Chopin in Great Britain, 1830 to 1930:

reception, performance, recordings

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on three principal areas: the reception of Chopin's music in Great Britain, both during his lifetime and following his death; early sound recordings of Chopin's music, particularly those from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries; and differing approaches to the performance of Chopin's music, including those by the composer himself, and interpretations by some of his contemporaries, students and 'grandstudents'. These three areas are presented in four chapters, which complement one another by exploring links between cultural, social and historical contexts of Chopin's music in Great Britain in the period from 1830 to 1930. The thesis addresses some of the varied features that contribute to an understanding of historically-informed performance practice, and ultimately demonstrates how these features - which allow for greater comprehension of nineteenth-century pianistic styles and techniques - have enriched the author's own interpretations. The written thesis is accompanied by the author's own performance of several of Chopin's works informed by late nineteenth-century expressive techniques.

Introduction

This thesis focuses on the reception, performance and recordings of Chopin's music in Great Britain, between 1830 and 1930. His reputation as a composer and a pianist, both during his lifetime and after his death, is analysed. Performances are discussed in the context of written evidence about his pianism, paying particular attention to the use of tempo rubato throughout the nineteenth century. Recordings, particularly those employing early recording technologies, offer insights into the various ways in which musicians from the nineteenth century performed Chopin's music. Taken as a whole, these three areas are deemed central to the development of an historically-informed appreciation of Chopin's music.

British reception of Chopin's music occupies a prominent place within the thesis. From 1833, if not earlier, Chopin was already connected with Great Britain through Wessel, one of his first music publishers. In this respect, Great Britain occupies a unique, and hitherto under-explored position in Chopin's reception history: while it was one of the three locations for publication of his first editions, it initially witnessed polarized reactions to his music that greatly influenced the reception and performances of his works after his death, ultimately revealing a different set of attitudes to those exhibited in France and Germany. Observation of the paths of tropes that developed from this point, presents an interesting case study that has previously been under-explored. The chosen time-period, 1830 to 1930, enables us to connect first editions, articles published in the British press and other British publications with sound evidence from a variety of nineteenth-century musicians who produced early recordings of Chopin's music.

Chapter 1 considers the reception of Chopin, both as a pianist and composer, in Great Britain during his lifetime. It begins with a brief overview of social and cultural changes and events occurring in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This historical context, which involves the rise of audiences, the increasing availability of pianos, and the publication of scores and journalistic articles, provides a backdrop for his emergence and gradual

assimilation into the musical life of Great Britain. Initially tentative, if largely positive, fluctuating and somewhat polarised views subsequently emerged in the British press. Among the most notable factors influencing his reception were a rise of nationalism, which led to a staunch defence of home-grown composers, and a general suspicion of Romanticism. The chapter concludes by considering a selection of Chopin's obituaries, which set the tone for reception after his death, establishing key themes and journalistic preoccupations.

Chapter 2 charts Chopin's developing reception between 1849 and 1899. Three main trends began to emerge in journalistic writings: Chopin as Romantic figure, painted as a dying poet of the piano; Chopin as nationalist composer; and Chopin as salon composer, struggling with large-scale forms. Despite fluctuations in reception, Chopin's music became increasingly popular with the British people: he regularly featured in contemporary concerts, weekly articles about his music were published, and copies of his scores sold in considerable numbers. By the end of the nineteenth century, Chopin was firmly established in Great Britain's musical canon.

Chapter 3 considers the key traits of Chopin's pianistic style and technique, placing both in historical and musical context. It surveys various types of evidence, beginning with written texts and testimonies of Chopin's playing, and, in so doing, outlines broad nineteenth-century aesthetic tendencies and preoccupations. Rhythmic and tempo fluctuations receive most attention, as well as tempo rubato and bel canto influences. Although written texts convey a great deal of information, they do not enable us to fully appreciate how Chopin played and the sound-worlds he created. In this context, early recordings, from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, prove invaluable, as they provide direct evidence of this era's playing styles and techniques. Although Chopin was not alive for the birth of early recording technologies, many of his 'grandstudents' were, and they frequently performed his music. Written and non-written evidence provides a range of different, often complementary, perspectives on Chopin's pianism, together offering a rounded understanding of his pianistic style and paving the way for a detailed exploration of early recordings in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 looks at a number of early recordings in two lengthy case studies. The first focuses on Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, performed by the same pianist (Vladimir de Pachmann) using three different technologies: a reproducing piano roll, an acoustic recording, and an electric recording. This study starts by evaluating the likely impact of the recording techniques on the performances themselves. A range of interpretational similarities and differences are also discussed. The second case study compares sixteen versions of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, recorded in different media and in a varied set of arrangements. These recordings provide a unique opportunity to examine general performance styles and trends during the era, revealing similarities in expressive techniques, and in techniques specific to instrument or vocal type. The following conclusion is reached: early recordings have the potential to illuminate stylistic conventions common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, hinting at conventions adopted at earlier points in history too; many of the musicians recording at this time were brought up in the mid - late nineteenth century and mostly likely were influenced by earlier playing styles and techniques. Throughout this chapter, attention is directed towards rhythmic alterations, tempo modifications, tempo rubato, dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation.

The conclusion provides insights into my own performances of Chopin's music. It considers some of the ways in which my written research, and associated findings, have been applied in my performances. In this respect, early recordings made the most substantial contribution, offering perspectives and possibilities that otherwise may have been overlooked or ignored. Discussion of my own interpretational choices and decisions shows how my playing has developed over the course of my research. Although this part of the thesis is necessarily personal, it demonstrates how research of this nature is important to performance practice more generally: since traditions indubitably change in tandem with cultural and historical contexts, the principles of previous interpretations can only be studied through effective historicism in which the

performer adopts the role of "horizon merger";[1] although I have endeavoured to understand and appreciate aspects of nineteenth-century pianism, I shall necessarily interpret and articulate such aspects from my own social and cultural standpoint.

[1] The term *horizon merger* is borrowed from H. G. Gadamer's *Truth and Method* (New York: Continuum, 1975). When discussing language, Gadamer argues that we are influenced by our own historical and cultural frameworks, and that interpreters of texts must find the way to articulate historical information from their own background. The same idea may be applied to other texts, including musical ones which, like their literary counterparts, require an assimilation of the past and the present.

Chapter 1
Chopin's Reception during his Lifetime

1.1 Introduction

This opening chapter explores the reception of Chopin during his lifetime. Focussing upon reception in Great Britain, it begins, in Section 1.2, by offering a brief account of social and cultural changes occurring between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; the rise of audiences, and the increasing availability of pianos coincided with the publication of musical scores and, ultimately, with music journalism. These developments provide a backdrop for what follows, underpinning our understanding of Chopin's reception in Great Britain. Section 1.3 considers the period between 1834 and 1839, in which Chopin's name, and indeed his music, are greeted positively, if tentatively, by the British press. An apparent rise of nationalism, however, appears responsible for a staunch defence of home-grown composers and, as we discover in Sections 1.4 and 1.5, reception is highly polarised in the years between 1840 and 1843. Chopin's second arrival in Great Britain does little to change such reception; although the British press applaud his pianistic talents, his compositions again divide opinion, as discussed in Section 1.6 which covers the period from 1844 until his death in 1849. A key theme that emerges throughout the chapter concerns the balance between Classicism and Romanticism found in Chopin's music; for some, his music was an affront to established notions of musical form and sensibility, whilst for others he is a central figure in the emergence of a new musical school. Section 1.7 concludes the chapter by surveying several obituaries published immediately after Chopin's death, setting the scene for what follows in Chapter 2, thus pre-empting an increasingly turbulent reception of his music.

1.2 The Industrial Revolution and Changes in Music in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: a short overview

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the industrial revolution brought profound socio-economic and cultural changes, particularly in Great Britain. These changes were partially responsible for the establishment of a new social class that, in many respects, seemed to have little affiliation with traditions of the past.[2] This had a direct and immediate impact on the various ways that music was received and perceived both during and after that period, transforming the role and status of musicians. This short overview considers such changes, focusing upon the loss of patronage, the rise of published music, changes to instrument design and build and, finally, the rise of music journalism during the period.

Among the most significant changes to occur during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was the loss of patronage within the arts. As the days of dependence on aristocratic patrons became numbered, the market for musicians moved away from composing for special events or to specific orders. Instead, composers became increasingly reliant on sales of published works, which they were required to promote through their performances. As purchasing power spread into the middle classes, public opinion and taste became more influential: success no longer rested on the opinion of the few but rather on the response of the many. This, as noted by Punter, caused musicians to be much more responsive to the demands of public taste and opinion.[3] The requirement for performance and public approval understandably placed considerable strain on the composers and performers of the time; although no longer tied to patrons, and thus granted more creative freedom, there were many composers in the nineteenth century who simply failed to find an appropriate audience for their music.

[2] David Punter, "Romantics to Early Victorians", *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain*, ed. Boris Ford; Volume six: *The Romantic Age in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 3-21. Importantly, this social class, as observed by Rink, was not socially and aesthetically uniform. See: John Rink, "The Profession of Music", *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music,* ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 55-88.
[3] Ibid., p. 14.

Great Britain, as an industrial power, offered many opportunities to musicians who sought to tap into its wealth and publishing industry. This social phenomenon was, of course, not limited to Britain; the whole of Europe was transformed by industrialisation and, as better transport possibilities emerged, this enabled virtuoso careers to flourish.[4] As we shall discover, such opportunities account for the visits of Chopin to Great Britain, and also the visits of many of his contemporaries.[5] For Rink, the concert scene in the first half of the nineteenth century combined institutional concerts (those of the Philharmonic Society in London, for example), individual concerts (which usually featured multiple players, with or without the accompaniment of the orchestra, while the first recitals were introduced, by Liszt, from 1840 onwards), alongside amateur musical organisations.[6] During this time, performers would often improvise a prelude between pieces, or announce the programme whilst communicating with their audience (as discussed in Chapter 4, this may be heard on the first sound recordings produced more than a half a century later).[7]

Beyond the concert hall, music of the time was often heard in salons. Together with Vienna and Paris, nineteenth-century London was one of the leading centres of modern piano-making and, at least for an increasingly wealthy section of society, pianos were now more affordable; however, the price of an upright piano in 1851 was, according to Cyril Ehrlich, roughly equivalent to the salary of a "clerk or school teacher".[8] Despite this substantial cost, the popularity of the piano was certainly on the rise, as described by famous pianist Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871):

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[4] Colin Lawson, "Performing through history", *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding,* ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 3-17.

