier examples with which to compare her playing, it must be assumed that she continued playing in much the same style as her younger days. Of particular interest is her performance of Schumann’s Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, which exhibits some similar traits of dislocation to the discredited style of Reinecke and Paderewski (CD 1/44).

Fanny Davies’s use of expressive dislocation is particularly evident in her 1929 recording of the first movement - ‘Von fremden Ländern und Menschen’ - from Schumann’s Kinderszenen Op. 15 (CD 1/45). She certainly used it to great effect in the solo sections between bars 12 and 18, bars 59 and 66, and the lyrical ‘Andante espressivo’ section commencing at bar 156, in the first movement of Schumann’s Piano Concerto Op. 54 with the Royal Philharmonic Society Orchestra conducted by Ernest Ansermet, recorded in 1928 (CD 1/46).

Etelka Freund’s recordings provide a plethora of examples of dislocation. She makes them throughout her 1951 recording of Brahms’s Sonata Op. 5. In the first movement she seems to have made calculated choices as to its application. For example, she does not make dislocations in the crashing accented chords between bar 1 and bar 6, but during the very lyrical section which follows, dislocations greatly enhance the beauty and poignancy
of the chords in the right hand at the beginning of bars 7, 8 and 12 (CD 1/47). In another extraordinary example, Freund makes very continuous dislocations in the opening of the second movement, Andante espressivo, of the same Sonata, greatly enhancing the feeling of *espressivo* (CD 1/48).

If Brahms had disliked dislocation, his approval of the playing of the above-mentioned pianists, particularly Freund, is inexplicable. Interestingly, Freund also studied with Busoni in 1900 (as attested in letters from him to her brother, Robert Freund) when Busoni was actively expunging dislocation and arpeggiation from his own playing. It is therefore surprising that Freund’s playing retains so much of this style. She must have preferred the type of expression possible with the use of dislocation, despite the practice of others around her. From 1910 to 1936, Freund stopped giving concerts in order to raise a family, but it appears that during the time lapse she did not change her mind and adopt the newer synchronized style.

Dislocation can also be heard to very expressive effect in her playing of Brahms’s Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 2, and Capriccio Op. 76 No. 1, both recorded in 1950; Intermezzo Op. 116 No. 2 recorded in 1950; and the opening of J.S. Bach’s Prelude in E flat minor recorded in 1957. There are also many pieces where she does not make dislocation. These include movements which are fast or scrupulously require a more synchronized style because of their character.
As late as 1961, another student of Leschetizky, Benno Moiseiwitsch, can be heard frequently playing the left hand slightly after the right in his recording of the third movement from Chopin's Sonata Op. 58. He also occasionally makes dislocations in the reverse order (CD 1/49).

The evidence presented throughout this chapter shows clearly that the practice of dislocation heard in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century recordings was not simply an idiosyncrasy or the habit of a few players, but a general performing practice that can be traced back to an earlier era, and which continued for a significant time during the twentieth century. In this respect, Richard Hudson's claim that 'it was the breaking of hands...that became a special characteristic of the period', needs particular qualification. As has been shown, it is more likely that dislocation had already been a characteristic, not necessarily special, for a long period before the recording era. The recordings of Reinecke, Brahms, Leschetizky, Saint-Saëns and others who, because of their age, must be considered, of all those who recorded, true representatives of pianism during the second half of the nineteenth century show in conjunction with the playing of a younger generation that dislocation was part of an ongoing nineteenth-century tradition. Hudson also concludes that most theorists were against the practice of dislocation. However at least one significant writer who is positive about its use, Malwine Brée, seems to have been overlooked.

103 Hudson, *Stolen Time*, 334.
Other texts, such as Charles Rosen’s *The Romantic Generation* (1995), give perhaps an oversimplified impression of dislocation, making it synonymous with metrical rubato.

Rosen states that:

It is probable that Chopin used the older form of rubato so important to Mozart (as he writes in his letters) and classed as an ornament by late eighteenth-century writers. In this form, the melody note in the right hand is delayed until after the note in the bass. Mozart occasionally wrote this out in slow movements...and it is certain that he played this way in many passages where he did not write it out. We associate this manner of rubato with the early twentieth century, when it was used lavishly by Ignacy Paderewski and Harold Bauer, more sparingly by Josef Hofmann and Moriz Rosenthal, but it dates back at least to 1750 if not before, and was already called rubato, or *temps dérobé*.

Despite the fact that dislocation and metrical rubato share the common feature of expressiveness achieved by the separation of notes of the melody and accompaniment, it appears that dislocation was a more localized occurrence. It seems that it was not intended necessarily to bend the rhythm of the melody, but to give to particular notes an expressive emphasis. Metrical rubato, as will be seen in Chapter 4, often included more continual displacement akin to the style written out by Mozart and others and seems to have been intended to give greater rhythmic freedom to the melody line. In any case, without recordings of pianists such as Mozart and Chopin, it is impossible and dangerous to assume their practices are indeed the same as Paderewski’s and Bauer’s or as each other’s.

While some written texts from around the turn of the twentieth century confirm and affirm the use of dislocation, many fail to mention it at all. Others are disparaging and call for its studious avoidance; however, as early recordings show, the effect of what is

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promoted in these texts was probably not fully felt until the second half of the twentieth century. The information in such texts cannot be said to be completely representative of the truth. It is also evident that other texts fail to preserve many of the important characteristics of dislocation and present significant anomalies especially when compared with recorded evidence. This undermines the value of these texts as a means of fully appreciating the practice. With certainty, dislocation was an intrinsic performing practice in the late-nineteenth century that had historical precedents and continued in an unbroken tradition in the early-twentieth century.
Chapter 3

Unnotated arpeggiation

At the beginning of the twentieth century arpeggiation was as intrinsic to piano playing as dislocation. Early recordings show that many pianists frequently made unnotated arpeggiations or played the notes of chords separately, where not specifically indicated in the musical text. These arpeggiations caused the separation of vertically aligned material comprising two or more notes, variously described in historical texts as double notes, octaves and chords. The speed of such arpeggiations varied apparently according to function, mood and context. Early recordings also show that certain pianists made unnotated arpeggiations far less frequently, or not at all. This more synchronized style of playing, however, does not appear to have become the rule until the second half of the twentieth century.

The addition of unnotated arpeggiations seems to have been considered most appropriate in slower expressive movements of Classical and Romantic repertoire; less so in late-nineteenth-century and contemporary repertoire, or in music requiring a clean attack and rhythmic incisiveness. However, there are times when the addition of an arpeggio gives a renewed impetus to the music. Pianists arpeggiated one or other hand, or both together, and most commonly, the notes were played from the lowest to the highest note. In some cases, both hands spread the notes simultaneously; in others, the spread commenced with the lowest note in the left hand and proceeded continuously to the highest note in the
right hand. The aural effect of such arpeggiations is that sometimes the highest note in the chord (often the melody note) is aligned with a notional pulse; the accompanying note or notes therefore anticipate it. At other times, the lowest note in the chord is aligned with the notional pulse, thus delaying the arrival of the highest note. Where arpeggiation occurs in conjunction with dislocation of the hands or tempo modification, it is not always easy to discern where any of the notes lie in relation to the pulse. In such cases, the practice contributes to a sense of ambiguity, softening the edges of the rhythm and texture. The main difference between arpeggiation and dislocation is that separation of the hands or playing the hands one after the other is not the underlying principle. In addition, the historical documentation below reveals that it almost certainly stems from a different root.

Unnotated arpeggiation is preserved on recordings made between the late-nineteenth century and at least the 1950s. In general, those pianists who used dislocation also made use of unnotated arpeggiation. Thus, the table in Chapter 2 (Fig. 2.3) provides examples of it in the recordings of Brahms, Saint-Saëns, Reinecke, Leschetizky, Ronald, Pugno, Pachmann, Paderewski, Powell, La Forge, Rosenthal, and others.\(^1\) It seems that these pianists arpeggiated various chords in order:

- to emphasize melody notes by delaying them and setting them apart from the harmonic accompaniment
- to provide a gentle cushion of sound supporting the melody note
- to give poignant harmonies a softened or a strengthened effect

\(^1\) See Chapter 2, pages 30-33.
• to enliven the momentum and propel the music forward
• to enrich the sound or texture of the musical material
• to mark the limits of phrases
• to delineate compound melodies played simultaneously in one hand

Considering its widespread employment, there is a curious lack of detailed written documentation about unnotated arpeggiation from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Some texts refer to its use, but describe it only in general terms; others advise its extremely judicious employment or absolute avoidance, branding it as a perfunctory practice resulting in oversentimentality. Nevertheless, such warnings do not seem to have prevented many leading pianists from continuing to use the technique well into the twentieth century. As in the case of dislocation, a significant gulf appears to exist between written advice and practice.

In our own times, the use of unnotated arpeggiation is generally limited to performances on plucked keyboard instruments such as harpsichords, virginals and spinets where it is accepted as an appropriate historically-justified practice. Players of such instruments often arpeggiate chords to fill out and enhance the sound of the instrument in solo repertoire and in the realization of figured bass accompaniments. This technique provides a variety of colours and textures which are seldom indicated by the composer, but may be implied in the character of the composition, or (where they exist) the words. These considerations influence the speed of arpeggiations and their shape along with such
factors as the resonance quality of the instrument and the acoustic and size of the performing space.

Unnotated arpeggiation has been used much less frequently, or not at all, in live and recorded piano playing during the past forty or fifty years. Such practices have become discredited to the extent that most modern pianists are extremely hesitant about, or would never even consider, introducing arpeggios unless expressly indicated by the composer. This present-day penchant for synchronized chord playing is the reason why some early recordings, with their abundant chord spreading, sound foreign and perturbing.

Unnotated arpeggiation is simply not part of modern mainstream pianistic technique and on occasion, its use is met with fierce opposition, as exemplified in the criticism of Melvyn Tan’s ‘rolling’ of the first chord of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto Op. 58, cited in Chapter 2. Even certain informed texts advise against such practices in spite of strong supporting historical evidence. For example, in The Romantic Generation (1995), Charles Rosen writes:

Brahms...arpeggiated most chords when he played, according to contemporary witnesses, but I do not suggest this as a guide for performing his works.3

Rosen’s justification for advising against arpeggiation is unclear. If Brahms arpeggiated most chords, is it not reasonable to consider this a highly legitimate Brahmsian performing practice?

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2 See Chapter 2, page 25.
3 Rosen, The Romantic Generation, 413.
Written texts

Some late-nineteenth-century written texts advise that the addition of arpeggiation where the composer has not notated it is indispensable, and outline its function. Others, such as the highly detailed pedagogical texts by Christiani, Lussy and Riemann fail to mention it. Among those who discuss unnotated arpeggiation is Malwine Brée, whose descriptions of Leschetizky’s dislocation practice were noted in Chapter 2. In 1902 she affirms its importance stating that: 4

One must not always arpeggiate only such chords as are too wide-spread to play “flat”. An arpeggio is also in order where a tender or delicate effect is desired. In such cases the right hand plays arpeggio, while the left strikes its chord flat; i.e.,

![Musical notation](image1)

Conversely, the chord sounds energetic, and yet not hard, when the right hand strikes its tones simultaneously and the left arpeggiates; but this must be a very swift arpeggio; e.g.,

![Musical notation](image2)

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An arpeggio may also be employed where the polyphony is to be brought out more distinctly; but only at important points, for instance where one part ends and the other begins at the same time; as in Schumann's Romanze:

Schumann's Romanze.

Similarly in a canon:

Padarewski, Thème varié.

Elsewhere Brée notes that:

The octave marked * is arpeggio'd, and so played that the lower bass tone exactly coincides with the first beat, while the upper bass tone is struck together with the right-hand chord, producing an extremely slight retardation.

Schumann, Grillen

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5 Ibid., 70-1.
Here, in a concise manner, Brée describes certain types of unnotated arpeggiation that would undoubtedly have been familiar to, and approved by, Leschetizky. These are summarized as follows:

- Arpeggiations can be made in places other than where the spacing of a chord is too wide for the notes to be played simultaneously.
- The arpeggiation of a chord in the right hand played against an unarpeggiated chord in the left hand creates a tender or delicate effect.
- The arpeggiation of a chord in the left hand played against an unarpeggiated chord in the right hand creates an energetic effect without harshness.
- Arpeggiation can be used to delineate certain important moments in polyphonic or canonic music, showing where one part finishes and another simultaneously commences.
- Arpeggiation can be used to create a slight retardation of the upper voice or chord, by aligning the lowest note with the notional pulse, and playing the remaining notes slightly later.

Though informative, Brée’s text leaves several factors unclarified. For example, in playing an arpeggiated chord in one hand against an unarpeggiated chord in the other, or in making arpeggiations in general, the positioning of the chords compared with the notional beat is unspecified. Here, it is possible to align one or other hand with the beat, or to make arpeggiations across the beat, yet Brée fails to distinguish between them. She is more explicit, as in the case of the final example, where she clearly states that the lowest bass note is aligned with the beat. In this particular case, arpeggiation occurs
between the lowest note in the left hand and the remaining note played simultaneously with the unarpeggiated chord in the right hand. The example may provide a clue about how to play other passages that combine arpeggiated and unarpeggiated chords, but this cannot be verified. Apart from one instance, Brée also fails to comment on the speed of arpeggiations or the pattern of distribution of notes, that is, lowest to highest or some alternative shape.

Despite these deficiencies, Brée's text confirms that Leschetizky considered unnotated arpeggiation important. This fact is further supported in Frank Merrick's reminiscences cited in Chapter 2. Merrick recalls Leschetizky's advice that chords should be spread out in one hand, or that the interval of the seventh should be broken because of the poignant dissonance, explaining that 'in those days people regarded these things as intensifying expression, but now think them over-sentimental.'

Brée and Merrick provide written confirmation of the positive acceptance in some circles of the practice of unnotated arpeggiation preserved in many early recordings. It is evident that written texts, though sometimes disparaging, provide confirmation that unnotated arpeggiation was widely employed in the second half of the nineteenth century. In *The Art of Pianoforte Playing* (1877), Ernst Pauer discusses what he calls the 'modern' arpeggio style in England opining that:

> The chief requisite for playing chords effectively is the possession of sufficient and equal strength in all the fingers. Whether the chord is formed of three, four or five notes, the distinctness of the middle note or notes will be always the essential and most important point. It is but rarely that teachers are gratified by hearing their pupils play good, firm, and distinct chords. The modern tendency to play in the broken or

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6 Merrick, 'Memories of Leschetizky', 13.
arpeggio manner has become so generally diffused, that some performers seem to consider firm chords altogether obsolete. The chord, when firmly played, is the expression of determination, strength, and earnestness; the broken chord, or the arpeggiando, on the other hand, is the expression of softness, langour, despondency, and irresolution. The one may be likened to the man, the other to the women, in Milton's great epic:-

"For contemplation he, and valour formed;
For softness she, and sweet attractive grace." 7

Elsewhere, Pauer vehemently prohibits the use of arpeggios unless expressly notated in the text, adding that one of the most frequent faults is 'playing chords in the arpeggiando manner where firm chords are indicated'. 8 Historical documentation reveals that whereas each generation of pianists thought of arpeggiation as a modern practice, it was nothing new and was considered an indispensable expressive device throughout the nineteenth century and earlier. As will be seen below, Czerny calls it a 'modern' tendency in 1846.

There is little doubt that Pauer was railing against a style of playing in which unnotated arpeggiation and arpeggiation in general was one of the basic means of expression. For him, the arpeggiated style contributed to oversentimental and effeminate expression. Like many other writers cited below, Pauer encouraged the development of equality of finger strength in chord playing and wanted all notes to be distinct without resorting to arpeggiation. Earlier writers, too, encouraged subtle control and balance of finger weight, especially to enhance the expression of the melody note in a chord. But it is possible that for Pauer and others, slight or very tight arpeggiation was not considered arpeggiation at all.

7 Pauer, Pianoforte Playing, 46.
8 Ibid., 70.
Other texts imply that firm chord playing and arpeggiation were equally valuable. In 1858, Sigmund Lebert and Ludwig Stark, who commented on the usefulness of dislocation, advise that ‘one can, and in most cases, should...release the chords in the hand which contains the melody sooner [than the melody], which naturally emphasizes the melody, or arpeggio it, while playing the melody note more strongly.’ Here it is clear that unnotated arpeggiation was considered a suitable alternative to enhance the expression of the melody note.

Around the same time, support for the use of unnotated arpeggiation is found in Thalberg’s *L’Art du chant*. He states that:

> The chords which carry a song or melody to the higher note should always be played in arpeggio fashion, but very tight and almost together, and the note of the melody more expressively than the other notes of the chord.

Tantalizingly, Thalberg does not describe how the melody note could be played more expressively. Elsewhere in *L’Art du chant*, he presents solo piano transcriptions of popular vocal works annotated with signs indicating chords to be arpeggiated or struck firm. Thalberg’s transcription Op. 70 of the *Lacrymosa* from Mozart’s *Requiem* K 626 is one of many examples providing written and pictorial evidence of instances where

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9 Lebert and Stark, *Klavierschule*, part 3, 3; ‘man darf also und soll sogar in den meisten Fällen...den der Melodie in der nämlichen Hand beigegeben Accord schneller auslassen, wodurch jene von selbst hervortritt, oder harpeggiren, wobei der Gesang natürlich stärker angeschlagen wird.’

10 Thalberg, *L’Art du chant*, unpaginated [2]; ‘Les accords qui porteront un chant à la note supérieure devront toujours s’arpéger, mais TRÈS SERRÉS, Presque PLAQUÉS, et la note de chant plus appuyée que les autres notes de l’accord’; trans. in Thalberg and Vieuxtemps’s *Grand Concert Book*, 5, as; ‘...The chords which carry a song or melody to the higher note should always be played in arpeggio fashion, but very close and even, and the note of the melody more expressively than the other notes of the chord.’
arpeggiated and un-arpeggiated chords are to be applied separately and together (Fig. 3.1). He advises that:

All the chords which have the sign [should be played] rigorously together. Those [chords] which have the sign ! must be arpeggiated in a very tight [or dry] manner and almost together.¹¹

Fig. 3.1  Mozart’s Requiem arr. Thalberg, bars 1 to 7.¹²

Significantly, in bars 3 and 4 and other places where the main melody is to be played softly, the supporting chords are marked with arpeggio signs. Where the melody appears in a fortissimo dynamic, Thalberg’s notation indicates strictly un-arpeggiated chords.

¹¹ Thalberg, L’Art du chant, 1; ‘Tous les accords portant ce signe [ seront rigoureusement plaqués. Ceux portant celui-ci ! devront être arpégés d’une manière tres serrée, presque plaqués.’

¹² Ibid., 1-2
In general, however, here and in other arrangements, Thalberg encourages a highly arpeggiated style of playing. In fact, throughout *L'Art du chant*, the sign [ rarely appears; the Mozart example is one of the few that uses it extensively. From this evidence, it is reasonable to assume that this practice, once absorbed into a pianist's technique, might be applied freely at appropriate passages in other repertoire. In bars 5, 6, and 7 and similar instances where there is a break in the main melodic line, however, arpeggiated and un-arpeggiated chords appear in combination. Yet, neither the criteria underlying this application nor the resulting effects are clarified by Thalberg. In this respect, there is an obvious correlation between such combinations and those encouraged by Brée and attributed to Leschetizky. Brée's explanations, therefore, might bear some resemblance to the effect intended by Thalberg. It is evident that, in the arrangement above, he is particular about their combination and must have intended them to create specific effects.

The many arrangements in *L'Art du chant* show that, for Thalberg, arpeggiation was an intrinsic expressive device. Certain details, however, remain unclear. For example, he did not verbally state where arpeggiation was inappropriate. Furthermore, in the above references, he advises that the spreading of notes be very swift, giving the impression that no variation of speed is permissible. This seems improbable for sophisticated piano playing, but the overall rule may have been propounded to prevent students and amateurs from making inappropriate arpeggiations resulting in exaggerated syncopations, clashes of harmonies, and large gaps between successive melody notes. Without audible evidence, it is neither possible to appreciate exactly what Thalberg intended, nor indeed to surmise whether he followed this rule invariably.
Thalberg’s practices may have been inherited from earlier French pianism. In his Méthode pour apprendre le piano-forte à l’aide du guide-mains Op. 108 (c. 1831), Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785-1849) provides a somewhat brief, though highly significant, explanation and pictorial example, outlining a few instances where unnotated arpeggiation may be applied. Accordingly, only certain particular moments in a phrase were to be arpeggiated. Kalkbrenner states that:

In passages of double notes, octaves or chords, the long notes must be arpeggiated; those, which precede, must not be. All the notes which have a o placed above, must be played together.

The above advice reveals several important details. Kalkbrenner considered double notes, octaves and chords suitable for arpeggiation if these coincided with the highest, or most harmonically dissonant points in the phrase. In such cases the chords leading to and from such points, particularly when of equal value, were to remain un-arpeggiated. Notably, in his illustration, the chords to be arpeggiated are also accented, lending further support to the idea that arpeggiation could enhance such emphasis. Also noticeable is the arpeggio sign next to the last chord in the left hand. Though unstated, arpeggiation would presumably enhance, in this and other cases, the ending of a phrase or piece by producing a softened effect. As will be seen below, Phillip Corri in 1810 shows a similar

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arpeggiation of a final chord. Elsewhere, Kalkbrenner advises that ‘when playing compositions [originally] written for orchestra it is necessary above all to suppress the arpeggios, the greatest merit of an orchestra consisting in the ensemble.’ Presumably, arpeggiation was not appropriate in piano arrangements of orchestral compositions, because the resulting effect would not reflect the synchrony inherent in orchestral style. Interestingly, in his *Méthode complète de piano* Op. 100 (c. 1837), Henri Herz made a more direct comparison between the orchestra and the piano saying that:

Ensemble is the principal merit of an orchestra: the piano, which imitates it [the orchestra] imposes on the player the same law, above all in those passages which are dominated by a complicated harmony. In spite of this advice, it is possible that where the harmony was less complicated, some degree of arpeggiation may have been permitted.

Although noteworthy, it is probable that Kalkbrenner’s brief description is only one example of the innumerable situations where arpeggiation was considered necessary for expressive effect. Moreover, he says nothing about the speed of arpeggiation or whether arpeggios should commence on or before the notional pulse. Presumably, this was left to the judgement of the player. He also omitted to mention anything about note order.

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14 Ibid., 12; ‘en jouant des choses composées pour l’orchestre il faut tout-à-fait supprimer les arpèges, le plus grand mérite d’un orchestre consistant dans l’ensemble.’

By the middle of the nineteenth century, certain types of articulation apparently implied the use of arpeggio. In the ‘Remarks on Touch’ in his *Studies for the Pianoforte Op. 70* (London, 1827), Ignace Moscheles advises: 16

when dots are used with slurs over double notes and chords, these should be struck very slightly in the Arpeggio manner, giving them the same length of time as a dot under a slur requires.

Example:

Moscheles’s *Studies* and accompanying remarks seem to have been widely disseminated. They appeared in a later English edition in 1844, 17 a French edition in c. 1845, 18 and it is of no little significance that Ernst Pauer’s revised edition published in London in 1886 19 includes the same instructions. Had Pauer been unequivocally opposed to the arpeggio manner, as seems to be implied in his advice above, it stands to reason that he might have removed or modified this part of the text or at least registered his dissent in a footnote.

And Gordon Saunders’s edition of the works in 1899 also reproduces Moscheles’s *Remarks*. 20 Significantly, however, Franklin Taylor’s edition in 1915 suppressed them. 21

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Thus the appearance of such directions in the second half of the nineteenth century gave pianists the licence to make arpeggiation wherever they came across the portato sign.

On other occasions, Moscheles required the striking of chords absolutely together in particular circumstances such as for compositions in the brilliant style. In his Study No. 13 (Allegro Brilliant) Op. 70, he remarks that:

> The perfect performance of double notes and especially 3rds being a very great importance, this Study is intended as a practice for giving precision and facility to their execution. The performer must be particularly careful not to yield to that feebleness of finger which prevents the double notes from being struck with equal force and precisely at the same time.\(^\text{22}\)

Such comments may have been an attempt to stem the invariable use of unnotated arpeggio, or they may simply have been for the benefit of technical study.

Further documentation reveals that the so-called 'modern' tendency of playing in the broken or arpeggio manner mentioned by Pauer was apparently just as pervasive during the first half of the nineteenth century. The importance of Carl Czerny's notation of an arpeggio sign implying that Beethoven employed one in performing the first chord of his Piano Concerto Op. 58 has already been cited in Chapter 2. Czerny's various written texts show that he certainly approved of unnotated arpeggiation when employed with propriety. Like Pauer, Czerny criticized what he too designated as the 'modern' practice of arpeggiating indiscriminately. In this respect, a very significant comment is to be found in his advice about playing contrapuntal music. Providing the appended example, in the Supplement to his Royal Pianoforte School (London, 1846), Czerny states that:\(^\text{23}\)


\(^{23}\) Czerny, Supplement, 157.
It has often been observed, that those who exclusively devote themselves to the modern style of playing, are unable to perform a fugue properly. This arises from the following causes:

1. In the modern style, all passages in many parts are now invariably played in arpeggio; and so greatly is this the case, that many pianists have almost forgotten how to strike chords firmly. Many, otherwise really good players, would not be able to perform the following passage quite firm; that is, to strike all the notes of each chord exactly together.

Elsewhere, Czerny reiterates that in fugue playing "every note must be sustained precisely according to its value; and performing in arpeggio, or striking the notes of the different parts one after another, is by no means permitted. In this respect the pianoforte must be treated exactly like the organ, where all chords are struck exactly together."^24

Czerny's comparison between the un-arpeggiated organ style and piano playing was not new. As Clive Brown has noted, "the ubiquity of arpeggiation in piano playing in England during the early decades of the nineteenth century is suggested by a letter written by Samuel Wesley in 1829." Wesley observes that pianists "do not put down the Keys simultaneously which on the Organ should always be done, but one after another, beginning at the lowest note of the Base."^25

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^24 Czerny, Supplement, 126.
Indeed, in his earlier text, *Vollständige theoretische-practische Pianoforte-Schule* Op. 500 (Vienna, 1839) translated as *Theoretical and Practical Pianoforte School* Op. 500 (London, 1839), Czerny registered a stern reaction against the overuse of unnotated arpeggiation:

Many players accustom themselves so much to Arpeggio chords, that they at last become quite unable to strike full chords or even double notes firmly and at once; though this latter way is the general rule, while the former constitutes the exception.26

The above references show that Czerny did not favour arpeggiations made continuously; however, there is no doubt that he approved of them in specific situations. He noted that 'the exception (namely the Arpeggioing of the chords) may so frequently be employed with effect. That [sic] we have only to determine in what cases the one is more suitable than the other.'27 In attempting to describe these, he first listed situations where arpeggios, as a general rule, were to be avoided:

1. All chords consisting of very short notes, should be struck firmly and at once, when the Composer has not expressly indicated the contrary.

2. Such chords as require to be played with very great power, particularly when they form the commencement or the close of the piece, or of any considerable portion of one, almost always produce the best effect when they are struck plain; as arpeggioing always diminishes and destroys some part of the Forte. The same rule applies when two or more chords follow one after another very quickly. Ex:

Maestoso.

The Composer should always indicate where he desires to have these chords played in Arpeggio.

3. Passages in several parts, which form a connected melody, or which are written in the syncopated or strict style, must always be played with firmness and exactly as written; and it is only occasionally, that a single, slow, and full chord, on which a particular emphasis is required, may be played in Arpeggio. Ex:
Only the 3 chords distinguished by a + (the last one in every case) will admit of a moderate arpeggio, which, however, must not interrupt the legato.\textsuperscript{28}

It is perhaps surprising to find that no arpeggiation is permitted for the particularly long chords at the beginning of the second example above. Although Czerny felt that arpeggiation detracted from the effect of forte, and other writers advised that it caused a weakening effect, Philip Corri (cited below), remarked that quick arpeggiation could enhance brilliancy. Perhaps more significant is that in strict compositions of several parts (as in Czerny's third example above), certain arpeggiations were considered permissible, particularly where chords form especially poignant harmonies or consist of an unusually large number of notes. Thus, even in contrapuntal music, unnotated arpeggiations could enhance the beauty of certain chords, giving them a particular emphasis or colour. We may conclude that Czerny was not absolutely opposed to the use of arpeggiation in music of the stricter style such as fugue.

Furthermore, Czerny discusses situations where arpeggiation may definitely be applied:

On the other hand, the arpeggio is employed:
1. In all slow and sustained chords which do not form any melody. Ex:

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., vol. 3, 55-6.
The last chord in the 4th bar must not be sprinkled, as it closes a section of the melody; while all the other chords must be arpeggied with moderate quickness, yet that the upper or melodial note shall never come in out of its time.29

There is an obvious similarity between this rule and that of Thalberg cited above. Czerny's 'chords which do not form any melody', obviously comprise those notes forming a chord below freely moving melody notes. As such, however, the melody notes are part of the chord. Notably, Czerny advises that the final chord in this example should be struck firm, presumably to make a contrast with the arpeggiated chord that precedes it. Therefore, in a standard feminine cadential formula, the six-four chord receives colour and emphasis by arpeggiation, and resolves to an un-arpeggiated and unaccented five-three chord. Czerny advises that the speed of arpeggiation be of moderate quickness but so that the melody note sounds in time. It stands to reason that the only way to achieve this is to commence the arpeggiation before the beat; arpeggiating from the beat would result in a delay of the melody note. Here, it is difficult to appreciate what speed or range of speeds is encompassed by the term 'moderate quickness'. It is possible that Czerny's 'moderate quickness' had a similar meaning to Thalberg's 'very tight' or 'almost together'. Unfortunately, here and in other places, such descriptive language lacks clarity. Moreover, Czerny states that:

29 Ibid., vol. 3, 56. N.B. chord symbols have been added by N. Peres Da Costa.
2. When after a long and smoothly connected chord, several others occur which are quicker, only the first one must be arpeggioed. Ex:

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Lento
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Here only the chords distinguished by + are to be arpeggioed.
It is still more necessary to observe this rule, when the quicker chords are at the same time to be played staccato. Ex:

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Moderato
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Here too only the 3 chords marked + can be played in Arpeggio.

3. In arpeggioing, the single notes may not only be played so extremely fast, that the arpeggioed chord shall almost resemble a chord struck plain; but they may also be played slower and slower, in every possible gradation, down to that degree in which each single note will be equal in duration to a crotchet in slow time; we must measure and apply these different degrees, exactly according as the chord is to be held down long or quickly detached, and struck either piano and smorzando, or forte and hard. Ex:

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Largo
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Here the single notes of the arpeggioed chords must follow one another extremely slow, and we only begin to count the time prescribed from the last and highest note. To this extension of the time we are entitled, as the passage forms a sort of pause. If, however, this passage were marked Fortissimo, the Arpeggio should not by any means be so slow, but rather very quick; or, still better, not be employed at all, unless actually prescribed by the Author himself. 30

There is a clear correlation between Czerny's second and third examples in which equal-valued chords remain un-arpeggiated, and Kalkbrenner's example showing a similar practice. It is significant that Czerny felt a need to remark that staccato chords should not be arpeggiated. This supports the notion that some early-nineteenth-century pianists made frequent unnotated arpeggiations regardless of context or situation. Also significant is that arpeggios could be played in varying speeds depending entirely on the character or features of the composition and its intended effect. Thus, at least in theory, there seems to be confusion between this and the apparent inflexibility of arpeggio speed promoted by Thalberg. Although more detailed than many other references, there are issues regarding the practice of unnotated arpeggiation which are unclear and it is probable that Czerny's advice is only a guide to some of the innumerable situations where it was applicable.

The practice of unnotated arpeggiation may be indirectly referred to in Johann Baptist Cramer's Instructions for the Pianoforte (London, 1812). He notes that:

Several intervals played successively form a Melody, when struck together, they form a combination called a chord, a succession of chords constitutes Harmony, and the art of accompanying a voice, or an Instrument with chords played according to some figures set over the Bass Notes of a composition, is called a Thoroughbass. Chords may be played in two different ways, first in an abrupt manner striking all the Notes at once, which is done chiefly at the end of a piece or a sentence. 2. dly In Arpeggio sounding successively the Notes of which the chord is composed, and keeping them down until the time of the chord be filled up.

When a chord is to be played in Arpeggio this mark \( \text{or this} \) is generally placed by the side of the Chord, some Authors make use of a stroke across the Chord, thus

\[ \text{\figuredbass} \]

N.B. The Notes of a Chord are played with more or less velocity, as the character of the piece requires.

When the hand of the performer is too small to reach all the Notes of a Chord, the lower Notes of the Treble may be left out but not the upper one; also the highest Note of the Bass may be omitted but not the lowest.\(^{31}\)

Cramer’s advice is very important for several reasons. First, by saying that the composer ‘generally’ marks arpeggios, there is recognition that this was not always the case and that on an undefined number of occasions, arpeggiations were left to the whim of the performer. Secondly, his discussion of arpeggio playing is clearly linked with the art of figured bass accompaniment. Here then is a clear indication that early-nineteenth-century piano playing retained certain techniques used by keyboard players in previous centuries. Notably, Cramer considered un-arpeggiated chords to have an ‘abrupt’ effect. This might be related to the sound of earlier instruments such as the harpsichord, where the simultaneous striking of the notes of chords produces a strong and accented effect because of the plucking of the strings. In the mid-eighteenth century, C.P.E. Bach suggested that un-arpeggiated chords were suitable for more lively sections in recitatives, stating that ‘as soon as the accompaniment shifts from sustained to short, detached notes, the accompanist must play detached, resolute chords, un-arpeggiated, and fully grasped by both hands.’\(^{32}\) Later in the eighteenth century, this style of playing was also recommended by Türk, for example, to make a loud effect or emphasis particularly for

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\(^{32}\) Bach, *Versuch*, 422.
dissonant harmonies so ‘that the passions should be especially aroused.’

Foucquet implied much the same by stating that ‘when one encounters several notes in the bass, it is necessary to arpeggiate them, that is, to commence with the lowest and so on, being careful for the sake of the melody to make the highest the last, which renders the touch mellow and graceful - indispensable for pieces of sentiment.’

The synonymity of un-arpeggiated chords with loud, accented and abrupt effects signifies some relationship between harpsichord and early piano technique. Indeed, Mozart’s piano style probably retained elements of un-arpeggiated harpsichord technique, particularly in directing concertos, symphonies and operas where an incisive audible portrayal of the tempo was imperative. In this respect, Carl Czerny’s recollections of his early lessons with Beethoven are significant:

He then had me play through the studies given in the manual [C.P.E. Bach’s Versuch] and pointed out especially the legato, which he himself had mastered to such an incomparable degree, and which all other pianists of that time considered to be impossible to execute on the fortepiano, as it was still the fashion (as in Mozart’s time) to play in a detached, abrupt manner. Beethoven himself told me in later years that he had heard Mozart play on several occasions, and that Mozart had developed a mode of playing on the claviers of that time that was not at all suitable to the fortepiano. Some years later I also made the acquaintance of several persons who had studied under Mozart, and found Beethoven’s remark borne out by their playing.

Furthermore, in confirming the appropriateness of the abrupt style at the end of compositions or phrases, Cramer implies that other moments required a different effect, perhaps the arpeggio style. Like Czerny, Cramer also states that arpeggios may be made

33 Türk, Klavierschule, 340.
34 Foucquet, Pièces de clavecin, preface to Second livre; ‘S’il se rencontre plusieurs notes dans la basse, il faut les harpeger, c’est à dire commencer par la plus basse et ainsi de suite, observant dans le dessus de faire entendre la plus haute, la dernière, ce qui rend le toucher moelleux, gracieux et indispensable pour le pièces de sentiments.’
at varying speeds according to the requirements of the composition. This again relates
closely to harpsichord playing where the arpeggiation of chords with a variety of speeds
was considered a type of ornament. C.P.E. Bach advises that, in recitative
accompaniment, "The pace with which a chord is arpeggiated depends on the tempo and
content of a recitative. The slower and more affetuoso the latter is, the slower the
arpeggiation."\textsuperscript{36} Thus, to some extent, the player was expected to be the composer. In this
respect, Brown's observation about the ornamental nature of arpeggios is of particular
interest:

As with all such ornaments in this period, there is no reason to think that composers
troubled to mark every place where they might have expected, or been happy to have
heard arpeggiation, or that they specified every aspect of its performance.\textsuperscript{37}

Even stronger proof that unnotated arpeggiation was certainly an early nineteenth-century
pianistic practice is found in Philip Corri's \textit{L'anima di musica} (London, 1810). With
reference to the given illustration (No. 1), Corri asks the reader to:

\begin{center}
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\end{center}

Observe that in the above Example, the longer notes only, are to be played
appogiando; those that are equal are to be struck together, tho' not staccato; and the
end of the tie must have the cadence or fall, that is; to be touched lightly.

But if on the contrary, all the chords are played appoggiando, without distinction, the
Time and Metre would be so confused and disguised that no air or melody could be

\textsuperscript{36} Bach, \textit{Versuch}, 422.

\textsuperscript{37} Brown, \textit{Performing Practice}, 610.
discoverable, and therefore, it should be remember’d that where notes or chords are of equal length, in succession, they should all be played together.*

To prove what I have just asserted play the foregoing Example with all the notes appogiando and without emphasis - Judge then which is the most pleasing style; the 1st at No 1 - monotonous without expression, the 2nd at No 2 with proper expression - or the 3rd as just directed, with an excess of expression.

The latter style is two [sic] often adopted by those who affect to play with Taste and who from ignorance of its effects, distort and disfigure the melody so hideously that no one can make it out; I therefore recommend the appogiando to be used cautiously and sparingly.

There are occasions where the appogiando may be used, altho’ it be not for emphasis, for instance; - in a slow strain, the long chords are to be sustained, tho’ there are many of the same quality, yet their harmony is better heard, and produces more effect by being touch’d appogiando, (As the Minims in the following Ex:) but then observe that the Crotchets that follow, being shorter, ought to be played together as a relief to the other style.

Further Examples, shewing that the appogiando should be used on the long chords; and also on shorter ones, where brilliancy is required to be given, touching them as nearly as possible together. -
When the words 'con espressione, con Anima, or Dolce etc.' are mark'd at a passage, it signifies that the appogiando must be particularly and often used, and made as long as possible.

* [Corri's footnote] There is an exception which I shall next explain.\(^{38}\)

The similarities between Corri's and Czerny's advice are clearly evident. The fact that Corri found it necessary to discuss the practice where 'all chords are played appogiando' again strongly suggests that in some circles, that is precisely what occurred. It is also interesting to find that they believed arpeggiation could enhance faster, more bravura passages by making much swifter arpeggios than in slower passages. This is a technique also used in harpsichord playing. Again it is evident that remnants of older practices may have been retained in early-nineteenth-century piano playing.

Most importantly, Corri suggests that certain common descriptive terms such as \textit{con espressione, con anima, and dolce} were unequivocal indications that arpeggiation must be applied frequently and that such arpeggios must in some way fill out the sound of the notes, bars, and phrases. Presumably, this was achieved by playing arpeggios slowly, or perhaps (as in harpsichord technique) by rolling the chord in various directions. In such

compositions, composers did not necessarily need to insert arpeggio signs, knowing full well that this was an accepted and expected practice. Thus, there is clear evidence that the so-called late-nineteenth-century tendency to arpeggiate was already widely cultivated in the early-nineteenth century or even earlier, and represents a continuation of earlier harpsichord and clavichord technique.

In this light, it is impossible to appreciate what Corri, Czerny, or Pauer would really have considered an overuse of unnotated arpeggiation. Perhaps all they were truly criticizing was the inartistic application of arpeggios causing distortion of the phrase or the melodic line. Their rules may have been simply a means of creating some boundaries for students that would not necessarily have applied to trained artists. It is inappropriate to judge their idea of the sparing use of unnotated arpeggiation by today's standards. In any case, it is clear that during the nineteenth century, musical notation simply did not preserve many such practices as were considered intrinsic to musical expression, any more than composers normally indicated vibrato or portamento in violin music. In this sense, the pianist was expected to be creative by embellishing the score according to current notions of good taste.

This improvised aspect of keyboard playing had earlier historical precedents. For example, in the 'Preface' to his Toccate e partite d'intavolatura (Rome, 1614), Girolamo Frescobaldi advises that 'the beginning of the toccatas should be played slowly and arpeggiando; similarly, syncopations and tied notes in the middle of the piece.'
Chordal harmonies should be broken with both hands so that the instrument may not sound hollow\footnote{G. Frescobaldi, 'Preface', \textit{Toccate e partite d'intavolatura} (Rome, 1614); cited in MacClintock, \textit{Readings}, 133.} (Fig. 3.2). Frescobaldi encouraged the performer to embellish certain sections as they pleased. Following similar principles, Johann-Jakob Froberger's Toccatas published in 1649 and 1656 contain many similar places where, depending on the choice of keyboard instrument, arpeggiation is necessary though not indicated (Fig. 3.3). And Louis Couperin's \textit{Préludes non mesurés} (c. mid-17th century) give clear indications of arpeggio shapes but leave elements of rhythm and speed to the performer (Fig. 3.4).

Fig. 3.2 Frescobaldi Toccata Settima, bars 1 to 4.\footnote{Frescobaldi, 'Toccata settima' from 'The Second Book of Toccatas, Canzoni etc.', \textit{Orgel und Klavierwerke}, ed. P. Pidoux (Kassell, Bärenreiter, 1963), vol. 4, 29.}

\begin{center}
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Fig. 3.3 Froberger's Toccata V, bars 1 to 3.\footnote{J.J. Froberger, 'Toccata V', \textit{Oeuvres complètes pour clavecin}, ed. H. Schott (Paris, Heugel & Cie., 1979), 17.}

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\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{froberger_toccata_v.png}
\end{center}
The evidence of recordings

With little doubt the so-called 'modern' tendency to arpeggiate, scorned by Pauer in the second half of the nineteenth century and encouraged by Brée in the early-twentieth century, had significant historical precedents. It is fortunate that Brée catalogued for posterity practices that were considered indispensable to Leschetizky, though how successfully she preserved his arpeggiation practices is open to question.

Leschetizky's unnotated arpeggiations are clearly evident in his 1906 piano roll of Mozart's Fantasia K 475 and Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2. In Mozart's Fantasia,

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Leschetizky makes them more sparingly than in Chopin’s Nocturne, but examples from both works reveal how arpeggios contribute to a variety of expressive effects.

In bars 16 and 17 of the Fantasia, Leschetizky arpeggiates alternative appoggiatura-type falling figures coinciding with the enharmonic shift from G flat to F sharp (Fig. 3.5). Here, the separation sounds continuous from the lowest note in the left hand to the highest note in the right hand. Additionally, the first chord of each bar is spread more slowly than those on the third beats. Notably, these arpeggios contribute substantially to the character of longing, delineating the section from the material that precedes or follows.

Fig. 3.5 Mozart Fantasia, bars 15 to 18, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 2/1).

In bar 22, Leschetizky’s use of arpeggiation helps to differentiate between two distinct characters. Here, the notes in the emphasized chord on the second beat and its resolution on the third beat are struck together. The chord on the fourth beat is arpeggiated rapidly, however, enhancing the feeling of uncertainty inherent in the diminished seventh harmony (Fig. 3.6).

43 N.B. the aural effect of arpeggios, unless otherwise stated, is that they commence before the notional beat, with the highest note aligned with the beat.
At bar 25, Leschetizky arpeggiates the final of three identical chords which form the transition into a new musical thought (Fig. 3.7). This helps produce a greater sense of finality.
In bars 26, 28 and 32, containing similar musical material, Leschetizky makes arpeggiation which appear to give an emphasis without harshness to the chords marked *sforzando* (Fig. 3.8).