[5] Some information about this we can find in musicians' testimonies, such as Charles Hallé (1819-1895): "I have been here in London for three weeks, striving hard to make a new position, and I hope I shall succeed; pupils I already have, although as yet they are not many. The competition is very keen, for, besides the native musicians, there are at present here -- Thalberg, Chopin, Kalkbrenner, Pixis, Osborne, Prudent, Pillet [i. e., Billet], and a lot of other pianists besides myself who have all, through necessity, been driven to England, and we shall probably end by devouring one another." See: Charles Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé: Being an Autobiography 1819-1860* (London: Forgotten Books, 2013), p. 229.

[6] Rink, "The Profession of Music", p. 59.

[7] Kenneth Hamilton, "The Virtuoso Tradition", *The Cambridge Companion to Piano,* ed. David Rowland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 64.

[8] Cyril Ehrlich, *The Piano: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 9-10.

> […] the increase of the number of pianos compared with the population is every year more rapid, being a circumstance which is not observed in regard to other musical instruments. [...] now, with the more educated portion of society, the greater part is at home and within family circle, music on the piano contributing the principal portion of it. In the more fashionable circles of cities, private concerts increase year by year, and in them the piano is the principal feature […] this influence of the piano [...] extends to all classes; and while considerable towns have often no orchestras, families possess the best possible substitute, making them familiar with the finest competitions.[9]

The increasing popularity of pianos goes hand-in-hand with the production of published music, enabling certain sections of the population to access music in ways that were previously inaccessible.

The widespread availability of the piano coincided with substantial changes to the design and build of such instruments. Significantly, string tension was increased, leading to the use of thicker strings made of stronger materials, and this demanded a stronger supporting frame, in the form of wooden cases or metal bracing.[10] English piano makers started to use metal frames before many of their continental counterparts; the idea, patented in 1820 by the Stodart firm, London, employed metal tubes to brace the instrument in order to control expansions or contractions of strings, caused by humidity or temperature change.[11] Alongside the hitchpin plates, patented by Broadwood in 1827, this helped to reduce breakages and preserved the tuning. Cross-stringing was adopted much later on. Broadwood, for example, did not cross-string their grand pianos until 1895.[12] At this point, it was usual for the hammers of the English pianos to have a few layers of leather, and a final layer made of a thick layer of felt (which made the hammers slower, producing longer lasting tone on Viennese pianos).[13] The sound of pianos was highly distinctive in the first half of the nineteenth century; the length of the sustained tone produced on the

[9] David Rowland, "The piano since *c.*1825", *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano,* p. 49.
[10] Derek Carew, *The Mechanical Muse: The Piano, Pianism and Piano Music, c. 1760-1850* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), p. 12.
[11] Edwin M. Good, "The Iron Frame", *Piano Roles: A New History of the Piano,* ed. James Parakilas (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), p. 49.
[12] Rowland "The piano since *c.* 1825", pp. 42-46.
[13] Robert Winter, "Keyboards", *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, ed. H. M. Brown and S. Sadie (London: The Macmillan Press, 1989), p. 358.

pedalled notes allowed the pianist to mix harmonies and the tonal palette, a feat almost impossible on modern instruments. The tension, even when increased, was not as great as now, meaning that the action of the hammers was much lighter and different dynamic shading could be produced.[14]

During the same period, an ever-increasing number of publications, appearing in newspapers and periodicals, transformed music's role in society from a mere art-form into a social and cultural phenomenon, indicating status, fashion and class.[15] Unsurprisingly, such changes resulted in press attention to music, which sought to appeal to the purchasing public, bolstering the gradual transformation of music as an elite art into a form of entertainment for a much broader audience. The first musical journals started appearing from 1830, but the daily and weekly newspapers also had regular columns on music. Charles Lamb Kenney was appointed as a music critic for *The Times* in 1843; prior to this date, reviews were written by Barron Field, a theatre critic, and Tom Alsager, the manager of the paper.[16] In 1846 *The Times* appointed the first professionally trained music critic, James William Davison, who was previously editing *The Musical World.* On the whole, the reception of a particular composer, through the journals and newspaper, was an indicator of zeitgeist, fashion and trends of a particular era, presenting "the code of realism that affected the way readers conceived and perceived the world."[17] Even though music journalism was in its infancy, reviews of both performance and compositions were fairly common, even though critical attention was most often focussed upon the composition rather than the specific interpretation, responding to the fact that most concerts were, at least initially, performed by composers.

Although introduced briefly, the above changes provide a partial context for the many reviews of Chopin's music during his lifetime; the nature of these

[14] James Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing From the Composer to the Present Day* (London: Victor Gollancz LTD, 1981), pp. 18-21.
[15] Kate Flint, "Literature, music, and the theatre", *The Nineteenth Century, The British Isles: 1815-1901,* ed. Colin Matthew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 229-231.
[16] Raymond Monelle, "The criticism of musical performance", *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*, p. 215.
[17] Christopher A. Kent, "Victorian Periodicals and the construction of Victorian Reality", *Victorian Periodicals: A Guide to Research - Volume 2,* ed. J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. Van Arsdel (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1989), p. 4.

reviews does not simply shed light on aspects of Chopin's performances and compositions, but also reflects and projects the prevailing social, cultural and aesthetic tendencies of the age. As a consequence, one must consider the early press coverage in context, as shall be demonstrated in the section that follows.

1.3 British Reception and Early Press Coverage: 1834 to 1839

Chopin's reputation in nineteenth-century Britain was not entirely based on his concert performances, but also on his publications. In the first half of the nineteenth century a composer's reputation was created mostly through public performance and reviews of published works. Chopin, however, played most of his recitals in Britain in 1848 (not counting a short and unplanned *incognito* performance in 1837) and made relatively few public appearances elsewhere, playing only around fifty recitals between 1818 and 1848.[18] As a result, critical reception of his work in Britain was mostly based on three main sources: 1) editions published by Wessel (the other active publishing companies being Boosey, Chappell, Clementi, Cramer and Novello); 2) commentary from other pianists' performances of his music; 3) his own performances during his final visit, and associated recollections of his playing. Since Chopin prioritised his own compositions when performing, all of these factors played a crucial role in the reception of both his music and his playing.

Chopin was discussed in the Viennese press from 1829[19] onwards, before later appearances in the French and German press. By 1834, his name appeared in British newspapers. At this time, Chopin was relatively new on the musical scene, at a time when the most popular figures were Mendelssohn and Berlioz. While European composers were relatively well-established in the British consciousness, relatively few home-grown composers were assigned a similar status; figures such as William Sterndale Bennett, Michael Balfe and Edward Loder were, of course, well-known. However, the most popular works encountered in Britain during the early part of the nineteenth century were

[18] Janet Ritterman, "Piano music and the public concert, 1800-1850", *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin,* ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 12.
[19] Jim Samson, *Chopin* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 26.

written by non-natives[20] and, as a result, the Society of British Musicians was founded in 1834 to promote native composers and performers. As such, Chopin's arrival in some respects followed a precedent: pianist-composers were common in the nineteenth century and, since Chopin's reputation continued to grow abroad, he was described as an established pianist-composer, despite their being relatively little knowledge of him and his music in Britain.

The first published articles about Chopin tend to foreground the difficulties of performing his compositions. A case in point is a short article from *The Morning Post* in 1834, which discusses a piece presented during a concert given for the benefit of Polish exiles in the Concert Room of the King's Theatre. The review makes reference to low attendance, but offers the following statement about Chopin's composition:

> Chopin's elaborate and difficult variations for the pianoforte on La ci darem were played in a most brilliant and effective manner by his pupil, M. Fontana. This composition is exceedingly ingenious and abounds with intricate passages, which must be very troublesome to the best pianist. As an exercise for the student it will be found useful, but it requires to be played by one who is master of the instrument.[21]

Another example from the same year offers a similar view of Chopin's music:

> The Album des Pianistes de Premiere Force is a collection of the most difficult pieces of music, indeed only for those players who have obtained the greatest facility of execution. Let such pianists […] attempt Hommage à Mozart, by Frederick Chopin; and then when they can play the latter nothing ought to intimidate them. Chopin is the most ingenious composer that ever wrote, but with his compositions he ought to send us hands with which to play them, for we have met many passages we could not execute with our own. His Trois Nocturnes, written in imitation of the Murmurs of the Seine, and his Variations Brillantes, on the air "Je vends des Scapulaires"[22], are a trifle easier. Yet even these require considerable application for their performance.[23]

[20] Kate Flint, "Literature, music, and the theatre", *The Nineteenth Century, The British Isles: 1815-1901,* ed. Colin Matthew (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 250.
[21] Anonymous, "King's Theatre", *The Morning Post*, 19781 (2 May 1834), p. 5.
[22] The Variations on "Là ci darem", Op. 2, published by Wessel in 1833; Nocturnes Op. 15, published by Wessel in January 1834 under the title *Les Zephirs;* Nocturnes Op. 9, published by Wessel in June 1833 under the title *Les Murmures de la Seine*; The Variations on "Je vends des Scapulaires", Op. 12. Published by Cramer, Addison & Beale in January 1834.
[23] Anonymous, "New Music", *The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée,* 4 (February 1834), p.

These brief texts, which capture a style of writing common during the first half of the nineteenth century, describe both the performance and the composition in relatively simple terms. More significantly, they highlight two of the most prominent perspectives found in early press coverage; firstly, Chopin's reputation as a gifted pianist and, secondly, the difficulty of performing his pieces. Since the first half of the century bore witness to an increase in piano virtuosity, leading to demand from audiences for new music and for more concerts, it is perhaps not surprising to discover that the British press focused on such issues.