Elsewhere, Leschetizky's added arpeggios seem to enhance the mysterious atmosphere of the music. This is particularly evident at the interrupted cadence in bar 33 (Fig. 3.9), and the passage from bar 35 leading to the unexpected dramatic Allegro section (Fig. 3.10).
In certain instances, Leschetizky adds arpeggios to one hand only; the notes in the other are struck together. For example, the chord in the left hand at the beginning of bar 84 in the cadenza section is arpeggiated quickly, while the notes of the octave in the right hand are played together. This gives the chord a renewed energy without harshness following the descending scale in the previous bar (Fig. 3.11), and correlates closely with Brée’s description of this technique.
In bar 95, the lowest note of the octave in the left hand is aligned with the beat, and the upper note is struck with the un-arpeggiated chord in the right hand (Fig. 3.12). This, too, correlates with Brée’s description in which the technique causes a slight delay of the melody note, giving it heightened significance.

Fig. 3.12 Mozart Fantasia, bar 95, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 2/7).

Between bars 86 and 93, Leschetizky makes several arpeggiation which create differing effects (Fig. 3.13).
Arpeggiation softens and thus gives a gentle expression to the opening chord of the phrase commencing at bar 86, and the feminine cadence with which it ends at bar 89. During the phrase commencing at bar 90, arpeggiation enhances each successive thematic fragment, with the most poignant and the slowest spread saved for the chord at the beginning of bar 91. The chord at the beginning of bar 92 is also gently expressed by arpeggiating it, and the feminine cadence at bar 93 is treated as at bar 89, with an arpeggiated chord resolving to a chord struck firmly. At such cadence points, the pattern of arpeggiated followed by un-arpeggiated chords enhances the effect of strong and weak, or tension and release.

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44 N.B. Only chords which sound noticeably arpeggiated are marked. Others appear to be very tightly spread.
Leschetizky's 1906 recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 provides yet more fascinating examples of his use of unnotated arpeggiation. Here, the notes of chords comprising thirds, sixths and octaves in the right hand are separated in a variety of ways. Sometimes, as exemplified in bars 10, 12 and so on, the lower note of the chord in the right hand anticipates the upper note that is aligned with the corresponding note in the left hand (Fig. 3.14).

Fig. 3.14  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 10, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 2/9).

At such moments, the separation itself causes the melody note to be emphasized. In bars 13 and 40, this type of arpeggiation helps to mark the poignant syncopation caused by the accented chord on the third quaver beat. Again, the upper melody note gains emphasis simply because of the pregnant separation (Fig. 3.15).
At other times, such as bars 14, 18, 21 and 33, the lower note of the chord is aligned with the corresponding note in the left hand; the upper melody note is thus emphasized by being delayed. In bar 14, the arpeggiation is coupled with a dislocation of the hands, thus further delaying the upper melody note (CD 2/10). In bar 33, this arpeggiation has the effect of continuing the triplet figuration in the previous bar (Fig. 3.16).
In bar 37, both types of arpeggiation are noticeable (Fig. 3.17).

**Fig. 3.17** Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 37, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 2/12).

And between bars 71 and 74, the two voices in the right-hand polyphony are delineated by arpeggiations at every possible moment and with varying speeds. Here, the lower note of the chord is generally aligned with the notional pulse, though sometimes there is also a slight dislocation between the hands. The chords at the beginning of bars 72 and 74 are spread more slowly than the other chords (Fig. 3.18). Brée referred to this technique but stated that it should only be used at important moments. It is clear that her description fails to convey both the frequency and the nature of Leschetizky's unnotated arpeggiation.
In summary, it is clear that Leschetizky made highly expressive unnotated arpeggiations in many varied ways. In the works he recorded, these enhance:

- the effect of longing or languishing
- the differentiation between chords of varying characters, thus effecting dramatic contrast
- a sense of ending
- a smooth transition between sections of differing character
- a particular emphasis lacking harshness for chords requiring accentuation
- the mysterious nature of an interrupted cadence or the increase of tension in the transition to a pregnant pause
- the energetic effect achieved by the combination of an arpeggiated chord in the left hand with a chord struck firmly in the right hand
- a sense of tension and release at feminine cadence points
• the expression given to a progression of thematic fragments, where the slowest arpeggiation is saved for the most important moment

• the gentle expression for the beginning of a phrase; and the delineation of different voices in a polyphonic texture

It is evident that Brée’s descriptions provide a broad indication of Leschetizky’s unnotated arpeggiation practices. However, Leschetizky’s recordings reveal a greater complexity and subtlety of arpeggiation than that described by Brée. Evidently, her text did not have the scope to mention such subtleties, nor was it necessarily her intention.

Interestingly, Leschetizky’s own edition of the same Nocturne purporting to show exactly how he played it in concert performances, gives no indication of the unnotated arpeggios preserved in his recording of it. This points strongly to the fact that such practices were not considered in the least special or extraordinary and therefore needed no mention. The edition does contain annotations of added notes and certain rhythmic nuances that will be examined in Chapters 4 and 5. Significantly, however, certain key moments where Leschetizky makes arpeggios in his recording correspond with the performance instructions he added to Chopin’s text. For example, where he marked espressivo for the double-note sequence commencing at bar 10 (Fig. 3.19), arpeggios can be heard. And for the molto espressivo cantando section commencing in the middle of bar 70 (Fig. 3.20), arpeggios help to delineate the overlapping compound melodies in the right hand. It is thus highly likely that, like Corri, Leschetizky’s use of such expressions implied the
application of unnotated arpeggiation, yet without his recording this could not have been appreciated. Following Leschetizky’s edition literally would produce a style significantly different from that preserved on his recordings.

Fig. 3.19  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 10, ed. Leschetizky. 45

Fig. 3.20  Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 70 to 74, ed. Leschetizky. 46

46 Ibid., 24.
Similar practices are observable in the recordings of Leschetizky's students. The 1929 piano roll recording of the same Nocturne by John Powell, reveals that he made very similar unnotated arpeggiations to his teacher Leschetizky. In bars 10 and 11 Powell arpeggiates various double-note chords in the right hand so that the lower notes anticipate the upper notes that are aligned with the corresponding notes in the left hand (Fig. 3.21).

And in bar 13 Powell makes exactly the same arpeggiation as Leschetizky (Fig. 3.22).

Fig. 3.21 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 11 and 12, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 2/14).

Fig. 3.22 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 13, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 2/14).
As with Leschetizky, in bar 33 Powell arpeggiates the first double-note chord in the right hand, continuing the broken chord figure that precedes it (Fig. 3.23). Here, the lower note is aligned with the corresponding note in the left hand.

Fig. 3.23 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, second half of bar 32 and first half of bar 33, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 2/15).

![Musical notation](image1)

Between bars 71 and 74, Powell delineates the compound melody figures in the right hand by arpeggiating at the point where they overlap. This is similar to Leschetizky but at certain moments, arpeggios occur, contrary to the norm, from the upper note to the lower note (Fig. 3.24).

Fig. 3.24 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 71 to 74, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 2/16).

![Musical notation](image2)
Frank la Forge, another student of Leschetizky, makes unnotated arpeggiations less frequently in his 1912 acoustic recording of the same Nocturne, though where he does, the expressive quality is clear. In bar 33, like Leschetizky and Powell, he arpeggiates, the first chord in the right hand (Fig. 3.23 above). He also arpeggiates the first chord in the right hand of bar 56 (Fig. 3.25) and the chord in the right hand at the beginning of the second half of bar 61 (Fig. 3.26).

Fig. 3.25 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 55 and 56, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 1/17).

Fig. 3.26 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 61, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 1/18).
And between bars 71 and 74 he arpeggiates the first chord in the right hand of bars 71 and 73 (Fig. 3.27).

Fig. 3.27  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 71 to 74, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 1/19).

Moriz Rosenthal, made unnotated arpeggiations much less frequently in his 1936 recording of the same Nocturne, apparently relying more on dislocation as an expressive device. He does however arpeggiate the first chord in the right hand in bar 33 and the third chord in the right hand in bar 37, in a similar manner to Leschetizky. And during the section commencing at bar 70, he makes one arpeggiation where the upper voice repeats in the middle of bar 72.

Other pianists such as Pachmann and Paderewski also make unnotated arpeggiations. In his 1915 recording of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, Pachmann arpeggiates certain chords in the left hand as if to fill out the space when there is a significant broadening of the tempo, or at poignant moments. This is particularly evident at the beginning of bars 2 and 4 and similar places (Fig. 3.28).
In his 1930 recording of the same work, Jan Paderewski makes more frequent unnotated arpeggiations in the left hand than Pachmann (CD 2/21). And in the chordal passage at bar 12 he intersperses dislocation with tight arpeggiation giving variety to the chromatic chordal progression (Fig. 3.29).
And in his 1917 recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1, he makes continuous unnotated arpeggiations in the left hand, which helps to delineate the tenor voice melody (Fig. 3.30).

**Fig. 3.30** Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1, bars 1 and 2, Paderewski, acoustic recording, 1917 (CD 2/22).

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**Written texts and recorded evidence**

While Brée's instructions provide an unusually detailed (albeit incomplete) account of arpeggiation practices, written references, often extremely brief, concerning the practices of other pianists, raise serious doubts as to what happened in reality. In addition, some texts may be in danger of being interpreted too literally or taken out of context. This is particularly evident in the case of Brahms. For example, Robert Pascall quotes Florence May as having learned during her lessons with Brahms in 1871 that 'he particularly
disliked chords to be spread unless marked so by the composer. However, an examination of a larger section of May's report provides a different slant on the matter:

Whatever the music I might be studying, however, he would never allow any kind of 'expression made easy.' He particularly disliked chords to be spread unless marked so by the composer for the sake of special effect. 'No arpeg,' he used invariably to say if I unconsciously gave way to the habit, or yielded the temptation of softening a chord by its means.

It appears that Brahms may have been attempting to curtail some careless habit in May's playing. His paraphrased words probably did not reflect his personal practice. This opinion is supported by the account of Rosenthal, who provided a totally conflicting view, recalling that Brahms himself 'arpeggiated all chords'. In addition, Brahms was severely criticized for the 'incessant spreading of chords in the slower tempos' after a performance of his Piano Concerto No. 1 in 1865.

Brahms's use of dislocation in his recording of his Hungarian Dance No. 1 was noted in Chapter 2. It is apparent that he also made very rapid arpeggios of the dotted crotchet chords in bars 13 and 14 (the bars at which the recording commences), and possibly the dotted crotchet in bar 17. He may be making additional arpeggios, but unfortunately the sound quality renders these undetectable. In any case, considering the strongly accented character of the Hungarian Dance, Brahms may have made arpeggios less frequently and expressively; this work may not provide the best example from which to make an assessment. In the end, the apparent discrepancy between the written texts above

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49 Hudson, Stolen Time, 333.
might simply arise from too literal an interpretation of May's account, taken out of context. Brahms may have made such comments in passing for May's benefit alone, and probably did not expect them to be taken literally or applied universally. In any case, as will be seen below, many pianists whom he influenced and of whose playing he approved certainly made extensive unnotated arpeggiations.

A parallel anomaly seems to be evident in the one extant reference to Chopin's use of arpeggiation. Chopin's student Mikuli, gives the impression that he strictly forbade such additions:  

For playing double notes and chords, Chopin demanded that the notes be struck simultaneously; breaking was allowed only where the composer himself had specified it.  

Eigeldinger has recently opined that Chopin was reacting 'to the sentimentalizing fashion of spreading this or that chord or beat, an abuse that reached its peak at the turn of this [the twentieth] century.'  

It is apparent, however, that Eigeldinger has little justification for supposing that such practices reached their peak at the turn of the twentieth century. The documented evidence above suggests that unnotated arpeggiation was used prolifically throughout the nineteenth century. Those heard in the playing of Leschetizky, Powell, Paderewski and others, were practices belonging to an ongoing tradition. In any

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51 The following translation appears in C. Mikuli, 'Introductory Notes' to Frederic Chopin's Complete Works for the Piano (U.S.A., G. Schirmer, 1895), unpaginated [2]; 'For paired notes and chords he exacted strictly simultaneous striking of the notes, an arpeggio being permitted only where marked by the composer himself.'


53 Eigeldinger, Chopin, 108.
case, without audible evidence of Chopin’s playing, it is impossible to make a comparison between his practices and those of pianists at the turn of the twentieth century. Eigeldinger’s comment cannot, therefore, be substantiated.

Indeed, Chopin may have disliked the tendency to arpeggiate everything to the point of destroying the melody line. Thus, he may have been strict with his students until they developed a proper and sophisticated sense of how to apply arpeggios. Or he may simply have made such comments in passing, or in the heat of a moment, not expecting that his words would be followed verbatim or applied without exception. It is also possible that very swift or tight arpeggiation was not regarded as arpeggiation.

In any case it is arguable whether Chopin was himself meticulous in his notation of arpeggios. Eigeldinger notes, for example, that Chopin’s annotations in a score of one of his other students, Camille Dubois, reveals an arpeggiation sign in bar 7 of the Prelude Op. 28 No. 6, that did not appear in the original French edition (Fig. 3.31). This sign bears remarkable visual resemblance to others that appear in the Nocturne Op. 32 No. 1 at bar 9 and bar 32 (Figs. 3.32 and 3.33). Eigeldinger also states that ‘there are places in Chopin’s compositions where the spreading of chords, though necessary, is not always clearly specified, probably bearing in mind the different hand spans of pianists.’ He gives as an example the section commencing at bar 25 of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 48 No. 1 (Fig. 3.34). While hand spans may have been the criterion for the somewhat erratic notation here, it is perhaps more likely that the notated arpeggios are ones that Chopin

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54 Ibid., 108.
55 Ibid., 108.
particularly wanted to hear. This may not have been intended to exclude the addition of other arpeggios according to the taste of the individual, their hand span, the acoustic of the hall or the type of piano being played. In the end, it is dangerous to assume from Mikuli’s comment alone, that unnotated arpeggiation was not part of Chopin’s expressive practice.

Fig. 3.31  Chopin Prelude Op. 28 No. 6, bar 7, arpeggiation indicated in the Dubois score. *56*

![Fig. 3.31](image)

Fig. 3.32  Chopin Nocturne Op. 32 No. 1, bars 8 and 9. *57*

![Fig. 3.32](image)

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*56* Ibid., 109.

The 1903 acoustic recordings of Raoul Pugno prove interesting in this regard. He studied with Chopin's student Georges Mathias so it might perhaps be assumed that at least some

58 Ibid., 51.
59 Ibid., 71.
of his practices derive from Chopin. Pugno makes unnotated arpeggiation in Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 and Valse Op. 34 No. 1. In the Nocturne, he arpeggiates several of the chords in the left hand between bars 6 and 9, creating a strummed or harped effect which enhances the frequent and poignant changes of harmony (Figs. 3.35 and 3.36). These upward arpeggiation have the aural effect of commencing before the notional beat. Pugno makes similar arpeggiation in bars 15 and 21.

Fig. 3.35 Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 6 to 9, ed. Pugno.60

Fig. 3.36 Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 6 to 9, Pugno, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 2/23).

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60 Pugno, The Lessons, 67.
At the beginning of bars 5 and 13, Pugno doubles the bass notes at the lower octave and arpeggiates them so that the lower note comes before the notional beat (Fig. 3.37). These sound similar in effect to his arpeggiated octaves in the left hand at bars 20 and 21 (Fig. 3.38). Considering this very noticeable employment of unnotated arpeggiation, some mention might be expected in his remarks on the performance of the work, but this is not the case. He never once recommends the addition of such arpeggios, even though he gives the advice, for example, on the performance of Chopin’s notated arpeggiation at the end of bar 8 to ‘spread out the chord very broadly from the first note in the bass to the A which begins the melody again.’

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61 Ibid., 67.

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In his recording of the Valse Op. 34 No. 1, Pugno makes unnotated arpeggios that enhance the expression of the melody written in sixths in the section commencing at bar 17 (Fig. 3.39). Chopin in any case notated two arpeggios at the beginning of bars 26 and 29 (Fig. 3.40) and it seems that Pugno simply extended this effect. Significantly, this type of arpeggiation helps to achieve a feeling of dolce e cantando as marked by Pugno.

Although there is no direct instruction about the application of extra arpeggios for this section, there may be a veiled message in his advice that:

The theme, which differs wholly in movement, should convey an impression of languid grace. The delicate shades and meanings absolutely forbid the dryness of too precise a rhythm. It is, as it were, a lissome lady at a ball, whose movements in her long trained gown evoke all the charm of the Polish dance measure.  

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62 Ibid., 8.
At the return of the theme at bar 80, Pugno again makes an arpeggiation. His annotation at this point states that 'we come back to the charm, to the delicate shading, to the wayward delays, the tender coquetry.'

It is apparent that delicate shading, languid grace, and the dolce and cantando feeling are achieved in Pugno's playing by making, amongst other things, unnotated arpeggiations. These also help to avoid 'too precise a rhythm' and help create wayward delays.

The gulf between Pugno's written advice and his practice is obvious; his annotations do not convey what he actually did. The reason for this was surely that he expected musicians of his era to understand the hidden implications in his words, just as Corri one hundred years earlier had explained that certain terms such as dolce and espressivo

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63 Ibid., 8.
64 Ibid., 10.
implied the use of arpeggiation. Now, however, such terminology no longer carries those implications. The hidden meaning remains hidden. Without Pugno’s recordings, his manner of adding arpeggios would be unknown and a reliance on Pugno’s written text alone would result in a practice quite different from his own.

Pugno seems to have adopted a different attitude to the use of arpeggiations in his recording of Chopin’s Berceuse Op. 57. Here, he studiously avoids any chord spreading, apart from places where the interval is too wide to play simultaneously or the occasional bass note doubling. In his annotations to the work, there are no obvious comments about this; however, an opening comment forbidding the use of too much expression may contain a hidden message not to make arpeggiations:

One of the peculiarities of this piece is the insistent (volue) monotony of the bass, which necessarily implies a sameness of mood in the right hand, an almost complete neutrality in the left. This bass is like a soft, spread carpet whereon there unfold themselves - first, the naïve and tender melody, and then the variations and the “pianistic” Fantasys in which Chopin’s palette was so rich. No emotion is to be sought for.\(^{65}\)

Again, for modern readers this instruction implies perhaps nothing more than simplicity in the interpretation. But it is highly likely that Pugno’s words signified much more.

Other late-nineteenth-century written documentation, such as revised or instructive editions, reveals the addition of arpeggio signs that augment those already notated by the composer. However, in all cases found, the frequency of such additions does not approach the frequency of unnotated arpeggiations preserved in early recordings. Here, the striking disparity between musical notation and actual practice is most evident. In his

\(^{65}\) Ibid., 26.
edition of Chopin’s Nocturnes,⁶⁶ the pianist and editor Carl Klindworth marks several arpeggio signs not in the original notation. These appear to fulfil specific functions as noted in the table below (Fig. 3.41).

**Fig. 3.41** Chopin Nocturnes Op. 55 No. 1 and Op. 72 No. 1, ed. Klindworth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>NOTATED ARPEGGIO SIGN</th>
<th>POSSIBLE INTENDED EFFECT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1⁶⁷</td>
<td>chords in right and left hands and grace-note octave doubling in left hand at the beginning of bar 48 (Appendix B, Figs. 1A and 1B)</td>
<td>enhancing a softened effect for the end of the section and marking the boundary before proceeding with the more impassioned <em>più mosso</em></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>chords in right and left hands at the beginning of bar 52 (Appendix B, Figs. 2A and 2B)</td>
<td>enhances the poignancy of the grace note D natural forming a dissonant ninth with the C minor harmony</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the left hand at the beginning of bar 56 (Appendix B, Figs. 3A and 3B)</td>
<td>same effect as bar 52; N.B. Chopin marked an arpeggiation in the right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double-note interval formed by the compound melody on the first beat of bar 58 (Appendix B, Figs. 4A and 4B)</td>
<td>delineates the entry of the second voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double-note interval at bars 59 and 63 (Appendix B, Figs. 5A and 5B)</td>
<td>distinguishes between the compound voices; in the case of bar 63, the arpeggio may mark the boundary between the decrescendo that precedes and the crescendo that follows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the left hand at bar 69; n.b. the chord in the right hand remains unarpeggiated (Appendix B, Figs. 6A and 6B)</td>
<td>similar to Brée’s description of this technique, creating energy without harshness appropriate to the character; here, the chords form an energetic pivot point between two sections</td>
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<tr>
<th>Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1</th>
<th>chord formed on the restruck pedal point F at bar 87 (Appendix B, Figs. 7A and 7B)</th>
<th>delineates the end of the decrescendo in the right hand and the start of a crescendo</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1&lt;sup&gt;68&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>octave on first beat in the right hand at bar 10 (Appendix B, Figs. 8A and 8B)</td>
<td>distinguishes between lower voice and the newly introduced upper voice</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>arpeggiation of the third last double-note triplet chord in the right hand at bar 12 (Appendix B, Figs. 9A and 9B)</td>
<td>clarifies the re-entry of the upper voice that has been momentarily silent, and also propels the momentum forward into the next bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>double-note chord on the third crotchet beat in the right hand at bar 14 (Appendix B, Figs. 10A and 10B)</td>
<td>emphasizes the poignancy of the dissonant ninth formed with the bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the right hand at the beginning of bar 26 (Appendix B, Figs. 11A and 11B)</td>
<td>emphasizes and enhances the effect of strong/weak at the feminine cadence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>last octave of a pattern of four in the right hand at bar 41 (Appendix B, Figs. 12A and 12B)</td>
<td>gives heightened significance and helps to mark the subsequent leap of the upper voice down an octave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>third last triplet-quaver chord in the right hand at bar 41 (Appendix B, Figs. 12A and 12B)</td>
<td>same effect as at bar 12, propelling the movement forward</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first chord in the right hand at bar 46; here, there is an added E as well as an added grace-note octave doubling in the left hand (Appendix B, Figs. 13A and 13B)</td>
<td>enhances the resolving or softening effect of the chord that is preceded by a common cadence formula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>final chord in the left hand at bar 57 (Appendix B, Figs. 14A and 14B)</td>
<td>enhances the <em>calando</em> effect</td>
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Klindworth’s additions of arpeggio signs in Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2<sup>69</sup> are particularly significant as they afford comparison with audible examples. His only additional arpeggio signs, in the right hand in bars 11, 13, and 33 (Figs. 3.42, 3.43 and 3.44), bear a resemblance to those made by Leschetizky, Powell, La Forge and Pachmann.

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<sup>67</sup> Ibid., 57-60.
<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 73-5.
<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 29-32.
cited above. However, it is evident that they make much more frequent arpeggations. The disparity between the frequency of arpeggios in Klindworth's edition and those preserved in many early recordings is clear. On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that Klindworth did not expect more to be added. Here, and in other places, he may simply have marked those arpeggations that he thought absolutely necessary, leaving others to the taste and skill of the performer.

Fig. 3.42 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 11, ed. Klindworth.\(^70\)

Fig. 3.43 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 13, ed. Klindworth.\(^71\)

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\(^{70}\) Ibid., 29.
\(^{71}\) Ibid., 29.
Klindworth’s additional arpeggio signs in Chopin’s Nocturnes can be seen to have specific expressive purpose and confirm that he felt the need for more arpeggiation than originally notated by Chopin. Klindworth’s edition is valuable for the study of late-nineteenth-century performing practice; it provides notated evidence of the types of arpeggiation preserved in some early recordings. However, a strict adherence to his notation would produce significantly less arpeggiation than was made by many players. He simply did not mark arpeggios as frequently as many players made them.

Earlier in the nineteenth century, the addition of arpeggio signs to Classical masterworks seems to have been a fairly common practice. Klindworth was preceded at least by Carl Czerny who notated an arpeggio for the first chord of the third movement of Beethoven’s Piano Sonata Op. 7 (Fig. 3.45), as well as notating one for the first chord of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto Op. 58. In this regard, either Czerny remembered Beethoven’s practice or thought that an arpeggio was appropriate for the enhancement of Beethoven’s indication.

72 Ibid., 30.
p dolce. Though he does not say so, it seems probable that he expected this type of
arpeggiation to continue at other appropriate moments in the movement.

Fig. 3.45 Beethoven Piano Sonata Op. 7, third movement, ed. Czerny.73

Another important pianist and editor, Cipriani Potter, preceded Klindworth in adding
arpeggio signs. Between 1822 and 1859, Potter was associated with the Royal Academy
of Music in London, first as a teacher and eventually as its Principal. In 1817, he had
apparently studied with Beethoven in Vienna.74 Potter’s editions of Mozart’s piano
sonatas began to be published in about 1836 and were reissued by Novello in 1851.75
They reveal many added arpeggios, of which some are listed in the table below (Fig.
3.46).

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73 Czerny, Supplement, 38.
75 W.A. Mozart, An Entirely Honourable and Complete Edition of the Pianoforte Works with and
without Accompaniments of this Celebrated Composer, ed. C. Potter (London, J.A. Novello,
c. 1857).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>NOTATED ARPEGGIO SIGN</th>
<th>POSSIBLE INTENDED EFFECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mozart Sonata K 310; first movement - Allegro maestoso&lt;sup&gt;76&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>compound melody in the right hand at bar 17 (Appendix C, Figs. 1A and 1B)</td>
<td>differentiation of two voices when one enters an octave higher; N.B. the similarity between this and Brée's advice to use arpeggiation in polyphonic writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the left hand at bar 57 (Appendix C, Figs. 2A and 2B)</td>
<td>enhances &lt;i&gt;sf&lt;/i&gt; accent and fills the sound of the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minim chords in the right hand during the section from bar 58 to bar 68 inclusive (Appendix C, Figs. 2A and 2B)</td>
<td>adds to the bravura character by creating a strummed effect; it is obvious that this is to be continued throughout even though the arpeggio signs do not continue; Potter prompts the player at bar 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>alternating chords in the left hand from bars 118 to 119 (Appendix C, Figs. 3A and 3B)</td>
<td>enhancing the effect of strong and weak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the left hand at bar 126 and the right hand at bar 127 (Appendix C, Figs. 4A and 4B)</td>
<td>enhances the &lt;i&gt;sforzando&lt;/i&gt; effect and fills out the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second movement - Andante cantabile con espressione&lt;sup&gt;77&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>chord on the first beat marked across left and right hands at bar 2 (Appendix C, Figs. 5A and 5B)</td>
<td>gives emphasis to the six-four harmony on the first beat that resolves to an un-arpeggiated five-three harmony on the second beat; this occurs at many other feminine cadences throughout the movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord on the third beat marked across the left and right hand in bar 2 even though an anticipatory arpeggio was already notated by Mozart; N.B. Potter adds notes to Mozart's original chord (Appendix C, Figs. 5A and 5B)</td>
<td>enhances the effect of the &lt;i.fp&lt;/i&gt; marking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., 107-13.<br /><sup>77</sup>Ibid., 114-9.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Second movement - Andante cantabile con espressione</th>
<th>first chord in the right hand in bar 3 (Appendix C, Figs. 5A and 5B)</th>
<th>enhances the poignancy of the dominant seventh harmony</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord in the right hand at bar 27 and corresponding material in bar 82 (Appendix C, Figs. 6A and 6B)</td>
<td>enhances the accent and fills out the sound in the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chords on the first beat in the right hand at bar 40 and bar 42 (Appendix C, Fig. 7A and 7B)</td>
<td>emphasizes the strong beats and poignant dissonant harmonies</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Potter also produced editions of Beethoven’s piano sonatas that appear to have received little attention in the scholarly literature. These too provide interesting examples of added arpeggio signs (Fig. 3.47).

**Fig. 3.47** Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, ed. Potter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>UNNOTATED ARPEGGATION</th>
<th>POSSIBLE EFFECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven <em>Sonata Pathétique</em> Op. 13(^{78}); First movement - Grave</td>
<td>chord on the first beat across left and right hand at bar 1 and bar 3 (Appendix D, Figs. 1A and 1B)</td>
<td>creates heightened dramatic effect; N.B. chord at the beginning of bar 2 is not arpeggiated, perhaps for a contrasting effect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord on the first beat of bar 133; here the left and right hand have separate arpeggio signs (Appendix D, Figs. 2A and 2B)</td>
<td>creates heightened dramatic effect; N.B. the sign is only used once in this section, perhaps simply to remind the player to make arpeggios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Movement - Adagio cantabile(^{79})</td>
<td>chords on the first and second crotchet beats across left and right hand in bar 9 (Appendix D, Fig. 3A and 3B)</td>
<td>enhances the singing quality implied in the indication <em>cantando</em> and <em>con molto espress.</em>; here again there is intermittent use of arpeggio signs, perhaps just as a means of prompting the player</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chord on the first beat across the</td>
<td>emphasis of the six-four chord</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{79}\) Ibid., 9-11.
Second Movement - Adagio

| left and right hand at bar 16 (Appendix D, Figs. 4A and 4B) | that resolves to an unarpeggiated five-three chord |
| chord on the first beat across the left and right hand at repeat of the opening material at bar 29 (Appendix D, Figs. 5A and 5B) | enhances singing quality; it is surprising that Potter did not mark the same arpeggio sign at the opening |
| chords on the first beat across the left and right hand at bars 52 (Appendix D, Figs. 6A and 6B) and bar 59 (Appendix D, Figs. 7A and 7B) | enhances singing quality; again there is intermittent use of arpeggio signs |

Third movement - Rondo-Allegro non tanto

| long chords across the left and right hand at bars 18 and 22 (Appendix D, Figs. 8A and 8B) | creates heightened dramatic emphasis for the marking *fp* and fills out the sound of the bar |
| octave in the right hand at bar 75 (Appendix D, Figs. 9A and 9B) | delineates the compound voices |

Potter’s edition of Beethoven’s *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 1 also provides some fascinating examples of added arpeggio signs. In bars 6 and 7 he clearly marks the octaves in the right hand to be arpeggiated, thereby separating the melody note from the inner voice accompaniment (Appendix E, Figs. 1A and 1B). This type of arpeggiation was presumably intended to continue throughout the movement. Potter also marks an arpeggio for the interval of a ninth in the right hand at bars 52 and 54 (Appendix E, Figs. 2A and 2B). This may simply have been for the benefit of those for whom the interval was too wide. On the other hand, he may have marked it specially so that those who could strike the interval simultaneously did not do so, considering that the extraordinarily poignant harmony needed particular expression achieved by arpeggiation.

In Potter’s editions, it is not always possible to appreciate why he indicated arpeggio signs at some moments and not at others. Sometimes these are apparently used as

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80 Ibid., 12-17.
prompts to remind the player to arpeggiate or simply to provide an example of when to do so. Nevertheless, that they exist is proof of the importance of arpeggiation at this time. Potter was not the only editor to mark arpeggiation in the first and second movements of the *Sonata Pathétique*. In an edition of 1861, W. Dorrell follows the tradition, perhaps inculcated by Potter, by marking an arpeggio for the opening chord of the first movement and the corresponding chord at bar 133 (Fig. 3.48). A further example is found in the *Magazine of Music: Pictorial Pianoforte Tutor* (Leipzig, 1891), where the anonymous editor marked an arpeggio sign for the double-note chord (A flat-B flat) in the right hand at bar 11 of the second movement (Fig. 3.49). Like Potter, this might have been to make sure that the poignant harmony was indeed arpeggiated. Significantly, however, the editor also marked an arpeggio sign for the first chord in the right hand at bar 13, forming a dissonant seventh (Fig. 3.49).

Fig. 3.48  **Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, first movement, bar 1, ed. W. Dorrell.**

![Beethoven Sonata Pathétique Op. 13, first movement, bar 1, ed. W. Dorrell.](image)

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Another enlightening example found in the *Magazine of Music: Pictorial Pianoforte Tutor* reveals that, in certain cases, poignant harmonies were required to be arpeggiated.

In the following excerpt from Beethoven's *Marcia Funebre sulla morte d'un eroe*, an arpeggio sign is marked for the chord in the right hand at the beginning of bar 25 and the anonymous editor appended the following notice in a footnote:\footnote{Beethoven, 'Marcia Funebre sulla morte d'un eroe', *Magazine of Music*, part 2, 31.}

It is recommended to play the C natural with the second finger and to spread this chord, in order to make the sublime beauty of this change into major fully heard and appreciated.

Further examples of added arpeggio signs listed below can be found in other Beethoven sonatas edited by W. Dorrell (Fig. 3.50). Often, Dorrell notated an arpeggio sign only on

\footnote{Beethoven, 'Adagio' from 'Sonata pathétique', *Magazine of Music*, part 2, 130.}
the first appearance of recurring musical material. Like Potter, his marking may have
been intended as a prompt to continue arpeggiating where appropriate.

**Fig. 3.50** Beethoven Sonatas Op. 2 No. 1 and Op. 22, ed. Dorrell.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>NOTATED ARPEGGIO SIGN</th>
<th>POSSIBLE INTENDED EFFECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 2 No. 1; First movement - Allegro (^{86})</td>
<td>long chord across the left and right hands at the penultimate bar of the exposition - bar 47 (Appendix F, Figs. 1A and 1B)</td>
<td>enhances the effect of (ff) and its resolution on to the un-arpeggiated chord in bar 48, and fills out the sound of the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>long chords across the left and right hands at bars 146 and 148 (Appendix F, Figs. 2A and 2B)</td>
<td>similar effect to above</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 22; Second movement - Adagio con molto espressione (^{87})</td>
<td>chord on the first beat in the right hand at bar 13 (Appendix F, Figs. 3A and 3B)</td>
<td>enhances the expressive effect of the E flat major harmony; N.B. this arpeggiation is not marked at other similar places such as bars 15, 19, and 21 but a similar arpeggio may well have been expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>first chord in the right hand at bar 58 (Appendix F, Figs. 4A and 4B)</td>
<td>similar effect to above</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above, it is evident that some nineteenth-century editors added arpeggio signs to the composer’s original text for particular expressive effect. Yet it is clear that in the case of late-nineteenth-century editions, the number of signs does not correspond with the frequency with which many pianists made arpeggiations. It is possible that the editors cited above wished no other arpeggios to be added; however, the sporadic nature of their additions makes this highly unlikely.


\(^{87}\) Ibid., 139-42.
Strong evidence that some nineteenth-century editors did not consider their markings as binding is exemplified in the unnotated arpeggiation practices of Carl Reinecke. In his own published arrangement of the Larghetto from Mozart’s Piano Concerto K 537, Reinecke is quite specific in the notation of arpeggio signs, indicating places where intervals are too widely spaced to be played simultaneously or perhaps where large chords in both hands should be arpeggiated. At other places, such as bars 1 to 8, no arpeggio signs are indicated (Fig. 3.51). However, Reinecke’s 1905 piano roll of the Larghetto reveals that in these bars and many others, he introduced a significant number of unnotated arpeggiation (Fig. 3.52). Often, these have the aural effect of sounding before the beat; the melody notes give a notional sense of pulse. There is also a very flexible attitude to the alteration of the notes themselves. For example, Reinecke fleshes out the chords on the first beat of bars 1 and 5, creating forward propulsion that is dramatic in effect. Examples of Reinecke’s dislocation practices have already been cited in Chapter 2. It is evident that he interspersed arpeggiation and dislocations closely, producing an overall effect of almost continuous syncopation.

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88 Mozart, Larghetto arr. Reinecke, 2-7.
Fig. 3.51  Mozart Larghetto arr. Reinecke, bars 1 to 8.\textsuperscript{89}

Fig. 3.52  Mozart Larghetto arr. Reinecke, bars 1 to 8, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 2/27).

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 2.
Of significance here is Reinecke’s interpretation of the portato notation, particularly noticeable in the main theme where Mozart did not use it. Reinecke’s practices are certainly in keeping with Moscheles’s principle (quoted above) that portato articulations over chords implied arpeggiation. Note for example the left-hand arpeggiation of chords marked with portato in bars 2, 3 and 7.

Bars 9 and 10 also provide examples of Reinecke’s unnotated arpeggiation (Figs. 3.53 and 3.54). Here, the effect of arpeggiation before the beat in the left-hand figurations is clearly audible.

**Fig. 3.53**   Mozart Larghetto arr. Reinecke, bars 9 and 10.  

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90 Ibid., 2.
In the section from bars 15 to 19, Reinecke embellishes the melody and arpeggiates almost every chord in the accompaniment contrary to his own notation (Figs. 3.55 and 3.56). Here, too, the arpeggiations sound before a notional beat punctuated by the melodic material in the right hand.

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91 Ibid., 3.
Reinecke arpeggiates the chords across the left and right hand on the first beats of bars 28, 29 and 30 (Figs. 3.57 and 3.58). Here, the arpeggiations are swift and start before the beat. In addition, Reinecke makes several significant changes to his notation. Similar arpeggiations are also made between bars 36 and 41.
Fig. 3.57  Mozart Larghetto arr. Reinecke, bars 28 to 30.\textsuperscript{92}

Fig. 3.58  Mozart Larghetto arr. Reinecke, bars 29 to 30, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 2/29).

Clearly, Reinecke did not regard his notation as binding. The implications here are manifold. His notation does not preserve the nature or frequency of arpeggiation intrinsic to his style. In fact, a strict adherence to his notation would produce a result entirely different from his own. Reinecke the pianist did not adhere to the notation of Reinecke the editor and arranger.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid., 3.
This discrepancy between notation and actual practice has strong historical precedents. Reinecke, like Corri and earlier writers, may have employed verbal expressions like *con espressione*, *con anima*, and *dolce* and by inference *larghetto*, to convey that, in addition to those marked in the score, other highly expressive arpeggios should frequently be added. Thus, Reinecke is perhaps a true representative of a tradition that had already been in existence for a considerable period.

By modern standards, Reinecke’s recording of the Larghetto sounds extraordinary because we are unaccustomed to such a highly arpeggiated style. It is likely, however, that for many nineteenth-century musicians, such a style was the norm. In this respect, the Scottish composer Ronald Stevenson (b. 1928) has noted that:

> Schumann notated more of the Romantic style than possibly any of his contemporaries; but it is probable that arpeggiation was not notated by even earlier masters, such as Weber and Schubert, simply because it was a widespread practice, taken for granted and left to the individual performer’s discretion. ⁹³

Schumann’s notation certainly preserves an abundance of grace-note figures that imply arpeggiation. This is noticeable, for example, in many places throughout his *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3 (Fig. 3.64 below). In spite of this, pianists such as Reinecke added more arpeggios to the texture. During the sequence in bar 20 (repeated in bar 24) in his 1905 recording of the work, he arpeggiates the syncopated chord in the right hand that introduces a significant leap, playing the lower note before the notional beat (Figs. 3.59 and 3.60).

And during the sequence in bar 34 (repeated in bar 38), the last chord in the left hand is occasionally arpeggiated. This separation of the narrowly-spaced chord draws attention to the chromatic note C flat, as well as enhancing its question-like nature (Figs. 3.61 and 3.62).

---

And in the section from bars 35 to 40 and its repeat, Reinecke delineates, wherever possible, the compound melodies in the right hand by arpeggiating the notes that coincide (Fig. 3.63). Here, there is a similarity with Brée's advice in this regard. Of particular interest is the downward arpeggiation of the right-hand chord at the beginning of bar 38.

95 Ibid., 86.
This seemingly unconventional practice is also noticeable in his manner of playing the last left-hand chord in bars 4 and 16 (with similar material). Here, an arching shape is produced when the three-note chord is arpeggiated in the order - lowest/highest/middle note (Figs. 3.64 and 3.65).

Ibid., 86.
Reinecke was not alone in applying such arpeggiations to Warum?. Paderewski's 1912 recording of it also reveals the use of several unnotated arpeggiations. In bars 10, 11, 12, and 18 (the first time only) Paderewski delineates the compound melodies in the right hand by arpeggiating wherever necessary (Fig. 3.66).

At places where these compound melodies form a seventh in the right hand, such as in bars 27 and 29, Paderewski makes further arpeggiations (Fig. 3.67). In both cases, the
grace note is played before the lower note B that is aligned with the notional beat. The A is played last. In addition, the right and left hands are dislocated producing an even stronger effect of arpeggiation.

Fig. 3.67 Schumann Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, bars 27 to 29, Paderewski, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 2/34).

And in the section from bars 35 to 40 (the first time), Paderewski makes similar arpeggiations to Reinecke’s apparently in order to delineate the compound melodies in the right hand (see Fig. 3.63, CD 2/35). On the repeat, he varies these, sometimes playing the notes in a more synchronous manner. Paderewski’s arpeggiations were therefore calculated, not simply automatic mannerisms. Curiously, although he commented extensively on rubato practices, he never mentions the practice of unnotated arpeggiation.

Indeed, it seems that arpeggiations were often applied to Warum? Here, the advice of Moritz Moskowski (cited in Chapter 2) is particularly significant. He regarded the use of continual arpeggio ‘as one of the most perfunctory styles of which a pianist can be guilty.’ Would Moskowski have raised an eyebrow at the practices of Reinecke and

97 See Chapter 2, page 68.
Paderewski who, in Warum?, do exactly what he forbids? The obvious disparity between written advice and actual practice is again clearly evident.

Not all editors shared Moskowski's opinion however. Klindworth certainly advocated an arpeggio not originally notated by Schumann at the beginning of bar 11 in the right hand in his edition of Warum? published between 1883 and 1888 (Fig. 3.68). He may have expected others to be added as a matter of course.

Fig. 3.68 Schumann Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, bar 11, ed. Klindworth.98

Other written references identify serious contradictions that are difficult to comprehend. For example, the description of Saint-Saëns's caustic reaction to a particular performance of Paderewski does not tally with Saint-Saëns's own practices. In From Grieg to Brahms (1927), Daniel Mason says in his 'Postscript' that:

It was unfortunate for Saint-Saëns, who lived to be eighty-seven, that old age soured rather than sweetened him, and that though he retained to the end his intellectual curiosity and his mordant wit, his human sympathies, always his weak point, shriveled until he must have become a scolding and domineering old bore. No one was safe

from his crotchets. Once Paderewski paid him the compliment of playing one of his pieces on a state occasion signalizing the cordial political relations of Poland and France. Alas, the Dean of French music, as Saint-Saëns was then impressively called, could not abide the Polish romanticist’s habit of arpeggiating or “breaking” all his chords instead of playing their notes together - a romantic habit that must have violated the deepest instinct of his pseudo classical soul. State occasion or no, he rose from his seat and in his dry, nasal, insistent voice droned: “Monsieur Paderewski, il ne faut pas jouer comme ça (gesture of arpeggiated chord) il faut jouer comme ça (gesture of solid chord). Silence of scandalized consternation as the skeleton at the feast resumed his seat. In Saint-Saëns’s later days it was almost as dangerous to play his compositions as not to play them.\(^9\)

Apparently, Saint-Saëns could not tolerate Paderewski’s employment of unnotated arpeggiation in his music. But if Mason’s description gives the impression that he would never have permitted its use, this is simply not the case; many unnotated arpeggiations are preserved in his 1905 piano roll recordings of his own music as well as of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1. In his *Rhapsodie d’Auvergne* Op. 73 he makes unnotated arpeggiations at bars 15, 17, 19 (Figs. 3.69 and 3.70), although his only indication of arpeggio is at the end of bar 12.

\(^9\) D.G. Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms: Studies of Some Modern Composers and Their Art*, ‘Postscript after Twenty - Five Years’ (1902); 2nd edn. (New York, 1927), 236.
Fig. 3.69  Saint-Saëns *Rhapsodie D'Auvergne* Op. 73, bars 12 to 20.\textsuperscript{100}

Fig. 3.70  Saint-Saëns *Rhapsodie D'Auvergne* Op. 73, bars 15 and 19, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 2/36).

And during bar 42, marked *pp espressivo*, he makes arpeggiation not indicated in the score (Figs. 3.71 and 3.72).
Fig. 3.71  Saint-Saëns *Rhapsodie D’Auvergne* Op. 73, bars 40 to 44.\textsuperscript{101}

Fig. 3.72  Saint-Saëns *Rhapsodie D’Auvergne* Op. 73, bars 42 and 43, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 2/37).

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 4.
In the first section of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, Saint-Saëns frequently arpeggiates chords in the left hand, in a similar way to Pugno, creating richer expressive sonorities. These vary in speed according to character and are particularly noticeable during bars 6, 7, 17, 18 and 19 (Figure 3.73). Many other examples can be heard in the ‘Doppio movimento’ section of the work.

Fig. 3.73 Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 6 and 7 and bars 17 to 19, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 2/38 and 39).

In this light, it is impossible to appreciate why Saint-Saëns reacted as he did to Paderewski’s performance. It may be that he found Paderewski’s arpeggiation too frequent and too noticeable, or simply that Paderewski played them in places where he would not have done. Whatever the reason, it is clear that in this case there is a curious
discrepancy between what Saint-Saëns expected from others and what he himself did. The written text gives a misleading impression.

**Manner of execution**

In addition to the anomalies that exist between written texts and recorded evidence discussed above, matters concerning the speed of arpeggios and their placement raise many questions. Writers in the first half of the nineteenth century, such as Corri and Czerny, indicate that the speed of arpeggios was to be variable depending on the character and context of the music. Yet, in the mid-century, Thalberg recommends an apparently unvarying fast speed which makes the notes sound almost together.

The speed of arpeggios was a factor that concerned several writers during the late-nineteenth century. Carl Reinecke’s concern is evident in the following advice to a student. Regarding the ‘Andante’ from Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 10 No. 1, Reinecke says:

In the sixth bar of the Subject is an arpeggio sign, and I make use of the opportunity to warn against the too broad separation of the notes from the lowest bass note to the highest treble one. The melody runs:

```
\( \text{\textcopyright} \) a [flat] must sound in the closest connection with the preceding d[flat]; this would, however, be prevented by a slow arpeggio upwards from the bass.
```

In general, the arpeggio sign signifies that the chord should not be struck quite together, which in this case would, of course, sound hard.\textsuperscript{102}

And of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31, No. 2, he says:

The first chord should not be broadly spread. The arpeggio sign, generally, has always only the signification that the chord in question is not to be struck quite precisely together; if the composer really desires it broadly spread, he writes it differently...The way in which Beethoven has written the arpeggios at the beginning of the second part, confirms my view given above. Here they must be more broadly separated one from another, and a division between the two hands in such a way that the left hand takes the minim every time, is much to be recommended.103

Furthermore, he says regarding the transition to the ‘Finale’ of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 106.104

I have already mentioned in my former letters, that arpeggio chords ought never to be too slowly broken. The three bars of transition to the Finale corroborate this, for the melody therein is:-

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{A-IV} \\
&\text{and were the chord at the pause broken slowly, the two notes, } a[\text{flat}] \text{ and } d[\text{flat}], \text{ which belong together, would be too widely separated from one another. Therefore, not something like this.}
\end{align*}
\]

Reinecke gives the impression that, apart from special circumstances notated by the composer, the notes of chords to be arpeggiated ought to be spread quickly and almost together, similarly to Thalberg’s advice above. In his 1905 piano roll of his arrangement of Mozart’s Larghetto, however, Reinecke’s arpeggiation often sound broader than implied by his words, and in any case, there is no doubt that he varied their speed. It

103 Ibid., 59-60.  
104 Ibid., 81.
seems, therefore, that either Reinecke advised something that he did not follow in reality, or that his terminology means something significantly different now than it did then. For him, striking the notes ‘not quite together’ or ‘not precisely together’ encompassed a wider range of speed than a face-value interpretation suggests.

Other late-nineteenth-century written texts advise that arpeggios be aligned with the beat rather than starting before it. At least in theory, such arpeggiations are notated to be played swiftly so that they will not interfere with the rhythmic pattern of accompanying parts. This is exemplified in Bülow’s annotations to Cramer’s Study No. 19 where he states:¹⁰⁵

The directions given in No.1 regarding the correct manner of playing arpeggio chords find, if need be, their most obvious justification in this and the following study. The acoustic impurity which must result from striking the lower notes of a chord beforehand and sounding them together with notes which belong to another harmony will wound a sensitive ear; and will lead the teacher thenceforth not to tolerate the slightest carelessness on the pupil’s part in this respect. The execution is here once more plainly set before the player:

And in another reference, Bülow insists that arpeggios notated as grace notes should be aligned with the beat. With reference to Cramer’s Study No. 29, he says: 106

With regard to the *arpeggio* notes in the left hand, which appear as *acciaccature* (or short prefixes), the reader is referred to what has been already said in the foot-notes to Nos. 1 and 18. As the *acciaccatura* gives the bass of the chord it should be marked stronger than the note following it, as the latter, being a longer note, would strike the ear more forcibly. With regard to the triplets in the right hand the execution must be as follows:

![Musical notation](image)

This same point is emphasized again in Bülow’s annotations of Cramer’s Study No. 38.

Further significant evidence that some musicians required arpeggiations to occur within the beat and therefore quickly is found in an annotation of the second movement of Beethoven’s *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 13 cited in the *Magazine of Music* (1891). Here, the arpeggio marked in the right hand at bar 16 is annotated to be played as shown at the end of the excerpt (Fig. 3.74).

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106 Ibid., 63.
The above references seem to have been aimed at stemming the practice of arpeggiating too slowly and before the beat, thus causing in the hands of inexperienced performers such unmusical effects as the confusion of harmony, the destruction of rhythm and the distortion of the melody line. In spite of such written advice, however, early recordings reveal that many pianists such as Reinecke, Leschetizky, Saint-SAëNS, Pugno, Pachmann, and Paderewski used a variety of speeds as well as placements of notated and unnotated arpeggios before and with the beat, depending on context and required effect. Other written references such as the following imply that arpeggio speed should vary according to the character of the composition. Regarding the grace-note arpeggios in Schumann’s *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3 (Fig. 3.75), Clara Schumann explained that:  

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This arpeggio in accordance with the character of the piece, must not be played quickly but as follows:

Fig. 3.75 Schumann Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, bar 13.\textsuperscript{109}

Here, it is notable that Clara Schumann evidently intended the arpeggio to start on the beat, rather than before it, and repositioned the quaver rest to make the point clear.

**Changing tastes**

During the second half of the nineteenth century, several writers confirm the widespread practice of unnotated arpeggiation, but seek its judicious use or total eradication. In *The

Art of Piano Playing and Teaching (c. 1895), Maria Grimaldi notes the tendency to
arpeggiate, branding it as a weakness:

I have noticed in many people a tendency to spread chords which are meant to be
played as a whole. The ensemble of an orchestra is its most beautiful quality being the
unity in harmony, why not do the same with our ten fingers? It is to me a grave fault,
and almost always shows a proclivity to sentimentalism. 110

Walter Gieseking also made this analogy with orchestral playing in 1932. Expressing a
disdain for the arpeggio manner, he opined that 'it is remarkable that even amateurs
criticize an orchestra, if chords are not played precisely together; whereas on the concert
platform this grievous offence against all musical feeling is nearly always overlooked. 111

Hans von Bülow also appears to have been staunchly opposed to the use of arpeggiation
where not indicated in the score. With reference to the Study No. 1 in his edition of J.B.
Cramer's Pianoforte Studies he warns that:

The teacher should insist on a systematic arpeggio wherever this indication is given,
and should just as strictly insist on the avoidance of the mannerism of striking notes
arpeggio where not specifically so marked. The least concession on this point - at the
beginning of teaching - brings ineradicable harm with it. 112

And in Cramer's Study No. 44, Bülow again makes it clear that no unnotated
arpeggiation is to be tolerated. He advises that: 'In order to make the piece sound well it
is absolutely essential that all intervals should be played perfectly and evenly together', 113

111 Gieseking and Leimer, Pianistic Perfection, 56.
113 Ibid., 99.
while in Cramer’s Study No. 47, Bülow admonishes any tendency towards arpeggio playing stating that: ‘If undrilled fingers show any inclination to play the sixths arpeggio this must be checked by the teacher.’\textsuperscript{114}

In 1877, Lindsay Sloper makes reference to the difficulty of playing double notes and chords absolutely together in his \textit{Technical Guide to Touch, Fingering, and Execution on the Pianoforte}, stating that:

As the rule, due attention is scarcely paid to the practice of Chords, which should, on the contrary, be the object of sedulous study. The difficulty to be conquered is to strike all the component notes of a Chord exactly together and with equal strength: how rarely this is accomplished, their broken and inarticulate performance, especially by the left hand, constantly attests; and thereby mars the effect of otherwise meritorious playing. As these notes are sometimes all white, or all black keys, at others, white and black mingled, the most scrupulous care is requisite, under these varying conditions, so as to regulate the curve of each finger in the act of striking, that the fingers used may all come into contact with the keys precisely at the same moment.\textsuperscript{115}

Arpeggio playing was apparently so much the norm that firm chord playing was regarded as a skill to be achieved only by serious technical study and attention. Nowadays, the situation is completely reversed and the majority of pianists are taught from an early age how to play the notes in chords absolutely together. Thus, firm chord playing has become second nature.

Sloper was not alone in insisting that the fingers make even contact with the keys. Earlier in the nineteenth century, Gatien Marcaillou mentioned the problem of playing octaves simultaneously in the left hand, opining that:

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 106.
A big difficulty arises on the piano when playing octaves in the left hand; it concerns the simultaneity of the action of the thumb and fifth finger. The hand is always biased towards the thumb and the resulting octave tends to be arpeggiated, rather than executed with equal force between thumb and fifth finger. A weakness thus occurs in the octave and the sound obtained is less resonant, even 'boxy'; the strong beat often associated with an octave is weakened, precision is disturbed and, in turn, the rhythm.\textsuperscript{116}

Bülow, too, warned against arpeggiating octaves in the left hand in an annotation to J.B. Cramer's Study No. 39 (Fig. 3.76). Here, the difficulty of playing the continuous semiquaver passages would undoubtedly be lessened by arpeggiating the octaves and thus freeing the hand. In spite of this, Bülow advises that 'the player must guard against playing the octave with which each bar begins arpeggio.'\textsuperscript{117}

\textbf{Fig. 3.76} Cramer Study No. 39, bars 1 to 6.\textsuperscript{118}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig3_76.png}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{116} G. Marcailhou, \textit{L'Art de composer et d'exécuter la musique légère} (London, 1854), 7; 'Une grande difficulté existe au piano, lorsqu'on attaque des octaves à main gauche, elle consiste à donner de la simultanéité au deux doigts qui frappent l'octave, c'est à dire au 5.e et au pouce de la main gauche; la main est toujours entrainée du côté du pouce, et l'octave, au lieu de frapper avec la même force dans la 5.e et le pouce, l'exécute en arpège: il en résulte de la faiblesse dans l'octave, le son obtenu, est moins fort, l'octave est en un mot, boîteuse, le temps fort qui est souvent attaqué en octave est faible, ce qui nuit beaucoup à la précision, et à l'entrain du rythme.'


\textsuperscript{118} Ibid., 84.
With reference to Henry Bertini’s *Preparatory Studies* Op. 32, the editor Gordon Saunders warned that chords should be played exactly together. For Bertini’s Study No. 6 he says, ‘The theme of this study is carried on in double notes, which must be played strictly together.’\(^{119}\) And for Study No. 8 his annotation states, ‘As in all passages of double notes, the greatest care must be taken in the alternated thirds and sixths occurring in this Exercise, to play the two notes exactly together.’\(^{120}\)

Earlier in the nineteenth century, several writers mentioned that in certain situations double notes to be played by one hand should be struck together. In 1846, Czerny provides several examples. Regarding a passage in Henselt’s unnamed composition Op. 11 he states that:\(^{121}\)

> The double notes in the right hand must be struck *exactly together*. It would be an error so to separate them, as if the under note were an appoggiatura.

And concerning a passage in Chopin’s Piano Concerto Op. 21, Czerny says:\(^{122}\)

> The double notes in the right hand must also be struck exactly together, and the whole must be performed quite unconstrainedly, without apparent bravura.

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\(^{120}\) Ibid., 12.

\(^{121}\) Czerny, *Supplement*, 14.

\(^{122}\) Ibid., 15.
And with reference to Willmer's unnamed composition Op. 28, Czerny warns that:

The upper octaves, which form the melody, must be struck particularly loud and firm, (but not arpeggio), and the player must possess a sure command over the whole keyboard.

The arpeggiation of double notes must so often have been applied that Czerny felt a need to censure the practice in certain situations.

Although unnotated arpeggiation was used throughout the nineteenth century to give heightened expression to melody notes, it is evident that the bringing out of the melody

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123 Ibid., 20.
without the use of arpeggiation was also advocated. Indeed, Czerny strongly implied this in an annotation to an unidentified composition of slow character, saying that:

Its performance must be dignified and important, and quietly progressive, and it must be made intelligible by attentively given relief to the melody. Ex:

![Musical notation](image)

Here, in preference to everything else, we must observe, in both hands a strict legato according to the value of the notes. All the parts of each chord must be struck with firmness and energy; and the highest notes in the right hand, must be brought out rather prominently, because they form the melody.\(^\text{124}\)

It is clear therefore that in addition to the use of arpeggiation, Czerny advocated the development of finger weight for bringing out melody notes while playing firm chords.

Many other writers, at least in theory, adopted this practice later in the century. Adolphe Kullak in 1861 states that:

When a melodious part is accompanied in the same hand by another, Thalberg gives the rule that the doubled notes thus formed should be arpeggio'd, in order to give the melody the necessary emphasis. It cannot be denied, that the melody can be more easily marked in this way. But in no case should one neglect to practise emphasizing the melody-note when striking two or more notes simultaneously. Aside from the utility of such practice, the monotony caused by the continuous arpeggios during a long movement is mitigated by the change. This monotony would be unavoidable, for instance, in the first part of Beethoven's C [sharp] -minor Sonata, should the player constantly strike the melody-note after the accompaniment. Here it is best to save the arpeggio for the most pregnant passages. The middle movement of the Sonata

\(^{124}\) Ibid., 75.
pathétique would be an excellent practice-piece in the sense intended. To give the fingers the necessary independence for the purpose in question, both hands might play the following exercise:

The large notes are to be accented more strongly than the others.¹²⁵

Kullak’s recommendation about how to express the melody using finger weight rather than continual arpeggiation documents, at least in his case, a move away from the use of unnotated arpeggiation. But Kullak was not completely opposed to it, particularly for ‘the most pregnant passages’. Though not clarified, such places might contain dissonant melodic or harmonic notes, syncopations, or places where there are significant leaps in the melodic material; in short, places of extraordinary character. Here, the contradictions between various written texts are again apparent. It is significant, for example, that Kullak advised the avoidance of arpeggiation in Beethoven’s Sonata Pathétique and Moonlight Sonata, contradicting the directions in Potter’s editions of these works.

Certainly, pianists such as Paderewski made use of arpeggio in the Moonlight Sonata. Kullak’s exercise for developing the digital independence needed to accentuate an individual note in a chord may be one of the earliest of its kind. He may have set a precedent that was to be adopted by later nineteenth-century pedagogues, such as Franklin Taylor (cited below) who insisted that unnotated arpeggiation of chords and compound melodies be assiduously avoided in artistic pianism.

Other late-nineteenth-century pedagogues forbade the use of unnotated arpeggiation.

Concerning Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata*, C.A. Ehrenfechter's opinion regarding arpeggiation in the first movement of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* is cited in Chapter 2.\textsuperscript{126}: In spite of this and other warnings, many pianists employed unnotated arpeggiations frequently and with significant expressive effect.

An enlightening description of the complexity of bringing out the melody occurs in the *Magazine of Music* (1891). It gives the impression that Anton Rubinstein used only finger weight to emphasize the melody notes. In the absence of audible evidence, however, this cannot be verified. With reference to Chopin's Nocturne Op. 48 No. 1, the anonymous author writes:

> At the *poco piú lento* of this Nocturne, a student whose musical education has not included that most important of all branches of pianoforte playing, Touch, is liable to come to grief, and to wonder vaguely why it is that his playing sounds so unsatisfactory.

The reason being that in playing *legato* chords, he has never learned that the highest or treble notes must be sung; however to do this requires no small power; so that even if the idea strikes him from intuition, he knows not how to produce it. The secret lies in the position of the right hand, and in the worked out strength of the last two fingers, the 3rd and 4th.

The weight of the hand must lie on the outer position of the hand, the thumb and first fingers touching the keys more lightly than the finger playing the topmost note, which finger, must strike the key boldly, and in the centre of the ivory.

By this we get, as Chopin intended, the following melody clear, unclouded, and singing: -

\[ etc. \]

\textsuperscript{126} See Chapter 2, page 67.
Of course the result is not attained without months of labour, but then pianoforte playing is an art, not an accomplishment, as too many suppose.

At the same time however, even although this melody must sing above all other notes, it does not follow that these may be slurred over or blurred; they must all be audible and all evenly struck; the bass notes being not louder but more sonorous; the nature of the instrument making this possible, so that the student must simply bear in mind that he is to strike all the notes with equal strength, with the exception of the melody notes, which must be given with a stronger touch. 127

This type of technical advice finds its most detailed manifestation in Franklin Taylor's *Technique and Expression in Pianoforte Playing* (London, 1897). Taylor was primarily a teacher and interpreter and was regarded very highly by pupils and colleagues. *From 1859 to 1861, he studied at the Leipzig Conservatory... with Plaidy and Moscheles... He is probably best remembered for the remarkable series of Progressive Studies for the Pianoforte. His Technique and Expression in Pianoforte Playing is still used today* 128, and it is indeed interesting to find advice such as the following, which must have influenced many musicians throughout the twentieth century. Taylor describes the difficulties of playing melodies and accompaniments, particularly when they are written to be played by the same hand. He offers highly detailed solutions, censuring any tendency to make unnotated arpeggiations. It seems that such advice became the focal point of expression in piano playing particularly during the second half of the twentieth century: 129

The simplest conditions necessitating the observance of balance of tone occur when the right hand plays a melody and the left hand the accompaniment. As the right hand is naturally stronger than the left, there is no great difficulty in making the melody sufficiently prominent, though care and judgement must be exercised, that the amount of difference between the two parts shall be suitable to the character of the music. But

the difficulty is increased when it is a question of rendering three parts - melody, bass and inner accompaniment. In such a combination the melody must be strongest, the bass coming next in order of strength, and the accompaniment must be the weakest part. Two of the parts must necessarily be played by one hand, in the majority of cases with the right hand (though the left hand may likewise be required to undertake this duty), and it therefore becomes necessary to acquire the power of striking two notes with one hand and at the same moment, the strength of one of the notes being decidedly in excess.

It is not easy to describe in writing the exact way in which this is to be accomplished. Of course, the strength of the tone depends upon the speed of the blow and the amount of pressure combined, but if one of the two fingers engaged were to move decidedly quicker than the other, it would be the first to depress its key, and the two sounds would not be produced simultaneously, the weaker sound would follow the other. There is no doubt, however, that the finger which produces the strong tone does move a little quicker than the other, but so little that it has just time to give the requisite amount of pressure at the precise moment at which the weaker finger arrives at the depth of its key without any pressure whatsoever. Such minute differences cannot be calculated; it is a question of sense of touch, which can be cultivated and developed in this direction to a surprising extent, given the necessary perseverance and attention.

It may be of benefit to suggest here certain forms of exercise by which the necessary control over the fingers may be acquired, it being observed that such exercises may be multiplied and amplified to any extent, and always repay the labour bestowed on them. In practising them it must be observed that it is far easier to play two notes of dissimilar strength one after the other than both, together, and that there is consequently a temptation to spread the notes, in the manner of arpeggio; this tendency must, of course, be carefully guarded against. In the examples, the notes with open heads are to be made strong and the black notes weak, and the open notes with quaver stems are to be played of the value of quavers only:-

![Musical notation]

![Musical notation]
In an earlier publication, *Primer of Pianoforte Playing* (1877), Taylor emphasized that arpeggiation must not be used where a melody and accompaniment appear in the same hand.\(^{130}\)

Melody and accompaniment have frequently to be played by the same hand, and when the arrangement is similar to that shown in Ex. 1, the combination presents no particular difficulty. When, however, it happens that a note of the melody and one of the accompaniment have to be played at the same moment as in Ex. 2, the case is different, and demands special study in order to produce two different qualities of sound in the same hand at the same time. In such a passage, breaking the first chord of a group - i.e. playing the B of Ex. 2 after the D which accompanies it - must by no means be allowed, although a very common habit in such cases, and an easy method of making a difference in the strength of the two sounds. Playing a chord arpeggio is very rarely permissible unless it is indicated by the composer. In our present case we have to seek to produce as great a difference of tone as possible between melody-notes and those of the accompaniment without separating them in the slightest degree, and this may be accomplished by holding the hand, immediately before sounding the notes, in such a position that the tip of the finger which is to reproduce the strongest tone is on a slightly lower level than that of the other finger.

![](image)

It is evident that by 1900 some pianists were actively trying to eliminate arpeggiation and dislocation from their playing. That Ferruccio Busoni was one of the leaders of this trend was noted in Chapter 2. Busoni warned that in playing the music of Bach, the pianist should ‘be specially careful to strike all the tones of a (solid) chord together.

Arpeggios... are of very doubtful taste; firstly, because [they are] contrary to the character of the organ; secondly, because they produce the effect of over-exertion.’\(^{131}\)


\(^{131}\) Busoni, ‘Vortrag’, 87.
A further indication that Busoni considered arpeggios to emasculate the musical effect in certain situations is found in an annotation in his edition of J.S. Bach’s 15 Two part Inventions (Leipzig, 1914). Regarding the arpeggiation of the final chord of Invention No. 1 BWV 772, Busoni opines that:

5. The incomprehensible *Arpeggiando* sign, which one finds before this chord in many editions, is contrary to the manly style of the piece, and may be classed in Bach’s phraseology as “styleless”. Against such effeminacies in this and in analogous cases, the student is especially warned:

Busoni’s 1925 piano roll recording of his own transcription of the Chaconne from J.S. Bach’s *Suite for Solo Violin*, shows a fairly studious avoidance of arpeggios, but a few can occasionally be heard to enhance harmonically poignant moments. But in his 1922 recording of Bach’s Prelude and Fugue in C Book 1 of *The Well Tempered Clavier* there is absolutely no arpeggiation. In his 1922 recording of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, he certainly uses it in the section from bars 17 to 21 in the left hand (CD 2/40), but to a much lesser extent than pianists such as Saint-Saëns and Pugno. It is evident that

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although Busoni may have been trying to rid piano playing of the so-called effeminacies associated with unnotated arpeggiation, he continued to make them on certain occasions.

In any case, unnotated arpeggiation were advocated in editions with which Busoni was associated. Egon Petri who was entrusted to edit certain works of J.S. Bach arranged by Busoni, suggests that, in the Sarabande from the French Suite BWV 814 in which Busoni has augmented the sound and harmonies with large chords, 'the chords can also be played with gentle arpeggio' (Fig. 3.77)\textsuperscript{133}.

![Fig. 3.77 J.S. Bach Sarabande from French Suite BWV 814 arr. Petri, bar 1 to bar 4.\textsuperscript{134}](image)

Although many pianists at the turn of the twentieth century continued to make considerable use of arpeggiation, it is evident that some, such as Grieg, were already using it infrequently. The table below shows the number of occasions on which Grieg made unnotated arpeggiation in his 1903 recordings of his own works compared with those arpeggiation notated in the music (Fig. 3.78).


\textsuperscript{134} Ibid., 37.
**Fig. 3.78** Grieg’s unnotated arpeggiations in his 1903 recordings.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORK</th>
<th>NOTATED ARPEGGIOS</th>
<th>UNNOTATED ARPEGGIOS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>To Spring</em> Op. 43 No. 6</td>
<td>bars 11 and 13 - curved line arpeggios in the chords in the left hand &lt;br&gt;bars 23 and 27 - bass note acciacatura octave additions in the left hand &lt;br&gt;bars 45 to 68 - acciacatura grace notes indicating the arpeggiation of the octaves in the right hand &lt;br&gt;bar 71 - crenellated line arpeggio indicating separation from lowest note to highest note &lt;br&gt;bar 72 - arpeggiated chord with notes notated separately</td>
<td>no unnotated arpeggiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Finale’ from Sonata Op. 7</td>
<td>bar 85 - crenellated line arpeggio indicating separation from lowest note to highest note</td>
<td>bar 64 to 66 - variation of the notated rhythms creating arpeggiation &lt;br&gt;bar 75 - possible arpeggiation from lowest to highest note of second dotted quaver chord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Gangar</em> Op. 54 No. 2</td>
<td>no notated arpeggiations</td>
<td>no unnotated arpeggiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Alla Menuetto’ from Sonata Op. 7</td>
<td>no notated arpeggiations</td>
<td>bar 17 - arpeggiation from the lowest to the highest note of the chord in the right hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wedding Day at Troldhaugen</em> Op. 65 No. 6</td>
<td>no notated arpeggiations in the section that Grieg recorded.</td>
<td>bar 19 - arpeggiation from lowest to highest note of the first chord in the bar &lt;br&gt;bar 56 - arpeggiation from lowest to highest note of the first chord in the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Humoreske</em> Op. 6 No. 2</td>
<td>no notated arpeggiations</td>
<td>bar 41 - possible arpeggiation from lowest to highest note of the chord</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bridal Procession</em> Op. 19 No. 2</td>
<td>bars 68 and 72 - grace-note arpeggio figures in the left hand at the beginning of each bar</td>
<td>no unnotated arpeggiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Remembrances</em> Op. 71 No. 7</td>
<td>no notated arpeggiations</td>
<td>bar 58 - arpeggiation from lowest to highest note of the chord on the second beat in the right hand</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From this it is clear that Grieg made unnotated arpeggiations very infrequently in the music he recorded. This is one of the reasons why his playing sounds more synchronized than many pianists of a similar generation. Though it is possible that in other repertoire, such as Chopin or Schumann, he might have arpeggiated more frequently, this does not seem to accord with the evidence of his piano playing discussed in Chapter 2.

During the first half of the twentieth century, pianists such as Josef Hofmann, Mark Hambourg and Walter Gieseking railed against the arpeggio manner. Their playing shows correspondingly less use of unnotated arpeggiation than other pianists. At certain key moments, however, it is clear that they could not resist the technique. In his 1912 recording of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 9 No. 1 Hofman makes unnotated arpeggiation at bar 12 in the right hand and twice in bar 19. And during bars 30 and 31, he makes octave arpeggations in the right hand. In Schumann’s Warum? Op. 12 No. 3, he makes a noticeable arpeggiation at the beginning of bar 10 and arpeggiates the chord in the left hand at bars 21 and 25. In bar 34, he effects a rather curious arpeggiation by adding a D flat to the texture of the first chord and making a separation between it and the notated C flat. He also arpeggiates the first chord in the right hand at bar 38 in a similar way to Reinecke.

In 1922, Mark Hambourg gave particular point to the deleterious effect of unnotated arpeggiation, providing the annotations cited in Chapter 2.135 Significantly, Hambourg can be seen to have opposed the style of playing indispensable to his teacher Leschetizky, with whom he studied between 1891 and 1895.

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135 See Chapter 2, page 93.
In spite of the efforts of Busoni, Hofmann, Gieseking and Hambourg to stamp out the use of unnotated arpeggiation in early-twentieth-century pianism, some pianists continued to use this device as late as the 1950s. Unnotated arpeggiation can be heard particularly in the recordings of pianists associated with Clara Schumann and Brahms or their students. For example, Ilona Eibenschütz, who studied with both Schumann and Brahms, makes a few unnotated arpeggiation in Brahms’s very energetic Ballade Op. 118 No. 3 recorded in 1903. The chords in the right hand on the last beat of bar 10 and the repeat at bar 86 are arpeggiated to mark the beginning of a different mood (CD 2/41). She also arpeggiates the chord in the right hand at the beginning of bar 21, making the dissonance more effective (CD 2/42). And by making a sweeping arpeggiation from the lowest note in the fourth quaver beat to the highest note of the chord in the middle of bars 33 and 35, Eibenschütz produces a very effective emphasis on the diminished seventh harmony (CD 2/43). She also makes similar unnotated arpeggiation in her 1950 recordings of the second movement from Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 109, and Schumann’s Romance Op. 28 No. 2. Here it is clear that, in spite of the change in taste, Eibenschütz retained practices that she inherited from late-nineteenth-century style.

Adelina de Lara makes frequent unnotated arpeggiation in her 1951 recording of Brahms’s Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1. These include arpeggiation of the chords in the left hand at bar 3, very noticeable separations of the octaves in the left hand at bar 7 and the sixths and octaves between bars 18 and 20 (CD 2/44). She arpeggiates the chords in the left and right hands on the second dotted crotchet beat of bar 12, producing an agogic emphasis. In bar 26, she expresses the first chord with great delicacy by playing the
lowest bass note first and gently, but swiftly, arpeggiating the remaining notes in the left and right hands. These unnotated arpeggiations together with frequent dislocations give the entire performance a feeling of continuous syncopation, much in the style of Reinecke. Although there are no earlier recordings of de Lara, she, like Eibenschütz does not seem to have modified her style significantly.

Early recordings reveal, therefore, that unnotated arpeggiation was, for many pianists, an indispensable performing practice around the turn of the twentieth century. Many of the oldest generation of pianists, whose careers reached their peak during the second half of the nineteenth century, can be heard making frequent expressive arpeggations that are not marked in the score. Though many pianists of the time have been accused of overindulging in the practice, this cannot be verified. In fact, written documentation shows that the tendency to arpeggiate was endemic throughout the nineteenth century and very probably stemmed from earlier keyboard practices. Therefore, the frequency of unnotated arpeggiation preserved in many early recordings probably gives, if anything, a glimpse of a practice that had already passed its zenith. In this light, it is significant that the oldest recorded pianist, Reinecke, uses it most.

Although early recordings reveal a widespread employment of unnotated arpeggiation, written texts fail to document clearly its importance and characteristics. Indeed, the impression of the practice from written texts alone does not correspond to, and in some cases is completely divergent with, reality. Many players can be seen to have practised something entirely different to what they advised verbally or marked in the score.
Early recordings also show that some pianists had already adopted a more synchronous style of playing with far less use of unnotated arpeggiation. Changing tastes and attitudes must account for such a change, which, however, did not take a firm grip until the second half of the twentieth century.

The comparison between written texts and early recordings reveals that the unnotated arpeggiation practices of the oldest generation of nineteenth-century pianists, such as Leschetizky, Reinecke, and Saint-Saëns, as well as several generations who followed, were not simply exaggerations, sentimental indulgences, or remnants of an older style, but a continuation of expressive practices that were considered vitally important for a significant period before and during the twentieth century.
Chapter 4

Metrical rubato and other forms of rhythmic alteration

Metrical rubato, the practice of rhythmically altering melody notes while essentially preserving the metrical regularity of the accompaniment continued to be an expressive device in piano playing around the turn of the twentieth century. Early recordings reveal that many pianists, in some cases entirely contrary to modern conventions, displace single melody notes or multiple adjacent melody notes within a bar by lengthening or shortening them. In some cases, larger-scale displacement occurs from one bar to the next. The device can also be heard in the playing of other instrumentalists and singers. This flexible placement of melody notes often leads to asynchrony between notes of the melody and accompaniment that are vertically aligned in the notation. Sometimes, too, there is a subtler bending of rhythms in a style similar to the Baroque practice of *notes inégales* or inequality. These practices correspond strikingly with a number of written descriptions and musical illustrations from the second half of the nineteenth century and earlier, though the manner in which they occur on early recordings could hardly have been predicted from written evidence alone. On many early recordings, metrical rubato occurs most frequently in music of a slow or tender character, but can also be heard in faster music. Although it shares with dislocation and arpeggiation the characteristic of displacement, metrical rubato is a significantly different practice.
By the second half of the twentieth century, metrical rubato was considered by many to be old-fashioned. Edward Sackville-West’s 1962 review of a recording by Moriz Rosenthal supports this fact, while showing awareness that it was in previous times an important and widespread practice:

There is one curious and interesting feature of Rosenthal’s rubato which amounts to an alteration of the text. I mean the habit of introducing dotted notes into phrases that were written without them. For example, in the passage referred to, Chopin wrote as (a), but Rosenthal played this as (b); and again, two lines later, the same thing happens, the score reading as (c) and Rosenthal playing as (d).

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  

If a contemporary pianist took that kind of liberty we should probably think it in shockingly bad taste - and we should be right, because such liberties do not go with the modern attitude to the printed score, or the neat technique and hard-boiled style that we have become accustomed to. They would sound like mere mistakes. It is a question, really, of how these things are done. In the case of Rosenthal I think it is clear that those occasional dotted notes are part and parcel of his sense of the phrase - just as Irving’s or Forbes-Robertson’s tricks of diction were part of their view of
Shakespeare’s verse. They are a kind of decoration - like those which pianists of a still earlier generation introduced, quite naturally, into the concertos of Mozart.¹

Sackville-West describes one of the numerous types of alterations preserved in early recordings. The modern attitude he mentions was increasingly adopted during the twentieth century and became the hallmark of late-twentieth-century style. Metrical rubato is now seldom employed in mainstream classical performance in which synchrony between melody and accompaniment, among other things, is taken for granted. Any significant deviation from the notation is usually considered to be a mistake, a technical deficiency, or a sign of poor taste. Yet in other spheres, such as folk, jazz, and popular music, metrical rubato remains an intrinsic expressive device.

To date, the recordings of the oldest generation of pianists on record such as Reinecke, Leschetizky, Saint-Saëns, Grieg and Brahms have not been examined in any depth. These show clearly that metrical rubato and various other types of rhythmic alteration were an intrinsic part of their expressive technique. Yet, without having fully considered this vital evidence Richard Hudson has concluded that around the turn of the twentieth century, musicians used rhythmic alteration (which they inherited from earlier practices) but that such practices ‘had been mostly forgotten’.² Elsewhere, he claims that ‘isolated elements of the technique’ of metrical rubato ‘lingered on in the controversial concept of “compensation” (meaning then that retard and acceleration should be exactly equal

¹ Sackville-West, ‘Rosenthal’, 216.
² Hudson, Stolen Time, 340.
within a bar, phrase or piece) and in the pianists' custom of arpeggiating chords or "breaking hands".\textsuperscript{3} The evidence presented below shows, however, that this is only part of the truth; the earliest piano recordings and some later ones too, reveal striking similarities with practices of rhythmic alteration preserved in written references from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In her article ‘The Uses of Rubato in Music, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries’ (1994), Sandra Rosenblum has only briefly acknowledged early recordings, without, it seems, having listened to them herself. Robert Philip has given more consideration to early recordings but seems to have overlooked those of the oldest generation.

Metrical rubato and other forms of rhythmic alteration can be heard in the recordings listed below (Fig. 4.1) and many others. These preserve features too subtle to be conveyed by written texts and also indicate the degree to which particular artists employed these practices. Metrical rubato was used in Classical and Romantic repertoire in which the character and texture of the accompaniment is sufficiently different from the melody to allow rhythmic independence, less so in Baroque and some types of Contemporary repertoire for which a stricter style seems to have been preferred. Other recordings show that some pianists used metrical rubato to a lesser extent; their playing, which sounds more synchronized, may represent either a divergent tradition or the first stage of a move away from a practice that many still considered important.

\textsuperscript{3} R. Hudson, ‘Rubato’, New Grove, 2nd edn., vol. 21, 834.
Fig. 4.1 Some early recordings in which metrical rubato is evident.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pianists</th>
<th>Recordings</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Johannes Brahms</td>
<td>Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, acoustic recording 1889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camille Saint-Saëns</td>
<td>Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, 2nd movement - Adagio grazioso, piano roll, 1905; Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, piano roll, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theodor Leschetizky</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, piano roll, 1906; Mozart Fantasia K 475, piano roll, 1906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Reinecke</td>
<td>Mozart Piano Concerto K 537, 2nd movement, Larghetto arr. Reinecke, piano roll, 1905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raoul Pugno</td>
<td>Chopin Sonata No. 2 Op. 35 - Marche funèbre, acoustic recording, 1903; Chopin, Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, acoustic recording, 1903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landon Ronald</td>
<td>Grieg Bridal Procession Op. 19 No. 2, acoustic recording, 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vladimir de Pachmann</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, acoustic recording, 1916</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ignace Jan Paderewski</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1, acoustic recording, 1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Powell</td>
<td>Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, piano roll, 1929</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isidor Philipp with Paul Bazelaire</td>
<td>Saint-Saëns Sonata No. 1 Op. 32, 2nd movement, electrical recording, 1935</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carl Friedberg</td>
<td>Schumann Symphonic Etudes, 6th Variation and Finale, 1953; Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 14 No. 2 – 2nd movement, 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adelina de Lara</td>
<td>Brahms Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, 1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fanny Davies</td>
<td>Schumann Piano Concerto Op. 54, 1st movement, 1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etelka Freund</td>
<td>Brahms Sonata Op. 5, 1st, 2nd and 4th movements, 1953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Considering its widespread use, particularly by generations of pianists whose careers flourished in the second half of the nineteenth century, it is curious that highly detailed
discourses by pedagogues such as Lussy and Riemann neglect to discuss metrical rubato.

Franklin Taylor, on the other hand, noted its value in 1897, stating that:\footnote{Taylor, \textit{Technique And Expression}, 72-3.}

There still remains to be noticed one more modification of \textit{tempo}, which is of the greatest service to expression when suitably introduced, but which requires great caution and sound judgment in use, since it is more liable than any variation of speed to degenerate into affectation. This is the \textit{tempo rubato} (literally “robbed time”), in which one part of a phrase is quickened, and another slackened in proportion, so that the general march of the rhythm is undisturbed, and the duration of the whole phrase remains the same as it would have been if played in strict time throughout. Such variations are too delicate and subtle to be expressed in notation, and the effect must depend for its success entirely on the discretion of the player, but it should be observed that any independent accompaniment to a \textit{rubato} phrase must always keep strict time, and it is, therefore, quite possible that no note of a \textit{rubato} melody will fall exactly together with its corresponding note in the accompaniment, except perhaps, the first note in each bar. The following is a good example of \textit{rubato} melody with strict accompaniment:

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{rubato_example.png}
\end{center}

Taylor’s advice suggests that metrical rubato was indeed important in late-nineteenth-century piano playing and would often have caused conspicuous asynchrony between melody and accompaniment. His explanation seems to refer to two separate but related practices. The first involves alterations to melody notes by the performer; the second involves a compositional style shown in the accompanying example that produces a similar effect.
Metrical rubato, also apparently important in violin playing, was discussed in the *Violinschule* (Berlin, 1902-5) of Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser. Speaking particularly of music of earlier periods containing regular continuo-type bass lines, they advise that:

Should a violinist possessed of no innate feeling for musical style, and who has never had proper tuition, permit himself to perform these melodies with spontaneous changes of tempo, such as might be introduced in the rendering of a modern solo piece, he would certainly not only misrepresent the intentions of the composer, but would also assign to the airs an entirely false physiognomy. It would be an offence against all musical feeling if the basses, moving forward in notes of equal time-value, were to lose their serious dignity, and in order to keep in with the violin, constantly have to change the tempo of their movement... No doubt can be felt that an exact, metronomic performance of the melodies in question, lying over the *continuo* would certainly in itself be correct, but in regard to expression the effect produced would be one of deadly dullness. It is not sufficient to play the notes correctly; the living spirit of the work of art must be made apparent if its reproduction is to make any impression. If the player is what may be called an innate musician, his inclination towards a certain freedom will impel him to throw off the constraint which the *continuo* exercises. He will, as it were, try to soften its rigidity, and assist the life with which the melodies seem to blossom forth. In other words, wherever the course of the *cantilena* seems urgently to demand it, the performer will so far slacken the rhythmic structure of the bar that he will no longer feel the *continuo* as a burdensome fetter, but rather as "Freedom's hallowed guard". As freedom is not caprice but rather the inward assimilation of, and conformity to Law, it is hardly necessary to point out with what extreme caution this liberty must be used. For apart from the fact that even in the performance of more modern music much harm can be done to the character of a piece by the use of unjustifiable liberties, the apparently inexorable strictness of the *continuo* is especially distinctive of the older classical art in which it was used.  

It seems that Joachim applied metrical rubato universally. Frequent alterations are clearly preserved in the 1903 recording of his Romance in C, examples of which are cited below, as well as in his recordings of Brahms’s first and second Hungarian Dance and (although unaccompanied) of two movements from Bach’s Solo Sonatas and Partitas.

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Franklin Taylor's advice was preceded by Adolphe Christiani, who in 1885 mentioned the importance of metrical rubato in *The Principles of Expression in Pianoforte Playing*. "Rubato", he says, "may be described in several ways":

1. Any temporary retardation or acceleration is **rubato**.
2. Any negative grammatical accentuation (for example, syncopation), by which the time becomes robbed of its regular accents, is a **rubato**.
3. That capricious and disorderly mode of performance by which some notes are protracted beyond their proper duration and others are curtailed, without, however, changing the aggregate duration of each measure, is a **rubato**. 6

Christiani attributes the latter way to Chopin, noting that it is "very beautiful and artistic when in its proper place and limitation, but very ugly and pernicious when out of place, or exaggerated." 7 Furthermore, he mentions two methods of execution:

1. Both hands in sympathy with each other, *i.e.*, both hands accelerating and retarding together.
2. Or, the two hands not in sympathy, *i.e.*, the accompanying hand keeping strict time, while the other alone is playing **rubato**.

The latter way is the more beautiful of the two, and is the truly artistic **rubato**. 8

In effect, the first method describes a type of tempo modification. That will be examined in Chapter 5. The second (apparently more sophisticated) method clearly describes metrical rubato. Here, Christiani emphasizes the importance of preserving the pulse, adding that the character of certain genres such as waltzes, and character pieces such as "marches, mazurkas, polonaises, barcaroles, lullabies, serenades etc., including nocturnes, romances, and songs without words" are destroyed if the underlying accompaniment is not played in time. He regards the popular dictum that "one hand should be kept in strict

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7 Ibid., 299.
8 Ibid., 299.
time, while the other hand retards or accelerates' as the basis of highly expressive
performance, and compares this to the practices of virtuoso singers:

Now it may be said that this is impossible. But such is, by no means, the case. Listen,
in Italian opera, to a first-class singer, and notice how steadily the orchestral
accompaniment proceeds, while the soloist retards and accelerates, at almost every
moment.

It is just this steadiness and general not-giving-way of the accompaniment which the
soloist needs and desires, expecting only from the conductor that he will follow, or
either wait for him, at the tenuto or fermate points. Just so should the pianist keep
time, and yet be free in time. 9

Of particular interest is that singers would make alterations 'at almost every moment'.
This frequency suggests that metrical rubato was not reserved for special or unusual
moments and imparted an improvisatory character to the composition. Moreover,
Christiani extols the virtues of this style, apparently evident in Thalberg’s piano playing:

When Thalberg played a melody, it stood out in bold dynamic relief; not because he
pounded, but because he kept the accompaniment duly subdued. And when he
accelerated, retarded, or embellished his melody, the accompaniment proceeded with
steady, unwavering precision, unaffected by the emotion displayed in the solo parts.

This method, far from being stiff or rigid, is not only rational and musical but beautiful
and highly artistic; never provoking and exasperating, as out-of-time playing with both
hands, but always gratifying, attractive, and possessing a peculiar charm, which would
be entirely lost, if the accompaniment were dependent on the melody, instead of
independent of it. 10

Without doubt, Christiani considered this style as a model to be emulated. However, he
omitted significant details indispensable for a comprehensive appreciation of the
technique. Without these, the character of the alterations remains obscure. This lack of
detail also pervades the descriptions of Chopin’s metrical rubato by his various students.
In the 'Introductory Note' to his complete edition of Chopin’s piano works, Mikuli

9 Ibid., 298-9.
10 Ibid., 298.
highlights the mysticism surrounding Chopin's piano playing, explaining that,

'According to a tradition - and, be it said, an erroneous one - Chopin's playing was like that of one dreaming rather than awake - scarcely audible in its continual pianissimos and una cordas, with feebly developed technique and quite lacking in confidence, or at least indistinct, and distorted out of all rhythmic form by an incessant tempo rubato.'

Attempting to dispel such impressions, Mikuli states that:

In keeping time Chopin was inflexible, and many will be surprised to learn that the metronome never left the piano. Even in his oft-decried tempo rubato one hand - that having the accompaniment - always played on in strict time, while the other, singing the melody, either hesitated as if undecided, or, with increased animation, anticipating with a kind of impatient vehemence as if in passionate utterances, maintained the freedom of musical expression from the fetters of strict regularity.