In the following years, a few brief articles about Chopin's work were published, again mentioning the difficulty of his music. For instance, *The Musical World* stated that:

> It will require a *player* of the "*première force"* to scramble through this piece. To such, therefore, and the fagger of nine hours a day, and the solitary prisoner - if any there be, indulged with piano - we recommend it for practice; and when their task is accomplished, they will be in a condition to play an uncommon number of notes in a short time.[24]

Another entry from *The Musical World* reveals that "the first movement of the Concerto in E minor by Chopin, […] although very difficult is too small in feature, and indistinct in outline, to prove very attractive."[25]

Texts such as these played a significant role in the establishment of Chopin's reputation, and had a direct impact upon sales of his music; one of the major challenges that faced publishers and composers of the time was the enormous gap in talent and musical education between the professionals and the newly purchasing public. The major artists at the time were pianist-composers, who demonstrated considerable talent and musical education and were often intimately involved with the technical development of their instrument. It is

89. Review of *Album des pianistes de première force,* published by Wessel.

[24] Anonymous, "Album des pianistes de première force. No.35. Grande Polonaise Brillante, précedée d'un Andante Spianato pour le Piano forte; dédiée à Mad. D'Est, par Frederick Chopin (De Varsovie). Wessel", *The Musical World*, 49 (17 February 1837), p. 138.

[25] Anonymous, "Metropolitan Concerts. Mr. Wessel's soirees", *The Musical World,* 117 (7 June 1838), p. 97.

therefore unsurprising that the musical public found it difficult to keep up, resulting in, as Arthur Loesser (1954) explains, a favoured tactic for promoting music in catalogues and journals; promotion of that which was "brilliant but not difficult."[26] In this respect, Chopin faced something of a problem, as was clearly demonstrated by the breakdown of his first publishing agreement; in 1832, soon after his debut in Paris, he was approached by Aristide Farrenc who offered to publish his work. The alliance between the two men broke down early on, without any works published; Farrenc thought that the technical passages in some compositions were too difficult to publish.[27]

Few articles on Chopin were written between 1834 and 1837. The situation changed after his visit to London in July 1837. However, one cannot assume that this change was a direct consequence of the visit which was, between 11th to 22nd July, mostly for leisure, and included sightseeing and visits to the opera with his friends Camille Pleyel and Stanisław Kózmian. Even so, Chopin signed three new publishing contracts with Wessel, all witnessed by Pleyel; two of the contracts were for Opp. 25, 29 and 30 and the third for Opp. 31 and 32. Even though Chopin wished to keep out of the public eye in London, he obviously prepared for the trip. After all, he brought the manuscripts for these five works. This may be because, as is clear from the work of Jeffrey Kallberg, Chopin had signed contracts with Wessel as early as 1833; based on surviving contracts and receipts, advertisements in journals, and Hummel's letter to the same publisher,[28] we can assume that Chopin's connections to England predate his first visit to the country.

While in London, Chopin played an unplanned and anonymous, short recital but was recognised soon after he started to play in the house of James Schudi Broadwood; unfortunately, the programme that he performed has not been identified. Chopin probably met Broadwood whilst in Paris, through Pleyel, and thereafter maintained cordial relations with the family. Prior to Chopin's departure from Paris, Julian Fontana wrote to Kózmian to let him

[26] Arthur Loesser, *Men Women and Pianos* (London: Constable and Company, 1954), p. 291.
[27] Jeffrey Kallberg, "Chopin in the Marketplace: Aspects of the International Music Publishing Industry in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century: Part I: France and England", *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 39, No. 3 (March, 1983), p. 541.
[28] Ibid., p. 555.

know of his arrival in Britain:

> He will stay in London for a week or ten days at most. He will be sightseeing and will want to see no one. He will be travelling in absolute secrecy and I ask you again to keep this news to yourself. You should have the will to keep a secret for two whole weeks if this letter reaches you early enough. I am writing to you about it only because I talked to him about you and assured him that he would find you an excellent guide, an advisor, and a pleasant companion.[29]

When Chopin arrived in London in July 1837 a few press releases appeared. *The Musical World* announced his visit twice. On the first occasion, he was described as a "celebrated pianist, whose compositions are so highly appreciated in France and Germany"[30]. The second occasion echoed the same sentiment, again using the phrase "celebrated composer."[31]

One of the first articles of any significant length appeared in *The Musical World*, and was understandably influenced by his first visit to the country as well as his new publications. This substantial review considered the compositions Il Lamento, e la Consolazione Deux Nocturnes, pour le Pianoforte and Le Meditation. The pieces concerned are the Nocturnes Op. 32 and Scherzo Op. 31, for which Chopin had signed contracts with Wessel a year earlier. In the article Chopin is described as both a pianist and composer of salon music. Although this description may be attributed to the circumstances around his performance at the Broadwood house, many of Chopin's compositions (especially mazurkas and nocturnes) ultimately wore a stigma of salon pieces, as they were published in drawing room music collections, while some pieces were published as modified easier versions.

This review in *The Musical World* was significant for a number of reasons. Firstly, the author compared Chopin's works with numerous well-known composers, including Bach ("The fantastic cadenza leading to a fine exemplification of the interrupted cadence, is followed by some short passages somewhat in the style of Bach's capriccios"), Beethoven ("There is much

[29] Peter Willis, *Chopin in Britain: Chopin's visits to England and Scotland in 1837 and 1848: people, places and activities.* Doctoral thesis (Durham: Durham University, 2009), p. 31.
[30] Anonymous, "Miscellaneous", *The Musical World*, 60 (5 May 1837), p. 126.
[31] Anonymous, "Miscellaneous", *The Musical World*, 71 (21 July 1837), p. 93.

passion in the closing harmonies which are, after the manner of Beethoven, suspended in their resolution."), Weber ("the valtze somewhat like the "Aufforderung zum Tanze" of Weber, is fully elegant and graceful"), Mendelssohn ("The cantilena sostenuto displays a skilful use of diatonic discords – those natural weapons, so powerfully and frequently grasped by the hand of a Mendelssohn"), and Dussek ("followed by intermezza suggetti in the style of Dussek's later compositions, a composer in whom, we are inclined to think, M. Chopin much delights"). These positive comparisons with composers of the "classical school" are both rare and noteworthy, referring to Chopin as "a pupil of Field's, and a follower of Beethoven." The author of the article also publicly asked Wessel to proof-read works before publishing them, since "to correct all the errors and misprints would occupy nearly a page of our work." A flavour of the positive review is captured in the following extract and, since it also demonstrates the writing-style of the time, is worth quoting at length:

> Frederic Chopin is a pianiste of the highest order of merit.[...] If M. Chopin was not the most retiring and unambitious of all living musicians, he would, before his time, have been celebrated as the inventor of a new style, or school of pianoforte composition. During his short visit to the metropolis, last season, but few had the high gratification of hearing his extemporaneous performance. Those who experienced this pleasure will not readily lose its remembrance. He is, perhaps, *par eminence*, the most delightful of pianists for the drawing room. The animation of his style is so subdued, its tenderness so refined, its melancholy so gentle, its niceties so studied and systematic, the *tout ensemble* so perfect, and evidently the result of an accurate judgment and most finished taste, that when exhibited in the large concert room, or the thronged saloon, it fails to impress itself on the mass. […] His works are far less known than they deserve; but the startling passages with which they abound, and which are of a nature to call forth the skill of the most consummate, have doubtless contributed, in a great degree, to keep the musical public in ignorance of the numerous beauties interspersed among them.[32]

By 1841, Chopin had published more than thirty opuses with Wessel, under the titles *Murmures de la Seine* (Nocturnes, Op. 9), *Le Banquet Infernal*

[32] Anonymous, *The Musical World*, 102 (23 February 1838), p. 121.

(Scherzo, Op. 20), *Les Plaintives* (Nocturnes, Op. 27), *Les Soupirs* (Nocturnes, Op. 37), and *La Gracieuse* (Ballade, Op. 38). Chopin was extremely displeased with the publisher's choice of flowery titles which, as he explained in a number of his letters, were added to increase sales; in a letter to Fontana, Chopin writes: "Wessel is a rogue; I will never send him anything more after the: '*Agréments au Salon'*. Perhaps you don't know that he has given that title to my second Impromptu, or one of the Waltzes."[33] To make matters worse, Chopin was unhappy about inaction over payments, and to avoid having to deal with Wessel himself, asked Fontana to communicate with the publisher on his behalf, claiming that "he's a windbag and a cheat."[34] The relationship between the composer and the publisher was tumultuous, requiring considerable mediation from others on Chopin's behalf.

Within the next couple of years Chopin's name had become much more common in the British press. Furthermore, reviews were more lengthy, detailed and incisive. This increased scrutiny resulted from his works being publicized in Great Britain and his increased fame in France. His Etudes received acclaim, being regarded as a considerable accomplishment, while critics described his harmonic language as solid and excellent, and his musical structures as elegant and novel.[35] Chopin's pianistic school was praised and considered finer than the schools of Liszt, Thalberg and Henselt.[36] While his compositions were receiving such good reviews Chopin was also benefiting from positive press for his role as a pianist, being described as the "first pianoforte player in Europe."[37] In the same month, a review of his *Etudes* appeared, this time focussing upon Op. 25. Above all it identified the capacity of audiences to grasp new musical styles:

> The votaries of less modern schools of composition will probably, on

[33] Undated letter, Chopin, *Chopin's Letters*; collected by Henryk Opieński, translated by E. L. Voynich, (New York: Knopf, 1931), p. 240.
[34] Undated letter, *Chopin's Letters,* p. 248.
[35] Anonymous, "Douze Grandes Etudes pour le Piano, par F. Chopin. Op. 10, Book II. Wessel & Co.", *The Musical World,* 114 (2 August 1838), pp. 231-232.
[36] Anonymous, "Douze Grand Études, en Deux Livraisons pour le Pianoforte dediées à ses amis J. Liszt et Fred. Hiller, par Fred. Chopin. Edited with additional fingering by his pupil J. Fontana. Book I. Wessel & Co", *The Musical World,* 113 (10 May 1838), p. 34. This is an example of unapproved dedication to Hiller.
[37] Anonymous, "Chit-chat from the Continent", *The Musical World,* 116 (31 May 1838), p. 84.