Mikuli's opinion is supported by Mathias, who remarked in 1882 that:

There was another aspect: Chopin, as Mme Camille Dubois explains so well, often required that the left hand, playing the accompaniment, should maintain strict time, while the melodic line should enjoy freedom of expression with fluctuations of speed. This is quite feasible: you can be early, you can be late, the two hands are not in phase; then you make a compensation which re-establishes the ensemble. In Weber's music, for example, Chopin recommended this way of playing. He often told me to use it, it's as though I still hear him.

And in 1879, Kleczyński paraphrases Chopin's students, stating that:

Some of Chopin's pupils have assured me that in the rubato the left hand ought to keep perfect time, whilst the right indulges its fancy; and that in such a case Chopin would say, "The left hand is the conductor of the orchestra." Many passages of the Berceuse can be executed in this manner. Paganini also, playing with the orchestra, recommended that the instrumentalist should observe the time, whilst he himself departed from it.

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11 Mikuli, 'Introductory Notes' unpaginated [1].
12 Ibid., unpaginated [1].
14 Kleczyński, How to play Chopin, 57.
In 1868, Wilhelm von Lenz confirms similar characteristics in Chopin’s playing saying that:

One of the things which particularly characterised Chopin’s playing, was his rubato, in which the rhythm and time throughout remained accurate. ‘The left hand,’ he often said, ‘is the conductor. It must not waver, nor lose ground: do with the right hand what you will and what you can’. He told his pupils: ‘Supposing a composition is to last a certain number of minutes. It may take just so long to perform the whole, but in details, deviations may occur’. 15

Collectively, the above references provide strong evidence of Chopin’s use of metrical rubato. However, like Christiani’s text, only the general principle of rhythmic flexibility of the melody within a metrical framework is preserved, leaving the individual features of Chopin’s style to the imagination. As noted below, many writers found the difficulties of clearly describing or notating such subtle and varied rhythmic nuances insurmountable.

The features of metrical rubato and other forms of rhythmic alteration in piano playing seem not to have been discussed in any degree in written texts during the nineteenth century. However, a more comprehensive understanding may be gained by referring to practices in other disciplines such as singing. The publications of the influential singing teacher Manuel Garcia, for instance, provide illuminating descriptions and examples. With little doubt, the application of vocal practices to piano playing was considered highly appropriate during the nineteenth century as evidenced, for example, in the fact

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that García’s precepts were cited in an anthology of historical keyboard works entitled *Le Trésor des pianistes* (Paris, 1861-72).\(^{16}\) Other proof of this exists in titles such as Thalberg’s *L’Art du chant appliqué au piano*, clearly describing the close relationship between singing and piano playing.

García’s *Traité complet de l’art du chant* was published in two parts (Paris, c. 1840 or 41/1847). A version combining both parts appeared in a condensed English translation as *García’s New Treatise on the Art of Singing* (London, 1857) and in French and German two years later. Towards the end of his life, García also published another treatise called *Hints on Singing* (London, 1894). Henceforth, the original French edition will be referred to as the *Traité complet*, and the English edition of 1857 as the *New Treatise*.

In the second part of the *New Treatise*, García describes metrical rubato as:

> the momentary increase of values, which is given to one or several sounds, to the detriment of the rest, while the total length of the bar remains unaltered. The distribution of notes into long and short, breaks the monotony of regular movements, and gives greater vehemence to bursts of passion.\(^{17}\)

This definition is further elucidated in the *New Treatise* where he advises that in order to make metrical rubato perceptible in singing:

> the accents and time of an accompaniment should be strictly maintained: upon this monotonous ground, all alterations introduced by a singer will stand out in relief, and change the character of certain phrases.\(^{18}\)


\(^{18}\) Ibid., 51.
Together, these references provide the basis for Garcia’s discussion. For convenience, his
texts, as well as those of other writers, are divided into three categories; namely, small-
scale alteration, inequality, and large-scale alteration.

Small-scale alteration: written texts

Small-scale alteration describes any modification made to one or a few notes, causing
adjacent notes of equal value to become significantly unequal by creating dotted or triplet
figures and so on. Often these modifications emphasize a particular note that requires
heightened expression. Henceforth, unless otherwise stated, all alterations refer to melody
notes.

An account of certain small-scale alterations in piano playing (hitherto unmentioned in
the literature) which discusses the matter in unusual detail, occurs in Heinrich Germer’s
Wie spielt man klavier? Op. 30 (1881). Germer remarks that:

Mozart, Beethoven and especially Chopin have often made an extreme use of tempo
rubato in their piano playing, as their contemporaries inform us.

What is so extraordinary about such a performance style?
The description is only a very vague and imperfect indication; because the translation
"robbed or robbing tempo" will not make it clearer to us. The tempo is actually rarely
part of it, but more the beat (takt) and the rhythm; because: within the metric and
rhythmical division the performer gives himself licence to change.

1. Often only one, the melodically most important note in the bar, will be prolonged.
Because the accompanying hand goes on strictly in the meter - it is described, for
example of Mozart as an admired characteristic - one has to rob the following notes of
their notated length as much as was given to the lengthened note, i.e. they have to be
played that much faster. This way of rubato happens very often in the performance of
melodies as also passages; because of course an accentuated note with simultaneous lengthening will be presented as the most important because of the resulting overtones, than when it is only emphasized by the accent.

2. Sometimes smaller groups of notes are changed rhythmically. Three notes that for example are written as triplet quavers are executed as a quaver and two semiquavers and vice versa; or quintuplet quavers will be interpreted as two semiquavers, one quaver and two semiquavers. Mostly the thought of lengthening the most important melodic notes (maybe also the highest note) of the figure is the reason for such modification. 19

Germer describes the prolongation of a single note in order to give it added emphasis, and the rhythmic alteration of equal-value notes resulting in the prolongation of one or more important notes. As will be seen below, his description corresponds closely with certain practices preserved in early recordings. However, it is evident that several pianists made alterations that modified the original notation even more radically. Significantly, Germer notes that the use of small-scale alteration was not limited to Romantic repertoire but applied more widely, a fact that is supported in early recordings.

Further details of small-scale alterations are found in the first part of Garcia’s *Traité complet* where he highlights a practice called temps d’arrêt, saying that:

The temps d’arrêt is a momentary prolongation of the value given to any note in a sequence formed of equal-value notes. The temps d’arrêt, in giving support to the voice, permits it to render distinctly that which would otherwise be passed over, and the sequence gains a great deal in effect. 20


20 M. Garcia, *Traité complet de l’art du chant* (Paris et Londres, 1847), part 1, 49; ‘Le temps d’arrêt est une prolongation momentanée de valeur donnée à une note prise au hazard dans un trait composé de notes d’égale valeur...Le temps d’arrêt, en donnant un appui à la voix, lui permet de rendre distinct ce qui aurait manqué de netteté, et les traits y gagnent beaucoup d’effet.’
In the appended example above, a cross indicates the notes to be lengthened. The resulting variants showing the approximate effect are also indicated. Prolongation of a particular note requires a compensatory modification of the notes coming before or after it. Presumably there are cases where notes both before and after are affected. That García considered this the most important and basic rule of metrical rubato is supported in the second part of the Traité complet where he describes it as ‘the first element of tempo rubato’.

In the New Treatise, García shows how small-scale alterations help prevent monotony and enhance passion with annotated examples from Donizetti’s Anna Bolena and Rossini’s Gazza Ladra (Fig. 4.2). In the first example, it is notable that the sequence that precedes it is in E flat major; the rhythmic alterations therefore help to make the chromatic notes D flat and C flat more prominent. Without García’s annotations, such

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21 Ibid., part 2, 24; ‘Le temps d’arrêt... est le premier élément du tempo rubato.’
features as the triplet rhythms in the first example, or the equalizing of the back-dotted rhythms in the second example might never have been envisaged.

Fig. 4.2 Donizetti *Anna Bolena* and Rossini *Gazza Ladra*, showing García’s alterations. 22

In the *New Treatise*, García prescribes small-scale alteration to vary repeated passages:

When the second section of a phrase is composed of the same values as the first, its colouring should be sometimes the *tempo rubato* and sometimes the *piano* opposed to the *forte*... When the identical thought is repeated several times in succession, as it is frequently with all composers, especially Mozart; or when the thought pursues an ascending or descending progression... each different development should be submitted, according to the sentiment of the phrase, to the crescendo or diminuendo - the *accelerando* or *ritardando*; in rarer instances, to isolated accents and the *tempo rubato*. 23

In the *Traité complet*, he provides an example of this from Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro* in which the musical material has been previously presented (Fig. 4.3). For the sake of variety, the note E on the syllable ‘giar’ is altered to a G and lengthened. The descending sequence of notes that follows is thus robbed of time. Similar alteration occurs to the note

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23 Ibid., *New Treatise*, 55.
on the syllable ‘gra’ and the notes that follow. Here, variation is effected not only by prolongation but also by embellishment, though García made no mention of the latter.

Fig. 4.3 Mozart Le nozze di Figaro, showing García’s alterations. 24

García also recommends the use of metrical rubato rather than tempo modification to enhance and energize final cadence points. In the New Treatise he advises that:

*Accelerando* and *rallentando* movements require the voice and accompaniment to proceed in concert; whereas, *tempo rubato* allows liberty to the voice only. A serious error is therefore committed, when a singer, in order to give spirit to the final cadences of a piece, uses *ritardando* at the last bar but one, instead of the *tempo rubato*; as while aiming at spirit and enthusiasm, he only becomes awkward and dull. 25

In the Traité complet, García’s example from Rossini’s Il barbiere di Siviglia reveals prolongation of the note on a particular syllable and subsequent diminution of those that follow to create the requisite energizing effect (Fig. 4.4). Hudson has pointed out that the orchestra in a different register doubles the vocal pitches and rhythms and that therefore the melody is heard in two different forms simultaneously (Fig. 4.5). Again, without García’s annotation, the possibility of this type of doubling would probably not have been realized.

This type of disjunction with a doubling accompaniment had historical precedents, examples of which can be found in late-eighteenth-century sources. Richard Maunder has pointed out two, of many, examples in Domenico Corri’s Select Collection of Choice Music (London c. 1790). The first appears in bar 19 of Corri’s arrangement of the popular accompanied aria ‘Se placar’ (Fig. 4.6), and the second appears in bar 15 in Corri’s

26 García, Traité complet, part 2, 24.
27 Hudson, Stolen Time, 72.
arrangement of the accompanied aria 'Nel partir' from J.C. Bach's *La Clemenza di Scipione* (Fig. 4.7). Maunder opines that:

Although Corri does no more than hint at the practice in his introduction, considerable rhythmic license [sic] is allowed not only in recitatives but also in arias, though in the latter the accompaniment continues in strict time, and measures are not extended... This type of 'rubato' often results in the voice and accompaniment failing to coincide exactly in what is otherwise a unison passage.\(^{28}\)

Fig. 4.6 'Se Placar', bars 19 to 22.\(^{29}\)

Fig. 4.7 J.C. Bach, 'Nel partir' from *La Clemenza di Scipione*, bars 12 to 17.\(^{30}\)

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\(^{29}\) Ibid., 49.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 90.
In the *New Treatise*, García states that the lengthening of particular types of notes invests them with special expression, giving increased interest to the melody as a whole:

This prolongation is usually conceded to appoggiaturas, to notes placed on long syllables, and those which are naturally salient in the harmony. In all such cases, the time lost must be regained by accelerating other notes. This is a good method for giving colour and variety to melodies.  

Although this is a useful outline of specific places that were habitually altered, García implies that there are also other places not made clear. In the *New Treatise*, his example taken from Donizetti's *Lucia* (Fig. 4.8) uses doubled note stems to indicate the lengthening of the first in each group of four notes of a coloratura sequence. Unusually, for García, the annotation provides no sense of the actual rhythmic relationship.

![Fig. 4.8 Donizetti Lucia, with García's alterations.](image)

Four possible interpretations of the above example are presented below (Fig. 4.9). The last example shows a variety of alterations with the highest melody note lengthened to a greater extent than in the other examples.

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32 Ibid., 51.
García also considered the commencement of trills earlier than notated to be a type of metrical rubato. In the New Treatise he states that:

The *tempo rubato*, again is useful in preparing a shake, by permitting this preparation to take place on the preceding notes; thus:\(^{33}\)

In the accompanying example the early commencement of the trill presumably helps to achieve rapidity and energy. Although García did not suggest this, Louis Spohr made reference to it in 1833, explaining that:

In order to produce the shakes full and brilliant, the half of the value of the preceding note has been taken and added to the shake note.\(^{34}\)

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\(^{33}\) Ibid., 51.
Spohr presents an annotated example of the solo violin part from Rode’s Violin Concerto No. 7 in which the lengths of the trills in bars 17, 18, and 19 are effectively doubled compared with the original notation (Figs. 4.10 and 4.11).

Fig. 4.10  Rode Violin Concerto No. 7, bars 17 to 19, with Spohr’s alterations.\(^{35}\)

Fig. 4.11  Rode’s original rhythms against Spohr’s alterations.

In summary, García prescribes small-scale alterations for:

- the variation of passages containing even notes
- the intensification of passionate melodies
- the variation of repeated phrases


\(^{35}\) Ibid., 183.
- the energizing of final cadences
- the emphasis of single notes such as appoggiaturas, notes on long syllables, and those of harmonic significance
- the variation of phrases
- the preparation and enhancement of trills

In addition he asserts that these can help:

- to prevent monotony
- to emphasize and support notes which would ordinarily be ignored
- to change the character of a melody
- to enhance the colour and variety of melodies

Clearly, however, these are just a few of the types of rhythmic alterations that were expected and enjoyed by singers of the time. Other significant examples of small-scale alterations are preserved in the *Méthode de chant, composée pour ses classes du conservatoire* (1849) by Laure Cinti-Damoreau (1801-1863). Damoreau, who was considered one of the greatest singers of her era, shows how to make vocal variations to passages from standard nineteenth-century operas. Hudson has remarked that 'some of the variants simply replace the composer’s original passage...others, however, remain close enough to the original melody for one to recognize the technique of melodic variation.' It is here that metrical rubato alterations are recognizable. The original melody line with orchestral reduction is given by Hudson (Fig. 4.12) Although Cinti-

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36 Hudson, *Stolen Time*, 81.
Damoreau did not offer verbal explanations, her variations on an excerpt from Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* show the use of anticipation and delay of the original melody notes (Fig. 4.13). Such alterations seem extreme by modern standards but were obviously considered normal in the mid-nineteenth century.

**Fig. 4.12**  
*Meyerbeer Robert le diable, orchestral reduction by Hudson.*

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37 Hudson, *Stolen Time*, 82.
Among the varieties of rhythm, it is necessary to put the *anticipations* at the top. It is the process that consists in borrowing from a beat a little of its value, in order to give it to the beat that follows. This is what the Italians call *tempo rubato*.

According to Faure, metrical rubato gives the ‘rhythm a greater freedom of movement’ and imparts to the melody ‘the stirring character of improvisation’. His accompanying illustration (Fig. 4.14) shows alterations, made in bar 3 of an excerpt from Donizetti’s

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39 J.B. Faure, *La Voix et le chant: traité pratique* (Paris, 1886), 182; ‘Parmi les variétés de rhythm, il faut placer en première ligne les *anticipations*. C’est le procédé qui consiste à emprunter à un temps un peu de sa valeur, pour la reporter sur le temps qui suit. Ce que les Italiens appellent: le *tempo rubato*.’
Lucia di Lammermoor, by the Italian baritone Giorgio Ronconi (1810-90). In the given example, Ronconi anticipated the orchestra on the syllable ‘ta’.

Fig. 4.14  Faure’s annotations of Ronconi’s alterations to an excerpt from Donizetti’s Lucia di Lammermoor.40

Small-scale alterations: audible evidence

Early recordings reveal that techniques similar to those discussed by Garcia, Germer and others, are exemplified in the playing of several generations of pianists. In these recordings, a range of melodic material from single notes to more extended sequences of notes are rhythmically modified, creating in some cases conspicuous asynchrony between melody and accompaniment. In other cases, a flexibility of rhythm and expression not inherent in the original notation can also be heard.

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40 Ibid., 183.
Modification of notes of equal value and unequal value

Despite the poor sound quality of Brahms's 1889 wax cylinder recording of his Hungarian Dance No. 1, it is possible to discern that he altered significantly the rhythmic values in certain passages. In Brahms at the Piano: an Analysis of Data from the Brahms Cylinder, Berger and Nichols conclude that:

although in the score the pattern continues in measures 25-36, Brahms alters this group considerably in his performance, subverting the units... This shift... to rhythmic units in Brahms's performance is consistent with the composer's predilection for metric ambiguity... Brahms gives the dotted quarter note its full value only once, in measure 38.41

The aural effect preserved in the recording is stark because Brahms evens out the strongly characteristic Hungarian dance dotted rhythm. The most obvious moment when this occurs is during bars 39 and 40 (Fig. 4.15).

Fig. 4.15 Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 39 and 40, Brahms, acoustic recording, 1889, (CD 3/1).42

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41 Berger and Nichols, Brahms at the Piano, 27.
42 J. Brahms, Ungarische Tänze für Pianoforte gesetzt (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, c. 1890), 2.
Joachim, too, subverted the dotted rhythms in his 1903 recording of the same dance. This can be heard particularly in bars 22 and 23 (CD 3/2). A similar effect is heard in Joachim's 1903 recording of his Romance in C, where he changes the dotted rhythm in bar 154 to equal-value notes (Fig. 4.16).

Fig. 4.16 Joachim Romance in C, bars 154 and 155, Joachim, acoustic recording, 1903, (CD 3/2).

Numerous types of small-scale alteration are preserved in Saint-Saëns's 1905 piano roll of the second movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 31 No. 1. In bar 7, the lengthening of the second dotted semiquaver C causes the displacement of the following E and G (Fig. 4.17). In bar 71, containing similar material, this displacement starts earlier with the lengthening of the second dotted semiquaver C (Fig. 4.18).
In bar 70, Saint-Saëns lengthens the first tied A. This results in the delay and hemiola-like syncopated placement of the repeated A, giving it a peculiarly expressive emphasis. (Fig. 4.19).
Saint-Saëns's alterations in bars 53 and 54 with identical material, cause an unusually disturbing effect by 'modern' standards (Fig. 4.20). Here, the C in the inner voice and its accompaniment note A flat in the second half of the bar are played approximately one semiquaver beat early. The resulting syncopation accentuates the poignant shift in tonality from G to A flat. Although both melody and accompaniment are altered, the metrical rubato effect is retained because of the preservation of the underlying pulse.
In a similar way, Saint-Saëns’s placement of the F sharp in bar 92, approximately one semiquaver beat early, creates a syncopation that emphasizes the commencement of the rising chromatic scale (Fig. 4.21).
In bars 27, 65 and 91, Saint-Saëns lengthens trills to the extent that their terminations or nachschlags and the notes that follow are significantly displaced (Figs. 4.22 and 4.23). Although there appears to be no historical written evidence supporting this practice, its frequent use here effects small-scale alteration that cannot simply be a technical aberration.
Saint-Saëns's piano roll of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 also preserves examples of small-scale alteration. In bar 2, the F sharp is doubled in length and the following two notes A and D are halved to effect compensation (Fig. 4.24).
The first A sharp in bar 5 is lengthened, creating a syncopation that is compensated for by shortening the following two melody notes F double sharp and D sharp (Fig. 4.24). Both of these examples correspond closely with García’s *temps d’arrêt* cited above. In bar 3, the quintuplet is played in such a way as to sound like two triplets. Within the second triplet, there is a lengthening of the D natural and a shortening of the following C sharp (Fig. 4.24). This example corresponds closely with Germer’s description of such practices, though Saint-Saëns’s playing shows a more complex combination of alterations.
Saint-Saëns alters the sextuplet figure at the end of bar 12 by shortening the preceding C sharp and commencing the G double sharp earlier. In addition, the E natural is made more expressive by lengthening it and shortening the following D sharp (Fig. 4.25).

Similarly, the septuplet in bar 10 is modified to form a sextuplet by shortening the preceding C sharp and commencing the following A sharp earlier (Fig. 4.25). Again, the similarities with techniques mentioned by Garcia and Germer are obvious; however Saint-Saëns’s treatment is more varied and subtle than might have been suggested by their texts.
Leschetizky's 1906 piano roll of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 reveals that he frequently made expressive small-scale alterations. In bar 31 the tied E, embellished with a trill, is played a quaver beat early and extended beyond its notated length. This causes the rising melodic figure in the second half of the bar to be played in a hurried manner resembling a quintuplet of demisemiquavers (Fig. 4.26). Leschetizky's own edition of this work shows that he changed Chopin's original notation to match his modifications (Fig. 4.27), providing incontrovertible proof that this effect was fully intended and not the product of a technical aberration.

Fig. 4.26  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 31, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 3/12).
In bar 36, the second chord is played earlier than notated (Fig. 4.28). This creates a hemiola-type rhythm that gives it emphasis and is similar to the effect heard in Saint-Saëns's playing.

Leschetizky's version

Chopin's original

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In bar 57, Leschetizky gives the syncopated expressive chord on the third quaver beat a poignant emphasis by playing it earlier than notated (Fig. 4.29). The chords of the following descending sequence are shortened, causing the end of the bar to sound suddenly and dramatically accelerated.

**Fig. 4.29** Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 57, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 3/14).

A similar effect is heard in the anticipations made by Joachim in his *Romance in C*, particularly in bars 40 and 41 and between bars 116 and 120 (Figs. 4.30 and 4.31). Here, the effect is of a passionate and fiery snap.
Fig. 4.30 Joachim Romance in C, bars 40 and 41, Joachim, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/15).

Fig. 4.31 Joachim Romance in C, bars 116 to 120, Joachim, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/16).

And Adelina Patti made similar anticipations creating angular rhythms in bar 45 and in the embellished melody line in bar 46 of Bellini’s Casta Diva (Fig. 4.32).
In Chopin's Nocturne, Leschetizky shortens the chords of the triplet and quintuplet figures in the second half of bar 39, creating passages of demisemiquavers that produce the effect of a sudden accelerando (Fig. 4.33).
In a similar way, Leschetizky creates an accelerando effect in the second half of bars 42 and 43 (Fig. 4.34). In both bars, the high note G is extended beyond its notated length and the following triplet semiquavers are modified into equal demisemiquavers. Thus the three against two rhythm in Chopin’s notation is radically altered in Leschetizky’s performance. The effect is further exaggerated by the slight truncation of the last beat in each bar.
In the second half of bar 50, Leschetizky shortens the values of the first two triplet figures (Fig. 4.35). The B flat, which is in effect the resolution of the long appoggiatura C flat, is played earlier, increasing its length and giving it significantly more expressive quality than if the sequence had been played as notated.
A feature common to the three examples above is that one sequence of equal-value notes is transformed into a sequence of equal-value notes differing from the original.

Leschetizky’s student John Powell makes abundant use of small-scale alteration for expressive effect in his 1929 piano roll of the same work. In bar 14, the second chord is lengthened, emphasizing its dissonant quality (Fig. 4.36). It is probable that Powell adopted this from Leschetizky’s edition (Fig. 4.37).

Fig. 4.36 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 14, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 3/20).
Similarly, Powell enhances the effect of the dissonant chord on the penultimate quaver beat of bar 40 by prolonging it (Fig. 4.38). In this case however, the alteration is not marked in Leschetizky’s edition of the work.

Fig. 4.38 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 40, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 3/21).

\[\text{Powell's version} \]

\[\text{Chopin's original} \]

\[\text{Ibid., 19.}\]
In bar 58, it is the consonant effect of the penultimate chord that is heightened by prolongation (Fig. 4.39).

In addition, in bars 58 and 59, Powell also modifies the accompaniment, creating an intermittent expressive dotted effect (Fig. 4.39).

In bar 53, Powell rhythmically inflects the dissonant C flat, giving it increased poignancy. And in bar 54, the second chord that is also dissonant is significantly lengthened (Fig. 4.40).
In bars 11 and 14, Powell expressively lengthens the first chord in the triplet, thus effecting more angular rhythms (Figs. 4.36 above and 4.41 below).
A rather extraordinary example of Powell's small-scale alterations occurs in bar 36. Here, he plays the double-note chord D-F sharp slightly early and the triplets in the second half of the bar are shortened, creating very angular rhythms (Fig. 4.42). Again, these alterations are not marked in Leschetizky’s edition of the work.

Fig. 4.42 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 36, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 3/25).

**Powell's version**

**Chopin's original**

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**Dotting and tripletizing**

In bar 15 of the second movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, Saint-Saëns alters the triplet by prolonging the D and shortening the E (Fig. 4.43). This dotted rhythm seems to give emphasis to the poignant 7th at the point of arrival on the second dotted crotchet beat of the bar.
Saint-Saëns alters the semiquaver octaves at the end of bar 37, creating a dotted (long/short) figure that has the effect of giving emphasis to the downbeat of bar 38 (Fig. 4.44).
He uses this technique again at the end of bar 78. Here, the transformation of the equal-value melody notes F sharp and G into a dotted figure emphasizes the angularity of the following leap of a seventh down to A (Fig. 4.45).

**Fig. 4.45** Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1 second movement, bar 78, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/28).

And in bars 12, 23 and 24 of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, Saint-Saëns lengthens the penultimate notes, creating dotted figures (Figs. 4.46 and 4.47).
In Raoul Pugno’s 1903 recording of the same work, he alters the quintuplet in bar 3, creating two semiquavers and a triplet within which further alteration creates a dotted figure (Fig. 4.48).
And in bar 13, he alters the quintuplet to form a triplet followed by two semiquavers. He also tripletizes the dotted figure on the third quaver beat of the bar (Fig. 4.49).
Over-dotting is also a characteristic in the playing of some early piano recordings. Frank La Forge over-dots the rhetorical figure in bar 20 of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 in his 1912 recording, enhancing its dramatic effect (Fig. 4.50). Rosenthal does a similar thing in his 1936 recording of the same work. But he also over-dots in more gentle moments such as bars 10 and 26 (Figs. 4.51 and 4.52).

Fig. 4.50  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 20, La Forge, acoustic recording, 1912 (CD 3/33).
**Fig. 4.51** Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 10, Rosenthal, electrical recording, 1936 (CD 3/34).

![Rosenthal's version](image1.png)

Chopin's original

**Fig. 4.52** Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bar 26, Rosenthal, electrical recording, 1936 (CD 3/35).

![Rosenthal's version](image2.png)

Chopin's original
The modification of dotted figures into triplets can be heard in Saint-Saëns’s piano roll of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 during the first half of bars 19 and 21 (Fig. 4.53). This appears similar to Brahms’s practice of altering dotted figures into equal-value notes, mentioned above.

Fig. 4.53 Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 19 to 21, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/36).

In fact, tripletizing is perhaps the most common feature of Saint-Saëns’s performance of this work. This is clearly audible in bars 1, 3, 4, 13, 19 and 21 and similar places, in which equal-value notes, quintuplet figures and dotted figures are altered to form triplets (Fig. 4.54).
Grieg modifies equal-value notes into triplet figures in his 1903 recording of the third movement of his Sonata Op. 7. Between bars 17 and 27, the quavers in the bass are tripletized (Fig. 4.55).
Fig. 4.55  Grieg Sonata Op. 7 third movement, bars 17 to 21, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/37).

In bars 18, 20 and 22, Grieg modifies the dotted figures in the right hand into triplets (Fig. 4.55). A similar type of tripletizing of dotted figures is audible in bars 21, 22, 25 and 26 in his 1903 recording of his *Humoresque* Op. 6 No. 2 (Fig. 4.56).

Fig. 4.56  Grieg *Humoresque* Op. 6 No. 2, bars 21 to 26, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/38).
In Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1, Paderewski tripletizes dotted figures in bars 3 and 5.

And he also creates dotted figures within triplets in bars 5, 6 and 7 (Fig. 4.57).

**Fig. 4.57** Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1, bars 1 to 8, Paderewski, acoustic recording, 1917 (CD 3/39).
Concerning the assimilation between dotted and triplet figures, Brown has pointed out that, by the second half of the eighteenth century, writers such as Löhlein in 1765 advised that ‘when triplets and dotted figures occurred together, the latter should be played with a triplet rhythm.’ Brown provides parallel examples from the works of Haydn, Beethoven and Schubert in which there is little doubt that assimilation was necessary.45

One particular example from ‘Erstarung’ in Schubert’s Winterreise is provided in Figure 4.58. Here, the notation implies assimilation.

Fig. 4.58 Schubert Winterreise, showing assimilation of triplets and dotted figures.46

Commencement of trills

It was noted above that García and Spohr described the metrical rubato technique of commencing trills slightly earlier than their notated position in order, it seems, to make them more brilliant. This technique can clearly be heard in bars 3, 27, 29, 65, 67, 91, 93, 99 and 104 of Saint-Saëns’s recording of the second movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31 No. 1. In bars 27, 29, 91, 99 and 103 the aural effect is that the trill continues on from the preceding figure (CD 3/40). The slightly early commencement seems to serve as

45 Brown, Performing Practice, 614-21.
46 Ibid., 617.
a technical means of energizing the trill before the entrance of the corresponding accompaniment. Although by 'modern' standards the effect in Saint-Saëns's playing is sloppy, the written historical evidence indicates that this was probably wholly intentional. On the other hand, without his recording, this effect (presumably one of many created by the early commencement of trills) would scarcely have been envisaged.

The early commencement of trills is also heard in Patti's performance in bar 32 of Bellini's *Casta Diva* (Fig. 4.59). Here, instead of Bellini's extended turn, she sings a rapid trill, starting significantly earlier and on a higher note than the one notated. This allows her both to show off her technical agility and also to effect a metrical rubato.
In summary, the above examples reveal a range of small-scale alterations, the features of which would not have been discernible from written texts alone. Typically, these alterations include:

- the modification of equal-value notes to different notes of equal value
- the modification of unequal-value notes to equal-value notes
- the tripletizing of figures which were originally equal-value or dotted
- the creation of dotted figures from equal-value notes
- the over-dotting of certain notes
- the commencement of trills before their notated position
Inequality: written texts

Another type of small-scale alteration, sometimes referred to as inequality or notes inégale, in which equal-value notes are played slightly unequally, must also be considered here. Brown has cited the comments of Charles de Bériot regarding the subtle flexibility that musicians of the mid-nineteenth century ‘might have been inclined to introduce into passages of equal-length notes’. In his Méthode de violon (Mainz, 1858), Bériot advises that:

In very soft music the composers do not always mark the long and short notes, for fear that the song should take too rhythmical a form. In such cases they leave to the singer the care of marking the syllables with that infinite delicacy which lends so great a charm. Thus, for instance, if we sang with absolute equality the two quavers which begin each bar of the following Romance, our diction would be flat and cold. But if the composer had written those notes as dotted notes this sweet song would be too jerky in effect and would agree but little with the sentiment of its poem. It is here that a medium form is required, which the feelings alone can understand, and which no sign can express. It is sufficient for the first quaver to be a little longer than the second and that the small interval which separates them should be almost insensible.47

This type of rhythmic inflection of adjacent notes had strong historical precedents. In 1550, Loys Bourgeois describes how to make inequality saying that:

The manner of singing well the semiminims [crotchets]... is to sing them two by two, dwelling some little bit of time longer on the first, than on the second - as though the first had a dot and the second were a fusa [quaver]. The reason is that the first is a consonance, and the second most often a dissonance... It is also because they have more grace when sung in this way... than if they were all equal.48

47 C. de Bériot, Méthode de violon (Mainz, 1858), 232, cited in Brown, Performing Practice, 162-3.
Hudson has noted that 'Santa María gives examples in 1565 in which the first note, others in which the second note of a pair is lengthened. Caccini says in 1602 that passages performed in such manner “have more grace”. For Frescobaldi in 1616, the second of each pair of sixteenth notes should be “somewhat dotted” when a passage of eighths and sixteenths are played together in both hands. According to Couperin in 1713, the second of the two slurred eighth notes in a coulé should be prolonged.'

Indeed in 1717, François Couperin noted that:

> there are defects in our way of writing music, which correspond to the manner of writing our language. It is that we write differently to the way we play: which causes foreigners to play our music less well than we play theirs. By contrast the Italians write their music in the true values in which they conceive it. For example, we point several crotchets that proceed by conjunct degrees; however, we mark them equal; our custom has enslaved us; and we continue.

Furthermore, Hudson says that 'there were also during the same period the different concepts in all countries of accentuating ‘good’ notes in a series of even notes by slightly lengthening them and de-emphasizing the ‘bad’ notes by correspondingly shortening them...the notes are written equally, but performed unequally. In some theoretical sources the method of performance is approximately indicated by the use of a dotted note. The lengthening in such cases, however, might actually be more or less than a dotted note, and in any event would vary.'

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49 Hudson, Stolen Time, 26.
50 Couperin, L’art de toucher le clavecin, 39-40.
51 Hudson, Stolen Time, 26-7.
This concept of good and bad notes was mentioned in the eighteenth century by Quantz, who advised that the player:

must know how to make a distinction between the principal notes, ordinarily called accented or in the Italian manner, good notes, and those that pass, which some foreigners call bad notes. Where it is possible, the principal notes always must be emphasized more than the passing... the quickest notes in every piece of moderate tempo, or even in the Adagio, though they seem to have the same value, must be played a little unequally, so that the stressed notes of each figure, namely the first, third, fifth, and seventh, are held slightly longer than the passing, namely the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth, although this lengthening must not be as much as if the notes were dotted.52

The similarity between this and Bériot's description above is obvious, though Bériot does not make a rule of it.

Inequality: audible examples

Early recordings also preserve the use of inequality in the manner described by Bériot and earlier writers cited above. In the passage between bars 15 and 17 in his 1905 piano roll of his arrangement of Mozart's Larghetto, Reinecke lengthens and shortens adjacent notes in various combinations (Fig. 4.60). The rhythmic relationship is too subtle to notate with any accuracy but sounds approximately in the proportion 3:2. In the example below, the letters L and S represent lengthened and shortened notes. Notably, in bars 15 and 17, the pattern of short followed by long notes gives the effect of a 'scotch snap'.

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Very similar inequality is heard when the material is repeated between bars 78 and 80, proving that this was not an aberration of some sort, but an intended rhythmic inflection.

Fig. 4.60 Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 15 to 17, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/42).

Reinecke’s use of inequality is again evident in the descending sequence of quavers in bars 31 and 33 (Fig. 4.61) and in the descending semiquaver sequences at the end of bars 46 and 48 (Fig. 4.62).
Francis Planté uses inequality for the adjacent semiquaver melody notes in the ‘Etwas langsamer’ section (bars 33 to 62) of his 1928 recording of Schumann’s *Romanze* Op. 32 No. 3. Here, the falling melodic sequence is played with approximately the following rhythmic nuance on each appearance (Fig. 4.63).
At the appearance of the portato sign at bars 2, 4, 28, and 30 in Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, Saint-Saëns makes subtle inflections by lengthening and shortening notes in the sequence shown below (Fig. 4.64).

Saint-Saëns’s interpretation of the portato bears some similarity to the instructions of Adam and Pollini mentioned in Chapter 2, in which they advise that melody notes ought
to be somewhat displaced. Although their examples show melody notes delayed after the corresponding note of the accompaniment, the underlying principle of inflection is clear. The effect would probably have been much more subtle and varied than their notation suggests. In any case their texts, as well as those of other writers, provide some historical context for Saint-Saëns's practice. Indeed, his playing corresponds very closely with Bériot's description, and the proportions he uses are almost exactly those recommended for eighteenth-century inequality as described for example by Quantz.

Large-scale alteration: written texts

The term large-scale alteration is used here to describe the displacement of melodic material over extended sequences within a bar, and from one bar into the next. In the New Treatise, García illustrated this style of metrical rubato by reference to that of his father and the violinist Niccolò Paganini (1782-1840), and provided the revealing example from Rossini's Il barbiere di Siviglia below (Fig. 4.66):

Two artists of a very different class - García (the author's father) and Paganini - excelled in the use of the tempo rubato. While the time was regularly maintained by the orchestra, they would abandon themselves to their inspiration, till the instant a chord changed, or else to the very end of the phrase. An excellent perception of rhythm, and great self-possession on the part of a musician, however, are requisite for the adoption of this method, which should be resorted to only in passages where the harmony is stable, or only slightly varied - in any other case, it would appear singularly difficult, and give immense trouble to an executant. The annexed example illustrates our meaning [footnote: This passage presents an approximate example of the use which the author's late father made of the tempo rubato.].

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53 Manuel del Pópulo Vicente Rodriguez García (1775-1832).
54 García, New Treatise, 51.
García makes it clear that the introduction of highly artistic rhythmic alterations was largely dependent on the underlying rate of harmonic change. The example below (Fig. 4.65) reveals the lengthening of the highest notes towards the phrase climax and the creation of poignant suspensions. Continuous rhythmic alteration results in the displacement of melodic material from the first bar into the second bar and further displacement into the third bar. This is perhaps the only extensive example found in nineteenth-century texts illustrating such practices. The similarity between this type of displacement over the bar line and the seventeenth-century example of displacement at a cadence by Bacilly cited below is clear. Furthermore, the addition of notes at the end of bar 2 and throughout bar 3 causes more extensive alteration to the original melody.

García's annotations comprehensively reveal practices that would have been very difficult to describe. It is tantalizing that he provided only one example; the plethora of other effects that may have been produced can only be imagined. Recognizing the impossibility of notating such rhythmic subtleties, García acknowledged that the following example was only an approximation to actual practice.

Fig. 4.65    Rossini Il Barbiere di Siviglia, showing García's alterations.  

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55 García, New Treatise, 51.
To conclude his discussion, in the *New Treatise* García offers the following caveat:

The *tempo rubato*, if used affectedly, or without discretion, destroys all balance, and so tortures the melody.\(^{56}\)

How is this comment to be evaluated from today’s standpoint? For example, in the large-scale displacements shown above, the original melody is distorted in a way that would be considered extreme or even grotesque now. How much more alien would the practices which García found affected or indiscreet seem today?

**Large-scale alteration: audible examples**

Such practices can be heard in bars 20, 41 and 44 of Patti’s recording of Bellini’s *Casta Diva*. Here, she significantly alters the position of notes of descending sequences (Figs. 4.66, 4.67 and 4.68). Notably, each version is slightly different, creating variety for the repeated material. In a similar way to García’s example, Patti displaces the last note of bar 44 into bar 45 (Fig. 4.68). The subtle inflections of Patti’s alterations may demonstrate the style that García expected, but that could only be notated in an approximate fashion. At the same time, García’s text provides an historical context for Patti’s alterations.

\(^{56}\) Ibid., 50-1.
Fig. 4.66  Bellini *Casta Diva*, bars 20 and 21, Patti, acoustic recording, 1906 (CD 3/47).

Patti's version

Bellini's original

Fig. 4.67  Bellini *Casta Diva*, bar 41, Patti, acoustic recording, 1906 (CD 3/48).

Patti's version

Bellini's original
Joachim also made large-scale alterations that displaced melodic material from one bar to another. This is evident between bars 67 and 68 and bars 133 and 134 of his Romance in C (Figs. 4.69 and 4.70).
Elsewhere, he displaced material from one bar to another by anticipation rather than delay. By making an accelerando or shortening notes in the first bar, notes at the beginning of the second bar are made to arrive early, as can be heard between bars 19 and 20, 23 and 24, 41 and 42, and between bars 52 and 53 (Figs. 4.71, 4.72, 4.73 and 4.74).
Fig. 4.71 Joachim *Romance in C*, bars 19 and 20, Joachim, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/52).

![Musical notation of Joachim's version and original]

Fig. 4.72 Joachim *Romance in C*, bars 23 and 24, Joachim, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 3/52).

![Musical notation of Joachim's version and original]
Similar large-scale alterations are preserved on early piano recordings. For example, in bar 13 of the second movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, Saint-Saëns
substantially alters the position of notes in the descending figure of the final dotted crotchet beat. Here, the lengthening of the B causes ongoing displacement (Fig. 4.75).

**Fig. 4.75** Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1 second movement, bar 13, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/55).

For the identical material in bar 77 (Fig. 4.76), both the B and the following A are lengthened, while the F sharp is shortened and the E is displaced into bar 78.

**Fig. 4.76** Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1 second movement, bars 77 and 78, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/56).
Leschetizky modifies sequential melodic material, often causing displacement over bar lines. In the second half of bar 6 of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, the C is somewhat lengthened, causing continuous displacement into bar 7 (Fig. 4.77). The same technique is used again in the second half of bar 8, causing displacement into bar 9.

Fig. 4.77  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 6 to 9, Leschetizky, piano roll, 1906 (CD 3/57).
Significantly, in Leschetizky’s edition of the work, he notated the rising scale in the second half of bar 8 to be played *cantando*. This strongly suggests that this term, and presumably many others, provided a coded message to make expressive alterations. The similarity with Dussek’s use of the word *espressivo* to signify metrical rubato and Philip Corri’s use of similar expressions such as *con espressione*, *con anima*, and *dolce* in the early-eighteenth century to indicate arpeggio is obvious.

Vlademir de Pachmann’s 1915 recording of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 shows that, like Leschetizky and Saint-Saëns, he made alterations effecting larger-scale displacement. This can be heard clearly in bars 28 and 30 (Figs. 4.78 and 4.79).

Fig. 4.78  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 28 and 29, Pachmann, acoustic recording, 1915 (CD 3/58).
Fig. 4.79 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 30 and 31, Pachmann, acoustic recording, 1915 (CD 3/58).

Large-scale displacement results from Saint-Saëns's delay of the termination of the trill in bar 65 of the second movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op. 31 No. 1. Here, the final C is displaced into bar 66. Similar displacement occurs between bars 67 and 68 (Fig. 4.80) and again between bars 91 and 92.
In bar 71 of the same work, Saint-Saëns lengthens the first dotted semiquaver C displacing the following four notes. Furthermore, the penultimate note F is also lengthened, causing the displacement of the final note B into bar 72 (Fig. 4.81).
And in bars 93 and 94, Saint-Saëns makes an extraordinary large-scale alteration. Here, the G in bar 93 is lengthened to the extent that part of the following descending *tirade* is significantly displaced into bar 94 (Fig. 4.82).

**Fig. 4.82** Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, second movement, bars 93 to 94, Saint-Saëns, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 3/61).

![Musical notation](image)

Similarly in bars 18 and 20 of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, Saint-Saëns broadens the descending *tirade* grace notes, substantially displacing the final A. He also alters the dotted figure in the second half of bar 21, displacing the final note into bar 22 (Fig. 4.83). The aural effect is somewhat like a hemiola across the bar line.
And in the second half of bar 23, Saint-Saëns broadens the end of the quintuplet, displacing the final note into bar 24 (Fig. 4.84).
In Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 Leschetizky broadens the notes towards the end of the fioritura in bar 52. This results in the displacement of the final C into bar 53, creating an expressive appoggiatura (Fig. 4.85).
In his recording of the same work, Powell lengthens the penultimate note of bar 21, causing the final note to be displaced into bar 22 (Fig. 4.86).

**Fig. 4.86** Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 21 and 22, Powell, piano roll recording, 1929 (CD 3/4).

And at bars 28 and 30, Powell lengthens the penultimate notes of the compound embellishments derived from Leschetizky, causing the displacement of the final notes into the following bar (Fig. 4.87).
The problems inherent in descriptive language and musical notation

The examples above reveal the details of the practices that could hardly have been surmised from written texts alone. In the case of piano playing, metrical rubato received a cursory treatment in contemporary written documentation. The complex and varied small- and large-scale alterations that important late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century pianists made for expressive purposes seem to have been overlooked, though the similarities with references to vocal practice are clear. The difficulty of conveying the features of such alterations with descriptive terminology and musical notation was noted.
on several occasions during the nineteenth century. In 1823, an anonymous author remarked that:

There are many other delicate shades in music, which do not fall within the sphere of a writer, and can only be learnt and felt by the genius and practise [sic] of a performer. The *portamento del voce*, or *carriage of the voice*, the trill and perfect shake, the variety of cadences, the *tempo rubato*, or occasional retardation of the time for the purpose of enforcing the expression, - like the longing, lingering, look of a lover taking leave of his mistress, - these and a thousand other delicate traits of performance can be given effect to only by the hand of a master.57

This sentiment was reiterated in *The Art of Organ Playing* (c. 1900) by Edwin H. Lemare, who explained that the art of rubato `is so subtle and almost mystic that it is very difficult, and well-nigh impossible in writing, to give much help to the student.`58 As indicated above, Dussek abandoned his attempts to notate metrical rubato since he felt that its numerous inherent subtleties could not be sufficiently conveyed by notation. Baillot warned that it could only be notated up to a point. And although García’s examples are undoubtedly informative, he himself points out that they are approximations to actual practice.

Other writers made it clear that ear witness experience was essential for the appreciation of the subtleties of metrical rubato. With reference to García’s examples in the *Introduction to Le Trésor des pianistes* (1861), Aristide Farrenc (1794-1865) explains that:

As for the examples which accompany his [García’s] precepts, I would say that they are insufficient, for there is in this device the execution of combinations and nuances

57 Anon., ‘On Musical Colouring’, *The Harmonicon* (1823), vol. 1, no. 11, 162.
of value which cannot be notated; it is only by hearing a great virtuoso that one gets an idea of it.\(^{59}\)

In 1874, Théophile Lemaitre offered a similar opinion in his translation of Tosi’s *Opinioni*, stating that:

> The Italian singers have a manner of delaying the singing, or losing the precision of the time at will, while the orchestra continues its prescribed movement, which has a great effect, when it is done with taste and when the singer knows how to regain his balance. One cannot give an example of this effect in singing; it is necessary to observe it in performance.\(^{60}\)

In his publication *Frédéric Chopin* (1852), Liszt opined that Chopin eventually relinquished any verbal indication of metrical rubato in his music, after realizing that the terminology signified very little to pianists who did not already appreciate it:

> He [Chopin] always made the melody undulate like a skiff borne on the bosom of a powerful wave; or he made it move vaguely like an aerial apparition suddenly sprung up in this tangible and palpable world. In his writings he at first indicated this manner which gave so individual an impress to his virtuosity by the term *tempo rubato*: stolen, broken time - a measure at once supple, abrupt, and languid, vacillating like the flame under the breath which agitates it, like the corn in a field swayed by the soft pressure of a warm air, like the top of trees beat hither and thither by a keen breeze.

But as the term taught nothing to him who knew, said nothing to him who did not know, understand, and feel, Chopin afterwards ceased to add this explanation to his music, being persuaded that if one understood it, it was impossible not to divine this rule of irregularity.\(^{61}\)

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\(^{59}\) Farrenc, *Le Trésor des pianistes*, vol. 1, 4. ‘Quant aux examples qui accompagnent ses precepts, je dirai qu’ils sont insuffisants, car il y a dans cet artifice de l’exécution des combinations et des nuances de valeur qui ve puissent se noter; il n’y a que l’audition d’un grand virtuose qui puisse en donner l’idée.’


Presumably, this ‘rule of irregularity’ would have been divined by first-hand experience of Chopin’s playing or a highly developed artistic sense based on knowledge of accepted practice.

The following reference found in the Parisian journal Le Pianiste (March, 1834) further highlights the weakness inherent in the notation of metrical rubato. The anonymous reviewer vehemently opposed Chopin’s attempts to notate exactly what he expected, saying that these inspired works had been ruined by:

a manner of affectation to write the music almost as it should be played (we say almost, for completely is impossible) - to write this swaying, languid, groping style, this style which no known arrangement of note values can well express; the Rubato - the terror of young women, the bogeyman of beginners.\textsuperscript{62}

Other texts warn that notation is imperfect in preserving the subtle inflections of metrical rubato. In 1886, Faure described the practice of anticipation remarking that:

One could arguably write the anticipations as one does syncopations, with which they offer some analogy; but this would be giving it the form rather than the spirit. Employed with good judgement, the anticipations give to the rhythm a greater freedom of movement and give to the melody, while preserving the feeling of the metre, the arousing improvisatory character.\textsuperscript{63}

This criticism is especially significant when one considers the numerous compositions in which syncopations appear to have been used to represent a certain rhythmic freedom in the melody line. Whether in such cases the composer expected the melody to be played exactly as written, or simply intended the notation to convey its approximate position,

\textsuperscript{62} Le Pianiste (1834) vol. 1 no. 4, 78; trans. Hudson, Stolen Time, 190.
\textsuperscript{63} Faure, La voix et le chant, 182; À la rigueur, on pourrait écrire les anticipations comme on le fait pour les syncopes, avec lesquelles elles offrent quelque analogie; mais ce serait en donner la lettre et non l’esprit. Employées avec discernement, les anticipations laissent au rythme une plus grande liberté d’allure et communiquent au chant tout en lui conservant le sentiment de la mesure, le caractère entraînant de l’improvisation.
remains conjecture. Certainly, the current penchant for strict adherence to musical texts results in a literal interpretation that does not always sound free.

The above references show that by their nature, written texts could not meaningfully preserve important features of metrical rubato. This no doubt accounts for the conspicuous lack of detail and information about it in written texts. Nevertheless, it is clear that metrical rubato was considered a primary method of enhancing expression.

Written documentation reveals that the practices of metrical rubato discussed above had historical precedents dating from as early as the fourteenth century. Hudson has cited ‘instrumental intabulations of vocal music’ from the *Robertsbridge Fragment* (c. 1320) in which a more elaborate line is created by the rhythmic alteration of the original notation. Hudson has also mentioned significant sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources that include embellished passages in the *Opera intitulata Fontegara* (Venice, 1535) by Sylvestro di Ganassi (1492 - mid 16th-century) and an embellished version of the madrigal *Anchor che col partire* (Bovicelli, 1594) by Cipriano de Rore (1515/1516-1565). Of particular interest is an example in Bénigne de Bacilly’s *Remarques curieuses sur l’art de bien chanter*, (Paris 1668) in which the ornamentation of a cadence point causes displacement from one bar to the next (Fig. 4.88). The similarity between this and practices preserved in early piano recordings is clear.

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Several important eighteenth-century references describe the underlying principles of metrical rubato. Pier Francesco Tosi stated in 1723 that:

Whoever does not know how to steal the time [rubare il tempo] in singing, knows not how to compose, nor to accompany himself, and is destitute of the best taste and greatest knowledge. The stealing of time [il rubamento di tempo] in the pathetic is an honourable theft in one that sings better than others, provided he makes a restitution with ingenuity.\(^{66}\)

The general nature of this statement, however, leaves the intended aural effect unclear.

John Ernst Galliard appended a footnote to his 1742 translation of Galliard, providing a slightly more detailed explanation:

Our author [Tosi] has often mentioned time, the regard to it, the strictness of it, and how much it is neglected and unobserved. In this place speaking of stealing the time, it regards particularly the vocal, or the performance on a single instrument in the pathetic or tender; when the bass goes an exactly regular pace, the other part retards or anticipates in singular manner, for the sake of expression, but after that returns to its exactness, to be guided by the bass. Experience and taste must teach it. A mechanical

\(^{65}\) Ibid., 21.

method of going on with the bass will easily distinguish the merit of the other manner.  

Elsewhere, Galliard provided enlightening examples of a fascinating vocal ornament related to metrical rubato, referred to by Tosi as the *drag or strascino* (Fig. 4.89). Tosi, describes how:

on an even or regular movement of a bass, which proceeds slowly, a singer begins with a high note, dragging it gently down to a low one, with the forte and piano, almost gradually, with inequality of motion, (that is to say, stopping a little more on some notes in the middle, than those that begin or end the strascino or drag [sic]). Every good musician takes it for granted that in the art of singing there is no invention superior or execution more apt to touch the heart than this, provided, however, it be done with judgement and with putting forth of the voice in a just time on the bass.

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The above examples demonstrate how a singer of the time may have embellished the music with highly varied rhythmically-inflected descending note patterns. By qualifying the written word with musical examples, Galliard reveals aspects of the improvisatory

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67 Ibid., 70-1.
68 Ibid., 84-5.
69 Ibid., 84-5.
and irregular nature of the strascino that could not necessarily have been deduced from Tosi's explanation alone. Without audible evidence, the aural effect of the strascino, its subtle and varying qualities, and the frequency of its use, remains obscure.

Other texts by Quantz, Leopold Mozart and C.P.E. Bach document the survival of metrical rubato during the eighteenth century, without making its features apparent. In 1756 Mozart opined that:

> when a true virtuoso who is worthy of the title is to be accompanied, then one must not allow oneself to be beguiled by the postponing or anticipating of the notes, which he knows how to shape so adroitly and touchingly, into hesitating or hurrying, but must continue to play throughout in the same manner; else the effect which the performer desired to build up would be demolished by the accompaniment.  

In a footnote, Mozart adds that the accompanist 'must not yield' to a soloist 'for he would then spoil his tempo rubato'. He also states that this style is 'more easily shown than described'. This suggests that metrical rubato was most conveniently and successfully transmitted by aural example and helps to explain the lack of detail in written texts.

Other eighteenth-century pedagogues such as Türk provided both descriptions and illustrations of metrical rubato, clearly indicating that many types of rhythmic modifications were not only appropriate but also vital for a musically sophisticated performance. Türk stated in 1789 that:

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71 Ibid., 244.
The so-called tempo rubato or robato (actually stolen time) I have specified... as the third resource whose application should be left to the sensitivity of the player. This term appears with more than one meaning. Commonly it is understood as a kind of shortening or lengthening of notes, or displacement (dislocation) of these. There is something taken away (stolen) from the duration of a note and for this, another note is given that much more, as in the following examples b and c.

At a are the basic notes, at b tempo rubato is put to use by means of the anticipation and at c by means of the retardation. From this it can be seen that through this kind of execution, the tempo, or even more, the meter as a whole is not displaced. Consequently, the customary but somewhat ambiguous German term verrücktes Zeitmass [displaced tempo] is not very fitting, for the bass voice goes its way according to the meter (without displacement), and only the notes of the melody are moved out of place, as it were. For this reason the expression Versetzen or Verziehen [changing the place of - or - dragging out] the notes or the beat divisions would be more correct. Even when more notes are added to the melody, as in examples e and f, both voices must nevertheless correctly coincide each time at the beginning of the measure. In this case there results no actual displacement of the tempo.72

While apparently enlightening about the use of anticipation and delay, Türk's notation clearly could not show the subtleties of rhythmic nuance that would undoubtedly have graced an artistic performance. Furthermore, he remarks that the preservation of the pulse during elaborate embellishments produces an effect similar to metrical rubato:

In general, the counting must be maintained in the strictest manner, even for the most extensive ornaments. If some tones are played a little too soon or a little too late for the sake of the affect, the tempo must not be changed in the slightest degree as a result. However, there is a certain type of musician for whom it has become fashionable to shift the beats around, that many believe it is not so necessary to pay attention to the beat for these extempore elaborations, or that it is the sign of the greatness of a

72 Türk, School of Clavier Playing, 363-4.
virtuoso when he does not maintain a steady beat when varying etc. Truly great masters of singing and playing adhere to the measure even in the most elaborate ornaments.\textsuperscript{73}

This way of giving the illusion of metrical rubato was mentioned by C.P.E. Bach and as shown above, was referred to in musical examples by Franklin Taylor in the late-nineteenth century.

It is apparent that in the second half of the eighteenth century, not all pianists used metrical rubato. For example, Mozart explained to his father in 1777, "everyone is amazed that I can always keep strict time. What these people cannot grasp is that in \textit{tempo rubato} in an Adagio, the left hand should go on playing in strict time. With them the left hand always follows suit."\textsuperscript{74} With little doubt Mozart was criticizing keyboard players who could not properly achieve independence of the hands or who, in any case, had become accustomed to tempo modification made in both hands simultaneously.

The above references show that metrical rubato was certainly intrinsic to keyboard playing and music-making in general during the eighteenth century. However, few describe the subtleties that must have been the hallmark of trained artists. Galliard and Türk illustrated some of these techniques, relying however on a rigid and unvaried style of notation, which by its nature could not preserve subtle fractional displacements.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{73} Ibid., 313.
\item \textsuperscript{74} W.A. Mozart, "Letter from Augsburg, October 23, 1777", trans. and ed. E. Anderson in Mozart's Letters (London, 1966) cited in MacClintock, Readings, 381.
\end{itemize}
During the first half of the nineteenth century, several references document the ongoing tradition of metrical rubato. Louis Adam states in 1804 that:

Without doubt expression requires that one slows down or hastens certain melody-notes, but these retards [and accelerations] must not be continually throughout the piece, but only at some places where the expression of a sad melody or the passion of an agitated melody requires a slowing down or a hastening. In these cases it is the melody that is altered, and the bass must be played strictly in time.\(^{75}\)

As noted above, Adam, and later Pollini, provided verbal and pictorial evidence that the portato sign signified not only a type of articulation, but also a continuous displacement between the melody and accompaniment. In this respect, their illustrations cited in Chapter 2 are of particular interest because this practice, obviously related to metrical rubato, is now no longer associated with the portato sign. Nevertheless, it is improbable that their notation captured the subtlety of the intended effect.

In 1837, Henri Herz gives the strong impression that, at times, rhythmic alterations to melody notes in metrical rubato were extreme. He mentions, in particular, the practices of Jan Dussek which were apparently in decline:

Sometimes... the double character of the accompaniment and the melody requires for each hand a different rhythmic effect. Thus, whereas the right hand seems to lose its way in fantastic variations, the left, supporting the bass notes in a counter rhythm, follows it reluctantly and with syncopated notes. This case, as in all those where the expression is complex, requires not only that the hands be perfectly independent from each other, but, so to speak, [with] a different soul in each of them. It is thus that Dussek produced a hazy and melancholy tint on certain sequences by letting the right hand sing in a vague and nonchalant manner, whereas the left executed the

\(^{75}\) Adam, *Méthode*, 160; Sans doute l'expression exige qu'on ralentisse ou qu'on presse certaines notes de chant, mais ces retards ne doivent pas être continus pendant tout un morceau, mais seulement dans quelques endroits où l'expression d'un chant langoureux ou la passion d'un chant agité exigent un retard ou un mouvement plus animé. Dans ce cas c'est le chant qu'il faut altérer, et la basse doit marquer strictement la mesure.
arpeggiated chords rigorously in time. I don’t know why this manner of phrasing so
well promoted a short time ago, has now been forgotten.\(^{76}\)

An anonymous contemporary review in *Le Pianiste* (March, 1834) suggests that Dussek
must frequently have used metrical rubato, but that he found no successful means of
notating it:

Dussek very much liked the Rubato, although never wrote the word in his music;
Dussek tried to make it visible by means of [notating] syncopation; but, when one
faithfully executed these syncopations, one was far from rendering his suave and
delectable manner. He renounced this method, and contented himself with writing the
expression *espressivo*.\(^{77}\)

In this light, the implications for the value of other illustrations cited above are serious. In
any case it is clear that a strict adherence to the letter of Dussek’s scores would produce a
result significantly different from what he intended. Of particular importance is the fact
that expressions such as *espressivo*, and presumably others, were used in Dussek’s era to
indicate practices that are no longer in general use. There is a strong parallel between this
and Phillip Corri’s advice cited in Chapter 3 that certain musical terms indicated the use
of frequent arpeggiation.

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\(^{76}\) Herz, *Méthode complète*, 20. ‘quelquefois...le double caractère de l’accompagnement et de la
mélodie exige de chaque main un effet rhythmique différent. Ainsi, tandis que la droite semble
s’égayer en de folles variations, la gauche, appuyant à contre temps sur les basses, la suit à pas
pesants et pas notes syncopées. Ce cas, comme tous ceux où l’expression est complexe, exige non
seulement des mains parfaitement indépendantes l’une de l’autre, mais, si je puis le dire, une âme
différent dans chacune d’elles. C’est ainsi que Dussek répandait une teinte vaporeuse et
mélancolique sur certaines périodes en laissant chanter la main droite d’une manière vague et
nonchalante, tandis que la gauche exécutait des batteries rigoureusement en mesure. J’ignore
pourquoi cette manière de phraser, tant-prônée naguère, est tombée maintenant dans l’oubli.’

\(^{77}\) *Le Pianiste* (1834), vol. 1, no. 5, 78; ‘Dussek, qui aimant beaucoup le Rubato, quoiqu’il n’ait
jamais écrit ce mot dans sa musique; Dussek avait essayé de le rendre *visible* au moyen des
syncopes; mais, lorsqu’on exécute fidèlement ces syncopes, on était bien loin de rendre sa
manière suave et délicieuse. Il y renonça lui-même, et se contenta d’écrire *espressivo*.’
Other nineteenth-century writers also confirm that metrical rubato was difficult to notate successfully. In 1834, Pierre Baillot describes the effect of a type of syncopation implied by the expressions *tempo rubato* or *disturbato*, or *temps dérobé* or *troublé*. He says that it is a great effect but will, by its nature, become fatiguing and insupportable if used too often:

> It tends to express trouble and agitation and few composers have notated or indicated it... The performer... must only make use of it in spite of himself, as it were, when, carried away by the expression, it apparently forces him to lose all sense of pulse and to be delivered by this means from the trouble that besets him... He must preserve a sort of steadiness that will keep him within the limits of the harmony of the passage and make him return at the right moment to the exact pulse of the beat...

> This disorder... will become an *artistic effect* if it results from effort and inspiration and if the artist can use it without being forced to think of the means he is employing.

> Up to a certain point this device can be notated, but like all impassioned accents, it will lose much of its effect if it is performed coldbloodedly [according to the book].

Baillot accompanied this description with two notated examples from a fast movement from Viotti's Concerto No.19 showing approximately how he altered certain melody notes, presumably against a steady accompaniment (Fig. 4.90).

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Other references imply that the rhythmic alterations of some soloists during the first half of the nineteenth century were so extreme that the accompaniment could no longer be played in time. Regarding orchestral practices in England, Cipriani Potter stated in 1836 that:

It frequently occurs that a concerto player allows himself many licences in time, and which a good orchestra, unfortunately, is too often obliged to submit to; but a great performer who accustoms himself to these licences, will never be a good leader, because he is deficient in that important requisite - precision. These licenses in the time are often mistaken for the “Tempo Rubato,” which is a great beauty in the

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79 Baillot, *L'Art du violon: nouvelle méthode*, 136-7; “Il tend à exprimer le trouble et l’agitation et peu de compositeur l’ont note ou indiqué; le caractère du passage suffit dire, en faire usage que malgré lui, lorsqu’entraîné par l’expression, elle l’oblige à perdre, en apparence, toute mesure et à se délivrer ainsi du trouble qui l’obsède. Nous disons qu’il ne perd la mesure qu’en apparence, c’est-à-dire, qu’il doit conserver une sorte d’aplomb qui le retienne dans les limites de l’harmonie du passage et qui le fasse rentrer à propos dans la mesure exacte des temps. C’est ici le cas d’appliquer cette observation.

Ce désordre sera donc de nature à plaire, même à être trouvé beau; il deviendra un effet de l’art s’il est le résultat du travail et de l’inspiration, et si l’artiste l’emploie sans être obligé de penser aux moyens dont il se sert.

On peut noter, jusqu’à un certain point cet artifice, mais, comme tous les accens passionnés, il perdra beaucoup de son effet à être exécuté de sang froid.
execution of a *cantabile* passage, or an *Adagio*; but the accompaniment should always be executed in strict time, leaving the solo performer to his own peculiar division of the bar. It is impossible to accompany some singers, from their abuse of the "Tempo Rubato": hence, the expression they introduce becomes a caricature of the intention of the author.\(^8^0\)

In respect of Potter's apparent preference for judicious alterations that would allow the accompaniment to continue unaltered, it is tantalizing that he did not further describe the 'peculiar' divisions of the bar that he considered appropriate. Other references show that some soloists were more judicious and effected a very successful metrical rubato. The conductor Bernhard Scholz described his experience with the baritone Julius Stockhausen in 1859, recounting that:

> It was a pleasure for me to accompany him with the orchestra or at the keyboard. At first I tried to follow every small inflection of his performance; then he requested that I remain peacefully and strictly in time even when he allowed himself small deviations here and there, for which he would later compensate. He moves himself with complete freedom, but on a firm rhythmic basis...Through him the character of the 'Tempo rubato' first became completely clear to me: freedom of phrasing on a steady rhythmic foundation.\(^8^1\)

The fact that Scholz had to be instructed to play and conduct in time suggests the variety of practices that existed side by side. Clearly, however, musicians such as Stockhausen continued to use metrical rubato while others had abandoned it.

In *A Few Words on Pianoforte Playing* (1855), Caroline Reinagle discusses various types of rhythmic alteration.\(^8^2\)

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\(^8^0\) C. Potter, 'Companion to the Orchestra; or Hints on Instrumentation', *The Musical World* (1886), vol. 4, no. 41, 4.

\(^8^1\) Hudson, *Stolen Time*, 86.

*Tempo rubato* implies robbing one bar, or part of a bar, for the sake of enriching another which is considered of greater importance. The notes hurried over are often mere accompaniment. In the following passage, the bass may be played somewhat sooner than it is strictly wanted, and the time thus gained will be bestowed on the melody, particularly on the smooth A. The little phrase may perhaps have the most pressure in the second bar; in the first it will be played simply; in the last it may be played *smorzando*, which expresses a great deal more than other similar terms. *Smorzando* is not merely slackening, nor diminishing - it may be neither - but it seems to show that the feeling has attained its greatest height, and is indeed too intense to vent itself with force:

![Music notation]

While the underlying concept of borrowing and restoring time is clear, Reinagle’s descriptive terminology is vague. In reality, the above seems to describe a type of compensatory tempo modification affecting melody and accompaniment simultaneously.

Following this, however, Reinagle provided another explanation that appears to correspond with metrical rubato. Again, however, her intention is not entirely clear:

In the following bar, the time is not stolen from the accompaniment; but the fourth group of notes, and, to a less degree, the third, seize, in right of their evidently stronger expression, on a short portion of time not justly belonging to them, of which the remainder must be robbed.

![Music notation]

Regarding the above example from Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 10 No. 3, Reinagle advises that certain melody notes should be lengthened while the accompaniment remains constant. It is likely that she was referring to the chromatically altered notes C sharp in

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83 Ibid., 242.
the third group, and G sharp and B flat in the fourth group, which ought to be lengthened expressively because of their dissonant effect. An indication of the alteration would have made the intended effect clearer, though perhaps, like many others, Reinagle felt that the notation could not do justice to the subtleties of the inflection.

The texts presented above document the survival of metrical rubato for several centuries. In general, however, their descriptive language and brevity impede a fuller appreciation of its actual aural impression, the frequency of its use or the range of situations in which it was considered appropriate.

**Hidden meanings**

Central to an appreciation of metrical rubato are the possible hidden meanings in its descriptive terminology. It is frequently stated that in metrical rubato, the accompaniment must remain ‘strictly’ or ‘exactly’ in time. In this respect, however, several questions must be considered. What did such terms signify in previous eras? Did they imply absolute strictness or simply that the pulse ought always to be recognizable despite the vacillation of the melody? The latter would permit a degree of flexibility in the placement of notes of the accompaniment, while maintaining a perception of unvarying pulse. To what extent was metronomical strictness considered truly artistic or indeed possible? On this point Brown has astutely observed that ‘a degree of deviation from absolutely mechanical adherence to a constant beat is inevitable in a musically effective
performance of any reasonably extended piece, even if the performer’s primary intention is to adhere strictly to the initial tempo'.

The purpose of metrical rubato was surely to create an expressive harmonic or rhythmic tension by playing a melody note sooner or later than the corresponding note in the accompaniment. This can still be achieved when both parts fluctuate but do not coincide. Thus, the commonly prescribed ‘strictly in time’ accompaniment may have been simply a convenient and concise way of describing and ensuring a displacement between the parts, but could also engender a certain degree of flexibility.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, it is apparent that tempo modification was increasingly employed as a standard expressive device. Czerny commented that:

> we have almost entirely forgotten the strict keeping of time, as the tempo rubato (that is, the arbitrary retardation or quickening of the degree of movement) is now often employed even to caricature.

Elsewhere he states that:

> there occurs almost in every line some notes or some passages, where a small and often almost imperceptible relaxation or acceleration of the movement is necessary, to embellish the expression and increase the interest.

Hummel, too, makes it clear that metronomic strictness was not always necessary, nor truly artistic:

> Many persons still erroneously imagine, that, in applying the metronome, they are bound to follow its equal and undeviating motion throughout the whole piece, without

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84 Brown, *Performing Practice*, 375.
allowing themselves any latitude in the performance for the display of taste or feeling.\textsuperscript{87}

An enlightening description about the difference between playing metronomically ‘in time’ and musically ‘in time’ is found in Maria L. Grimaldi’s \textit{The Art of Piano Playing and Teaching} (c. 1895). She advised that the sense of pulse must prevail even during modifications of the tempo:

The practice of playing in time is most essential and important, as carelessness in this hurts the ears as a bad architectural structure does the eye. To play with taste and expression does not imply too much liberty in the rhythm, an indulgence in \textit{rallentando} in slow movements, or \textit{affrettando} where many notes are to be played, every note running in a panic as so many people in a frightened crowd. In the most \textit{rubato} of \textit{tempo rubato} the underlying general drawing must be always observed and felt. At the same time I should advise young pianists not to go to the other excess of counting, under the breath, one, two, three, four, when playing. Fancy a sonata of Beethoven with such an accompaniment! To be sure this is a good practice to make an accompanist, but never an artist.\textsuperscript{88}

The above texts reveal that within a framework of relative strictness, a certain degree of tempo modification was considered desirable. Terminology such as ‘strict’ and ‘exact’ should probably be interpreted in this context. Thus, the underlying tempo in metrical \textit{rubato} may often have been more flexible than is implied by a face-value interpretation of its descriptive terminology. Apparently, certain early-twentieth-century musicians who concluded that metrical \textit{rubato} was a purely theoretical concept did not take such factors into account. For example, in 1928 John McEwen published results based on evidence preserved on Duo-Art piano rolls. By measuring the distance between perforations (and therefore note lengths and positions) he sought to discover, among other things, whether when ‘playing an independent accompaniment to a \textit{rubato} melody or phrase’, the artists

\textsuperscript{87} J.N. Hummel, \textit{Ausführliche theoretisch-praktische Anweisung zum Piano-Forte-Spiel}, (Vienna, 1828); trans. as \textit{A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions, on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte} (London, 1828), vol. 3, 65.
\textsuperscript{88} Grimaldi, \textit{The Art of Piano Playing and Teaching}, 22-3.
kept strict time in the accompaniment. McEwen found that pianists such as Pachmann, Busoni and Teresa Carreño did not do so; their accompaniments wavered in tempo. He concluded therefore, that theories of metrical rubato with strict time in the accompaniment were, as Robert Philip describes it, 'inventions of theoreticians, rather than reflections of actual practice'. Two concepts can be seen to mar McEwen's conclusions. First, he interpreted the word 'strict', very literally. Had he listened to the rolls played on a reproducing piano, he would undoubtedly have noticed elements of metrical rubato that the ear recognizes despite the fluctuations of tempo. Secondly, McEwen examined a rather limited cross-section of rolls, not including, for instance, those of the earliest generation examined above.

Another empirical study based on piano rolls was made by Leroy Ninde Vernon in 1937. Focusing, like McEwen, on a limited number of rolls, he showed that when 'a clearly defined and continuous melody has an accompaniment of chords contrasted in rhythm and rather separate from the melody, the two are seldom played together.' However, he concluded that because the accompaniments were not steady in time, there were few if any examples of the Chopin style of rubato. Again, the literal interpretation of descriptive terminology, without consideration of historical context, seems to have clouded the issue.

Historical texts can be easily misinterpreted when subjected to the boundaries of differing taste. In general, we have now become accustomed to a style of performance that is very faithful to the score. Absolute precision, synchrony of parts and very subtle fluctuations of

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89 Philip, Early Recordings, 46.
90 Hudson, Stolen Time, 333.
tempo are recognizable characteristics. Currently, the word ‘strict’ means ‘very exact’ or
‘literal’. However, for nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century musicians, it undoubtedly
had a wider meaning. In the context of tempo and rhythm, it probably incorporated a
certain flexibility that was still perceived as being strict. Certainly, in the examples above,
metrical rubato alterations are clearly evident even when the accompaniment is not
metronomically in time.

A good example of the hidden meaning in written texts is seen in the comparison
between Saint-Saëns’s description of metrical rubato and his own playing. In Le Courier
musicale (1910), he states that:

In the true [tempo rubato], the accompaniment remains undisturbed while the melody
floats capriciously, rushes or retards, sooner or later to find again the support of the
accompaniment. This manner of playing is very difficult, requiring a complete
independence of the two hands. 91

Saint-Saëns’s advice gives the strong impression that in employing metrical rubato, his
left hand would always have been exactly in time. His piano rolls show, however, that in
repertoire by Chopin and Beethoven, he wavers between a strict and a more flexible
tempo in the accompaniment. In spite of this, a sense of pulse is always evident and the
asynchrony caused by alterations to melodic material is always clear. The fact that Saint-
Saëns’s flexibility is not implied in his verbal description shows how misleading the
latter is for appreciating the true features of his metrical rubato. Saint-Saëns very

91 C. Saint-Saëns, ‘Quelques mots sur l’exécution des oeuvres de Chopin’, Le Courier musicale
(1910), vol. 13, no. 10, 386-7; ‘Dans le vrai, l’accompagnement reste imperturbable, alors que la
mélodie flotte capricieusement, avance ou tarde, pour retrouver tôt ou tard son support. Ce
genre d’exécution est fort difficile, demandant une indépendance complète des deux mains.’
probably considered his playing to be strict, but this was within a wider boundary than is currently acceptable.

Another example of the misleading impression given by written texts is found in Eduard Hanslick's 1879 review of Adelina Patti. Hanslick states that she was:

Always rhythmically strict as regards measures, she treats the rhythm within each measure with individual freedom - nothing is dragged, nothing is rushed, and yet everything is animated right down to the softest vibrations of tone.  

Patti's treatment of the rhythm within certain bars with individual freedom is clearly evident in her 1906 recording of Bellini's *Casta Diva*. However, by modern standards, her tempo, in this and other works, is not always strict. Often, she stretches and contracts the tempo within a bar or phrase; she lengthens particular trilled notes at final cadences in order it seems to show off her agility; and she makes noticeable ritardandi in the final bars of songs and arias. None of these practices destroy the overall pulse or render the composition unrecognizable, but she certainly does not sing strictly in tempo. Here, as in abundant cases already mentioned in Chapters 2 and 3, the written description gives a different impression to the audible evidence.

Metrical rubato continued to be a matter for discussion in the first half of the twentieth century. In *Some Reflections on Piano Playing* (Paris, c. 1900), Isidor Philipp encouraged its use saying that:

In expressive piano playing the Rubato needs consideration but is often misunderstood. Rubato does not mean playing out of time. Any ritenuto that we may

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92 Hanslick, 'Adelina Patti (1879)', *Music Criticisms*, 179.
be impelled to make, must be compensated by a corresponding accelerando and also the opposite, the bass keeping exactly the time.\textsuperscript{93}

In an example from the second movement of Saint-Saëns’s Sonata No. 1 Op. 32, Philipp’s metrical rubato, extraordinary by modern standards, is clearly audible. While his cellist Paul Bazelaire plays the walking bass line between bars 6 and 10 exactly in time, Philipp makes expressive displacements by lengthening and shortening particular chords in the melody line (Fig. 4.91). Here, it is obvious that for him, ‘ritenuto’ and ‘accelerando’ signified lengthening and shortening or anticipation and delay. Without the audible evidence, this type of alteration within the context of chamber music might never have been appreciated.

\textsuperscript{93} I. Philipp, \textit{Some Reflections on Piano Playing} (Paris, c. 1900), 11.
Other early-twentieth-century writers prescribed a very limited use of metrical rubato. In 1909, Hofmann implied that it was more theoretical than practical in nature and that in any case, not many places in compositions would accommodate such independence of the parts:

I find an explanation of tempo rubato which says that the hand which plays the melody may move with all possible freedom, while the accompanying hand must keep strict time. How can this be done?

The explanation you found, while not absolutely wrong, is very misleading, for it can find application in only a very few isolated cases; only inside of a short phrase and then hardly satisfactorily. Besides, the words you quote are not an explanation, but a mere assertion or, rather, allegation. Tempo rubato means a wavering, a vacillating of time values, and the question whether this is to extend over both hands or only over one must be decided by the player’s good taste; it also depends on whether the occupation of the two hands can be thought of as separate and musically independent.
I assume that you are able to play each hand alone with perfect freedom, and I doubt not that you can, with some practice, retain this freedom of each hand when you unite them, but I can see only very few cases to which you could apply such skill, and still less do I see the advantage thereof. 94

Although Hofmann did not value the technique very highly, he was not entirely opposed to it. Such explanations, however, must have accelerated the demise of a practice that had long been in existence. Hofmann's recordings preserve little use of metrical rubato. His playing is markedly more synchronized than pianists noted above and his inflection of rhythms, while evident, is much more subtle and bound to the notation. This is exemplified in the following excerpts from his 1912 recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 1 and Schumann's Warum? Op. 12 No. 3 (CD 3/67 and 68).

An appraisal of Hofmann's playing by the critic Harold Schonberg describes the difference between his style and that of earlier generations:

As a representative of the nineteenth-century school of piano playing, Hofmann was well aware of the romantic tradition. He himself was a bridge pianist, one who modified the romantic approach to the new philosophies of the twentieth century. His rhythms were straightforward whereas the rhythms of the Liszt and Leschetizky pupils tended to be capricious. He played the notes as written, whereas the Lisztianers and Leschetizkianers took a remarkably free view toward the printed note. Indeed, Hofmann in early years was accused, often, of being a "cold" pianist, just as Toscanini at the same time was being accused of being a "cold" conductor. Of course neither was cold. Both merely discarded some of the excess romanticism then in vogue. 95

The recommendation for a literal interpretation of musical notation during the early-twentieth century is no clearer than in Percy Grainger's advice in his article "Grieg's

94 Hofmann, Piano Questions Answered, 100-2.
“Norwegian Bridal Procession” (1920). On several occasions, he discusses the need to play dotted rhythms exactly as written. For example, in bar 5, he warns the player to:

Be scrupulous to preserve the exact rhythmic relationship between the dotted sixteenth-notes and the thirty-second-notes. Too often this passage is played with the sound of triplets, as shown in Example 4.

Ex. 4

This tendency can be corrected by practicing the passage as indicated in Example 5.

Ex. 5

Count four to every eighth-note, and be sure that the thirty-second-notes are not played before “four” is counted. Inexperienced musicians are apt to cut the duration of the dotted notes too short in cases such as these. This error can also be corrected by practising the passage with a metronome ticking four times in each measure, and playing the thirty-second notes like very quick grace notes, as shown in Example 6.

Ex. 6

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Furthermore, he advises for bar 25:

What was remarked regarding the rhythm of measure 5 applies with particular force to the continuous figure of dotted sixteenth-notes and thirty-second-notes that are found throughout the following measures: 25-59, 62-72 74-76, 78, 80-89. Take care not to let this degenerate into the triplet rhythm shown in Example 7.

Ex. 7  Left Hand

In order to guard against this tendency think of each (not to the preceding) dotted sixteenth-note, and practise the passage along the lines indicated in Examples 5 and 6.97

And for bars 49, 50 and 51 he states that the player must:

Play the thirty-second-notes in the left hand well after the third note of the right hand triplet. In particular avoid the slovenly performance of measure 51 shown in Example 8.98

Grainger's 1925 recording of the work shows that he did observe his own advice, though in order to achieve rhythmic incisiveness, he had to play it at a suitably moderate tempo of approximately crotchet = 69MM (CD 3/69). Grieg's 1903 recording of the work shows

97 Ibid., 742.
98 Ibid., 742.
that he was not so strict and that, in any case, his faster tempo of approximately crotchet = 88MM, often precluded the production of the sharp rhythms in his notation (CD 3/70).

Gieseking demanded a much more literal interpretation of the musical text, advising that the composer’s notation must be respected unequivocally. He discussed natural interpretation stating that:

The pianist very often believes he must alter the musical notation of a composition, especially as regards rhythm. He very often does so unconsciously, because he is not capable of reading correctly, because his playing is superficial, or because he thinks it is more interesting and “expressive” to play, let us say, a succession of sixteenth notes unevenly and strongly rubato, although the composer has written them all of equal value.

In criticizing the uneven rendition of passages of equal-value notes, Gieseking may have been referring to the survival of a technique remarkably similar to the practice of inequality discussed above, of which in his youth he must have had direct experience.

Elsewhere, he noted a strong dislike of alterations to triplets saying that:

I should like to point out that triplets are rarely played correctly. They very often create a false impression when heard by trained ears. A rhythmically rendered triplet is a thing unknown to many musicians. In opposition to the intentions of the composer, the triplet is very often not played precisely on the beat. Moreover, it is generally taken too fast and finished too soon. In order, therefore, somewhat to balance the rhythm, the player generally lingers a while before striking the note following the triplet. I therefore go minutely into this matter and insist upon absolute equality in the execution of the three notes. It is only by strictly following this rule that such phrases can be rendered with the right effect. Otherwise, they will always appear uneven and jerky. This may seem pedantic to many, but it is a perfectly natural thing to a musical ear. The correct rendering of triplets is a greater help to technique than is generally supposed.

100 Ibid., 35.
Like Hofmann and Grainger, Gieseking's playing exhibits a stricter adherence to the musical notation than pianists of an earlier generation. An example highlighting the difference between his style and that of Etelka Freund, who continued to make conspicuous rhythmic alterations as late as the 1950s, is seen in the comparison of their recordings of Brahms's Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 2. In her 1953 recording of the work, Freund plays the adjacent semiquavers in the alto and tenor parts between bars 27 and 29 unequally, whereas in his 1939 recording of it, Gieseking plays the sequence literally as notated (CD 3/71 and 72).

In 1929, Maurice Cauchie was highly critical of those who employed rhythmic alteration:

> The greatest care must be taken that the various values (crotchets, quavers, &c.) last exactly the times that are intended. There are countless instrumentalists and singers who constantly replace

\[ \frac{\text{3}}{\text{2}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \) \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \) \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \) by \[ \frac{\text{3}}{\text{2}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{2}} \]

and \[ \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \) by \[ \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \]

Many even go so far as to replace

\[ \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{1}}{\text{4}} \) by \[ \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \] \( \frac{\text{3}}{\text{4}} \]

They think that they are thus making their playing or their singing more expressive. What is it that they are really doing? They are substituting a work of their own composition for the one they imagine themselves to be performing.\(^{101}\)

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As late as 1958, Frank Merrick, himself a student of Leschetizky, mentioned metrical rubato:

A so-called definition of rubato is "left hand in time, right hand free", a phenomenon which is often called for by the notation itself (Exx, 108, 109 and 110):

The beauty with which Chopin treated such passages may be part of the reason why "left hand strict, right hand free" has been so often advocated as a solution of the rubato problem. The result of accepting this doctrine is usually similar to that produced by an insensitive accompanist who cannot keep together with the soloist.\(^\text{102}\)

It is clear that, unlike his teacher, Merrick was opposed to the notion of the left hand not following the right. In spite of this and other warnings, remnants of metrical rubato style can be heard in the playing of several important pianists during the mid-twentieth century. In her 1953 recording, Etelka Freund makes alterations to great effect,

\(^\text{102}\) Merrick, Practising the Piano, 73-4.
particularly in the first section of the second movement of Brahms’s Sonata Op. 5. Here, the semiquavers in the left hand are played unequally, almost as triplets. From bar 12, the repeated semiquavers are played in a variety of dotted rhythms (CD 3/73). And in the section commencing from bar 68, each pair of semiquavers is subverted to form a tripletized quaver/semiquaver (CD 3/74). In the first movement, she uses inequality in the more expressive passages such as between bars 27 and 38 (CD 3/75). In Brahms’s Intermezzo Op. 116 No. 2, Freund assimilates the pairs of quavers in the right hand to match the left-hand triplets (CD 3/76).

And in her 1951 recording of Brahms’s Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, Adelina de Lara tripletizes pairs of semiquavers forming the upbeat to most bars (CD 3/77).

Early recordings reveal, therefore, that around the turn of the twentieth century, metrical rubato was an indispensable expressive device in piano playing. Many pianists, particularly, but not exclusively, the oldest generation frequently made rhythmic alterations of varying complexity for expressive purposes. Yet this is not reflected in late-nineteenth-century references, which are scarce and lacking in detail. With few exceptions, written texts rarely describe more than the underlying principle of metrical rubato. Thus the recordings reveal many features that would have been impossible to deduce from written texts alone.

The close correspondence between the alterations preserved in early piano recordings and those detailed by García and others provides strong evidence that such alterations were
not simply remnants of an earlier style. There is, therefore, an historical basis for what can be heard in the recordings. In addition, certain similarities with earlier practices suggest that many aspects of metrical rubato in late-nineteenth-century piano playing had been in existence for several centuries. Thus, Hudson's claim that 'During the later years of the 19th century the earlier meaning of rubato [metrical rubato] gradually disappeared, although isolated elements of the technique lingered on in the controversial concept of 'compensation' (meaning then that retard and acceleration should be exactly equal within a bar, phrase or piece) and in the pianists' custom of arpeggiating chords or 'breaking hands' cannot be justified. His theory does not accord with evidence preserved in either written texts or early recordings. Indeed, Hudon's suggestion that arpeggiation and dislocation were isolated elements of metrical rubato is misleading. In early recordings, these practices can be heard separately and alongside metrical rubato, and have been shown in Chapters 2 and 3 to belong to firmly established traditions of their own in a continuum dating back several centuries. It is apparent from early recordings that while some pianists employed metrical rubato more sparingly, Brahms, Saint-Saëns, Reinecke, Leschetizky, Grieg and many other important pianists up until the 1950s made prolific use of it.

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Chapter 5

Tempo modification

The manner in which, and the situations where, tempo modification was employed is another factor that distinguishes the style of piano playing around the turn of the twentieth century from the present style. Tempo modification, now referred to as tempo rubato or rubato, involves the acceleration, deceleration and prolongation of notes that cause a distortion of the tempo for expressive reasons. At present, few specific rules govern its application and in general, musicians develop an idiosyncratic style or emulate a so-called tradition. In the 1980 edition of The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Robert Donington defines rubato as:

Of tempo, extended beyond the time mathematically available; thus slowed down, stretched or broadened. Tempo rubato ('stolen time') signifies the time thus ‘stolen’ (i.e. added)... In current usage rubato implies some distortion of the strict mathematical tempo applied to one or more notes, or entire phrases, without restoration; and also to time added as pauses or breaks in the continuity of the tempo, to mark the separation of phrases more conspicuously than merely by a silence of articulation within the tempo.1

Although this may be considered an adequate description of the function and use of tempo modification for musicians today, it is impossible to appreciate from Donington’s description the boundaries within which such distortions of the tempo are considered appropriate and in good taste.

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Comparison of recordings made over the past century shows that although tempo modification remains an intrinsic expressive device in modern piano playing, its usage has changed radically. Early piano recordings preserve, in many cases, a degree and style of tempo modification that does not fall within current notions of good taste. Although to modern ears this undoubtedly contributes to an impression of exaggerated temporal waywardness, it is evident that many important late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century pianists considered such a style to be highly expressive. In contrast, the majority of modern pianists adhere more faithfully to the notation; any modification tends to stay within close proximity of the prevailing tempo.

In order to gain an appreciation of the extent to which the criteria governing tempo modification have changed over the past hundred years, it is enlightening to examine a cross-section of piano recordings of the same work. The table below (Fig. 5.1) presents certain calculations based on the tempo modifications made by various pianists between bars 1 and 9 of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 (Fig. 5.2). Using an electronic stopwatch, the time lapse between the downbeats of successive bars has been measured. Where smaller sections such as half bars are involved, measurements have been taken accordingly. Because the effect of increase or decrease (acceleration/deceleration) of tempo is perceived in relation to what has preceded, it is useful to know the rate of change of the length of a bar, from one bar to the next, or one half bar to the next half bar, expressed as a percentage of the first. This method provides a quantitative impression of the degree to which individual pianists change the tempo during an accelerando or a ritardando. The higher the value, the more radical is the perceived change.
The figures here incorporate a very small element of error of ± 0.1 seconds which has been calculated by averaging twenty timings of a particular bar, and noting the largest discrepancy on either side of the average. This equates to an error of approximately 2%, calculated by dividing the largest error by the average time and multiplying by 100. This margin of error is not, however, of any significance in the present study.