> a first introduction to M. Chopin, pronounce him a grievous innovator on established modes of thought and expression - one factiously disposed to disturb the calm of previous mannerism, and to shake the venerable foundations of authority. The introduction of entirely new methods often changes the relative position of men engaged in professional pursuits, and obliges many to descend from stations which they have long occupied to those much lower in the scale of intellectual advancement. The enmity of those persons, if they be not animated with a spirit of candour and love of truth, is naturally directed against a system by which their vanity is mortified, and their importance *lessened.*[38]

This lengthy article casts Op. 25 in a very positive light, before claiming that Chopin's etudes exemplify elements of the modern school of pianoforte and insisting that they should be crucial for every pianist's development. While the new musical methods would be the "Romantic school" ("the new school has arisen"[39]) this term should be read in the context of the time when it was written; as Rosalba Agresta observed (further developing a position held by Friedrich Blume[40]) the term 'Romantic' does not have a precise meaning in the English press, but was commonly used as a synonym for the 'new' piano school – namely the opposite of the 'old' one, the 'Classical'.[41] The division between two piano schools is worth highlighting here, since it later becomes a polemical issue in the press.

With these articles, one may observe a gradual evolution of Chopin's public image; earlier writings typically described his music as difficult, whereas later articles positively acknowledge his style and originality, a trend no doubt accentuated by his growing reputation abroad. The press and the public were interested in him as an inventor of a new style, and hardly anything was written about him that was not a glorification of his style and its novelties. It would appear, at least at this point, as though Chopin was in a class of his own. This would, as discussed below, gradually change in the years ahead.

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[38] Anonymous, "Douze Grand Etudes pour le Piano, par F. Chopin, Op.25, Book III – Wessel & Co.", *The Musical World*, 128 (23 August 1838), p. 275.
[39] Ibid., p. 278.
[40] Friedrich Blume, *Classic and Romantic Music: A Comprehensive Survey* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1972).
[41] Rosalba Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism in nineteenth-century England", *Chopin and his Critics: An Anthology (up to World War I),* ed. Irena Poniatowska (Warsaw: The Fryderyk Chopin Institute, 2011), p. 451.

1.4 The Diversification of British Reception of Chopin: 1840 to 1843

The year 1840 witnessed a significant change in Chopin's reception in Great Britain. *The Musical World*, started to criticise his music, on the grounds that it avoids "regular forms of composition" and that the forms used, such as fantasia or impromptu, "lack […] the attributes of scholarship […] excused by the undefined nature of the work."[42] Such comments are, to an extent, counterbalanced elsewhere in the review; the author ultimately recommends the piece, on account of the "many points of imaginative beauty." Comments in *The Musical World* soon assume a much more critical tone:

> Chopin's waltz is very well in its way, but were any English writer of one half the reputation of M. Chopin to publish any affair of the like kind, it would unquestionably have at least twice the amount of merit to recommend it.[43]

The following year saw publication of a much more hostile article in the same journal, initiating a lengthy polemic in the British press. The article again criticises Chopin's music for a lack of form; the claim that his musical ideas rarely exceed sixteen bars is used to fuel speculation that Chopin's enormous reputation is without foundation and, in many cases, denied to composers of substantially more value:

> The works of this author invariably give us the idea of an enthusiastic schoolboy, whose parts are by no means on a par with his enthusiasm, who will be original whether he can or not. There is a clumsiness about his harmonies in the midst of their affected strangeness, a sickliness about his melodies despite their evidently forced unlikeness to familiar phrases, an utter ignorance of design everywhere apparent in his lengthened works, a striving and straining after an originality which, when obtained, only appears knotty, crude, and ill-digested, which wholly forbid the possibility of M. Chopin being a skilled or even a moderately proficient artist. It is

[42] Anonymous, "Impromptu pour le Pianoforte, compose par Frederic Chopin", *The Musical World,* 225 (16 July 1840), p. 45.
[43] Anonymous, "Trois Grandes Valses brillantes, pour pianoforte, par Frederic Chopin", *The Musical World*, 230 (20 August 1840), p. 126.

> all very well for a feverish enthusiast, like M. Liszt, to talk poetical nothings in "La France Musicale", about the philosophical tendency of M. Chopin's music; but, for our parts we [...] witness that the entire works of M. Chopin present a motley surface of ranting hyperbole and excruciating cacophony.[44]

This article was probably written by George Macfarren, then editor of *The Musical World*.[45] It is, in many ways, quite surprising to discover such a dramatic shift in attitude, particular since the journal had by that time praised Chopin's work for years. Upon close inspection, however, one may note that the article is, in fact, a response to comments ostensibly attributed to Liszt; there are no articles by Liszt in *La France Musicale*[46] in 1841, but a translation of Liszt's text *M. Chopin the Pianiste* was published in *The Musical World* on 10th June, and gives high praise to Chopin.[47] Macfarren goes on to quote Liszt, who apparently refers to "an aristocracy of *mediocrity* in England, at the head of which was William Sterndale Bennett". In response, Macfarren argues that Liszt "[...] might, with a vast deal more of truth, have asserted, that there is an aristocracy of hyperbole and nonsense in Paris, of which himself and his friend, the *philosophic* Chopin, are the summit. If Messrs. Sterndale Bennett and George [Alexander] Macfarren be *mediocre* [...]"[48] These various comments may well have upset Macfarren who was, after all, the father of George Alexander Macfarren. This might, to some extent, explain his sudden change of opinion about the music of Chopin, allowing a personal grievance, and an apparent opposition between 'Classical' and 'Romantic' schools, to take centre-stage.

The Musical World had to deal with some strong reactions from their readers. Amongst these, a letter from Christian Rudolph Wessel offered an explanation for the celebrity status of the composer on the continent.[49] Despite

[44] Anonymous [George Macfarren], "Souvenir de la Pologne. Seventh set of Mazurkas. Frederic Chopin. Wessel and Stapleton", *The Musical World,* 292 (28 October 1841), pp. 276-277.
[45] Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", p. 451.
[46] Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", p. 470.
[47] Franz Liszt, "M. Chopin the pianiste", *The Musical World,* 272 (10 June 1841), p. 373.
[48] Anonymous [George Macfarren], "Souvenir de la Pologne. Seventh set of Mazurkas. Frederic Chopin. Wessel and Stapleton", *The Musical World,* 292 (28 October 1841), pp. 276.
[49] Wessel and Stapleton, "Correspondence. M. Frederic Chopin. To the Editor of Musical World", *The Musical World,* 293 (4 November 1841), pp. 293-294.

such reactions from their readership, the magazine retained its opinion, again stating that there was no justification for Chopin's fashionably high ranking; a subsequent issue of the journal suggests that Chopin's innovations entitled him to his high musical status as much as "the contriver of a Dutch toy is entitled to a place beside the inventor of the steam engine […] Messrs. Wessel and Stapleton have misinterpreted their counsellors, and have mistaken their author's popularity for his artistical value."[50] Unsurprisingly, such comments generated strong reactions from readers:

> I certainly disagree with you entirely in your opinion of the merits of M. Chopin's music. To me he appears an eminently poetical thinker, and, what is more, fully capable of developing his ideas in the happiest, if not in the profoundest manner.[51]

> My opinion of M. Chopin is so high, that I think it nothing short of desecration to speak of his compositions without the utmost reverence. I know no composer of the present day at all equal to him in depth of feeling, fascination of style, and abundance of melodic and harmonic resources – and none of the past epoch – Beethoven alone excepted – fit to hold a candle to him.[52]

The Musical World published a selection of such letters, each accompanied by a response from the editor. In each case, the same editorial perspective was articulated, again serving to agitate the readers. In this respect, one might suggest a split between views of the *The Musical World* and its readership; the *vox populi,* however, demonstrates that Chopin's reputation had actually gained ground during this period. The quantity of correspondence to the magazine was so overwhelming that the editor asked readers to kindly stop writing to him on the topic.

Matters were brought to a close when a couple of incorrect assertions by an anonymous *Professor of Music*, were exposed by another anonymous writer, published under the pseudonym *Vindex*:

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[50] Ibid., p. 293.
[51] An Amateur, "Correspondence. M. Frederic Chopin. To the Editor of the Musical World", *The Musical World,* 294 (11 November 1841), p. 309.
[52] Professor of Music, "Correspondence. M. Frederic Chopin. To the Editor of the Musical World", *The Musical World,* 295 (18 November 1841), p. 323.

> To my knowledge, Mr. Bennett was not only never at any time a pupil of M. Chopin, but NEVER EVEN SAW HIM; and, were I at liberty to offer an opinion on the subject of Mr. Bennett's taste, I should say, instead of admiring the works of that composer, he highly disapproves of them.[53]

Following the publication of this letter, *The Musical World* closed the discussion, explaining that there would be no further communication on the subject. Comments about the public correspondence did, however, appear in the French press; regarding Chopin as a celebrity, they seemed bemused as to why he was causing such a stir in Britain. A correspondent from Paris, for example, wrote that people "have a good deal of fun here about the Chopin controversy. M. Chopin is said to be highly incensed at being compared to Bennett and Macfarren, of neither of whom does he know anything whatever, having been heard to say that the only musician of any pretension in England was young Henry Brinley Richards."[54]

Turbulent exchanges between Wessel and Chopin continued; discontent with aforementioned sloppy payments and flowery titles, resulted in Chopin selling his rights for the English market to Schlesinger, who then re-sold them back to Wessel.[55] In 1841, Wessel published *An Essay on the Works of Frederic Chopin* by James William Davison. It is unclear whether this essay was connected to the public correspondence and controversy discussed above. However, it presented Chopin as a poetic composer, whose music involves "a large degree of the transcendental and mystic - is essentially and invariably of passionate tendency, of melancholy impression, and metaphysical colouring."[56] Davison put Chopin on a pedestal relative to piano music, where he "reigns pre-eminently without a rival."[57] This publication both helped and hindered Chopin's reputation. Written solely to express admiration for Chopin's music and persona, it was one of the first texts to glorify him as a genius and a poetic composer

[53] Vindex, "M. Frederic Chopin ad Mr. W. Sterndale Bennett. To the Editor of the Musical World", *The Musical World,* 297 (2 December 1841), p. 356.
[54] P. F. M., "Foreign", *The Musical World*, 300 (23 December 1841), p. 412.
[55] Jeffrey Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries: Sex, History and Musical Genre* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1998), pp. 209-210.
[56] J. W. Davison, *An Essay on the Works of Frederic Chopin* (London: Wessel, 1842-1843). Cited in: Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", p. 479.
[57] Ibid., p. 480.