Fig. 5.1 Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, duration in seconds.²

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<td>5.25</td>
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<tr>
<td>Barenboim</td>
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<td>4.51</td>
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<td>Rév</td>
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<td>4.59</td>
<td>4.01</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stott</td>
<td>5.06</td>
<td>4.68</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>4.91</td>
<td>4.87</td>
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<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.95</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

² N.B. although Pachmann's percentage change figures are presented below, his recording commences at bar 26 of the work and cannot therefore be included in this table.
In the table above (Fig. 5.1), the upper numeral represents the times lapse in seconds for each bar. The numerals marked in bold indicate the amount of increase (positive value) or decrease (negative value) in length of the bar in relation to the one that precedes.

3 Chopin, 'Nocturnes', Urtext, 44.
From this evidence it is clear that, in the majority of cases, no two bars are the same length. In addition, the variation in bar lengths is significantly larger for pianists such as Leschetizky, La Forge and Rosenthal, and to a lesser extent, Godowski and Powell, than Rév, Barenboim and Stott. Solomon plays consistently more in time while Harasiewicz and particularly Weissenburg show some localized large variation. Where tempo has been modified, the earlier pianists generally make larger and thus more noticeable changes from bar to bar, while those of more recent times make consistently far less variation. It seems that by the mid-century, tempo modification was kept to a minimum, as represented in the figures for Solomon and Harasiewicz. This accords with the general move towards a stricter style as described by twentieth-century writers, discussed below. Weissenberg’s figures may represent a remnant of earlier practices or perhaps a move towards a slightly more flexible style. In this respect, it is evident that the figures for Rév, Barenboim and Stott are more varied than those of Solomon and Harasiewicz. These conclusions do not take into account the differences in overall tempo from one pianist to another, which must be the focus of another study.

Furthermore, closer examination of the tempo modifications in bar 8 reveals more significant trends. In the second half of this bar, the majority of pianists under examination broaden the tempo in order, it seems, to play more expressively the ascending scale culminating in the poignant appoggiatura melody note G natural at the beginning of bar 9. The increase in the length of bar 8 expressed as a percentage of bar 7 is listed in Figure 5.3 below.4 From this it is clear that Leschetizky, La Forge and

4 The percentage change figures below have been calculated by dividing the increase or decrease in bar lengths by the first bar length and multiplying by 100.
Rosenthal slowed down to a much greater extent than Harasiewicz, Weissenberg and Rév, and significantly more than Barenboim and Stott, whose recordings were made most recently.

Fig. 5.3  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 7 and 8, percentage change.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bar 7</th>
<th>bar 8</th>
<th>percentage change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>4.44</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>43.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Forge</td>
<td>3.61</td>
<td>6.10</td>
<td>68.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>17.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosenthal</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>60.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solomon</td>
<td>4.35</td>
<td>4.47</td>
<td>2.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harasiewicz</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>13.20</td>
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<td>Weissenberg</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barenboim</td>
<td>4.90</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>5.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rév</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td>5.05</td>
<td>22.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stott</td>
<td>4.85</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In order to gain a clearer impression of the percentage changes that are typical of individual pianists, it is necessary to examine a cross-section of excerpts. As no two pianists necessarily make tempo modifications in the same place, it is not the intention here to provide comparative figures. The percentage changes for the most noticeable tempo modifications of each pianist are listed in Figures 5.4 to 5.14 below.

Fig. 5.4  Leschetizky, percentage change figures.

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<th>percentage change</th>
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<td>43.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 8</td>
<td>6.39</td>
<td>43.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 12</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>47.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 13</td>
<td>6.65</td>
<td>47.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 22</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>79.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 25</td>
<td>6.47</td>
<td>79.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 30 (1st half)</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>32.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 30 (2nd half)</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>32.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 44</td>
<td>3.65</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 45</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.06</td>
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<td>38.40</td>
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</table>

**Fig. 5.5** La Forge, percentage change figures.

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<td>4.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>57.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 36</td>
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<td>1.56</td>
<td>62.18</td>
</tr>
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<td>2.53</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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**Fig. 5.6** Powell, percentage change figures.

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Fig. 5.7  Rosenthal, percentage change figures.

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</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>bar 4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>bar 5</td>
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<td>bar 6 (2nd half)</td>
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<td>bar 43</td>
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Fig. 5.8  Pachmann, percentage change figures.5

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</tr>
<tr>
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Fig. 5.9  Solomon, percentage change figures.

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>bar 19</td>
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5 N.B. only two figures are presented for Pachmann because his recording commences at bar 26 of the work.
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<td>49.54</td>
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<td>2.41</td>
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**Fig. 5.10** Harasiewicz, percentage change figures.

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**Fig. 5.11** Weissenberg, percentage change figures.

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Fig. 5.12 Barenboim, percentage change figures.

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Fig. 5.13 Rév, percentage change figures.

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Fig. 5.14 Stott, percentage change figures.

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</tbody>
</table>
The figures above provide an overview of the extent to which the pianists under examination modify tempo in one particular work. This evidence reveals that earlier pianists such as Leschetizky, La Forge, Rosenthal, and Powell employ frequent tempo changes, often making a particular bar up to twice as long as the preceding bar. The figures for Pachmann, too, accord with this trend. In general, this is more radical than later pianists such as Weissenberg, Harasiewicz, Ré, Barenboim and Stott, whose tempo modifications at their extreme cause a particular bar to be around one and a half times the length of the preceding bar. While there are undoubtedly some modern pianists who make more radical modifications, it appears from this study that in recent times, tempo has been varied within narrower boundaries than it was during the first half of the twentieth century.

But even the above calculations do not convey certain features of tempo modification that contribute to the improvisatory and rhetorical sound of some early piano recordings. Such practices include, for example, sudden short accelerations that create the effect of erratic forward surges such as can be heard between bars 9 and 12 of Saint-Saëns’s piano roll of the second movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 31 No. 1 (CD 4/12). And in the sequence from bars 16 to 26 of the same work, he makes frequent agogic lengthenings which create erratic rhythmic effects (CD 4/13). In the sequence from bars 16 to 24 of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, he makes frequent accelerandos and ritardandos that do not sound proportioned by today’s standards. He also anticipates the entry of a new
phrase in a manner that sounds abrupt (CD 4/14). And in the Doppio movimento section of the same work from bars 25 to 48, he makes a very noticeable and erratic-sounding accelerando not indicated by Chopin. In addition, his molto rallentando is more extreme than might have been expected (CD 4/15). Similar forward surges can be heard in the left hand in bar 29 of Pachmann’s recording of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 (CD 4/16). Rosenthal produces a similar effect in the left hand at bar 5 (CD 4/17). And between bars 10 and 14 and in bar 38, he accelerates particular right-hand figures, creating a crushed effect (CD 4/18 and 19). He also rushes certain notes in the left hand. La Forge creates abrupt surges in bar 11 and the second half of bar 15 of the same Nocturne (CD 4/20), and Powell in bars 20, 32 and 57 (CD 4/21, 22 and 23). Such seemingly erratic, whimsical and exaggerated modifications are seldom heard in piano playing at present. Many more examples ranging from solo piano to orchestral recordings have been presented by Robert Philip, who concludes that:

A number of points emerge from the recorded examples... The most obvious is that a greater range of tempo within movements was generally used in the 1920s and 1930s than in modern performances. But the trend over the last 60 years has not been simply a narrowing of the accepted tempo range. In pre-war performances, slowing down at points of low tension and speeding up at points of high tension were both used frequently, and with emphasis. Modern performers still sometimes slow down at lyrical passages, particularly in works of the Romantic period, but accelerations at energetic passages are generally very restrained. The degree of acceleration heard in many pre-war recordings would be considered uncontrolled in modern performance... Over the succeeding decades there has been a gradual change in attitude to tempo, and to flexibility of tempo, and this has been part of a more general change in the rhetoric of musical rhythm... modern taste insists on careful control, particularly of acceleration. This goes with a requirement that every detail should be considered and clearly placed. By comparison, early twentieth-century performance was more volatile. Theoretical flexibility was applied not just to overall tempo, but also to the shaping of phrases and the relationship between individual notes.  

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6 Philip, Early Recordings, 35-6.
It is evident, however, that a greater range of tempo within movements was used earlier than the 1920s and Philip has not commented on the practices preserved in the earliest piano recordings, including the highly significant Brahms cylinder of 1889. Together, these provide irrefutable evidence that a style of tempo modification, no longer considered tasteful, was intrinsic to piano playing in the second half of the nineteenth century. As with dislocation, unnotated arpeggiation and various types of rhythmic alteration, the comparison between early piano recordings and contemporaneous verbal advice about tempo modification reveals several inconsistencies. Some of these anomalies are highlighted in the section that follows.

**Early recordings and written texts**

The practices of Johannes Brahms provide a suitable point of departure, as written references to his style of tempo modification may be compared with his 1889 recording of his *Hungarian Dance No. 1*. That flexibility of tempo was a feature of Brahms’s style was made clear by the English pianist Fanny Davies, who heard him on many occasions. She recounts that:

> Brahms’s manner of interpretation was free, very elastic and expansive; but the balance was always there - one felt the fundamental rhythms underlying the surface rhythms. His phrasing was notable in lyric passages. In these a strictly metronomic Brahms is as unthinkable as a fussy or hurried Brahms in passages which must be presented with adamantine rhythm.

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Furthermore, Davies describes Brahms's practice of lengthening individual notes as well as making larger-scale modifications, sacrificing an unvarying tempo to create a beautiful effect:

The sign < >, 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, as if unable to tear himself away from its beauty. He would prefer to lengthen a bar or a phrase rather than spoil it by making up the time into a metronomic bar.  

Elsewhere, Davies explains that during the third movement of Brahms's Trio Op. 101:

This was one of the occasions when Brahms would lengthen infinitesimally a whole bar, or even a whole phrase, rather than spoil its quietude by making it up into a strictly metronomic bar. This expansive elasticity - in contradistinction to a real rubato (of course depending upon the musical idea) - was one of the chief characteristics of Brahms's interpretation. This is a small example, but quite a useful one.

Davies's detailed description of metronome speeds in the last movement of the same work, which she verified with Joachim, is of particular value and shows the extent to which Brahms modified tempo:

The last movement about dotted crotchet = 120; at the much discussed meno allegro about dotted crotchet = 88. Then the tempo broadened gradually, until at the violin solo with semiquaver accompaniment it had become about dotted crotchet = 72. The violin solo I marked 'very much brought out', the cello the same - a real solo. Then came a very fine shading to pp, a 'taking off', but hardly to be called a ritardando. Tempo 1, then, of course (dotted crotchet = 120). The song in C major and the first four bars of the poco stringendo started at about crotchet = 76 - at first quietly, then going on in musical phrases and becoming rather 'wild', as marked in my copy - through 100 and 108 to 120, as in the beginning... There is very much more to speak about, but what I have described is thoroughly typical of the style in which Brahms both conceived and performed his works.

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8 Ibid., 182.
9 Ibid., 184.
10 Ibid., 184.
This important information shows a wide variation of tempo that would not have been evident from the descriptive terminology alone. For instance, it might not have been expected that the term *poco stringendo* would result in a variation from 76MM to 120 MM, now considered extreme.

Another English pianist, Florence May, gave a similar impression of Brahms’s tempo modification, recollecting that:

> His interpretation of Bach was always unconventional and quite unfettered by traditional theory, and he certainly did not share the opinion, which had so many distinguished adherents, that Bach’s music should be performed in a simply flowing style. In the movements of the suites he liked variety of tone and touch, as well as a certain elasticity of tempo.¹¹

And further corroboration is found in Brahms’s response to George Henschel, who enquired whether the metronome markings in the *Requiem Op. 45* were to be strictly adhered to. Brahms advised that ‘the so-called ‘elastic’ tempo is moreover not a new invention. ‘Con discrezione’ should be added to this as to many other things.’¹²

These written references point to the fact that tempo flexibility was an indispensable aspect of ‘Brahmsian’ style. However, the boundaries within which this flexibility existed remain relatively unclear; the references do not convey how much or how little modification of tempo is appropriate. This is also true of another significant source closely connected with Brahms himself. The textual annotations of the violinist and conductor of the Meiningen Orchestra, Fritz Steinbach, provide invaluable information about the places in his orchestral works where Brahms welcomed tempo modification.

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¹¹ May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 16.
Brahms's friend and biographer, Max Kalbeck, attests his absolute approval of Steinbach's interpretations. Steinbach's pupil, Walter Blume, published a description of these annotations in *Brahms in der Meininger Tradition: seine Sinfonien und Haydn-Variationen in der Bezeichnung von Fritz Steinbach* (Stuttgart, 1933). During the Finale of the Symphony No. 3 Op. 90, Steinbach instructed the orchestra to play as follows:

At H the strings play on the bridge until the forte entry on page 101 and following. In spite of having already arrived at fortissimo before K, we crescendo further one bar before K in all instruments up to the climax...At the triplet episode beginning on page 123 one calms the tempo down. The semiquaver-figures in the strings at O on page 125 are played so that one dwells somewhat on the first semiquaver, quasi tenuto.\(^{13}\)

Such description, however, does not preserve the extent of the variation in tempo caused by agogic and larger-scale tempo nuances. Other references purporting to preserve Brahmsian practices, suffer from a similar lack of precision. Reminiscing about his performance with Joachim and Rüdel in Berlin in 1902, Donald Francis Tovey recounts that in the first movement of Brahms's Sonata Op. 108:

> From Joachim I learnt that at the first *forte* Brahms made a decided animato which he might as well have marked in the score; this, of course, implies that the tempo of the outset must be broad, though, of course, flowing.\(^{14}\)

And for the Scherzo from Brahms's Trio Op. 40, Tovey states that:

> In the quiet B major passage where the violin and horn pull the theme out by holding every third note for an extra bar while the pianoforte interpolates pianissimo arpeggios, a custom has long arisen of taking a slower tempo. This I can testify, from the above experience to be a mistake. Though this way of 'augmenting' a theme (here devised for the first time) became a characteristic of Brahms's later style, he had not yet come to the point when his action was so rapid and his texture so concentrated as to compel him to slacken his tempo.\(^{15}\)

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15 Ibid., 249.
The written evidence above strongly supports the use of tempo modification in Brahms's music. However, only a vague and inconclusive impression of the features and the frequency of its employment can be gained.

Brahms's use of tempo modification as an expressive device in the extract from his Hungarian Dance No. 1 has been discussed by Will Crutchfield in 'Brahms, by Those Who Knew Him' (1986), as well as in 'Brahms at the Piano; an Analysis of Data from the Brahms Cylinder' (1994), co-authored by Jonathan Berger and Charles Nichols (CD 4/24, 25, 26, 27, 28, and 29).\(^\text{16}\) The scientific analysis by Berger and Nichols shows that in order to delineate the structure of the composition, Brahms deliberately broadened the tempo during certain bars. By measuring the time lapse between the successive first beats for most bars between bars 13 and 71 they explain that the graph in Figure 5.15:

shows much longer durations for measures 30, 56, 64 and 68, and much shorter durations for measures 31 and 55. The elongation of measure 30 occurs at the end of a six-bar phrase. The previous measure, 29, is also lengthened, suggesting a ritardando at the end of a phrase. Measures 56, 64 and 68 are all at the end of four-bar phrases, and are also probably due to rubato or ritardando. The shorter durations, measures 31 and 55, immediately follow or precede a lengthened measure, suggesting a musical compensation for time gained or lost.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{16}\) Various versions of the recording as de-noised by Berger and Nichols. The final version incorporates a synthesised overlay of melody notes that can clearly be distinguished from the background noise.

\(^{17}\) Berger and Nichols, 'Brahms at the Piano', 29.
Fig. 5.15 Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, most bars between 13 and 71, time lapse between successive first beats, calculated and graphed by Berger and Nicols. \(^{18}\)

The graph above clearly shows the elongation of bars such as 30, 56 and 68 that are structurally significant. These bars either form the end of a phrase or contain the characteristically emphatic Hungarian dance rhythm (Figs. 5.16 and 5.17).

\(^{18}\) Ibid., 29.
Furthermore, Berger and Nichols evaluate Brahms’s tempo modifications by measuring and plotting the time lapse between the second beats of various bars (Fig. 5.18), concluding that:

Two outstanding second-beat IOIs (inter-onset intervals), in measures 29 and 71, occur during arpeggiation in the penultimate measure of the phrase. The other longer second beat IOI, in measure 60, is at the end of a 12-bar phrase. Both cases are easily interpreted as musically motivated elongation.

19 Brahms, Ungarische Tänze No. 1, 1.
20 Ibid., 3.
Fig. 5.18  Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, several bars between 25 and 71, time lapse between successive second beats, calculated and graphed by Berger and Nichols.\(^{22}\)

The Berger and Nichols graphs clearly show that some bars are much longer than others. They also portray a continual variation of tempo uncharacteristic of the late-twentieth-century style of piano playing.

In his less scientific but no less valuable analysis, Will Crutchfield describes the extent of tempo variation during particular sections. According to Crutchfield, Brahms’s performance ‘starts off at a tempo of about half-note = 83, but soon settles to a basic pulse of approximately 78.’\(^{23}\) With reference to the B section (Figure 5.19), he states that:

The syncopations and sixteenth-note runs are of course highly typical of nineteenth-century “Gypsy music” for piano...so it is of some interest to hear how Brahms plays them. The syncopations are done very emphatically, with an agogic accent and a loud punch. (This *rinforzando* really comes on the syncopated chord; not until the fourth

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22 Ibid., 29.
time the syncopation comes around does Brahms put special emphasis on the first beat as well.) The runs are taken at a distinctly increased tempo, in the high 80s on the metronome; this, too, is a dashing effect, and the best moment in the whole cylinder is the cadence at the end of the example shown here, which is tossed off with a fiery snap, faster yet than the tempo of the runs.

Fig. 5.19 Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 49 to 60.24

Though not mentioned by Crutchfield, there is also a noticeable increase of tempo in bars 69 and 70, followed by a broadening from bar 71 to the end. The above information confirms that Brahms used tempo modification apparently to enhance the effect and character of the composition. It is evident, at least in the Hungarian Dance No. 1 that the boundaries within which he makes tempo variations, and the frequency with which they occur, are wider than might be acceptable at present.

24 Brahms, Ungarische Tänze No. 1, 2.
Brahms's playing contradicts the modern concept of an appropriate style for his music. Particularly striking is his flexibility of tempo, which might be seen today as erratic or chaotic. By comparison, tempo modification now is generally much less obtrusive. It appears, however, that Brahms intended the lengthening of single notes as well as the broadening of particular bars to increase poignancy and to delineate various phrase shapes and structures. In addition, he seemed to feel that the speeding up of certain phrases added to their excitement. In conjunction with written texts, the Brahms cylinder confirms that he did practise what he preached, but in a style that could not be fully encapsulated by the written word. What can safely be extrapolated from this evidence and applied to a genre such as a sonata is food for further investigation.

Certain valuable conclusions may also be drawn from the comparison of Tovey's description of tempo modifications in the Scherzo from Brahms's Trio Op. 40, cited above, with remnants of similar practices preserved in a recording of the work by Adolphe Busch, Aubrey Brain and Rudolf Serkin in 1933 (CD 4/30). In this performance, the exposition (bars 1 to 109) is played at approximately dotted minim = 112MM (the second subject from bar 49 is very slightly slower). There is a ritardando from bar 106 in the B major passage, to a new tempo at bar 109 of approximately 104MM. A further ritardando during the solo piano passage reduces the tempo to 100MM for the passage in question (Fig. 5.20). From bar 199, a decided animato eventually re-establishes the original tempo of 112MM. Similar modifications are made during the repeat of the Scherzo. By present standards, this degree of tempo change is certainly striking and might be considered somewhat overdone and in bad taste. Would Brahms have been
perturbed by such modifications? The written references and the evidence in his own recording imply strongly that he would have fully approved and would probably have expected more.

Fig. 5.20  Brahms's Trio Op. 40, bars 106 to 125, Busch, Brain and Serkin, electrical recording, 1933, with annotations of tempo modification. 

The playing of Carl Reinecke, who was nine years older than Brahms, exhibits significant use of tempo modification. In his 1905 piano rolls of Schumann's Warum? Op. 12 No. 2 and in his arrangement of the Larghetto from Mozart's Piano Concerto K 537, Reinecke employs frequent tempo modification for the enhancement of expression and the

delineation of phrase boundaries. Metronome markings and comments for both works are provided in the tables below (Figs. 5.21 and 5.22).

**Fig. 5.21**  Schumann *Warum*? Op. 12 No. 3, sections A and B without repeat, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 4/31).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bars</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bars 1-4</td>
<td>60MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 4-8</td>
<td>ritardando to between 54 and 56MM for climax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 8-9</td>
<td>accelerando to 69MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 9-10</td>
<td>somewhat broadened giving poignancy to the falling melodic figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 12</td>
<td>ritardando as marked by Schumann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 12-17</td>
<td>60MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 17</td>
<td>66MM produces effect of reanimation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 17-26</td>
<td>accelerando to 80MM significantly increasing the momentum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 19 and 23</td>
<td>agogic lengthenings emphasizing the rising bass figures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 23-42</td>
<td>ritardando to 66MM and eventually 60 MM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant aspect here is the wide variation of tempo from 56MM to 80MM, within a short single-movement work.

**Fig. 5.22**  Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 1 to 60, Reinecke, piano roll recording, 1905 (CD 4/32).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bars</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bars 1-8</td>
<td>approximately 66MM with slight broadening at end of each four-bar phrase - bars 4 and 8 respectively</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 9 marked <em>animato</em></td>
<td>sudden increase to approx. 72 MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 14</td>
<td>accelerando to approx 96MM for rising semiquaver passages, tempo then settles to approx. 84MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 16</td>
<td>accelerando during rising figure and expressive broadening for falling figure that follows</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The metronome readings for Reinecke's performance of the Larghetto show frequent variation within wide limits ranging from crotchet = 54MM to 96MM. On first listening, some of his modifications have the aural effect of lurching and erratic surging. Certain fleeting nuances may have to do with the roll reproduction, but that aside, the close correlation between the modifications and the expression gained by the individual characters, leaves no doubt that they are, in the main, a faithful reflection of Reinecke's performance.

Comparison of the evidence in Reinecke's recordings with his written advice brings to the fore several apparent inconsistencies. In a letter of July 1895, he discusses the use of unnotated tempo modification. The impression to the reader now is that subtle tempo changes were acceptable, while anything that was too noticeable should be avoided. Regarding the Variations from Beethoven's Sonata Op. 26 he says:
That, for all that, I do not mean this movement to be played according to the vibrations of the pendulum, scarcely needs mention. Every intelligent player will let a slight modification enter here and there, and a not quite immediate succession of the fourth to the fifth variation will meet everyone's feeling. On this account I specially warned only against "perceptible" changes of *tempo* and "perceptible" pauses, of which one perceives the design...\(^{26}\)

Elsewhere, he remarks that:

> If I recollect alright, I have already mentioned to you once before that a mathematically uniform *tempo* throughout an entire Sonata-movement is as inconceivable as unlovely. But there is a vast difference between the obtrusive changes of *tempo* which those masters condemn, and an imperceptible introduction of faster or slower time, such as every sensitive artist will make a practice of, at the proper place. Carl Maria von Weber says in his preface to "Euryanthe": - "Of the two remaining, the *accelerando* as well as the *ritardando* ought never to produce a feeling of jerkiness or forcing." and that is what I mean...\(^{27}\)

By modern standards, the phrase ‘an imperceptible introduction of faster or slower time’, gives the strong impression that any change should be very slight. But Reinecke’s own tempo changes cannot be described as being imperceptibly introduced. Indeed, they often produce an effect that to our ears is exaggerated, uncomfortable, and abrupt.

Furthermore Reinecke avoids recommending changes of tempo, ‘a *ritardando*, or a *stringendo*, or the like’ explaining that:

> Not once, but a hundred times, have I observed that directions of the kind always lead to exaggeration, whilst the sensitive interpreter will introduce those small modifications which might be desirable, if nothing at all is prescribed. It is, however, still better if the less talented player entirely omits such *nuances* than if he oversteps the mark.\(^{28}\)

\(^{26}\) Reinecke, *The Beethoven Piano Sonatas*, 47.
\(^{27}\) Ibid., 74.
\(^{28}\) Ibid., 65.
Elsewhere, he berates those who introduce very exaggerated changes of tempo, saying that:

So long as I have any breath left, I shall not tire of denouncing the nuisance which is evermore gaining ground, of fluctuations of tempo in classical works, even if I were to be stoned for it! Already, nowadays, one no longer listens to a classical symphony in order to enjoy the work, but to observe in it what licences this or that conductor admits; and if it is now quite different from how one always heard it, then one hails it with joy and cries, "He understands it; one does not recognise the work again at all." The object is attained, for the conductor has produced an effect; it does not, indeed, depend any more upon the work. And even the better class of critics seem nowadays to have become indifferent to such inartistic runnings after effect, or shrink from censuring them. In the above-named pamphlet, I mentioned that Beethoven’s contemporary, Ritter Ignaz von Seyfried, related how the former prepared for the Vienna Schuppanzigh String Quartet his works of that kind “extremely exactly (haarscharf genau), as he wanted to have them thus and by no means otherwise” practised. Thus Beethoven would not hear of any choice on the part of the performers! And that quite rightly! 29

From these written references, it seems that Reinecke preferred performances that were not entirely strict but did not stray too far from the chosen tempo. He gives the overwhelming impression that he disliked the exaggerated tempo modification of others, though without audible evidence it is impossible to appreciate what he was criticizing. Clearly, however, Reinecke’s piano rolls preserve frequent and, by today’s standards, very perceptible modifications of tempo that do not appear to accord with his written advice.

In any case, Reinecke can be seen to contradict himself, showing clearly that he admitted tempo modifications, and also that he did not consider Beethoven to be quite so dogmatic about changes of tempo. Referring to a passage in the Andante Espressivo movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 81, Reinecke says that:

29 Ibid., 67.
in bars 17 and 33 a certain ritardando cannot be avoided in the tempo, especially in the second half of the bar, if one does not want to do violence to the most natural emotion. Beethoven knew very well that every genuine musician will here do what is necessary without directions, and that a direction would drive the majority of players to exaggeration.

Here, according to Reinecke, the proliferation of notes required a broadening of the tempo (Fig. 5.23).

Fig. 5.23 Beethoven Sonata Op. 81 Andante Espressivo movement, bar 17.

Elsewhere, Reinecke’s advice suggests the possibility of fulfilling the composer’s wishes even though the performer might add certain tempo nuances. Regarding the first movement from Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 110, Reinecke explains that:

The Development is an exceedingly short one, and made up of the constant repetition of two bars taken from the principal Subject, which are heard in the highest part nine times in succession. At the ninth, the return of the first part begins simultaneously, this time combined with the above-mentioned demisemiquaver figure in the bass. In order to obviate the threatened danger of monotony, the rendering of just this Development must not only follow the author’s directions very faithfully, but ought to be made the most of by a discreet accelerating of the tempo during the first 14 bars, while an equally discreet ritardando has then, with the entry of the principal Subject, to lead again into the original tempo.

30 Ibid., 92.
32 Reinecke, The Beethoven Piano Sonatas, 130.
The apparent inconsistency here is obvious. In making even discreet modifications, how can the player faithfully have followed the author’s directions? In any case, it seems from Reinecke’s playing that the term discreet, for him signified something wholly different from a modern understanding of it.

Reinecke’s written references make it clear that he considered tempo modification an indispensable performing practice. As the following reference concerning a passage in the first movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 101 shows, changes of tempo were needed to give relief to certain important structures:

The fourth bar of this movement requires special attention, in order that the following bar may stand out from it satisfactorily. A *diminuendo* and an imperceptible slackening of the pace will serve the purpose. 33

A face-value interpretation of the language here and in other places points to a very subtle and unobtrusive use of such tempo nuance. However, such descriptions do not convey the features and frequency of such changes as are preserved in Reinecke’s piano rolls. Therefore, a performance style based on his written advice would clearly lead to a result quite different from his own playing style.

Theodor Leschetizky’s piano roll of Mozart’s Fantasia K 475 shows prolific use of tempo modification for expressive purposes (Fig. 5.24). While every subtle nuance cannot be described, the following table gives some indication of the most significant modifications for particular sections of the work.

33 Ibid., 96.
### Fig. 5.24  Mozart Fantasia K 475, bars 1 to 124, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 4/33).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bars 1-5</th>
<th>approximately quaver = 60-63MM</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bars 6-18</td>
<td>sudden acceleration to quaver = 80MM where there is more activity in the bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 19</td>
<td>accelerando to quaver = 100-104MM for the repeated dramatic bass figurations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 22</td>
<td>sudden broadening to quaver = 72MM for the new idea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 24</td>
<td>further broadening to quaver = 56MM for the notated calando</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bar 25</td>
<td>slightly faster quaver = 69MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 26-30 including repeat</td>
<td>average tempo of about quaver = 76-80MM, in general phrase endings are broadened</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 30-36 including repeat</td>
<td>slower tempo quaver = 66-69MM, with labouring of the figures in bar 30 and 31; note that in bar 36 the final poignant figure is played exaggeratedly slower at about quaver = 46MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 36-55</td>
<td>in this Allegro section the tempo picks up through bar 36 to about crotchet = 152M; there are agogic lengthenings particularly in the rests at bars 44, 53 and 54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 56-72</td>
<td>the tempo is immediately slower for this lyrical section at about crotchet = 120-126MM; at bar 62 the tempo recedes for the presentation of the theme in the minor to crotchet = 112MM; after this there is a very noticeable accelerando through bars 64 to 68, re-establishing the tempo of about crotchet = 152MM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 86-101</td>
<td>the prevailing tempo is about crotchet = 52 but within this various figures are played noticeably slower, such as the falling figures in bars 88 and 91, and particularly the poignant melodic sequence in bar 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bars 102-124</td>
<td>the tempo crotchet = 52 MM is reasserted but here again, various poignant melodic figures such as at bars 107 and 116 are broadened very noticeably</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although percentage change figures for some of Leschetizky’s tempo modifications in Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 are given in Figure 5.4 above, the following analysis adds clarification by referring to metronome markings (Fig. 5.25).

Fig. 5.25  Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 45, Leschetizky, piano roll recording, 1906 (CD 4/24).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bars</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bars 1-8</td>
<td>approximately 72MM; Leschetizky makes agogic lengthenings of the first bass note and sometimes also the bass note on the second half of the bar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second half bars 8, 11 and 13</td>
<td>broadening to expressive note on the downbeat of bar 9, 12 and 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars 22-25</td>
<td>there is an exaggerated broadening reducing the tempo from about quaver = 72MM to 63MM and finally to 48MM for the rising semiquaver melody at the end of bar 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 26</td>
<td>downbeat is approximately doubled in length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bars 37-45</td>
<td>the tempo increases from about 72MM in bar 38 to 96MM in bar 42; this matches and greatly enhances the momentum already built into the music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar 45</td>
<td>exaggerated broadening in bar 45, drawing out and enhancing the expressive chromaticism</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The metronome figures above confirm Leschetizky’s use of tempo modification apparently to enhance the expression of individual phrases and sections and to distinguish their boundaries. While broadening is a frequent occurrence, accelerations are less frequent. When they do happen, however, the effect is certainly noticeable and highly expressive.

Comparing the above modifications with Leschetizky’s own edition of Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 27 No.2 reveals a few significant points. His broadening during bar 8
corresponds with his notated *cantando* (Fig. 5.26). In this case, it is evident that such terminology may have implied the use of tempo modification during Leschetizky's era, though it would probably not now be interpreted in this way. Indeed, the *a tempo* indication in bar 9 implies that the tempo ought to have changed.

Furthermore, his tempo modification between bars 22 and 25 does not completely accord with his notation. In bar 22 he notates a *poco accelerando* that he does not seem to observe in his recording, though the following markings of *calando, poco a poco rall.* and *molto riten.* are steadfastly observed. This provides strong proof that although he did not always follow his own markings, some of the tempo modifications preserved on this piano roll correspond with his notated intention, therefore supporting this medium as an important research tool. At other places, such as between bars 37 and 45, where a very noticeable increase in tempo occurs, Leschetizky gives no indication other than *poco a"

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poco crescendo (Fig. 5.27, CD 4/34). As noted by many writers during the nineteenth century, such dynamic references implied a corresponding tempo modification.

Fig. 5.27    Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 37 to 42, ed. by Leschetizky.  

Without doubt, Leschetizky considered tempo modification an indispensable expressive device. Noting a change of attitude by the middle of the twentieth century, Merrick, a former Leschetizky student, reminisced in 1958 that:

Changing the tempo is quite another affair. Nowadays it is more severely frowned on than in my childhood. Leschetizky was sometimes at pains to advocate subtle

vacillations, perhaps in a graded series, that enabled one to achieve desired changes unperceived. I can for once masquerade as a moderate man if I submit that about the period of 1900 there were too many tempo changes and in the 1950s there are perhaps too few. Certainly if there is anyone who advocates an inflexible metronomic constancy of pace regardless of other considerations, he may be regarded as an extremist.  

Merrick's thoughts are supported by the time lapse readings presented in Figure 5.1 above, particularly those of Solomon, who made markedly less tempo variation than pianists before him.

Indeed, the written texts purporting to preserve Leschetizky's teaching and style do indicate that tempo modification was an important feature of performances of the era. For example, in *The Leschetizky Method* (1903), Marie Prentner, one of Leschetizky's students and teaching assistants, discusses tempo modification practices, making it clear that rhythmic stability was above all the chief requisite for artistic piano playing. She advises that: 'a decided "holding back" at the last part of a bar, in order to prevent precipitation in reaching the first beat of the next, successfully counteracts the disturbance in time which the constantly increasing haste, and the senseless scrambling, of some players creates.'  

Here, it is not entirely certain which players were being criticized for 'senseless scrambling'. Elsewhere, she implies that this was characteristic of the majority of players, as well as mentioning where tempo modification might be useful:

The conventional hurrying in *forte* and slackening in the *piano* passages indulged in by players lacking a decided sense of rhythm, has a particularly amateurish sound; to give one's playing breadth and swing, the exact opposite should be the rule. There are

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36 Merrick, *Practising the Piano*, 74-75.
however, exceptional cases in which an accelerando accompanies a ff, and a ritenuto a pp. 38

Such advice had historical precedents. Crelle states in 1823 that although ‘an exact and strictly measured tempo is an essential aspect of music’ certain changes are appropriate. He says that, among these, all ‘strengthened’ notes should not hurry and that ‘as a rule, the beginning of a musical unit commences powerfully and importantly, the middle carries on in a measured and regular manner and the end increases in speed and decreases in power.’ 39

Prentner gives the impression that Leschetizky disapproved of the apparently customary method of conveying expression by way of combining accelerando with crescendo and ritardando with diminuendo. And although she encourages the combination of accelerando with fortissimo and ritenuto with pianissimo, she fails to elucidate the exceptional circumstances requiring such treatment. Also uncertain is whether this type of tempo modification was made leading up to the dynamic extremes or simply while these extremes were in effect. Nor do her brief comments describe the boundaries within which the modifications were considered in good taste.

Furthermore, Pretner implies that Leschetizky would have supported tempo modification as long as it was introduced and quitted inconspicuously:

An accelerando or a ritenuto occurring in one or several bars must be brought back to time in so artistic a manner that neither the one nor the other is in any way

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38 Ibid., 73.
conspicuous. Like notes, pauses demand equal care and consideration, and are to be given their full value.\(^{40}\)

Confirmation and certain clarification of some of Prentner’s views may be found in the documentation of another Leschetizky disciple, Malwine Brée. She provided more evidence of Leschetizky’s style in *The Groundwork of the Leschetizky Method* (1902). Brée is clear that Leschetizky approved of tempo modification, making the analogy that ‘as variety is the spice of life, charm of style, in like manner, flows from continual changes in the tempo, from contrasts in the movement.’\(^{41}\) She also categorically states that no composition is played from start to finish in the same tempo.\(^{42}\) In addition, Brée gives the impression that Leschetizky would have expected tempo modifications to be made inconspicuously:\(^{43}\)

The changes in tempo must be so delicately graded that the hearer notices neither their beginning nor their end; otherwise the performance would sound “choppy”. Thus, in a *ritardando*, calculate the gradual diminution of speed exactly, so that the end may not drag; and conversely in an *accelerando*, that one may not get going altogether too fast. In a *ritenuto*, moreover, many play the final tone a trifle faster, which abbreviates the *ritenuto* and gives the hearer a feeling of disappointment. Where an *a tempo* follows, it should quite often not be taken too literally at the very outset, but the former tempo should be led up to gradually; - beginning the reprise of the theme like an improvisation, for instance. Thus, in the course of one or two measures, one would regain the original tempo; e.g.,

![Music score](image)

\(^{40}\) Prentner, *The Leschetizky Method*, 73.


\(^{42}\) Ibid., 69.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 69.
However, where the character of the composition requires it, begin the *a tempo* immediately at the original pace...

Though useful, this description does not clearly indicate what degree of dragging or hastening was appropriate. It was simply meant to give an overall impression.

Interpreting the language of Brée and Prentner with a present-day meaning, the impression is that tempo modification would occur so gradually that the hearer would not perceive the change. Their advice does not convey to the modern reader what can be heard in Leschetizky's piano rolls. His tempo modifications are not always inconspicuous, and in many instances the rate of ritardando, accelerando or the time lapse that occurs in lengthening individual notes or events does not seem subtle or unnoticeable, though for a musician from around the turn of the twentieth century, they may have appeared so.

Both Brée and Prentner describe how tempo modification was essential for highlighting the particular characteristics of dance movements. Here, however, as so often, verbal description leaves the degree of tempo variation open to conjecture. Brée advises that:

An abbreviation of the first beat *after* striking it is permitted in waltz rhythm, for instance, by accenting the bass tone in the accompaniment and rapidly carrying it over to the second beat; the resulting - however slight - abbreviation of the first beat may here be made good by throwing the wrist upward; then strike the third beat somewhat more lightly, *staccato*, and in exact time. By the wrist-movement one gives the accompaniment “swing;” but guard against overdoing it, otherwise the rhythmic effect becomes trivial.

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44 Ibid., 70-1.
In the 3-4 time of the Mazurka, the accent falls now on the first, now on the second, and again on the third beat; e.g.,

Chopin, op. 7.

In a Polonaise-accompaniment, on the other hand, the bass tone must be accented and then followed by a minute retardation, the loss of time being made good in the next two sixteenth notes. The second and third beats are played in normal time; e.g.,

Prentner states that:

...the various dance rhythms must also be considered; the waltz, polonaise, mazurka, gavotte, menuet, etc. The pianist should thoroughly investigate for himself their peculiarities, rendering them with the utmost exactness, retaining, if possible, the characteristics of race and the period of time to which they belong.  

Prentner, *The Leschetizky Method*, 73.
What would Brée have considered overdone? Her description does not make this point clear. And what did Prentner mean by 'utmost exactness'? Was she referring to a literal rendition of the composer's text? It seems, on the contrary, that a literal interpretation without tempo nuance would not produce the individual peculiarities of the dances. Indeed, confirmation that Leschetizky required the various national dance characteristics to be clearly delineated by the use of tempo modification is found in the memoirs of Merrick, who noted that:

On another occasion in 1899, I had played a Tarantella, one of Leschetizky's own compositions, at a party and he complained bitterly afterwards that it wasn't in the slightest degree Italian. As I was only thirteen it was hardly surprising that I had no idea of what 'being Italian' was. He was very conscious of nationality and used to talk about the slight rhythmical falsification with which a Polonaise should be played. He said that all the German pianists, except d'Albert, played their Polonaise accompaniments too strictly in time, whereas they need a characteristic rubato for repeated chords (a quaver followed by two semiquavers). Of course, once you start pulling the rhythm about it's very difficult not to go too far and do it bar after bar until it becomes an irritating mannerism. But Leschetizky was very critical of this also. 46

How far was too far for Leschetizky? That factor was obviously too difficult to describe in words.

The above verbal references give the impression that Leschetizky made modifications in very subtle and graduated ways that would not disturb the flow of the music. To a listener now, however, Leschetizky's tempo modification practices do sometimes appear as graduated, but not with the degree of subtlety that the written references imply. At other times, they sound scrambled or hurried with sudden and feverish changes. One could not have appreciated, from the written references alone, many of the features of tempo modification that are preserved in Leschetizky's piano rolls.

46 Merrick, 'Memories of Leschetizky’, 13.
Another of the oldest generation to record, Edvard Grieg, demonstrated some striking examples of tempo modification. Written accounts of Grieg give the general impression that he was a refined musician and neat player who did not indulge in exaggerated expression, but who invested the music with peculiar and idiosyncratic charm. The Times (London, May 1888) states that:

Mr. Grieg played his own concerto in A minor after his own manner. The French speak of a voix de compositeur; in the same sense there is a composer's touch on the piano, which, when applied to the composer's own works, gives them a peculiar charm of their own... 47

In the same month, The Musical Times provides a slightly more detailed report:

Nothing could be more neat, clear, and intelligent than his rendering of the solo... The little pieces styled 'Elegiac Melodies' acquired a significance under his direction such as had not been suspected previously, and the performance - a triumph of delicacy and refinement - left absolutely nothing to desire. 48

And commenting upon Grieg's performance in New York, the Musical Courier notes in January 1897 that:

What enhanced the charm of his playing was that he wisely chose those compositions for his programme which are well-known favourites, most of them from the 'Lyrische Stücke,' Vol. III.; 'In der Heimat'; 'Schmetterling'; 'Einsamer Wanderer' &c. All of these he played with the utmost delicacy and a rare sympathy of touch of softer, finer quality than has ever been my good fortune to hear. In contrast to this was the remarkably strong manner in which he brought out all that was 'characteristic' in each section - that which only the composer knows so much better than any other hand how best to do. I noticed especially the easy clearness of his left-hand work, particularly in melody. I have never heard any one, for instance, play the left-hand response in the 'Erotik' as he did. It gave the whole piece a character which it had never assumed before. 49

48 Ibid., 100-101.
49 Ibid., 109-110.
Elsewhere, the impression is that Grieg’s playing was enchantingly tender and elegant, yet completely individual. He did not fall prey to the excesses that other virtuosi apparently readily admitted.\(^{50}\)

While the above written references give a very favourable impression of Grieg as a performing musician, they are not detailed enough to convey the aural results of his musicianship. What distinguished his peculiar charm? How did he imbue significance into his performance? How neat, delicate and elegant did his performances sound by modern standards? In what way did he strongly bring out the characteristics of individual sections?

Grieg’s 1903 recordings show that his playing does, to some extent, accord with the above descriptions. In particular, he used dislocation and arpeggiation far less frequently than many other pianists of his generation. In this sense, his playing does sound neater and more synchronized. It is evident, however, that the above descriptions do not encapsulate particular significant elements. In some of the works, Grieg employs tempo modification quite freely, adding many more than appear in his notation.

A good example of this can be heard at the beginning of the ‘Alla Menuetto’ from his Piano Sonata Op. 7, where the tempo dramatically accelerates between bars 1 and 8 (Fig. 5.28). Bar 1 commences at approximately crotchet = 76MM. By bar 3 the tempo has increased to about 84MM, bar 5 to 92MM, and by bar 8 to about 112MM (CD 4/35). Grieg slightly prolongs the last beat of bar 8 and proceeds with the repeat of the theme at

\(^{50}\) Ibid., 110.
approximately 96MM. This very dramatic and unexpected increase of tempo matches and enhances the build-up of tension accompanied by the crescendo from piano to fortissimo. It would, however, never have been expected or extrapolated from the musical text alone, especially from the title ‘Alla Menuetto’, which now suggests a graceful and measured dance. That Grieg particularly intended this effect is confirmed by the fact that where the passage is repeated at bar 72, he makes a very similar accelerando.

Fig. 5.28  Grieg Sonata Op. 7 Alla Menuetto, bars 1 to 14, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903.

Grieg’s recording of To Spring Op. 43 No. 6 provides another example of his use of tempo modification. Here, the designated ‘Allegro appassionata’ marking is achieved by fairly sudden and exaggerated tempo nuancing. The first section commences at and maintains an average tempo of approximately dotted minim = 112MM. Between bars 11 and 14, there are two noticeable ritardando/accelerando patterns enhancing the poignant bass arpeggiated chords (Fig. 5.29, CD 4/36). At bar 15 the indicated ‘rit. molt’ is
achieved less by a real tempo modification than by accentuation of the repeated right hand chords. Between bars 16 and 18, there is what can only be described as a frantic accelerando where, curiously, the notation indicates *a tempo* (Fig. 5.29). At this point, the tempo increases to about 126MM, giving the feeling of anxious restlessness. But perhaps the most significant variation of tempo is evident in the section between bars 23 and 44 (Fig. 5.30). The music comes almost to a halt at the end of bar 22, after which there is an accelerando to approximately 108MM in the middle of bar 25, followed by a slight ritardando. The following four-bar phrase accelerates in a similar manner to approximately 120MM. By bar 33, the tempo has increased to 132MM. Thus, the rate of accelerando and the variation from approximately 108MM to 132MM might not, according to modern standards, have been deduced from Grieg’s indication ‘stretto poco a poco’ in bar 27. Finally, in the section between bars 37 and 44, Grieg very exaggeratedly elongates each bar by extending the notated crotchet rests to dotted minim rests. The resulting agitated effect could never have been appreciated without Grieg’s recording, or extrapolated from his notation.
Fig. 5.29 Grieg *To Spring* Op. 43 No. 6, bars 10 to 18, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903.
Fig. 5.30     Grieg *To Spring* Op. 43 No. 6, bars 23 to 44, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903.
In the lyrical ‘Tempo di Valse’ movement Remembrances Op. 71 No. 7, Grieg modifies the internal waltz rhythm so that, instead of three equal crotchet beats, there is a slightly longer first beat, a slightly shortened second beat and a regular third beat (CD 4/37). This is unlike the Viennese tradition reflected in Leschetizky’s practice. Perhaps more significant, however, are the myriad tempo changes that were seemingly employed to delineate individual phrases. During the first two phrases, with their characteristic syncopated tune, the tempo is slightly increased towards the minim at the height of each phrase and is reduced towards the end. During the second half of the third phrase, containing identical material to the first half, the tempo increases very significantly resulting in a sense of rushing. As if to compensate, the tempo is subsequently broadened noticeably, and suddenly the stipulated ‘poco rit’ comes into action in the penultimate bar of the section (bar 23). The effect is an emphasis of the dissonant harmony preceding the close of the section. This process occurs continually throughout the rest of the movement. Notably, each new dynamic marking is subtly varied in tempo so that, for example, pianissimo tends to be very slightly slower, while crescendo tends to push forward. However, the ‘cres. molto’ at bar 45 is accompanied by a very noticeable broadening of the tempo. In general the tempo modifications used here are subtler than in other works, perhaps because of the simplicity and waltz-like character of the movement.

In the very abridged version of the ‘Finale’ to his Piano Sonata Op. 7, Grieg appears to have used tempo modification solely to delineate large-scale structures. Thus, the bar preceding a new section is broadened slightly before the tempo is resumed. During each of the phrases from bars 82 to 85 and 86 to 89, there is significant hastening towards the
point of climax, enhancing the sense of urgency already inherent in the harmonic
progressions and figurations (CD 4/38). Tempo modification can particularly be heard in
the final thundering section of the movement from bars 313 to 334 (Fig. 5.31). Here, for
the 'fff sempre grandioso' the prevailing tempo is broadened from approximately dotted
crotchet = 116MM to 96MM and even more towards the final 'Presto'. The only
indication of a tempo change notated by Grieg is the 'ritard.' at bar 333 which hardly
conveys such an extreme tempo modification. At the 'Presto' (bar 334), Grieg sets off at
a tempo of approximately dotted crotchet = 120MM.
Fig. 5.31  Grieg Sonata Op. 7 Finale, bars 299 to 343, Grieg, acoustic recording, 1903 (CD 4/39).
In other works such as *Gangar Op. 54 No. 2, Wedding Day at Troldhaugen Op. 65 No. 6* and *Bridal Procession Op. 19 No. 2*, Grieg uses less tempo modification, adhering more closely to his notation. It seems that he regarded these works as requiring less variation, perhaps because of their simple character.

Is there a discernable pattern in Grieg’s use of tempo modification? Broadening of the tempo seems to be used primarily to delineate between sections and to effect a closure to a composition. Broadening and hastening were both apparently used to enhance dramatic effect, particularly accompanying an increase in dynamic level. Hastening also increases the excitement of the music, giving a precipitous or tumbling effect to the overall character. Hastening towards a phrase climax and broadening afterwards gives a particular shape to the phrase. Prolongation of certain notes and rests produces a marked emphasis, bringing these notes into the foreground of the texture.

The manner in which Grieg modifies tempo contrasts strongly with present-day practice. Moreover, comparison between Grieg’s recordings and descriptions of his playing show that the written texts did not successfully preserve or convey very important and intrinsic elements of his playing and are therefore limited in their value as performing practice tools. A Grieg-style performance based on the written evidence alone would undoubtedly differ markedly from the style preserved in his recordings.

Certain recordings of Raoul Pugno afford direct comparison with his verbal advice. In *Les leçons* (1910), Pugno provided performance annotations for several of Chopin’s
piano pieces, including some that he recorded. Looking, for example, at his thoughts on Chopin’s Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, it is evident that he practised some of what he preached. However there are many significant features which are not mentioned and some which sound quite different from what might be expected from a face-value interpretation of the written word (CD 4/40). In his opening statement, Pugno gives the impression that the tempo should remain fairly constant, and certainly without agitation, explaining that:

All the first part is in a mood of peacefulness and resignation. It should be played with absolute tranquility.\(^5\)

Indeed, the first four bars in his performance remain at a constant tempo and achieve these effects. However, there is a considerable hurrying through the four semiquavers at the beginning of bar 5 (Fig. 5.32) and a compensatory slowing towards the end, in such a manner that the overall length of the bar remains practically unaltered. This occurs in spite of his warning to:

Never curtail these demisemiquavers \([\text{sic}]\) [semiquavers], nor the fourth quaver in any bars. These two remarks apply to the whole piece.\(^5\)

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\(^5\) Ibid., 66.
\(^5\) Ibid., 66.
There is therefore a definite disturbance of the original atmosphere but not as much as occurs at bar 11. Here, Pugno was quite specific about the manner of playing the grace-note figure in the right hand:

8. Play this figure with precisely the division indicated by the lines. To obtain all the fluidity essential to its rendering, play it smoothly without shading, and with a slight retard only on the four or five concluding notes. Prolong the fourth quaver in the bass so as to let the right hand play the last twelve notes of the bar without hurry.

Apart from the lengthening of the fourth quaver, Pugno’s description and notation gives no indication that the left-hand accompaniment figure is to be altered. In reality, however,

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53 Ibid., 67.
54 Ibid., 67.
he makes quite a dramatic alteration to the tempo. The first three quavers in the left hand are played almost as semiquavers and the fourth quaver is lengthened to make up the time of the bar. The effect is a sudden, dramatic and unprepared più mosso followed by a ritardando. An approximate notation of this is cited below (Fig. 5.33). Certainly, 'peacefulness and resignation' have momentarily disappeared.

Fig. 5.33 Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 10 and 11, Pugno, acoustic recording, 1905.

This indulgence in tempo modification is carried to an extreme in bars 13 and 14, where the tempo is practically doubled without regard for compensation of the time gained. Here, Pugno advises the player to 'develop the tone colour and warmth of these two bars.'

Though the sudden increase in tempo enhances the poco crescendo and the con forza indication, it has an effect entirely different from that of a modern interpretation. In addition, it is hard to see how such an effect could ever have been associated with the development of tone colour and warmth, which suggests something more akin to

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55 Ibid., 67.
dynamic shading. In the return of the calm opening section, Pugno makes a very similar acceleration during bars 52 and 53, confirming that this was indeed an intended effect. This exaggerated hastening is heard as a reinforcement of the passage leading to the marking *con forza*.

Another curious practice in Pugno’s performance is the elongation of trills. At bar 7 he instructs the player that the shake should (apparently for expressive reasons) be ‘rather long, and shaded thus: >’\(^{56}\) (Fig. 5.34). However his description gives no clues as to the time lapse involved. In reality, here and in other similar places, Pugno lengthens trills by a significant amount and to an extent that, in the light of current practice, would hardly be expected. In this place, the lengthening of the trill effectively adds a whole beat to the bar making five quaver beats instead of four. Furthermore, at bar 15, Pugno states that the shake should be ‘prolonged as at first’.\(^{57}\) On this occasion, he makes an extraordinary lengthening that includes not only the trill but also the end of the bar forming the close of the first part of the A section. This prolongation extends the bar to approximately seven quaver beats; the trill and its termination have three quaver beats, and the following melodic pattern A-G is elongated into a dotted quaver and semiquaver respectively. The extent of the tempo modification is simply not conveyed in Pugno’s verbal description.

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\(^{56}\) Ibid., 67.

\(^{57}\) Ibid., 68.
In the following section, Pugno’s instructions contradict the nuances indicated by Chopin, but in a manner that could scarcely be predicted from his own verbal advice (Fig. 5.35). At the upbeat to bar 17, he states that the playing should be ‘Clearer here, but unchangingly expressive’ and during bar 17 he advises ‘the two first Es very much stressed. Keep the third E (the crotchet in the following bar) waiting a little, and play it very softly.’

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58 Ibid., 68.
59 Ibid., 68.
Pugno slightly increases the tempo at bar 17, imbuing the phrase with forward momentum. At face value, his instruction implies that the two melody notes E should be emphasized or accented in some way. In fact, he gives them emphasis by broadening the tempo considerably and making a corresponding decrescendo to the third E, which is dynamically the softest. After this, the overall tempo is increased, but the grace-note roulades are played with expressive ritardandi for each successive phrase until bar 22, at

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60 Ibid., 68.
which point the sense of *con forza* is clearly felt. Again, none of these vital aspects of
Pugno’s performance could have been extrapolated directly from his written comments or
notation.

Several other examples serve to demonstrate the ambiguity of Pugno’s written texts. At
bar 22, Pugno suggests ‘a passionate *rubato* movement’\(^{61}\), giving the impression to the
modern reader that some very noticeable tempo modification ought to take place. This is
not the case. Although there is a slight accelerando during bar 21, the increase of passion
is effectively created by introducing metrical rubato alterations. These alterations are also
made in bar 22, where Pugno plays with a fuller sound and slightly broadens the tempo.

In the second section of the work marked ‘Doppio movimento’ Pugno advises the player
to:

> Double the pace. Begin by playing very smoothly the groups of semiquavers. Despite
the half-light, the undulation, the imprecision of these first eight bars, it is necessary to
make the melody stand out.\(^{62}\)

In his recording, Pugno does in fact bring out the melody notes by accenting them.

However, what is not conveyed by his advice is the accelerando he makes from the
beginning of the section at bar 25 until bar 42 (Fig. 5.36, CD 4/41). Having commenced
the section at approximately crotchet = 80MM (double the speed of the opening), the
tempo accelerates to 108MM by the climax of the section at bar 39. The only reference
Pugno makes to an increase of drama during this section is at bar 33, where he advises

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\(^{61}\) Ibid., 68.
\(^{62}\) Ibid., 68.
there should be a great crescendo lasting until the fortissimo, which is the culminating point of this very impassioned section.\textsuperscript{63}

Quite obviously, Pugno felt no need to mention the increase of tempo, perhaps because he took it for granted that this was implied by the increase of passion.

\textbf{Fig. 5.36} Chopin Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2, bars 25 to 41, ed. by Pugno.\textsuperscript{64}

(continued on next page)

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid., 69.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., 68.
21. Here the rhythm declares and accentuates itself. More measured, louder, and more assertive.

22. A great crescendo lasting until the *fortissimo*, which is the culminating point of this very impassioned passage.

23. Here begin a *decrescendo* lasting until the pause preceding the re-entrance. During all this *decrescendo* give the impression of a sob exhausting itself and dying away into resignation.
In addition to accelerations and decelerations, Pugno employed expressive agogic lengthenings. This is particularly noticeable at the beginning of the work. Here, in comparison with the tempo of the first full bar, the anacrusis melody notes, A and B, originally notated as a dotted semiquaver followed by a demisemiquaver, are approximately doubled in length, thus sounding like a dotted quaver followed by a semiquaver. Pugno makes no mention of this practice in his written advice. At the upbeat to bar 9, which is a decorated version of the opening, Pugno makes almost exactly the same lengthening on the melody note A. At this point he advises the player to 'Spread out the chord very broadly from the first note in the bass to the A which begins the melody again.'\(^{65}\) He does not, however, provide any indication of the lengthening of the melody note A.

Quite clearly, Pugno's verbal advice does not convey many of the important tempo modifications he employed in his recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2. The features and the frequency with which these modifications occur could not have been deduced from his written texts alone. It is clear, however, that these were the expressive devices that gave a particular poignancy to his playing.

Like Pugno, the opinions of the pianist Paderewski concerning tempo modification are particularly valuable since they afford direct comparison with his own recordings. Paderewski's written texts give the strong impression that he considered flexibility of tempo an essential part of artistic piano playing. His descriptions provide justification for its use as well as a certain degree of technical advice. On the other hand, several

\(^{65}\) Ibid., 67.
discrepancies arise between the texts and the recordings; the former often lack the detail necessary for a comprehensive appreciation of his use of tempo modification.

For Paderewski, the term tempo rubato signified tempo modification of one sort or another. In a chapter entitled ‘Tempo Rubato’ published in Henry T. Finck’s *Success in Music and How it is Won* (1909), Paderewski notes that ‘there are in musical expression certain things which are vague and consequently cannot be defined.’ He explains that players must be given freedom and ‘discretional power’, which in his ‘modern’ meaning is synonymous with tempo rubato.66 Furthermore, Paderewski attempts to describe the means of effecting tempo modification, denouncing the notion of metrical rubato and compensation:

> The technical side of Tempo Rubato consists, as is generally admitted, of a more or less important slackening or quickening of the time or rate of movement. Some people, evidently led by laudable principles of equity, while insisting upon the fact of stolen time, pretend that what is stolen ought to be restored. We duly acknowledge the highly moral motives of this theory, but we humbly confess that our ethics do not reach such a high level. The making up of what has been lost is natural in the case of playing with the orchestra, where, for the security of the whole, in spite of fractional alterations of movement, the metric integrity should be rigorously preserved. With soloists it is quite different. The value of notes diminished in one period through an *accelerando*, cannot always be restored in another by a *ritardando*. What is lost is lost. For any lawlessness there is, after a certain term - proscription. 67

Here, Paderewski is clear in stating that alterations of tempo are necessary for musical expression and compensations for such changes are not always possible nor necessary. In the latter point, he seems to be cavilling against the notion mentioned in Brée’s text about compensation within a bar. He fails, however, to provide further details as how best to make use of tempo modification. Having stressed its importance, the characteristics of the

67 Ibid., 30-1.
changes that might have been intended remain unclear. And while Paderewski very eloquently expresses opinions about the importance of tempo modification and the justification for its use, he does not describe its intrinsic features. For example, associating it with oratory, he states that it:

emphasises the expression, introduces variety, infuses life into mechanical execution. It softens the sharpness of lines, blunts the structural angles without ruining them, because its action is not destructive: it intensifies, subtilizes, idealises the rhythm...it converts energy into languor, crispness into elasticity, steadiness into capriciousness. It gives music, already possessed of the metric and rhythmic accents, a third accent, emotional, individual. 68

Furthermore, Paderewski attests that various musical expressions imply the need for tempo modification, warning, however, that exaggeration is one of the resulting evils. It is frustrating that in the following extract, he gives no concrete indication of what form these exaggerations might take:

In fact, every composer, when using such words as expressivo, con molto sentimento, con passione, teneramente, etc., demands from the exponent, according to the term indicated, a certain amount of emotion, and emotion excludes regularity. Tempo Rubato then becomes an indispensable assistant, but with it, unfortunately, appears also the danger of exaggeration. Real knowledge of different styles, a cultured musical taste, and a well-balanced sense of vivid rhythm should guard the interpreter against any abuse. Excess of freedom is often more pernicious than the severity of the law. 69

Here, it is apparent that, for Paderewski, certain musical terms gave the player licence to make tempo modifications. The similarity between this and Corri's advice about various terms implying the use of arpeggiation, for example, is obvious. The abuses of which Paderewski speaks may have taken many forms but, without further clarification of their details, it is impossible to appreciate what he meant. As has already been shown, the knowledge of different styles, the cultured musical tastes, and the sense of rhythm which

68 Ibid., 30.
69 Ibid., 32.
mould present-day performances may bear little resemblance to those of one hundred years ago.

Thus far, it seems that Paderewski was a staunch supporter of tempo modification as an expressive device. Elsewhere, however, the information seems to be contradictory and the issue is clouded. Around 1895, Paderewski makes rather strong remarks about the abuse of tempo modification, agogic nuance, and rubato stating that. Their importance warrants further examination here even though they have already been cited in Chapter 2:

Only too many think that they display a vast deal of feeling if they make frequent ritardandi and long pauses on single notes. I would call this over-sentimentalism simply the abuse of rhythm. The only way to avoid this is to keep strictly as possible to the rhythm and the tempo. Nothing is to be gained by such affectation but distortion of the composer’s ideas. Under the same head comes the exaggeration of the rubato, so deplorably frequent in the playing of Chopin. This springs from the same mistaken notion that it adds feeling and character. The only remedy of the fault is to stick closely to both rhythm and tempo.\textsuperscript{70}

The above reference is useful in providing some idea of the types of abuses apparently disliked by Paderewski. These include prolific use of retardation and of excessive lingering on particular notes. It is probable, however, that many other practices remained unmentioned. The cure for such things, in Paderewski’s opinion, was to maintain the tempo and rhythm very strictly. What remains unclear, however, is the frequency of retardation and the extent of pause duration that Paderewski would have considered an abuse. The text above seems to put a stricture on the use of tempo modification that was not conveyed in the references previously cited. Here, it is evident that the application of

the advice in the various references would produce quite divergent results. In this case, written texts have confused the issue and show a lack of coherence. Most significantly, the texts do not adequately outline the acceptable boundaries of tasteful tempo modification. They show that Paderewski accepted and expected it to be used in some way, without giving a clear understanding of what was intended.

Paderewski’s recordings made between 1911 and 1930 reveal that he used tempo modification both more frequently than indicated in the composer’s texts and much more than might be extrapolated from his own advice. According to current canons of good taste, his tempo modifications often seem erratic and exaggerated, giving the impression that his playing was somewhat uncontrolled. However, further listening and analysis reveals the pattern in these modifications; they were not simply aberrations or moments of extreme fancy. Paderewski’s tempo modifications occur in several different ways; often they consist of no more than the lengthening of or lingering over a single note or moment in a phrase; at other times, they consist of a hastening or slackening of the tempo as a means of emphasizing the climax of a phrase or to mark its close; and at others, the subtle but noticeable modification of the tempo of an entire passage is used to emphasize its expressive effect.

In his 1912 recording of three movements from Schumann’s Fantasiestücke Op. 12, Paderewski makes several significant tempo modifications. In Des Abends Op. 12 No. 1, he maintains a relatively even tempo of approximately quaver = 60MM. In the first section from bars 1 to 16 and during its repeat, he noticeably lingers and therefore
stretches the tempo at particular moments (Fig. 5.37) (CD 4/42). In bar 5 he lengthens the
downbeat in order, it seems, to mark the repetition of the musical thought. Lingering
affects both the upbeat to and the downbeat of bar 5. During the exposition and its repeat
there is particularly noticeable lengthening of the upbeat and downbeat at bar 12,
enhancing the expression at the culmination of the phrase. The tempo is immediately
resumed at bar 13. To finish the section, Paderewski broadens the tempo very noticeably
during bars 15 and 16.

Fig. 5.37 Schumann Des Abends Op. 12 No. 1, bars 1 to 20.\textsuperscript{71}

During the following section Paderewski uses tempo modification apparently to emphasize the effect of a poignant inner part in Schumann’s texture. He commences bar 17 at a somewhat brighter tempo of quaver = 60MM+ and, by making a ritardando at the end of bar 20, prepares a slower tempo of about quaver = 54-56MM for the section from bar 21 to bar 24 (Fig. 5.38). A similar pattern of tempo alteration occurs between bars 25 and 31 containing similar musical material, showing that Paderewski’s tempo modifications were carefully planned. Following this, between bars 32 and 35 the tempo is accelerated slightly as if to compensate for the previous broadening. In bar 36 there is a significant retarding of the tempo and the link section (bars 37 and 38) is played with a certain of freedom of tempo (CD 4/43). A further significant tempo alteration occurs in the coda section from bars 77 to 88, heightening the sentimental and nostalgic effect of the music (Fig. 5.39). Here, by making a noticeable retardation in the link passage at bar 76, the tempo of the coda, about quaver = 54MM, is well prepared. And within the coda, he makes little retardations such as at the end of bar 82 and bar 84, heightening the expressiveness of the section (CD 4/44). Thus it is evident that Paderewski made many unauthorized and noticeable tempo modifications to Schumann’s original text.
Fig. 5.38  Schumann *Des Abends* Op. 12 No. 1, bars 14 to 38.\textsuperscript{72}

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., 80.
Paderewski’s rendition of Schumann’s Aufschwung Op. 12 No. 2 (CD 4/45) provides further fascinating examples of his use of tempo modification. Having been so critical of those who made use of ‘frequent ritardandi’, he seems to fall prey to the same temptation. In addition, he uses accelerando very frequently in order, it seems, to enhance the spirit of particular passages. Keeping in mind that Schumann indicated ritardandi only four times at bars 31, 70, 83, and 137, Paderewski adds approximately thirteen further large-scale ritardandi and several smaller-scale lingerings, as well as many subtle inflections which are almost impossible to notate. In addition, he often extends Schumann’s ritardandos, starting them earlier than notated. This is best exemplified between bars 67 and 70 (Fig. 5.40). Here, while the prevailing tempo associated with the stormy theme hovers at about dotted crotchet = 104MM, he makes several ritardandos. At other moments, ritardandos appear to mark the end of a phrase such as at bars 7, 27, 38 and similar places. Sometimes, the ritardandos take an extreme form, bringing the music almost to a

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73 Ibid., 81.
standstill. Between bars 50 and 52, a ritardando marks the division of one section from another, that is, it distinguishes between the stormy theme and a quieter, more lyrical episode (Fig. 5.40). Elsewhere, there is a seemingly dual purpose, both marking the end of the phrase and making a compensation for a previous acceleration. This is particularly evident between bars 53 and 64, where a pattern of accelerando followed by ritardando occurs twice in succession (Fig. 5.40).

Fig. 5.40 Schumann Aufschwung Op. 12 No. 2, bars 49 to 74.  

\[\text{Fig. 5.40 Schumann Aufschwung Op. 12 No. 2, bars 49 to 74.}^{74}\]

\[\text{Ibid., 83.}\]
Large-scale tempo modification also appears to enhance the expressive effect of an entire section in Paderewski's performance of this movement. In general, lyrical episodes are played in a somewhat slower tempo, often with extra expressive lengthenings at phrase climaxes. For example, the episode that commences halfway through bar 16 is played at a slower tempo and the highest points in the phrase are expressively prolonged. Elsewhere, a slower tempo seems to help to emphasize an inner voice, an example of which occurs between bars 20 and 24 (Fig. 5.41).

Fig. 5.41 Schumann Aufschwung Op. 12 No. 2, bars 18 to 25.75

No less significant are Paderewski's numerous accelerandos. Sometimes these act as a transition between sections of varying character and tempi. At other moments, accelerando enhances the excitement of a particular passage. The most noticeable of these occur between bars 71 and 82, and bars 105 and 114. During the latter, the tempo varies between approximately dotted crotchet = 104MM and 120MM; a large variation in tempo

75 Ibid., 82.
by ‘modern’ standards (Fig. 5.42, CD 4/46). From this evidence, it is abundantly clear that Paderewski varied the tempo frequently and widely.

**Fig. 5.42** Schumann *Aufschwung* Op. 12 No. 2, bars 100 to 120.76

Paderewski’s recording of Schumann’s *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3 provides other notable examples of his tempo modification (Fig. 5.43) (CD 4/47). Here, there is little doubt that certain large changes of tempo were used to shade the musical character. Paderewski starts at about crotchet = 48MM; the tempo, however, is hardly ever constant, and fluctuates in almost every bar. For example, there is a marked broadening towards the high F in bar 3, after which the tempo is further broadened. In bar 7, there is a very sudden acceleration towards the highest note of the phrase that, instead of being accented,

76 Ibid., 84.
is played softly. This is coupled with an unexpected decrease in volume, creating an unusually effective poignancy. The same technique is noticeable for the climax in bar 12, after which Schumann’s notated *ritenuto* is observed. The second section commences at approximately 48MM and is followed by a dramatic accelerando, enhancing the agitated nature of the music. By bar 21, Paderewski has increased the tempo to approximately 69MM and, during bar 26, there is a further increase to 72MM. This constitutes a considerable divergence from the initial tempo. Further impact is achieved by broadening the tempo between bars 27 and 30 to the vicinity of the high 30s MM. Thus, though Schumann notates a *rit.* at the end of bar 30, Paderewski commences it four bars early. The section from bar 31 to the end is played nostalgically at a tempo approaching 38MM, markedly slower than the original tempo. And within this, there are fluctuations, particularly in the middle of bars 35 and 39, where the tempo increases slightly towards the highest note. Paderewski finishes the section with a broadening that brings the piece almost to a standstill, in spite of the fact that the repeated B section is yet to come.
Fig. 5.43 Schumann *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3.\textsuperscript{77}

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 86.
The examination of a few of Paderewski's recordings reveals that many types of tempo modification were intrinsic to his expressive piano technique. He used tempo modification in a manner that enhances the phrase shapes and delineates musical structures. Most importantly, the recordings preserve the characteristic features and the frequency of his tempo modifications that were simply not conveyed in his verbal advice.

The hidden meanings in written texts

Late-nineteenth-century written texts imply that tempo modification of various forms was considered an essential aspect of any musically satisfying performance; they also document a controversy over so-called unauthorized changes of tempo. Ernst Pauer advised, in 1877, that expressive means such as 'to hurry or accelerate the movement (accelerando or stringendo), or to lessen and decrease the movement (ritenuto or rallentando)', should not be applied arbitrarily, adding that:

Although feeling emanates from the heart, and cannot be reduced to mathematical rules, there are general laws of interpretation which even the most enthusiastic and sympathetic person must recognise and obey.\(^{78}\)

Furthermore, he opined that subtlety was the key to successful tempo modification, saying that:

The real beauty and effect of the crescendo and decrescendo, the accelerando and ritenuto, consists in their well-defined and carefully-weighed gradations, in their

\(^{78}\) Pauer, Pianoforte Playing, 67.
regulated growth and decline, in their increasing animation, and almost imperceptible return to calmness and quiet.\textsuperscript{79}

Here, the significance of verbal expressions such as 'almost imperceptible' and 'carefully-weighed gradations' to pianists of Pauer's era remains unclear. Indeed, it seems on the contrary that what would now be regarded as very noticeable tempo modification was the hallmark of many late-nineteenth-century pianists.

Other late-nineteenth-century writers were critical of practices that apparently led to exaggeration. Referring to the lengthening of individual notes within phrases, and capricious tempo modifications, Hugo Riemann warns in 1888, that:

The agogic accentuation of all such angular notes is more dangerous; one must always bear in mind the possibility of emphasising melodic angles by a gentle lengthening, but be extremely sparing in the use thereof. As such angles scarcely ever appear save in the crescendo-parts of phrases, the natural nuance of stringendo on a crescendo passage is thereby disturbed, and we get the effect of coquetterie, which can indeed be very charming, but becomes disagreeable if misused or abused. But much worse than coquettish lingering in the crescendo-part of the phrase is the disdainful hurrying over the diminuendo-part, the careless, frivolous rushing over ground attained, conquered. Unhappily pianists and pianistes, who have much technique and little soul but are not a little conceited of their so-called "conception", i.e. their departure from everything conventional, often enough by such distortion of nature supply the most incredible interpretations.\textsuperscript{80}

It is evident that Riemann is here decrying well-established practices. For example, Türk had already mentioned the lengthening of individual notes in the late-eighteenth century, saying that:

Because it is recognized by everyone, I do not have to provide evidence for the possibility of lingering somewhat longer on a very important note than on one less important... As far as how long a note should be held is concerned, I would like to

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 67.
\textsuperscript{80} Riemann, \textit{Katechismus}, 79.
establish the rule that it should at most not be lengthened more than half of its value. Usually the holding of a note should be only scarcely perceptible...Holding a note for a longer or shorter time depends also on the length of the note and its relationship to the others, for it should be easy enough to understand that one can linger longer on a quarter note than on a sixteenth.\textsuperscript{81}

And it is also apparent that "incredible interpretations" of one sort or another had already infiltrated piano playing earlier in the nineteenth century. In 1805, Louis Adam complained that certain pianists made it fashionable not to play in time and 'to execute all pieces of music like a fantasy, prelude or caprice'.\textsuperscript{82} In 1828, Johann Nepomuk Hummel described this supposed malady as a capricious dragging or slackening of the time, (tempo rubato), introduced at every instant and to satiety.\textsuperscript{83} Furthermore, in 1846, Carl Czerny stated that the strict keeping of time had been 'almost entirely forgotten' and that 'arbitrary retardation or quickening of the degree of movement is now often employed even to caricature.\textsuperscript{84}

In spite of this, some authors in the second half of the nineteenth century insisted that although tempo modification was indispensable, an overriding uniformity of tempo must prevail. In 1861, Adolphe Kullak poetically remarked that:

For the sake of exactness we must add, that the enumeration of such phases of life as mirrored in tones cannot be exhaustive. Czerny gives but a few examples. It can only be stated, in sum, that the symbolizing power of tone suggests phases of feeling and actual events, which permit and render desirable, on the one hand, a relaxing in rapidity, and on the other an acceleration of the same. - But, as the material is not free from very considerable sensuous claims, the uniformity of rhythm must not, on the whole, be subjected to overmuch alteration. - Together with all its poetic meaning, the tone material must retain its rhythmic plasticity. In general, therefore, uniformity of measure must obtain, and the nuances under present consideration must be employed

\textsuperscript{81} Türk, Klavierschule, 328.
\textsuperscript{82} Adam, Méthode, 160.
\textsuperscript{83} Hummel, Art of Playing the Pianoforte, 40.
\textsuperscript{84} Czerny, Supplement, 29.
somewhat more sparingly than those previously treated of. But this does not mean that they, in their narrower field, are not a feature essential to the beauty of musical expression.85

Other references imply that tempo modification was well established in vocal and instrumental performance, and was beginning to dominate orchestral performance during the second half of the century. Berating Wagner's influence on the latter, Eduard Hanslick alludes, in 1872, to the apparent exaggeration that had already engulfed other genres:

Were Wagner's principles of conducting universally adopted, his tempo changes would open the door to intolerable arbitrariness, and we should soon be having symphonies 'freely adapted from Beethoven' instead of 'by Beethoven', with a different physiognomy under every conductor. Tempo rubato, that musical seasickness which so afflicts the performances of many singers and instrumentalists, would soon infect our orchestras, and that would be the end of the last healthy element of our musical life.86

But just over a decade later, in 1884, Hanslick confirmed that metronomic strictness, if it ever really existed, had become outdated. Describing a performance of the Meiningen Court Orchestra, he shows positive acceptance for the tempo modifications inspired by the direction of Hans von Bülow:

Bülow conducts the orchestra as if it were a little bell in his hand. The most admirable discipline has transformed it into an instrument upon which he plays with utter freedom and from which he produces nuances possible only with a discipline to which larger orchestras would not ordinarily submit. Since he can achieve these nuances securely, it is understandable that he applies them at those places where they would seem appropriate to him if he were playing the same piece on the piano. It would be unjust to call these tempo changes 'liberties', since conscientious adherence to the score is a primary and inviable rule with Bülow. It is hard to draw the line. Opinion will vary according to individual taste and the character of specific passages. Metronomic evenness of tempo has, in any case, been disavowed by all modern conductors.87

86 Hanslick, 'Richard Wagner's Concert (1872)', Music Criticisms, 106.
87 Hanslick, 'The Meiningen Court Orchestra (1884)', Music Criticisms, 234-5.
The above reference leaves no doubt that, in Hanslick’s view, Bülow effected artistically pleasing tempo modifications. There are, however, some obvious contradictions here. For instance, what is to be understood by the idea that Bülow made certain unauthorized tempo changes and yet also conscientiously adhered to the score? Perhaps a late-nineteenth-century interpretation of the words ‘conscientious adherence’ incorporated a degree of freedom that is not part of the modern understanding of this expression. And, if it was difficult for Hanslick to draw the line, how much more difficult is it to fully appreciate what he meant, over one hundred years later?

Indeed, from other written evidence, it appears that Bülow must occasionally have required an overall tempo for each movement, within which any modifications could be very subtly introduced. With reference to a passage in the first movement of Beethoven’s Sonata Op. 81a, an annotation in his 1891 instructive edition advises:

In general, one fundamental tempo, one fundamental mood should be maintained throughout. Only it should never rule with tyrannical rigidity, but should grant to every psychical delicacy of the composition its rights; thus, therefore, elastically adapting itself to the various emotional sensations, about which, however, in the last instance, only the “undefinable” educated artistic taste, and, finally, also the individual temperament decides.88

Though indefinable, it was, for Bülow and his circle, an educated late-nineteenth-century artistic taste that dictated the acceptable boundaries of tempo modification. If he was unable to define such things, how can the subtleties of this indispensable practice have been preserved in his texts? There is some evidence that his tempo modifications may not always have been as subtle as his advice suggests. A concert review in The Musical Times (1884) implies that he employed them too frequently and very noticeably:

After this bathos, Sterndale Bennett’s Sonata “The Maid of Orleans” was as sunshine following mist and storm, though the work was not improved by the player’s exaggerated expression and an over-indulgence in the rubato-style. 89

The contradictions here are significant; it is probable that Bülow’s verbal advice gives an impression to the modern reader that is markedly different from his actual practice.

The use of tempo modification remained controversial during the late-nineteenth century and in some circles conservatism appears to have reigned. A review in The Musical Times (1885) of the pianist Mdlle. Kleeburg, is almost pedantic in its insistence on adherence to indicated tempo nuances:

Her programme contained but one important work, namely Weber’s Sonata in A flat, which in common with its companions is not now heard so often as its merits deserve. Its performance was therefore welcome, although the pianist’s reading was open to question. It is necessary to protest against the growing tendency to distort the works of classical masters, except the very highest. Beethoven is safe from such treatment for any adornment of his music would be deemed a sacrilege, but poor Weber is made to suffer terribly at the hand of editors and executants. Mdlle. Kleeburg made no important alterations in the text of the A flat sonata, but she indulged in tricks of style, especially unauthorised changes of tempo, for which no excuse could be pleaded. 90

Other references give the impression that tempo modification was indispensable to enhance the intended effect. Concerning the passage at the letter o in the example below (Fig. 5.44) from Mendelssohn’s Rondo Capriccioso Op. 14, the editor of the Instructive Edition (1899) advised that:

o) In case the tempo should have been excusably accelerated during the foregoing passionate bars, the original speed of the Prin. Subject must be reasserted abruptly at this place, - possibly even a trifle more moderate. 91

89 Anon., ‘Dr. Hans Von Bülow’s Recital’, The Musical Times (1884), vol. 25, 337.
Other late-nineteenth-century texts strongly support the use of tempo modification. In *The Training of a Chorus; Some Practical Hints*, cited in *The Musical Times* (1900), Henry Coward explains:

As to what can be done by proper phrasing, one has only to recall the brightening effect of the *accelerando* with its subsequent *rallentando* to the normal *tempo* of the choral part of ‘I waited for the Lord’, from bar 71 to the re-entry of the solo voices; the exquisite effect of the *ritardando* and *pianissimo* at the close of ‘O pure in heart’ (‘Golden Legend’); the imposing dignity of the broadening out of the final of the Prologue and the overpowering majesty of the swell at the 13th bar from the end of the Epilogue of the same work.

Objection may be raised to these effects on the ground that they are not indicated in the score. The answer to this is; Composers at the time of writing do not always realise all the possibilities of their music, and after giving general directions, they leave their works to the tender mercies of the performers, and moreover, it may be assumed that they reasonably expect conductors will ‘mix brains’ with their methods of preparation.\(^\text{93}\)

\(^{92}\) Ibid., 83.

It is difficult to appreciate whether this attitude was something new or unusual. Writers may use almost exactly the same words but imagine something completely different. Certainly, earlier in the nineteenth century, Czerny had advocated tempo modification in piano playing for the enhancement of certain emotional states. Opining that an experienced player would immediately elucidate where these 'may be conveniently expressed', he stated that:

Such general emotions or feelings may be: gentle persuasion; a slight degree of doubt, or wavering hesitation; tender complaining; tranquil assent; transition from a state of excitement to a more tranquil one; refusal on reflection; sighing and grief; whispering a secret; taking leave, and innumerable other sentiments of this sort...in such cases, a slight holding back in the time (calando, smorzando, &c.) may generally be introduced to advantage, since it would be contrary to good sense to employ in such cases any acceleration or hurrying onward in the speed of the movement.

Other passages, on the contrary indicate: sudden cheerfulness; hasty or curious interrogations; impatience; incipient anger; fixed and powerful resolution; unwilling reproach; pride and ill temper; timid flight, transition from a state of tranquility to one of excitement, &c...In such passages the hurrying onwards and acceleration of the time is natural (accelerando, stringendo, &c.), and in its proper place. 94

And in the second half of the eighteenth century, Türk recommended tempo modification to produce apparently similar effects. He suggests that in certain passages in sonatas, concertos, and so on, 'the more important notes must...be played slower and louder, and the less important notes more quickly and softer', emulating a good singer or orator. He admits the difficulty of describing with precision the practical application of such modifications, explaining that:

In compositions whose character is vehemence, anger, rage, fury, and the like, the most forceful passages can be played with a somewhat hastened (accelerando) motion. Also, certain thoughts which are repeated in a more intensified manner (generally higher) that the speed be increased to some extent. Sometimes, when gentle feelings are interrupted by a lively passage, the latter can be played somewhat more

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rapidly. A hastening of the tempo may also take place in a passage where a vehement effect is unexpectedly to be aroused.

For extraordinarily tender, longing, or melancholy passages, in which the emotion, as it were, is concentrated in one point, the effect can be very much intensified by an increasing hesitation (Anhalten, tardando). The tempo is also taken gradually slower for tones before certain fermatas as if their powers were gradually being exhausted. The passages towards the end of a composition (or part of a composition) which are marked diminuendo, diluendo, smorzando, and the like, can also be played in a somewhat more lingering manner.\textsuperscript{95}

Nevertheless, Türk’s, Czerny’s, and Coward’s descriptions do not preserve the extent to which tempo was modified in a way that makes their meaning absolutely clear today.

Mathis Lussy’s texts on musical expression were widely hailed as one of the most significant highly detailed performing practice codifications of the late-nineteenth century. His opinion of the use of tempo modification as an indispensable aspect of expression is poetically defined at the outset:

The efforts which the musical sentiment makes to cling to the original tonic and rhythm, the resistance it makes to the new ones, and the energy and force required to make it submit to the change, all combine to develop a greater stimulus, a crescendo of sound and accelerando of tempo, which again is naturally followed by a gradual decrease of sound and slackening of pace. These are the agencies which act upon the soul of the performer, and thus they influence him. The more strongly the performer feels the attraction exercised by the tonic over the other notes, the more he craves for regularity of metre and symmetry of rhythm; while, on the other hand, the more he is disturbed by the number and power of the notes which destroy uniformity, regularity and symmetry, so much the more intense and exalted will be the expression with which he plays.\textsuperscript{96}

Lussy also confirms the existence of two diametrically opposed schools of playing. He speaks at length of his abhorrence of the first school, stating that even artists of the

\textsuperscript{95} Türk, \textit{School of Clavier Playing}, 360.
\textsuperscript{96} Lussy, \textit{Musical Expression}, 9-10.
highest technical ability must be sensible to all the changes of key, mode, metre, or rhythm in the piece:

One [school] demands a uniform rate of time, without accelerando or ritardando; the other, on the contrary, is accustomed to quicken and slacken with every rhythm, every change. The first regards regular and mechanical precision as the height of perfection; the second will alter the time at every phrase, and not feel anything objectionable in the consequent irregularity. 97

Lussy's precepts will be examined in more detail below. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some writers advocated tempo modification for expressive effect but warned against using it in too noticeably exaggerated a manner. In 1897, Franklin Taylor insisted that, in spite of necessary changes, the overall balance must be maintained:

The employment of variation of tempo is by no means restricted to the places where it is definitely indicated by the composer. Both increase and diminution of speed are always available as aids to expression, and much may be gained by their judicious introduction, but it must be borne in mind that they should never be employed in an eccentric or capricious manner, their proper function being to attract the attention of the listener to any particular phrase by emphasising its legitimate expression. 98

Furthermore, in attempting to qualify the permissible degree of modification, he gives the impression that any change ought to be marginal. Referring to passages that lead to the principal subject, he advised that:

The effect of ritardando so employed is to throw the principal subject into relief, and so impress it on the attention of the listener, and similar advantage may be obtained where a passage leads directly into the subject, by making a slight silent pause, which must not be long enough to seriously disturb the rhythm, between the last note of the passage and the first note of the subject... When it is desired to emphasise a single note in a phrase without giving it additional strength, the effect may be gained by lingering slightly upon it, care being taken that the slight pause made is not sufficiently long to distort the rhythm. 99

97 Ibid., 163.
98 Taylor, Technique and Expression, 71.
99 Ibid., 72.
It is possible, however, that Taylor's advice was a reaction against much more exaggerated modifications. But his description lacks the necessary detail for a better appreciation of what he might have considered a distortion or disturbance of the rhythm.

The written evidence above highlights something of a schism that seems to have developed between apparent conservatism and artistic freedom concerning tempo modification in the late-nineteenth century. Though it is clear that tempo modification was generally established as an intrinsic part of musical performance, the written texts fail to convey with enough precision the features and frequency of its use.