whose works are unloved only by those for whom the music itself is too profound. Davison's text is of particular interest because the author soon ceased to be a supporter of Chopin's music. At that time, Davison edited *The Musical Examiner*; a magazine that existed only for a short period, it was published by Wessel from 1842 to 1844.[58]

Other articles from the same period indicate that the British press relied too much on hearsay and gossip from Europe. Examples include Chopin's description as a Polish refugee[59] and the unfounded rumour about his death.[60] In 1843, regardless of gossip, Davison continued his glorification of Chopin's compositions and pianistic style:

> [Chopin] stands at the head of the modern Romantic school [...] His very touch alone is ravishing; and when he brings out the tone of the instrument, and makes it sing as a forlorn maiden, weep as a rejected lover, mourn as an unappreciated poet, shout as a reeling bacchanal, sport as a young lion, stalk as a fierce giant, gambol as an innocent child, howl as a famished wolf, declaim as an inspired orator,-all this, and more than all this, and all in infinite diversity, and yet in exquisitely symmetrical form- you are ready to fall at his feet, and worship to be, and to whom you pray that he may not destroy you; but a glance at his mild expressive countenance, as he turns his head, pleased that he should have given such unfeigned delight- and your awe for his genius is melted into love for his humility, and you are tempted to exclaim, HERE INDEED IS A POET AND A MAN![61]

In the same year, Chopin's Piano Concerto No. 2 in F minor was presented to a London audience, on 31 March 1843.[62] The concert was organized by the Philharmonic Society, and performed by Madame Dulcken, who received excellent reviews for her playing. The press, however, were divided about Chopin's work, describing it as "fine and masterly" but with "little of

[58] Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", p. 452.
[59] Anonymous, "Prince Czartorsky", *The Morning Post*, 22211 (25 March 1842), p. 1.
[60] J. S., "Foreign Intelligence. From our own Correspondent", *The Musical Examiner* (3 December 1842), p. 26.
[61] J. W. Davison, "Chopin", *The Musical Examiner*, 14 (4 February 1843), pp. 93-94.
[62] A number of sources refer to this concert happening on 3 April 1834; however the first review is published in *The Musical Examiner* on 1st April 1834, commenting on the concert taking place "last night". (Anonymous, "The Impartial Weekly Record of Music and Musical Events", *The Musical Examiner*, 22 (1 April 1843), p. 158.

originality,"[63] "dry and unattractive,"[64] and "crowded with subjects," but "one of the loveliest *larghettos* ever penned."[65] One review simply declared that "we do not like it".[66] The concert itself created quite a stir in the press, resulting in the publication of a long biography of Chopin in *The Morning Post*, together with comments on the performance itself. *The Musical Examiner* stated that "the press have been in an absolute ferment ever since"[67] and decided to publish comments on the performance at the Philharmonic, looking at criticisms from other sources.

For a while after the concert, reviews of his works began to appear almost every day, such as the review of the Scherzo Op. 31, with its "wild and melancholy nature - its sweet and fresh turns of the melody - its strange and unearthly harmonies - its novel and frequently rhapsodical - one and all bespeak it the music of a poet, which appeals to affectionate and sensitive natures, rather than to the cold worldling for appreciation."[68] The fact that Chopin had both a biography and a review of his complete works published simultaneously during this period is, once again, a testament to his growing reputation in Great Britain. Even so, in a review of his complete works in *The Musical World,* an interesting point was made about the misapprehensions of M. Chopin:

> Chopin is a half thoughtful, half thoughtless being, with great natural talent for music, but with a defective education, of which he is irritably conscious. We must be understood to object merely to the mis-appreciation of M. Chopin – to the obstinate perversity which drags him from his legitimate throne, and places him on another for which he is wholly unfitted. As a pianist and writer of useful, various, and original studies or exercises for the pianoforte, M. Chopin has few, if any rivals; as a musician of sentiment he is little better than an impostor.[69]

[63] Anonymous, "Philharmonic Concerts", *The Standard,* 5837 (4 April 1843), p. 1.
[64] Anonymous, "Philharmonic Society", *The Times*, 18261 (4 April 1843), p. 4.
[65] Anonymous, "The Impartial Weekly Record of Music and Musical Events", *The Musical Examiner*, 22 (1 April 1843), p. 158.
[66] Atlas, "Fudge", *The Musical Examiner,* 24 (15 April 1843), p. 166.
[67] Anonymous, "The second concerto of Frederic Chopin", *The Musical Examiner*, 24 (15 April 1843), pp. 165-166.
[68] Anonymous, "Review. Second Scherzo in B flat Minor. Frederic Chopin. Wessel and Stapleton.", *The Musical World,* 31 (3 August 1843), p. 262.
[69] Anonymous, "Review. Complete Collection of the Works of Frederic Chopin. Nos. 44 to 46 - Wessel and Stapleton.", *The Musical World,* 32 (10 August 1843), p. 271.

The comment from the editor is as revealing as the review itself:

> We insert the above, though we dissent, in a great degree, from the estimate it presents of the genius of Chopin, one of the most remarkable pianoforte composers of any age or country. It is from the pen of a talented and frequent correspondent of the "Musical World" who has, evidently, never heard the music of Chopin interpreted, either by the author himself, or his gifted pupil, little Filtsch - otherwise, we give him the credit to think that his opinion on the subject would considerably differ from what he now expresses. We promise our readers our own ideas concerning the merits of Chopin, in a short time, and in the meanwhile, beg of them to study him.[70]

The topic continued throughout August 1843, creating considerable reaction. According to a writer for *The Musical World,* the whole problem in the perception of Chopin's music was that he was both overrated (by Liszt and Schumann) and underrated:

> He has been understated by the followers of the classical school, represented by Mendelssohn and Spohr, who, with a very superficial knowledge of his writings, have set him down as a charlatan, only differing from the crowd in superior and hyper-daring eccentricity. The injustice of both sides is manifest to the calm observer. To place Chopin by the side of Beethoven or Mendelssohn is not more or less absurd than to depreciate him to the level of Thalberg or Dohler. He cannot be a thoroughly great composer, because he lacks the first requisite of greatness – viz. the power of continuity. He cannot, moreover, be classed among the common herd, hence he is eminently an original thinker and is blessed with an inexhaustible invention, and a deep well of new and touching melody. [..] Chopin is a distinguished musician, if not a Beethoven. Let us give real merit its due.[71]

The same article again points to Chopin's apparent fault of not being able to produce a lengthy piece of work, referring to Sonata Op. 35 as a "formless, capricious, vague and disconnected fantasy."[72] Nevertheless, he has no superior

[70] Ibid., p. 271.
[71] Anonymous, *The Musical World,* 33 (17 August 1843), pp. 275-276.
[72] Ibid., p. 275.

and "among living authors, Mendelssohn and Sterndale Bennett, *no equal."*[73] An important piece of information is hidden behind these articles published in *The Musical World:* Davison had become the editor of the magazine in May 1843, succeeding Macfarren.[74]

The arguments used by respective parties in debates such as those mentioned above are of particular interest when considering valuations of Chopin. For instance, the same arguments used by one party to justify a criticism were repeated by the other to justify praise. In this way, one may observe that musical interests within Great Britain were undergoing a period of transformation, but they retained a strong classical presence in social and cultural terms. In this respect, an argument, advanced by David Punter, suggesting that Romantic art stood in opposition to the Classicism of the earlier eighteenth century,[75] applies just as much to music. The admiration of a tradition and its values is often present during periods of change from one stylistic period to another. In this case, advocates of Classicism upheld tradition, placing great importance on an artist's public duty, and implying that present artistic endeavours would be unable to match achievements of the past. Romanticism, however, was far more focused on the personal expression of the artist, and extolled artistic integrity rather than duty. It was a movement that looked forward to new ages, rather than admiring achievements of the past. Punter's observations are, in a sense, a continuation of what Gustav Schilling wrote about Chopin and his contemporaries: "these romantics have discarded as shackles the forms and textures of which the old school was so proud."[76]

Antagonism towards Chopin who, as a Romantic composer, did not base his music on Classical foundations is thought-provoking, particularly when the very first reviews offered an entirely opposing perspective. The view that Mendelssohn and Schumann shared, when writing a music history syllabus for newly opened conservatoire in Leipzig, was that Chopin should be situated

[73] Ibid., p. 275.
[74] Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", p. 452.
[75] Punter, "Romantics to Early Victorians", p. 18.
[76] Gustav Schilling, "Romanticism and the romantic", *Music and Aesthetics in the Eighteenth and Early-Nineteenth Centuries,* ed. Peter le Huray and James Day (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 469-472.

alongside Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert and Mendelssohn.[77] Chopin's views of Mozart and Bach's music are, as is well-known, highly favourable; in the words of Karl Mikuli, Chopin "prized Bach [above all], and between Bach and Mozart it is hard to say whom he loved more."[78] The nature of Chopin's writing is contrapuntal, especially in later works, perhaps reflecting the influence of his famous musical forefathers. However, the English press failed to recognise this, focusing instead on his exploration of form, dissonances and key relations.

The fact that Chopin generated lengthy and polarised debate is an indication of the impact that he had on the British musical scene and, along with the rich nature of the discussion, a factor contributing significantly to his posthumous reputation. Having a particularly personal and unique style of writing (or, in Jonathan Dunsby's words, a "restlessly experimental approach to all aspect of musical language"[79]) it is no wonder that Chopin was often put on a pedestal. It is even less surprising that those who adopted a more classical orientation objected to his unconventionality.

1.5 A Continuation of Diversification: 1844 to 1848

Critical discussion in 1844 continued in a similar vein to those found in 1843. *The Morning Post,* for example, wrote that "the works of the great Polish pianist have given rise to much discussion in this country. And in this country only, for the fame of the composer Chopin is supreme in France and Germany. Here is a considerable diversity of opinion as to his merits."[80] At the same time, this article addresses the difficulty of performing Chopin's music and is, as a result, reminiscent of comments in the early British press: "[A] combination of the difficult with beautiful requires mind for its proper development; and players who do not choose to think and feel, and regard the poetry of the art, will do

[77] Jim Samson, "The great composer", *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music,* p. 276.
[78] Ibid., p. 276.
[79] Jonathan Dunsby, "Chamber music and piano", *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music*, p. 508.
[80] Anonymous, "Musical review. The Complete Collection of the Compositions of Chopin", *The Morning Post* 22780 (17 January 1844), p. 8.

well to leave Chopin alone in his glory."