**Detailed codifications**

During the second half of the nineteenth century, certain pedagogues produced detailed descriptions and notational symbols in an attempt to codify, amongst other things, tempo modification. In *Der Ausdruck in der Musik* (1878), Hugo Riemann suggests that each bar or phrase has one dynamic high point towards which there is a crescendo and after which there is a diminuendo. This dynamic high point may occur at either the beginning or first note ('on-emphasised'), a middle note ('in-emphasised'), or the final note ('down-emphasised').\(^{100}\) Furthermore, he says that the increase of dynamic towards the high point, whichever it may be, must be accompanied by an increase of liveliness (accelerando) and

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\(^{100}\) The terms 'anbetonte', 'inbetonte', and 'abbetonte' for which there were no previous equivalents were coined by Riemann in *Der Ausdruck*, 51.
subsequent decrease in dynamic liveliness (ritardando). In the justification of such a theory, he explained that:

We can add...the agogic nuances, which means the little temporary changes of tempo, the stringendo and ritardando, which show themselves to the examination directly as augmented and diminished liveliness. Ascending pitches, crescendo and stringendo are increasing positive forms of development; descending pitches, diminuendo and ritardando are diminutions, negative forms of development: so it is thoroughly natural, that the first three as well as the last three (named) are needed for the expression of the same motion of the soul, for the same feeling, for the reinforced intensity of their interplay. ¹⁰¹

Riemann also described some of the important places where tempo modification might be applied:

A slight increasing of the tempo is appropriate for the first development of a musical theme in the same way as the increasing of the pitch and the crescendo is characteristic of it; in reverse a slight slowing down is appropriate for the final melody (phrase, tune), for the dying out of the theme, whilst (the slowing down) is often so considerable that it can no longer be ignored in the musical text, but requires a real ritardando [marked] in the notation; but equally as well for the end of the theme, is the characteristic falling of the pitch and the decrescendo. A final stretto-like ritardando at the beginning of a tone-piece is a more rare exception and of course has expressly to be indicated. ¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 47; `Wir können gleich als drittes noch die agogischen Schattirungen, d.h. die kleinen vorübergehenden Veränderungen des Tempos, das Stringendo und Ritardando hinzunehmen, welche sich der Wahrnehmung direct als vermehrte und verminderte Lebendigkeit darstellen. Steigende Tonhöhe, Crescendo und Stringendo sind Steigerungen, positive Entwickelungsformen; fallende Tonhöhe, Diminuendo und Ritardando sind Verminderungen, negative Entwickelungsformen: es ist daher durchaus natürlich, dass die drei ersteren wie die drei letzteren zum Ausdruck derselben Seelenbewegung, derselben Empfindung gebraucht werden und deren Intensität verstärkend zusammenwirken.`

¹⁰² Ibid., 47; `Ein geringes Antreiben des Tempos eignet der ersten Entwicklung eines musikalischen Themas ebenso, wie ihr das Steigen der Tonhöhe und das Crescendo eigenthümlich ist; umgekehrt eignet der Wendung zum Schluss, dem Ausleben des Themas ein geringes Verlangsamen, das oft genug so bedeutend ist, dass es die Notenschrift nicht mehr ignoriert, sondern als wirkliches Ritardando fördert; gleichermassen ist aber auch das Fallen der Tonhöhe und das Decrescendo für den Schluss charakteristisch. Eine abschliessende Stretta oder ein Ritardando zu Anfang eines Tonstückes sind seltenere Ausnahmefälle und natürlich stets ausdrücklich zu verlangen.`
The other form of tempo nuance discussed by Riemann applies to localized moments in the phrase that require lengthening. According to Riemann, it had long been known that in order to make a performance impressive, 'the dynamic main note of the phrase as well as certain harmonically important tones (suspension tones) have to be slightly lengthened.' As noted earlier, Türk mentioned similar practices in the late-eighteenth century. Riemann suggests, however, that the delineation of phrases by localized lengthening was something less understood or, apparently, used:

on the contrary, less known is something obviously contradictory, that the end of each bar motive demands a very small addition to the time value of the motive which stands often enough peremptory. This addition is either a small lengthening of the final note or an added short rest. The overly (much too) precise entry of the starting note of the new motive blurs the drawing; this is valid especially at very slow tempi, where the possible addition is already at the most definable time value, while at faster motion the structure/subdivision as a rule by the bass, will be made clearly enough at all the accompaniment voices.  

And in relation to suspensions, he adds that:

Such a note always demands a considerable lengthening; a strictness [of length] within a bar appears as an offence against the demands of expressive playing and is at least in the following cases to be reprimanded, where cantabile or con espressione is marked. As the suspension note cannot itself be the final note of the motive, so we make in such cases sometimes two lengthened notes in succession.

(See next page)
Again, it is evident that such advice had historical precedents. For example, in the eighteenth century, C.P.E. Bach recommended that in both fast and slow movements, and particularly in ‘affetuoso playing’, expressive prolongation of individual notes and rests was necessary. Regarding the appended examples he explains that: 105

Figure 178 contains several examples in which certain notes and rests should be extended beyond their written length, for affective reasons. In places, I have written out these broadened values; elsewhere they are indicated by a small cross.

105 Bach, Versuch, part 1, 160 and 162.
In another publication, *Katechismus des Klavierspiels* (1888), translated as *Catechism of Pianoforte Playing* (1892), Riemann discusses agogic lengthening of notes in passages containing accompaniments in short values, saying that these have:

an importance not to be underrated for the expressive rendering of a melody in cases where the “agogic” accent has to be used to give clearness to a feminine ending (particularly the resolution of a suspension), as for example:

Here the semiquaver e in the left hand must in fact be the medium of the expression it is desired to give to the treble d of the right hand; without a gentle lingering on this e no one will succeed in giving warmth to the execution. It is precisely the beginning of the note which forms the point of stress that must be lengthened, and this *lengthening of the beginning* becomes especially distinct in the figurate accompaniment.\(^{106}\)

Furthermore, regarding the crucial matter of the permissible time lapse during such lengthenings, he explains that:

How great these lengthenings should be cannot be determined by an invariable rule; one may say that every lengthening that strikes us as such is too great; it should make itself felt only as living expression.\(^{107}\)

The face-value implication here is that any noticeable prolongation is an exaggeration. Given the recorded evidence presented above, however, it is likely that what Riemann considered barely noticeable might strike a modern listener as extreme. It has already been shown that in the playing of some pianists, such as Pugno and Paderewski, localized lengthenings are exaggerated by present-day standards.


\(^{107}\) Ibid., 65.
Perhaps feeling a need to be as scientific as possible, Riemann attempted to quantify the proportion of lengthening of single notes. With reference to the appended musical example, he provided the following mathematical description:\textsuperscript{108}

Here \( f \) is perhaps longer than \( g \) as the ratio \( 3:2 \), and the rest [demisemiquaver rest] is likewise \( 3:2 \) as long as \( e \), yet \( e \) itself is not as short as \( g \) (the whole passage is \textit{ritardando}) This highly important means of explaining the rhythmical nature of a motive (precisely through the "agogic" \textit{nuances}) was formerly much too little considered.

\[ \text{\textbf{\textsuperscript{ýý ýýýý b--ý.}}} \]

Such proportions provide a sense of the type of hierarchy that in principle may have governed the use of agogic lengthening. In spite of this, however, it is impossible to know the intended aural effect. Riemann concludes that the ‘healthy foundation of expression’ lies in the employment of rallentando and accelerando, stating that:

Although gifted players will at all times have known and practised it, yet how and when to employ a \textit{rallentando} and \textit{accelerando} always remained more or less a matter of instinct, and theory had no rules for their use. Now we know that \textit{as far as a phrase extends}, \textit{a uniform dynamic and agogic nuance} (be it a \textit{crescendo} or \textit{diminuendo}, or - as is usual - a \textit{crescendo} followed by a \textit{diminuendo}) is to be employed.\textsuperscript{109}

Although Riemann provided an unusual level of detail, his words could not preserve a clear indication of the boundaries of temporal change; the reader is no closer to understanding how much or how little was considered tasteful. In addition, Riemann is not entirely justified in saying that no rules about tempo modification had previously been formulated. Earlier in the nineteenth century, Czerny had summarized some of the

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 65-6.
\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 65-6.
presumably innumerable instances requiring tempo modification, particularly retardation.

These were intended to delineate musical structures, and enhance the expression of melodic material:

The Ritardando, according to the generally established Rule, is much more frequently employed than the Accelerando, because the former is less likely to disfigure the character of the piece, than too frequent hurrying on in the speed of the movement. We may retard the time most advantageously.

a. In those passages which contain the return to the principal subject.

b. In those passages, which lead to some separate member of a melody.

c. In those long and sustained notes which are to be struck with particular emphasis, and after which quicker notes are to follow.

d. At the transition into another species of time, or into another movement, different in speed from that which preceded it.

e. Immediately after a pause.

f. At the Diminuendo of a preceding very lively passage; as also in brilliant passages, when there suddenly occurs a trait of melody to be played piano and with much delicacy.

g. In embellishments, consisting of very many quick notes, which we are unable to force into the degree of movement first chosen.

h. Occasionally also, in the chief crescendo of a strongly marked sentence, leading to an important passage or to the close.

i. In very humorous, capricious, and fantastic passages, in order to heighten the character so much the more.

k. Lastly, almost always where the Composer has indicated an espressivo; as also diminuendo.

NB, It is of course understood, that here, the term Ritardando, we mean to comprehend all other equivalent expressions, which indicate a more or less marked slackening of the original degree of movement, as for Example: rallent, ritenuto, smorzando, calando, &c.; as they are only distinguished from each other by the more or less degree of Ritardando.110

Mathis Lussy remarked that, apart from Czerny, in no other text has he ever found 'a single practical observation on the emotional element, nuances, and changes of time, or on the metrical, rhythmical, or expressive accents.'111 While this is not entirely true, it is somewhat curious that, before his time, these practices were not more substantially codified. For Lussy, this emotional element:

111 Lussy, Musical Expression, 164.
embraces the irregularities of time, such as the *accelerando* produced by the excitement of the artist in the effort of his passion; the impulse given by a uniformly descending structure; or the *rallentando*, resulting from fatigue, or exhaustion after the excitement of passion, or from the presence of a sudden and unexpected obstacle in a complicated structure.\(^{112}\)

Lussy states that in quick movements like Prestos, Allegros, Galops and Valses, it is natural to keep a uniform rate of tempo, slackening it only occasionally. In slow expressive pieces like Nocturnes, Rondos, Rêveries, Andantes, Adagios, and Romances, it is natural to modify the tempo, making accelerandos and rallentandos according to every change of feeling and particularly when the 'expressive structure of the phrases, or their motion up or down', requires them. He felt that the distinguishing characteristics and the poetry of a work would be destroyed if these pieces full of rhythmical, harmonic and expressive changes, were played in a uniform tempo.\(^{113}\)

Presenting various analogies, Lussy concludes that:

*We must accelerate:* 1. Where several expressive notes follow one another consecutively, or where a single note of exceptional length occurs at the beginning or in the middle of a rhythm; 2. Where several notes, or groups of similar notes, occur exceptionally after an ascending or descending progression; 3. In exceptional passages, which introduce agitation or passion into the middle of an Andante or Adagio.

*We must slacken:* 1. Where several consecutive expressive notes appear suddenly at the beginning of a rhythm without there being the proper time to give them the necessary impetus; 2. Where the force expended on ascending or descending series or progressions of notes produces fatigue and exhaustion; 3. In exceptional passages, as in the middle of an Allegro, where a more complicated or expressive structure occurs with a change to calmness, gravity, or melancholy; 4. On expressive notes or passages, reiterated notes, and higher auxiliary notes at the end of a phrase.

\(^{112}\) Ibid., 164.

\(^{113}\) Ibid., 164-6.
Before attempting to apply these principles in detail we must remember that the *rallentando* and *accelerando* which expressive notes are capable of producing, depend:

1. On their position. Thus when a note is by exception repeated several times consecutively, it is necessary to make an *accelerando* at the beginning of the rhythm, and a *rallentando* at the end. (The higher auxiliary note requires a *rallentando* both at the beginning and end of the rhythm);
2. On the general structure of the piece. It has been said that passages with exceptional ascending or descending sequences require *accelerandos* and *rallentandos*; but if the general structure of the piece is of an ascending or descending nature there must be no *rallentando* or *accelerando*.

Nevertheless, in a piece of an ascending structure, if the first rhythm has a more animated accompaniment at the repeat than it had the first time, it must be accelerated.

3. They depend on the number of voices or instruments employed in the composition. A solo player can allow himself modifications in the normal tempo which are not permissible for an orchestra. In the orchestra, every performer must efface himself for the sake of the general result, and must sacrifice any emotional element which may exist in his particular part.

4. In vocal music they depend on the sense of the words. Words expressing sadness or melancholy must be sung more slowly than those expressing joy, happiness, or triumph.\footnote{Ibid., 166-7.}

Lussy elaborated on these precepts with further details and musical illustrations from popular works. He advised that accelerandos are indispensable:

- on long notes occurring exceptionally
- on a note repeated several times at the beginning or middle of a phrase
- on long or repeated notes when they are presented as syncopations or when the accompaniment is in ascending or descending motion, but not if the accompaniment is stationary
- on a repeated higher auxiliary note at the beginning of a phrase
- on modulations at the beginning or end of a phrase
- on descending figures of short notes particularly when followed by a longer and/or higher note; in straightforward codettas in short notes
- for notes in ascending motion
- on ascending or descending sequences at the beginning of a phrase, using a pivotal stationary note where melody and bass move in contrary motion at the beginning of a phrase
- where small rhythmical groups are repeated in ascending or descending motion
- for repeated small groups of notes at the end of fast movements where the bass is stationary
- in ascending or descending runs at the end of phrases in fast tempos
• in playful passages of short or uniform groups of notes in the middle of expressive phrases
• in phrases accompanied by chords struck together succeeding a phrase with spread chords or where harmonies follow a regular progression
• in syncopated passages broken by rests, in passages with syncopated structures, in phrases accompanied by ascending or descending arpeggios.\(^{115}\)

For music of slow or moderate tempo where one or two expressive notes occur at the beginning of a phrase, Lussy advised that rallentandos are required:

• on a rest which follows the first note of a staccato figure, particularly if it is the highest note followed by the next note directly below of equal value
• on the first note of a legato passage if it is by exception a high note or succeeds passages which have begun with low notes
• on a rest following the first note of a figure particularly if it is a repeated high note reached by a wide ascending skip, and followed by a lower note
• on the rest following the highest note of an ascending progression followed by a lower note
• on the higher auxiliary note which begins a group of introductory notes
• on the first notes of a figure marking a distant modulation, change of character or mood and so on
• on a high note forming the pivot to a low one
• on a note replacing a higher or lower one thus changing the direction of the following figuration
• at the end of an ascending or descending progression particularly if the design changes
• on a succession of high notes, gradually rising, and suddenly interrupted by a low note, or especially when the high note is preceded by a rest or by exception is repeated
• on descending figures immediately following ascending ones
• on a group of low notes following high ones
• in expressive melodious passages where long notes and rich harmonies occur, especially in an Allegro composed of short notes
• in expressive or dreamy passages introduced into the middle of fast movements
• in passages which, after being given in the major are presented in the minor
• at the end of soft and expressive phrases
• on a long note preceding the final note, especially if it includes a trill
• on notes exceptionally repeated several times
• on the highest note at the end of the penultimate bar, especially if it is syncopated, prolonged or chromatic

\(^{115}\) Ibid., 168-77.
on the higher auxiliary note at the end of the penultimate bar; on reiterated notes at the end of the penultimate bar
on the penultimate note if the last one is a reiterated note
on the repetition of short figures in the penultimate bar, especially if it contains higher auxiliary notes
on crotchets occurring by exception in the penultimate bar; on short notes occurring by exception and containing reiterated or higher auxiliary notes at the end of a phrase except if the passage is a florid one replacing a long penultimate note
on the last notes of a phrase proceeding in consecutive descending motion and following a high note
on descending notes at the end of a penultimate bar
on the last notes of a suspended rhythm
at the end of a phrase which is, by exception, polyphonic and contrapuntal and contains complicated harmony, resolved discords, or suspensions and so on
on the last notes of a codetta containing a higher auxiliary note, reiterations and stationary notes
on pedal-points, syncopations, and long notes at the end of an ornamental group in a cadenza ad libitum
on rhythmical repetitions such as groups of notes repeated several times consecutively at the end of expressive phrases
on final chords separated by rests. 116

Clearly, Lussy endeavoured to be as detailed and comprehensive as possible about the situations requiring tempo modification. However, his descriptions do not qualify what extremes of modification caused by ritardando and accelerando might be achieved or expected. Indeed, in a recent publication, ‘Mathis Lussy’s Traité de l’expression musicale as a Window into Performance Practice’, Michael Green compared various performances of the opening song of Schumann’s Frauenliebe und-leben, ‘Seit ich ihn gesehen’, with precepts laid down by Lussy. He concluded that:

although this essay corroborates Lussy’s thesis regarding the uniformity of musical expression when it comes to local detail, further analysis reveals that there is more to a good performance than simply knowing which surface events to respond to. Artists may “manifest identical expressions” and the differences among these artists may result only from “their degree of expressive sensibilities and technical accomplishment”, but these differences concern the degree of expressive response to a

116 Ibid., 177-95.
particular event. Whether a performer slows minutely or excessively to an event is of critical importance to how a performance integrates local details with their role in shaping the larger musical structure.\footnote{117}{M.D. Green, ‘Mathis Lussy’s \textit{Traité de l’expression musicale} as a Window into Performance Practice’, \textit{Music Theory Spectrum: The Journal of the Society for Music Theory} (1994), 216.}

Thus, although Lussy’s theories correspond with the practices of many performers heard in recordings, they do not, in the end, successfully preserve features such as the rate of change of speed or the boundaries within which the modifications were considered appropriate or tasteful in his time.

To what extent late-nineteenth-century codifications preserve the actual features of contemporaneous practice remains unclear. Aware of the proliferation of such works, and providing a summary of them in \textit{The Principles of Expression in Pianoforte Playing} (1885), Adolphe Christiani opined that they have:

\begin{quote}
given the reader ample material for becoming acquainted with the leading principles which govern the uses of \textit{accelerando} and \textit{ritardando}. And it is hoped, the student will now be able to select from the many given rules those that are practical and generally fitting; and to take at what they are worth those that are only casually fitting, or based on personal taste.\footnote{118}{Christiani, \textit{The Principles of Expression}, 296.}
\end{quote}

Christiani highlights a significant dilemma, namely, that such detailed texts may not all have preserved an entirely realistic and honest view of current practices.
During the first half of the twentieth century, many authors advocated a more judicious use of tempo modification. In 1909, Josef Hofmann's view was that any modification of tempo should not affect the overall length of the work:

The artistic principles ruling rubato playing are good taste and keeping within artistic bounds. The physical principle is balance. What you shorten of the time in one phrase or part of a phrase you must add at the first opportunity to another in order that the time "stolen" (rubato) in one place may be restituted in another. The aesthetic law demands that the total time-value of a music piece shall not be affected by any rubato, hence, the rubato can only have sway within the limits of such time as would be consumed if the piece were played in the strictest time.\textsuperscript{119}

Hofmann's text expresses an ideal that combats excesses in tempo modification. In having to make compensation for any change, one is perhaps less likely to deviate too far from the prevailing tempo. It is probable that such advice was the catalyst for the mid-century style exemplified in the playing of pianists such as Solomon, cited in Figures 5.1 and 5.9.

However, if Hofmann's advice gives the impression that his tempo modification would have sounded balanced, his playing shows that he retained some traits of the late-nineteenth century. In his 1912 recording of Schumann's \textit{Warum?} Op. 12 No. 3 (CD 4/48), there are modifications that do not sound proportioned by present standards. In other examples such as his 1903 recording of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 (CD 4/49) there is frequent modification of tempo for expressive effect. While a sense of proportion and balance is evident, this is not in a manner that might have been envisaged from his description. Moreover, it is evident that there is some process of compensation; however, the principle is not applied strictly or pedantically.

\textsuperscript{119} Hofmann, \textit{Piano Questions Answered}, 100.
In 1932, Gieseking gave the impression that strict adherence to the musical notation was of primary importance. Tempo modification was to be applied subtly:

the most distinguished and most renowned musicians are very particular as to accuracy in their interpretations and reject all that is contrary to the intentions of the composer. Absolutely correct execution of a composition is the only foundation upon which a really excellent interpretation can be built.

It would certainly go too far and irritate the player, if the composer were to write down fully the terms necessary to all his minor interpretative intentions. There are certain aesthetic rules of rhythm, style and form, which the musician must know and feel. We must accordingly know and feel where a slight accelerando or ritardando is permitted or relevant. ¹²⁰

In truth, however, many distinguished and renowned musicians of the era were far less particular about accuracy or indeed adherence to the score. Elsewhere, Gieseking adopted a similar approach to Riemann, implying that tempo modification before and after a phrase climax ought to be in proportion:

It is a well-known fact that every phrase has its climax, to reach which a slight hurrying of pace, or a slight increase of sound is permitted, whilst the reverse should take place from the climax to the end of the phrase. If these fine points, therefore, are executed in the right manner, that is to say, in natural proportion, they will doubtlessly serve to vitalize the phrase, will correspond to natural musical feeling, and will increase expression. ¹²¹

Furthermore, he warned that such modifications must not be exaggerated. What is significant here is that the words are so similar to those of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century writers but their meaning is so different:

It need not be mentioned that care must be taken not to overdo these changes of tempo. The pupil must be trained to feel what is correct, and the teacher should indefatigably point out to him how to modify rhythmical tempo proportionally, and should not pass over lightly anything in this respect...

¹²⁰ Gieseking and Leimer, Pianistic Perfection, 43.
¹²¹ Ibid., 43-4.
Inaccurate and disproportionate interpretations of crescendo, diminuendo, ritardando, accelerando, against which Hans von Bülow so passionately declaimed, take away from the naturalness of the interpretation and gravely injure the pupil's musical taste. These injuries are facts, which most pedagogues fail to realize.  

Gieseking's remarks equate with a stricter more text-faithful style of performance. His recordings confirm that he introduced tempo fluctuations within narrower limits than the preceding generation of pianists. In his 1939 recording of Brahms's Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 2, for example, it is evident that tempo modifications are made only where specifically notated (CD 4/50). By contrast, Freund's 1953 recording of the work shows much more variation in tempo and agogic lengthening, in the style she undoubtedly adopted from Brahms himself (CD 4/51). Still, in some recordings such as Brahms's Capriccio Op. 76 No. 1, Gieseking is less strict with tempo (CD 4/52). Freund is more rhythmically capricious than Gieseking in the same work and notably, she makes agogic lengthenings where Brahms indicates <> in bars 3, 5 and other places. According to Fanny Davies, this type of lengthening, outlawed by Gieseking, emanated directly from Brahms. Gieseking fails to make any tempo nuance at these moments.

The reaction against exaggerated tempo modification is particularly evident in the comments of Ernest Walker. In 'Some Questions of Tempo' (1930), he avows that 'no performance worth anything, of any music, remains mathematically level, either in time or tone, for more than a very limited period...'. With little doubt, however, he was highly critical of the style of tempo modification inherited from the late-nineteenth century and still very much in practice at that time. He explains that:

122 Ibid., 44.
Rubato in its full sense is too huge a subject to be more than mentioned with a hint that most of us are very much too lenient to eminent soloists whose musical palates have become too jaded to distinguish between what is reasonably flexible and what is downright bad. But we may perhaps dwell for a moment or two on certain interactions of tempo and tradition. The definition of musical tradition as carelessness perpetuated by laziness may be rather over-sweeping; but how can we otherwise account for certain not otherwise authorized tempi that are still almost always with us - such as the ruinously pompous slowings-down at the end of any Handel air, and the train-catching hurries on the ends of the ‘Études symphoniques’ or Chopin’s A flat polonaise? And how often do we hear Chopin’s D flat Valse as he wrote it, in unchanging dance-tempo and ending with twenty-four even grace-notes (no bar-lines in the right hand), and no rit. at all - not the dreadful 9+9+6+molto rit. of some editions and most pianists?¹²³

Walker’s attitude to tempo modification appears to be very different from that of even thirty years earlier, where noticeable accelerations and decelerations were used to enhance the mood and character of the music. His words and those of many others heralded a move towards a limited modification of tempo that came to be generally accepted during the second half of the twentieth century and which, by and large, has taken a strong hold on performance today.

Written texts therefore confirm that tempo modification was used as an expressive device around the turn of the twentieth century. Some of these texts, varying in detail and scope, provide a catalogue of situations requiring modification. In comparison with early recordings, it is evident that these texts did not preserve many important features requisite for a fuller understanding of the use of tempo modification. In addition, a modern interpretation of the descriptive language used does not accord with their apparent original significance. Thus it is difficult to assess from the texts alone, what was acceptable to late-nineteenth-century musicians. For this, the legacy of early sound recordings is essential.

Conclusion

Early recordings demonstrate that dislocation, arpeggiation, metrical rubato and various forms of rhythmic alteration, as well as tempo modification were indispensable performing practices in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century piano playing. The abundance of examples examined here reveal that many important late-nineteenth-century pianists, and some who followed, employed these techniques in a manner that does not accord with current notions of tasteful interpretation. Yet historical evidence provides strong basis for believing that the characteristics and frequency of such practices, and the situations in which they were employed, derived from long-established traditions. Recordings also demonstrate the progressive disappearance of these practices during the twentieth century.

The comparison between written texts and early recordings has often produced striking contradictions. Many texts fail to discuss the practices in question, or provide only cursory remarks about them. And where more detailed descriptions exist, they do not convey many significant features that can be heard on the recordings. Sometimes the written advice of particular pianists appears to conflict with their own recordings. It is evident that such advice was either intended only for a specific time or place, or that the descriptive language, assuming a knowledge of prevalent practices, had implications that may be irretrievably lost. In addition, many notational symbols and musical terms appear to have indicated something wholly different to the meaning that they now convey.
Early recordings often provide an audible key to understanding the import of written descriptions and clarify details that would otherwise have remained hidden.

The implications of the relationship between written texts and early recordings are therefore manifold and complex. The recordings preserve practices intrinsic to the expressive style of important late-nineteenth-century pianists. However, in so many cases presented above, this style could not have been envisaged from a face-value interpretation of the written texts. In fact, a style of performance based solely on the information in written documents would seldom approach the style of the recordings. The comparison between early recordings and written texts reveals the gulf that exists between theory and practice. It is therefore dangerous to assume that written texts can be relied upon to convey meaningfully the practices that in previous eras were considered essential to artistic performance.

On the other hand, written texts in conjunction with early recordings may provide vital clues to the performance styles of pianists who did not record. It is more than likely that Schumann, who greatly appreciated Reinecke’s understanding of his music, would have whole-heartedly approved of his style of playing Warum? And Leschetizky’s dislocations and rhythmic alterations in Chopin’s music may well reflect Chopin’s own practices described by his students. Without recorded evidence these factors must remain unresolved. The implications are, however, that many of the devices employed by these earlier pianists, and the manner in which they employed them, will not be clearly discernible from contemporaneous written texts. And if the musical traditions of the late-
nineteenth-century pianists captured on early recordings seem surprising to us now, it is probably the case that earlier styles, particularly of hallowed pianists, would cause an even greater degree of shock and consternation.

Although many of the practices preserved on early piano recordings may seem alien today, it is clear that these were integral to late-nineteenth-century pianism as exemplified in the playing of acknowledged masters of the period. Any attempt to understand what late-nineteenth-century notation meant to composers and performers of that period involves an acceptance that the most admired musicians of the era approached the aesthetics of performance from a very different perspective than musicians of the present day. Such knowledge may suggest that an historically informed style of performance for any repertoire, time or place, cannot be achieved simply by the adoption of appropriate instruments or the application of only those practices that do not challenge current notions of good taste.
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Discography

All recordings are CDs unless otherwise stated.


CD Track references

Chapter 2, CD 1

2. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Leschetizky.
3. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, La Forge.
7. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 13 to 72, Brahms.
8. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version 1 by Berger and Nicols.
9. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version 2 by Berger and Nicols.
10. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version 3 by Berger and Nicols.
11. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version 4 by Berger and Nicols.
15. Chopin Valse Op. 34 No. 1, bars 272 to 275, Pugno.
18. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 1 to 4, Reinecke.
19. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 9 to 12, Reinecke.
25. Beethoven Moonlight Sonata Op. 27 No. 2, first movement, bars 1 to 9, Friedman.
31. Mozart 'Voi che sapete', piano introduction, Ronald.
34. Mozart Fantasie K 475, bar 1, Leschetizky.
36. Chopin Valse Op. 64 No. 2, bars 1 to 5, Hofmann.
37. Beethoven Concerto Op. 37, second movement, bars 1 to 12, Hambourg.
38. Mendelssohn Andante and Rondo Capriccioso, bars 1 to 9, Gieseking.
42. Brahms Rhapsody Op. 79 No. 2, bars 1 to 8, de Lara.
43. Brahms Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, bars 1 to 6, de Lara.
44. Schumann *Warum?* Op. 12 No. 3, bars 1 to 16, de Lara.
46. Schumann Concerto Op. 54, first movement, bars 1 to 19, Davies.
47. Brahms Sonata Op. 7, first movement, bars 1 to 16, Freund.
49. Chopin Sonata Op. 58, third movement, bars 1 to 20, Moiseiwitsch.
CD Track references

Chapter 3, CD 2

1. Mozart Fantasie, bars 15 to 18, Leschetizky.
2. Mozart Fantasie, bars 21 to 22, Leschetizky.
4. Mozart Fantasie, bar 26, Leschetizky.
5. Mozart Fantasie, bar 33, Leschetizky.
6. Mozart Fantasie, bars 83 and 84, Leschetizky.
7. Mozart Fantasie, bar 95, Leschetizky.
8. Mozart Fantasie, bars 86 to 93, Leschetizky.
20. Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, bars 2 to 4, Pachmann
27. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 1 to 10, Reinecke.
28. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 15 to 19, Reinecke.
29. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 29 to 30, Reinecke.
36. Saint-Saëns Rhapsodie D’Auvergne Op. 73, bars 18 and 19, Saint-Saëns.
37. Saint-Saëns Rhapsodie D’Auvergne Op. 73, bars 40 and 44, Saint-Saëns.

44. Brahms Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, bars 1 to 26, de Lara.
CD Track references

Chapter 4, CD 3

1. Brahms Hungarian Dance No. 1, bars 39 and 40, Brahms.
5. Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1 second movement, bar 70, Saint-Saëns.
15. Joachim Romance in C, bars 40 and 41, Joachim.
17. Bellini Casta Diva, bars 44 to 47, Patti.
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<th>Performer(s)</th>
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<td>bars 58 and 59</td>
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<td>bars 53 and 54</td>
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44. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bar 46, Reinecke.
46. Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, second movement, bars 1 to 3, Saint-Saëns.
47. Bellini Cast Diva, bars 20 and 21, Patti.
48. Bellini Cast Diva, bar 41, Patti.
49. Bellini Cast Diva, bars 43 to 45, Patti.
50. Joachim Romance in C, bars 66 to 68, Joachim.
52. Joachim Romance in C, bars 19 to 24, Joachim.
53. Joachim Romance in C, bars 41 to 43, Joachim.
56. Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, second movement, bars 77 and 78, Saint-Saëns.
60. Beethoven Sonata Op. 31 No. 1, second movement, bars 71 and 72, Saint-Saëns.
64. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 20 to 22, Powell.
66. Saint-Saëns Sonata No. 1 Op. 32, second movement, bars 7 to 11, Philipp and Bazelaire.


73. Brahms Sonata Op. 5, second movement, bars 1 to 24 including repeat, Freund.


75. Brahms Sonata Op. 5, first movement, bars 26 to 38, Freund.


77. Brahms Intermezzo Op. 117 No. 1, bars 1 to 20, de Lara.
Chapter 5, CD 4

2. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, La Forge.
3. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 9, Godowski.
24. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms.
25. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version.
26. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version.
27. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version.
28. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version.
29. Brahms *Hungarian Dance No. 1*, bars 13 to 72, Brahms, denoised version with electronic overlay.
32. Mozart Larghetto arr. by Reinecke, bars 1 to 64, Reinecke.
33. Mozart Fantasie K 475, bars 1 to 124, Leschetizky.
34. Chopin Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, bars 1 to 46, Leschetizky.
42. Schumann *Des Abends* Op. 12 No. 1, bars 1 to 16 with repeat, Paderewski.
43. Schumann *Des Abends* Op. 12 No. 1, bars 17 to 38 with repeat, Paderewski.
44. Schumann *Des Abends* Op. 12 No. 1, bars 74 to 88 with repeat, Paderewski.
45. Schumann *Aufschwung* Op. 12 No. 2, bars 1 to 70, Paderewski.
49. Chopin Nocturne Op. 9 No. 1, bars 1 to 16, Hofmann.
52. Brahms *Capriccio* Op. 76 No. 1, bars 1 to 26, Gieseking.
53. Brahms *Capriccio* Op. 76 No. 1, bars 1 to 26, Freund.
Appendix A


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**CARL REINECKE**

**TRIPHONOLA**

50018 BEETHOVEN-REINECKE - Ecossaisen (Scottish Dances) Eb

50198 HAYDN - Piano Sonata, Eb 3rd mvt.

50206 HILLER - Marcia Giocosa (Playful March) Op. 55, No. 1

50318 MOZART - Piano Sonata, K. 331, A 2nd mvt.

50319 MOZART - Piano Sonata, K. 332, F 2nd mvt.

50349 REINECKE - Ballade, Op. 20

50351 REINECKE - Nutcracker and the Mouse King, Op. 46: Overture (w/Margarete Reinecke)

50632 MOZART-REINECKE - Piano Concerto No. 23, K. 488, A 2nd mvt.

50634 MOZART - Piano Sonata, K. 332, F 1st mvt.

50774 MOZART - Piano Concerto No. 26, K. 537, D 2nd mvt. (Also: AMPICO 6639)

51247 SCHUMANN - Kreisleriana, Op. 16, No. 6

51587 MOZART-REINECKE - Minuet, Bb

51831 FIELD - Nocturne No. 4, A

52128 REINECKE - Blumenlieder (Flower Songs) Op. 276, No. 10

52403 BEETHOVEN - Piano Sonata, Op. 28, D "Pastoral" 2nd mvt.
53916 MOZART - Fantasia, K. 475, c

55584 REINECKE - Nutcracker & the Mouse King, Op. 46: Schäfer Ballet (w/Margarete Reinecke)

55585 REINECKE - Nutcracker & the Mouse King, Op. 46: Christmas Eve (w/Margarete Reinecke)

55587 REINECKE - Nocturne, Op. 157, No. 1

55588 REINECKE - Traumfriedel, Op. 278

WELTE

168 SCHUMANN - "Fantasiestücke", Op. 12, No. 3: Warum? (Why?)

181 MOZART - Piano Sonata, K. 333, Bb 2nd mvt.

182 MOZART - Piano Sonata, K. 331, A 3rd mvt. "Rondo è la Turque"

184 BEETHOVEN - Ecossaisen (Scottish Dances) Eb WoO 86

204 REINECKE - Gondoliera, Op. 86, No. 3 (Also: ART-ECHO 2105)

219 REINECKE - Prelude to Act V of the Opera "King Manfred"

237 MOZART - Piano Concerto No. 26, K. 537, D 2nd mvt.
Appendix B

Fig. 1A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 47 and 48.\(^1\)

Fig. 1B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 47 and 48, ed. Klindworth.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Csalog, 86.
Fig 2.A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 52.³

Fig. 2B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 52, ed. Klindworth.⁴

Fig. 3A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 56.\textsuperscript{5}

Fig. 3B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 56, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{6}

\textsuperscript{5} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Csalog, 87.
Fig. 4A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 57 and 58.\textsuperscript{7}

Fig. 4B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 57 and 58, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{8}

Fig. 5A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 59 and 63. \(^9\)

\(^9\) Chopin ‘Nocturnes Op. 55 No. 1’, ed. Csalog, 87. N.B. the asterix above the first chord in the right hand refers to an alternative version in the first French edition that indicates an arpeggio sign not indicated in the autograph. This arpeggio sign applies to both bar 59 and bar 63.
Fig. 5B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bars 59 and 63, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{10}

Fig. 6A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 69.\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No.1', ed. Csalog, 87.
Fig. 6B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1, bar 69, ed. Klindworth.  


Fig. 7A  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', bar 87.  


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Fig. 7B  Chopin ‘Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1’, bar 87, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{14}

![Fig. 7B Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', bar 87, ed. Klindworth.](image)

Fig. 8A  Chopin ‘Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1’, bar 10.\textsuperscript{15}

![Fig. 8A Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 10.](image)

Fig. 8B  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 10, ed. Klindworth.\(^{16}\)

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\textit{a tempo}
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Fig. 9A  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 12.\(^{17}\)

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\textit{sempre legato}
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Fig. 9B  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 12, ed. Klindworth.\(^{18}\)

\(^{16}\) Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Klindworth, 73.
\(^{17}\) Chopin 'Nocturnes Op. 72 No. 1', ed. Csalog, 112.
Fig. 10A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 14.\textsuperscript{19}

Fig. 10B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 14, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{20}

\textsuperscript{19} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Csalog, 112.
\textsuperscript{20} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Klindworth, 73.
Fig. 11A  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 26.\textsuperscript{21}

Fig. 11B  Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1', bar 26, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{22} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Klindworth, 74.
Fig. 12A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 41.\textsuperscript{23}

Fig. 12B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 41, ed. Klindworth.\textsuperscript{24}

\textsuperscript{24} Chopin 'Nocturne Op. 55 No. 1', ed. Klindworth, 75.
Fig. 13A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 46.25

Fig. 13B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 46, ed. Klindworth.26

Fig. 14A  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 57. 27


Fig. 14B  Chopin Nocturne Op. 72 No. 1, bar 57, ed. Klindworth. 28

Appendix C

Fig. 1A  Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 16 and 17.¹

Fig. 1B  Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 16 and 17, ed. Potter.²

² Mozart Sonata K 310, ed. Potter, 107.
Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 57 to 66.\(^3\)

Fig. 2B  Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 57 to 68, ed. Potter.4

4 Mozart Sonata K 310, ed. Potter, 110.
Fig. 3A   Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 118 and 119.\(^5\)

![Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 118 and 119.](image)

Fig. 3B   Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 118 to 119, ed. Potter.\(^6\)

![Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 118 to 119, ed. Potter.](image)

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\(^6\) Mozart *Sonata K 310*, ed. Potter, 113.
Fig. 4A  Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 126 and 127.7

Fig. 4B  Mozart Sonata K 310, first movement, bars 126 and 127, ed. Potter.8

8 Mozart Sonata K 310, ed. Potter, 113.
Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 2 and 3.\textsuperscript{9}

Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 2 and 3, ed. Potter.\textsuperscript{10}

\textsuperscript{9} Mozart, 'Piano Sonatas', ed. Wolfgang Rehm, vol. 1, 128.
\textsuperscript{10} Mozart, \textit{Sonata K 310}, ed. Potter, 114.
Fig. 6A  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bar 27.\textsuperscript{11}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig6a.png}
\end{figure}

Fig. 6B  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bar 27, ed. Potter.\textsuperscript{12}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig6b.png}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{11} Mozart 'Piano Sonatas', ed. Wolfgang Rehm, vol.1, 129.
\textsuperscript{12} Mozart Sonata K 310, ed. Potter, 115.
Fig. 7A  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 39 to 42.\textsuperscript{13}

Fig. 7B  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 39 to 42, ed. Potter.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13} Mozart 'Piano Sonatas', ed. Wolfgang Rehm, vol. 1, 130.
\textsuperscript{14} Mozart \textit{Sonata K 310}, ed. Potter, 116.
Fig. 7A  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 39 to 42.\textsuperscript{15}

Fig. 7B  Mozart Sonata K 310, second movement, bars 39 to 42, ed. Potter.\textsuperscript{16}

\textsuperscript{15} Mozart 'Piano Sonatas', ed. Wolfgang Rehm, vol. 1, 130.
\textsuperscript{16} Mozart Sonata K 310, ed. Potter, 116.
Appendix D

Fig. 1A Beethoven Sonata Pathétique Op. 13, first movement, bars 1 and 3.\(^1\)

Fig. 1B  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, first movement, bars 1 and 3, ed. Potter.²

Fig. 2A  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, first movement, bar 133.³

Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, first movement, bar 133, ed. Potter.⁴

Fig. 3A  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 9.⁵

Fig. 3B  Beethoven Sonata Pathétique Op. 13, second movement, bar 9, ed. Potter.

Fig. 4A  Beethoven Sonata Pathétique Op. 13, second movement, bar 16.

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Fig. 4B  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 16, ed. Potter.  

Fig. 5A  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 29.  

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Fig. 5B  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 29, ed. Potter.  

Fig. 6A  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bars 51 and 52.  

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Fig. 6B  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 52, ed. Potter. 12

Fig. 7A  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 59. 13

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Fig. 7B  
Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, second movement, bar 59, ed. Potter.¹⁴

Fig. 8A  
Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, third movement, bars 15 to 27.¹⁵

Fig. 8B  
Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, third movement, bars 15 to 27, ed. Potter. \(^{16}\)

Fig. 9A  
Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, third movement, bar 75. \(^{17}\)

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Fig. 9B  Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, third movement, bar 75, ed. Potter.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{17} Beethoven *Sonata Pathétique* Op. 13, ed. Máriássy and Zászkaliczky, 172.

Appendix E

Fig. 1A  Beethoven *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 1, first movement, bars 6 and 7.¹

![Figure 1A](image)

Fig. 1B  Beethoven *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 1, first movement, bars 6 and 7, ed. Potter.²

![Figure 1B](image)

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Fig. 2A  Beethoven *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 1, first movement, bars 52 to 54.³


Fig. 2B  Beethoven *Moonlight Sonata* Op. 27 No. 1, first movement, bars 52 to 54, ed. Potter.⁴

Appendix F

Fig. 1A  Beethoven Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, first movement, bars 47 and 48.¹

Fig. 1B  Beethoven Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, first movement, bars 47 and 48, ed. Dorrell.²

Fig. 2A  Beethoven Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, first movement, bars 146 to 148.³

Fig. 2B  Beethoven Sonata Op. 2 No. 1, first movement, bars 146 to bar 148, ed. Dorrell.⁴

Fig. 3A  Beethoven Sonata Op. 22, second movement, bar 13.5

Fig. 3B  Beethoven Sonata Op. 22, second movement, bar 13, ed. Dorrell.6

Fig. 4A  Beethoven Sonata Op. 22, second movement, bar 58.\(^7\)

![Musical notation](image)

Fig. 4B  Beethoven Sonata Op. 22, second movement, bar 58, ed. Dorrell.\(^8\)

![Musical notation](image)

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\(^7\) Beethoven 'Sonata Op. 22', ed. Máriássy and Zászkaliczky, 223.

\(^8\) Beethoven 'Sonata Op. 22', ed. Dorrell, 141.
Appendix G

Germer, Tempo rubato¹

VI. Wenn sich jedoch mit dem Ritardando gleichzeitig ein Diminuendo verbindet, wie dies bei überleitenden Stellen öfters der Fall ist, so hüte man sich vor Ubertreibung, lasse den Eintritt derselben nicht zu früh erfolgen und entferne sich nicht zu weit vom Tempo. Denn sonst liegt die Gefahr nahe, dass das Spiel nicht mehr „interessirt“ und die Zuhörer der Langeweile verfallen —

VII. S. Bach und F. Händel werden zur Verzögerung des Tempos sehr selten Gelegenheit darbieten, Mozart und Beethoven schon mehr, besonders in ihren lyrischen Sätzen, am meisten aber F. Chopin, R. Schumann und F. Schubert.

c. Vom Tempo rubato.


Worin besteht das Eigenthümliche solcher Spielmanier? —

Die Bezeichnung deutet nur sehr entfernt und unvollkommen die Sache an; denn die Uebersetzung: „geraubtes oder raubendes Zeitmaass“ wird uns kaum die Sache deutlicher machen. Das „Tempo“ ist eigentlich dabei selten betheiligt, sondern mehr der Takt und der Rhythmus; denn: „innerhalb der taktischen und rhythmischen Eintheilung erlaubt sich der Spieler dabei Änderungen.

I. Ofters wird nur eine, die melodisch bedeutsamste Note im Takte verlängert ausgehalten. Da die begleitende Hand, — wie dies z. B. von Mozart als bewundertes Charakteristikum erzählt wird, — streng im Takte fortspielt, so muss den nachfolgenden Noten soviel von ihrem Werthe „geraubt“ werden, als der verlängerten zugelegt wurde, d. h. sie müssen um soviel beschleunigter gespielt werden. Diese Art von „Rubato“ stellt sich bei dem Vortrage von Melodien wie Passagen sehr häufig ein: da ja eine accentuirte Note bei gleichzeitiger Verlängerung sich wegen der Obertöne dem Ohre eher und besser als die wichtige präsentirt, als wenn sie nur durch den Accent hervorgehoben wird.

II. Zuweilen werden kleinere Notengruppen rhythmisch verändert. Drei Noten, die z. B. als Triolenachtel notirt sind, werden als „Achtel und 2 Sechszehntel“ oder umgekehrt ausgeführt; oder Quintolenachtel werden als „2 Sechszehntel, 1 Achtel und 2 Sechszehntel“ interpretirt. Solchen freien Veränderungen liegt meist auch der Gedanke =Grunde, die melodisch wichtigste, vielleicht auch die höchste Note der Figur zu verlängern.