Throughout 1844, Chopin's works continued to receive highly polarised reviews, including one in *The Times*, which stated that Chopin "has too often been murdered by incompetent players, and then abused by their hearers,"[81] and another in *The Musical Examiner*, which claimed that one is "not inclined to allow him that amount of genius which some foreign critics have ascribed to him. From all that we know of his compositions – though certainly we have heard but few of them – we cannot give him credit for being more than an ingenious imitator."[82] This latter comment is particularly interesting, since Wesell had published most of Chopin's works by 1840, presumably following the demands of the market.

It is possible, of course, that *The Musical Examiner* was highlighting the lack of performances of Chopin's music. This is certainly supported by evidence from elsewhere. Liszt, for example, mentioned in a letter to Marie d'Agoult that Wessel asked him to come and play some Chopin's pieces in London to make them more famous; Wessel claimed that he was losing money on them, and Liszt did include two Mazurkas in his London concert programme of 1840, as mentioned by *The Athenaeum.*[83] Other sources support this view, implying that general awareness of Chopin's music in Great Britain was relatively low. For example, Alfred Hipkins' remark that "his compositions were almost unknown. Every time I heard him play, the pieces were strange to me, and I had to rush across Regent Street to Wessel, his English publisher, to discover what I had been hearing."[84] There is certainly inconsistency in the perception of general knowledge about Chopin's music in Great Britain, which leaves doubt about the commercial wisdom of Wessel, who decided to publish his works with regularity. By 1847, however, Wessel had discontinued cooperation with Chopin, apparently on account of inadequate demand for his music.[85]

In December 1844, *The Morning Post* published another lengthy article as

[81] Anonymous, "Philharmonic Society", *The Musical World*, 13 (28 March 1844), p. 10.
[82] Anonymous, *The Musical Examiner,* 1887 (30 March 1844), p. 197.
[83] Willis, *Chopin in Britain,* p. 88.
[84] Edith J. Hipkins, *How Chopin played. From contemporary impressions collected from the diaries and note-books of the late A. J. Hipkins*, (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1937), p. 7.
[85] Frederick Niecks, *Frederick Chopin As a Man and Musician* (London: Novello, 1890), Vol. II, p. 117.

a review of the complete works. In this article, the anonymous journalist highlights three major faults with Chopin's music: "he has not studied the resources of his art with efficient ardour to develop that which is within him"; "he is morbid and affected"; and he "avoids the primal requisite of the highest order of music – fellowship of his brother artists." Despite these seemingly negative comments, the author maintains that Chopin is still "the greatest pianist that ever lived, and the profoundest composer for his instrument."[86]

Besides articles written about his compositions, the press still had a major interest in Chopin as a pianist. It seems that, on this particular topic, there was no room for ambiguity:

> Chopin, the only one of the modern school whose very defects assume a graceful appearance. He is one of the best pianists in point of mechanical dexterity; and the deep and intense feeling he unites with energy, calm melancholy, fertile imagination, original rhythm, and progressive harmonies, abundantly redeem the odd, harsh, and shocking passages of the new school to which he adheres.[87]

Similar debates over Chopin's music continued for a number of years. On account of its nature, focus and energy, similar views appeared in all of the major journals, and even surfaced abroad. *The Musical Examiner* continued to ignore Chopin, with only a couple of articles on him published over a period of several years. Between 1844 and 1847 the reviews of his works were published mostly in *The Morning Post* and *The Musical World*, with none at all appearing in *The Musical Times*. Chopin had a strong supporter in Henry Chorley; writing for *The Athenaeum* Chorley states that: "there is a library of graceful, delicate, and original compositions, - difficult enough to boot, to satisfy the most ambitious person – in the writings of Chopin; totally unknown to English public";[88] and "there is an elegance in M. Chopin's music – an occasional grandeur – a sort of speaking expressiveness different from that of any other composer."[89]

[86] Anonymous, "Frederic Chopin's Complete Works for the Pianoforte. Wessel and Stapleton", *The Morning Post* 23056 (5 December 1844), p. 6.
[87] Anonymous, "Music in Germany", *The British Minstrel*, 3 *(January* 1845), p. 11.
[88] H. F. Chorley, "Concerts of the week", *The Athenaeum,* 968 (16 May 1846), p. 507.
[89] H. F. Chorley, "New Publications", *The Athenaeum*, 996 (28 November 1846), p. 1224.

Curiously, Davison changed his mind about supporting the composer, signalling an abrupt change to his previously complimentary comments; Davison refers to Chopin as "a Polish piano-forte player who has composed some rondos and dance-tunes (*mazurkas*) for the instrument."[90] As with Macfarren, however, personal grievances may well have played a part in this change of support. Davison took offence when Chopin did not sign the manifesto of mourning for the recently deceased Mendelssohn:

> I have been reproached by some persons for the *bitterness* which dictated my observations, last week, *apropos* of M. Chopin and the late Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy. The reproach is unjust; no bitterness gave birth to those remarks, but respect to the departed master, in whose single person was the concentrated essence of all music, and whose death is as thought from now to a century forward were to be a blank in the progress of art. The musician who fails in respect where respect is so manifestly due - nay, I will go further, the musician who does not merely respect, but revere, worship, idolize the name of Mendelssohn, I do not, I *cannot* consider a worthy follower in his art, and therefore, owing him no respect, I pay him none.[91]

In a letter from 1848, Chopin wrote about Davison, describing him as a "creature of poor Mendelssohn's; he does not know me, and imagines, I am told, that I am an antagonist of Mendelssohn. It does not matter to me. Only, you see, everywhere in the world people are actuated by something else than truth."[92] Not being a German, Chopin thought it best not to sign the manifesto, but many mistook this gesture of humility as a sign of arrogance. This could, however, be viewed in line with the political situation of the age in which anti-Polish sentiment was present in the media; *The Times*, for example, presented an anti-Polish view, disparagingly describing the refugees of Polish origin as economic migrants. Perhaps Davison's criticisms of Chopin merely bolstered the pro-German stand of the paper as, in a sense, in line with contemporary sentiment.[93]

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[90] J. W. Davison, "Letters from Paris, No.11, To Desmond Ryan, Esq.", *The Musical World*, 22 (4 December 1847), p. 767.
[91] J. W. Davison, "Letters from Paris, No.12, To Desmond Ryan, Esq.", *The Musical World,* 22 (11 December 1847), p. 786.
[92] Letter to his family (19 August 1848), *Chopin's Letters,* p. 370.
[93] Iwo and Pamela Załuski, "Chopin in London", *The Musical Times,* Vol. 133, No. 1791 (May,

Either way, one may observe from such attitudes the lack of consistency amongst journalists and writers of the time and, moreover, the fragility of the overall reception of Chopin's music. Once again, Chopin finds himself caught between highly polarised views in the British media, which, despite his celebrated position abroad, continue to debate the merits of his music-making.

1.6 Chopin in England and Scotland: 1848 to 1849

Chopin's journey to London was announced by Chorley, writing in *The Athenaeum*, on 8th April 1848. Chopin arrived on the 20th April, leaving Paris and the February revolution behind.[94] A number of people tried to make him feel welcome upon his arrival, including Henry Fowler Broadwood, James Broadwood's son, whom he met during his first visit to London in 1837. It is clear, from Chopin's letters, that he enjoyed Broadwood pianos and that he used them for most of his performances in England. Hipkins, the technical advisor for Broadwood, supports this view in his testimonies about Chopin's playing; these are discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

Soon after his arrival in London, Chopin caused a degree of consternation by turning down an invitation to play at the famous Philharmonic concerts. He explained his reasoning in a letter to his family:

> The Philharmonic Society invited me to play for them: a great favour, or rather honour; everyone who comes here tries for it. And this year neither Kalkb[renner] nor Hallé played, in spite of much effort. But I refused, and this produced a bad impression among musicians, and especially among conductors. I refused once because I was not well; that was the reason I gave; but the real one was that I should have had to play one of my concertos with the orchestra, and these gentlemen give only one rehearsal and that in public, with entrance by free tickets. How can you rehearse, and repeat! So we should have played badly (although, apparently, they know my concertos, and Mrs. Dulcken, a famous – hm! - pianist here, played

1992), pp. 226-230.

[94] King Louis Phillipe's government was overthrown in February 1848, and the royal family fled to England. Chopin's living revolved around teaching wealthy students, and because most of them had fled, he was forced to leave for a while and wait until the situation improved. With revolution spreading across Europe, the stable government in England seemed like a good choice.

> one there last year); so I sent regrets to the Philharmonic Society. One newspaper took offence at this; but that does not matter. After my matinees many papers had good criticisms, excepting *The Times*, in which a certain Davison writes.[95]

Despite this difficult beginning to his time in London, Chopin organised private concerts through his Paris and Polish connections: these included Lady Gainsborough's home, in late April, the Marquis of Douglas' home, in early May, and a number of performances later on in that month, including: Stafford house, the home of Duchess of Sutherland, and Lady Blessington's home. Public performances followed at Sartoris house, in late June, and Earl Falmouth's, in early July, thanks mostly to Broadwood.[96] Chopin was clearly grateful for the help and support of Broadwood, referring to him as the "real Pleyel here, [who] has been the kindest and most genuine of friends."[97] Besides these performances, Chopin had informal recitals in the houses of Mrs Grote, Henry Chorley, Thomas Carlyle and Sir Edward Antrobus.[98]

In comparison to previous years, relatively little attention was paid to Chopin during this period. The Stafford House concert was briefly mentioned in *The Morning Post*, which stated that Chopin had the honour of performing in the presence of the Queen, as well as that his Mazurkas created a great sensation;[99] *The Illustrated London News* reported that the performance was "a great sensation."[100] Other concerts preceding the Sartoris event were not mentioned in the press, but were announced and written about later. The Sartoris concert, however, was mentioned in *The Musical World*, and reviews appeared in *The Athenaeum* and *The Musical Examiner:*

> Chopin's matinee musicale took place, at the residence of Mrs Sartoris […] and it is not too much to say that it forms an era in the history of the pianoforte in this country. [...] It is almost as rare a thing to hear his music justly rendered by another player. It is difficult in a mechanical sense - and with many this is a presumption

[95] Letter to his family (19 August 1848), *Chopin's Letters,* p. 370.
[96] Samson, *Chopin*, p. 255.
[97] Letter to his family (19 August 1848), *Chopin's Letters,* p. 374.
[98] Willis, *Chopin in Britain,* p. 141.
[99] Anonymous, "French Plays", *The Morning Post,* 23228 (18 May 1848), p. 6.
[100] Anonymous, "The Court", *The Illustrated London News* (20 May 1848), p. 6.

> against it, at the time when so many composers want only to multiply mechanical difficulties, or seem to make them the end of the art. But you may find ten whose fingers are competent for Chopin's compositions for one who can feel and understand what they are meant to utter. The characterisation of Chopin as a performer is the entire subornation of the mechanical to the spiritual. Many mechanise the man, make him a part of the instrument; he spiritualises the instrument, makes it a part of the man.[101]

The concert in the Sartoris house was the first during Chopin's visit for which the public could purchase tickets (from Cramer, Beale & Co.), as announced in *The Athenaeum* and *The Times*.[102] The review from *The Athenaeum* is of considerable value for giving descriptions of Chopin's playing, written by Henry Chorley in whose house Chopin played on a couple of occasions:[103]

> We have had by turns this great player and the other great composer,- we have been treated to the smooths, the splendid, the sentimental, the severe in style, upon the pianoforte, one after the other: M. Chopin has proved to us that the instrument is capable of yet another "mode" - one in which delicacy, picturesqueness, elegance, humour may be blended so as to produce that rare thing, a new delight. […] Whereas other pianists have proceeded on the intention of equalizing the power of the fingers, M. Chopin's plans are arranged so as to utilize their natural inequality of power, - and if carried out, provide varieties of expression not to be attained by those with whom evenness is the first excellence. .[...] He makes a free use of *tempo rubato*; leaning about within his bars more than any player we recollect, but still subject to a presiding sentiment measure such as presently habituates the ear to the liberties taken.[104]

Chopin reported to Solange Clesinger that he gave an afternoon concert which "was a great success and [that he] got a hundred and fifty guineas. There were a hundred and fifty seats and every one was taken on the previous evening."[105] Davison did not write about the Sartoris concert, even though he was present, in the company of Walter Macfarren.[106]

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[101] Anonymous, "M. Chopin's Matinee Musicale", *The Musical Examiner* 2109 (1 July 1848), p. 1.
[102] *The Athenaeum* 1077 (17 June 1848), p. 613.
[103] Hallé, *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé,* p. 56.
[104] H. F. Chorley, "M. Chopin's Matinee", *The Athenaeum*, 1079 (1 July 1848), p. 660.
[105] Alfred Cortot, *In Search of Chopin* (London: Peter Nevill Limited, 1951), p. 138.
[106] Walter Macfarren, *Memories: An Autobiography* (The Walter Scott Publishing Co., London,

It is, perhaps, surprising that Chopin's visit did not cause a bigger stir in the press. However, the fact that most of his concerts were private, or only partially open to the public, probably explains his infrequent presence in the press. Even so, the smattering of comments in the press bring to mind those from a decade earlier. For example, the second *matinée musicale* in the home of the Earl of Falmouth, was announced in *The Times*. Being a fashionable event, this performance was covered by *The Athenaeum*, *The Illustrated London News* and *The London Daily News* as well as *The Manchester Times*[107]:

> When we hear Chopin himself, these difficulties vanish; everything is executed with such absence of effort; and everything sounds so plain and simple, to a cultivated ear, that we cannot imagine where the difficulties lay. In truth, to Chopin they are not difficulties at all, they are the most obvious modes of execution, which have naturally suggested themselves to him in order to give utterance and expression to his characteristic and original modes of his musical thought and feeling. Hence Chopin's music has a mechanism peculiar to itself: and if this mechanism, reduced to principles, were studied and understood, the peculiar difficulties of his music would vanish.[108]

All the reviews were very positive relative to both composition and performance, even though most of them were fairly short.

With his reputation increasing, Chopin could now command a respectable sum from teaching and from public performances. After the London concerts, when the season was at its end, Chopin set off to Scotland, departing on 5th August at the invitation of his student Jane Stirling and her sister Mrs Erskine. This period of the stay was intended as a rest for him, but soon changed after his Manchester recital in late August. He performed at one of the Gentlemen's Concerts and was quite pleased with the performance saying that "they received me very well; I had to sit down to the pianoforte 3 times."[109] Besides stating that Chopin was well-known both as a composer and a pianist,

1905), p. 58.

[107] *The Athenaeum* 1081 (15 July 1848), p. 708; *The Illustrated London News* (15 July 1848); George Hogarth, *The London Daily News* (10 July 1848), Anonymous, "Classified Advertising", *The Times,* 19908 (6 July 1848), p. 1.

[108] Spectator, "The Music of Chopin", *The Manchester Times*, 199 (29 August 1848), p. 7.

[109] Letter of 4 September 1848, *Chopin's letters,* p. 381.

The Manchester Times and Manchester and Salford Advertiser and Chronicle commented on the performance:

> The expectations of most were evidently disappointed; and no wonder, if they anticipated a series of common-place passages put together merely to exhibit some new prodigy of execution, for Chopin's style is of the quiet unassuming order, requiring a previous acquaintance with his works, an intellectual appreciation of the purest refinement of his art, and an attention beyond the usages of fashionable audience.[110]

Reviews continued in a similar vein. For example, *The Musical World,* whose anonymous writer had very little to say about his playing, identified his performance as neither surprising nor pleasing.[111] *The Manchester Examiner* stated that Chopin did not quite come up to their idea of a first-rate pianist; he played difficult compositions delicately, but without meaning.[112]

Communicating a very different sentiment, *The Manchester Courier* published a review of the concert, glorifying Chopin's "purity of style" and "delicate sensibility of expression."[113] In their biographies of Chopin, both William Murdoch and Guy de Pourtalès mention *The Manchester Guardian* reviews, which conveyed a similar tone:

> Chopin's music and his style of performance partake of the same leading characteristics – refinement rather than vigour – subtle elaboration rather than simple comprehensiveness in composition – an elegant, rapid touch, rather than a firm, nervous grasp of the instrument. Both his compositions and his playing appeared to be the perfection of chamber music – fit to be associated with the most refined instrumental quartets and quartet-playing – but wanting breadth and obviousness of design, and executive power, to be effective in a large concert hall.[114]

After the concert, Chopin returned to Scotland where he performed in Glasgow,

[110] Anonymous, "Concert Hall, Aug. 28", *The Manchester Times and Manchester and Salford Advertiser and Chronicle*, 1036 (2 September 1848), p. 5.
[111] Anonymous, "Music in Manchester", *The Musical World,* 37 (9 September 1848), p. 577.
[112] Willis, *Chopin in Britain,* p. 252.
[113] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 295.
[114] Guy de Pourtalès, *Chopin: A Man of Solitude* (London: Thorton Butterworth Limited, 1927), p. 238. Also: William Murdoch, *Chopin: His Life* (London: John Murray, 1934), p. 365.

in September, and Edinburgh, in October. The concert in Glasgow, held at the Merchant's Hall, did not receive much praise, as is apparent from a review in *The Glasgow Herald*:

> His style is unique, and his compositions are very frequently unintelligible from the strange and novel harmonies he introduces. In the pieces he gave on Wednesday, we were particularly struck with eccentric and original manner in which he chose to adorn the subject. He frequently took for a theme a few notes which were little else than the common notes of the scale. [...] This simple theme ran through the whole piece, and he heaped on it the strangest series of harmonies, discords, and modulations that can well be imagined. […] if we would chose to characterise his pieces in three words, we would call them novel, pathetic, and difficult to be understood.[115]

According to Niecks, *The Glasgow Courier* was more positive about the concert, declaring that Chopin's "treatment of the piano-forte is peculiar to himself, and his style blends in beautiful harmony and perfection the elegant, the picturesque and the humorous."[116]

After the Glasgow concert, Chopin returned to Edinburgh, where he performed at the Hopetoun Rooms on 4th October. This concert differed from those in Manchester and Glasgow as it was a solo recital, a none-too-common occurrence at that time. It was not particularly well attended, perhaps because the tickets were expensive, but the concert received good reviews, describing the "delicacy of his touch, and the consequent beauty of tone."[117] In fact, numerous journals reported positively on it, including *The Scotsman, The Edinburgh Evening Courant, The Caledonian Mercury* and *The Edinburgh Advertiser.*[118] *The Edinburgh Courier* claimed that "His execution is the most delicate that one could possibly hear. He does not, however possess the power or the brilliant technique of a Mendelssohn or a Liszt. In consequence his playing has less effect in a hall of considerable size. But as a performer of chamber music he has no equal."[119]

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[115] Anonymous, "M. Chopin's Concert", *The Glasgow Herald,* 4765 (29 September 1848), n/a.
[116] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin*,Vol. II, p. 297.
[117] M., "Chopin at Edinburgh", *The Musical World*, 42 (14 October 1848), p. 669.
[118] Willis, *Chopin in Britain,* pp. 285-287.
[119] Quoted in: Cortot, *In Search of Chopin*, pp. 143-144.

Following the concert, Chopin returned to London, where he gave his last performance in Britain, in the Guildhall on the 16th November 1848. The concert was part of the Annual Grand Dress and Fancy Ball and Concert in aid of the funds of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland. The review from *The Theatrical Examiner* deemed the concert a success, although the venue "was not indeed the most suitable scene for the exercise of powers which, more than those of any other great artist, require stillness and sympathy for their development and for enjoyment of them."[120] *The Illustrated London News* reported that "Chopin performed some of his beautiful compositions with much applause."[121] Remarks about the concert were rare, as most of the press discussed details of the event without mentioning the concert. Chopin returned to Paris on 23rd November leaving, in a letter, a whimsical account on his reception in Britain:

> I am introduced, and I don't know to whom, and am not in London at all. 20 years in Poland, 17 in Paris; no wonder I'm not brilliant here, especially as I don't know the language. They don't talk when I play, and they speak well of my music everywhere; but my little colleagues, whom they are used to shoving aside here; it is that they consider me some sort of amateur, and that I shall soon be a *grand seigneur*, because I wear clean shoes and don't carry a visiting card stating that *I give home lessons, play at evening parties*, etc.[122]

The Musical Examiner published a notice about his departure, stating that "there are those among us who appreciate his genius and admire his character."[123]

Ultimately, although many of Chopin's concerts in Great Britain were well-received, they remained, on the whole, small-scale and few of them received significant degrees of critical attention from the British press. The picture that emerges from the various comments discussed above is, on the whole, positive. Even so, reception of his music continued to present a similarly mixed picture, including both positive and negative comments, consistent with the various press reports discussed above.

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[120] Anonymous, "M. Chopin at Guildhall", *The Theatrical Examiner* 2129 (18 November 1848), p. 742.
[121] Anonymous, *The Illustrated London News* (18 November 1848), n/a.
[122] Letter to Wojciech Grzymała, 2 June 1848, *Chopin's Letters,* p. 357.
[123] Anonymous, "Musical notices and exhibitions", *The Examiner* 2131 (2 December 1848), p. 774.

1.7 Obituaries

Chopin died on 17th October 1849, and many obituaries in the British press both praised his work and lamented his death. Such obituaries presented interesting views about his work, both as a pianist and as a composer, with opinions once again polarised; Chorley, for example, wrote a long and heart-warming obituary where he expressed his admiration for the composer (he even wrote a poem about Chopin soon after his death),[124] while Davison in *The Musical World* took a different line, commenting about him never having been a popular name or talent, and suggesting that most were indifferent to him and his music:

> This is not the place to criticise the merits of Chopin as a pianist and composer. Time will show, when the influence of his presence amongst us has faded away, whether the high reputation he enjoyed as a composer (of his peculiar merits as a pianist there cannot be a question) was wholly or partially merited, or whether, as some insist, his genius and influence have been greatly overrated by his immediate circle of admirers, and only tacitly admitted by the mass, who, knowing little or nothing of his writings, were too apathetic, or too indifferent, to examine them on their own account.[125]

This obituary was an extension to one published a few weeks earlier where it was stated that "although he had for some time ceased to take any active part in musical matters, and had almost entirely abandoned both playing and composing, the death of M. Chopin cannot but be lamented by all the lovers and followers of art."[126]

A writer for the *Glasgow Herald* lamented the great loss and praised Chopin's genius. However, it also mentioned that his Concerto and Sonata (without specifying the specific works) are "apt to become vague and vaporous."[127] *The Morning Post* published an elaborated story on his death, as the "social world has not recovered the shock occasioned by the death of poor Chopin." Interestingly, the title of the report was "Chopin, the Pianist", and the

[124] Chorley, *The Athenaeum* 1148 (27 October 1849), p. 1090. Also: Henry Gay Hewlett, *Henry Fothergill Chorley: Autobiography, Memoir, and Letters* (London: R. Bently, 1873), p. 95.
[125] J. W. Davison, "Chopin", *The Musical World,* 45 (10 November 1849), pp. 705-706.
[126] J. W. Davison, "Music in Paris. (From our Correspondent)", *The Musical World,* 24/42 (20 October 1849), p. 657.
[127] Anonymous, "Frederick Chopin", *Glasgow Herald*, 4880 (12 November 1849), n/a.

same story was delivered by *Glasgow Herald* and *The Lady's Newspaper* days later, but with a different title.[128] *The Era* published a short entry on the death of Chopin, the pianist,[129] while the *Daily News* delivered a piece on Chopin in which he was acknowledged both as a pianist and composer; the unknown author pointed out that Chopin had a brilliant but uneventful career, even though he was "unrivalled in some of the highest qualities of an artist."[130]

Other obituaries praised Chopin and his work. For example, *The Literary Gazette* stated that the void he left would not be filled by any of his contemporaries.[131] A lengthy discussion of Chopin was also published in *Musical Traits and Memorials*:

> I believe that in London his Mazurkas, Scherzi, Ballades, Polonaises, Notturni, or Studies, if then put forth, would have been wasted on the empty air. In Paris they became the high fashion and their composer the favourite master of the most refined and poetically disposed pianoforte players. […] His death leaves us almost without a composer for his instrument meriting the name.[132]

The author of an obituary published in *John Bull*, addressed Chopin as a pianist and composer, having witnessed his funeral and general solemnity in Paris:

> Chopin is much less known in England than in Germany and France, but even in England his reputation is rapidly rising. On the Continent, and especially in Paris, he is placed on a level, in some important respects, with the most illustrious musicians of the age. His works, in regards to originality, consummate artistic skill, exquisite refinement, and the romantic melancholy which they breathe, have never been surpassed nor perhaps equalled. But they are lost if not played in a congenial style and with the most delicate and finished execution; on this account their progress to popularity in England will be slow, though, I believe it to be sure. It required,

[128] Atlas, "Chopin, the Pianist" *The Morning Post,* 23693 (14 November 1849), p. 7. Also: *Atlas* "The Last Moments of Chopin", *Glasgow Herald* 4884 (19 November 1849), n/a. Atlas, "The Paris and London Fashions", *The Lady's Newspaper,* 151 (17 November 1849), p. 270.
[129] Anonymous, "Foreign Theatrical and Musical Intelligence. Paris", *The Era,* 579 (28 October 1849), p. 11.
[130] Anonymous, "Funeral of Chopin – Performance of Mozart's Requiem", *Daily News,* 1073 (2 November 1849), p.7.
[131] Anonymous, *The Literary Gazette* (15 December 1849), p. 912.
[132] Anonymous, "Musical Traits and Memorials, by Tartini's Familiar. Frederic Chopin", *Bentley's Miscellany,* 27 (January 1850), pp. 185-191.

> indeed, the composer himself to interpret them, and this means of understanding them being lost for ever.[133]

This obituary is of particular interest, since it pre-empts much of what was discussed, particularly in the British press, following Chopin's death. Such discussions are taken up in Chapter 2, which provides an account of reception in Great Britain after Chopin's death.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has identified a swinging pendulum of responses to Chopin's music during his lifetime, painting a colourful picture of reception in the British press. Varying considerably throughout the period, reception of Chopin involved wide-ranging debate and conflicts of opinion. Initially tentative reception gave way to adulation and, subsequently, a tug-of-war between opposing views within the British press. On the one hand, Chopin was embraced as a composer and pianist, ranking amongst the greatest contributors to music. On the other hand, strong resentment was expressed. Subtexts underlying the respective positions demonstrate how an appreciation of cultural, political and social contexts is crucial to understanding an artist's reputation. In this case, negative reactions to Chopin's music appear to be related to a rise of nationalism, in which home-grown composers were defended by the British press. At the same time, journalists and listeners were clearly concerned with the balance between Classicism and Romanticism, as found in Chopin's music, and it is clear that some of Chopin's actions were misinterpreted by significant figures in the British press. The *vox populi*, however, paints a somewhat different picture; Chopin's music was clearly appreciated, despite revealing certain misconceptions about his life. Such misconceptions were echoed in the various obituaries, which largely referred to Chopin as a pianist, rather than a composer. As we shall discover in the chapter that follows, the various preconceptions, subtexts and misrepresentations established during Chopin's lifetime continue after his death.

[133] Anonymous, “From a Correspondent”, *John Bull,* 1508 (5 November 1849), p. 696.

Chapter 2

Chopin’s Reception from 1849 to 1899

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered the reception of Chopin's music in Great Britain during his lifetime. This chapter explores some of the ways in which such reception developed following Chopin's death. As with the previous chapter, the discussion is set against a backdrop of notable changes in the musical landscape, as briefly discussed in Section 2.2. From this point on, the chapter considers three principal trends that, amongst others, define the reception of Chopin's music from 1849 onwards; these include: Chopin portrayed as a romantic composer; the nationalist composer (closely connected to Chopin as suffering poet); and the salon composer struggling with large-scale forms. Section 2.3 considers the origins of these three trends, focussing on publications that emerged between 1850 and 1854. Chopin's popularity increased in the years between 1855 and 1876, as discussed in Section 2.4. Demand was so great that a series of weekly articles about his life and work emerged between 1877 and 1879, once again attesting to his public appeal, as considered in Section 2.5. The final section in this chapter, Section 2.6, considers how the various paths of Chopin's reception solidified between 1870 and 1899, leading to the point at which his music was, at least in Great Britain, firmly established in the canon. As with the previous chapter, reception is viewed through the lens of largely press-based texts, including: *The Athenaeum, The Musical World, The Critic, The Monthly Musical Record, The Musical Times, The Contemporary Review, The Examiner, The Orchestra and the Choir, The Musical Standard, Magazine of Music* and *The Musical Herald.* Resources in this period are, however, augmented by the first substantial biographies, memoires, lectures and various editions of his music, including the first complete editions.

2.2 Historical Overview: 1849 to 1899

Following his death in 1849, the reception of Chopin's music must be set, once again, against the backdrop of substantial social and cultural changes, amongst which, two are particularly significant. Firstly, there was the mobilisation of peoples; revolutions sweeping through Europe between 1848 and 1849 aligned music with "colonialism, industrialisation, the expansion of international trade and the establishment of significant expatriate communities, and relatively large-scale migrations provoked."[134] Secondly, the economy expanded; following the initial turmoil of post-revolutionary years, a period of relative stability occurred in 1870s, during which the middle classes began to dictate the development of the music scene, producing increased demand for concerts, scores and music journalism. Although this chapter focuses on Chopin's reception, it is worth providing a brief overview of these changes, since they cast light on the prevailing preoccupations, interests and capabilities of the press and public.

The combined effect of increased mobility and economic growth had profound effects on the musical scene in Great Britain. The middle classes were demanding more concerts and, as a direct result, a number of large concert halls were constructed. St James's Hall, for example, was completed in 1858 and, as the first purpose-built concert complex, was able to seat some 2,127 people. Other examples include Queen's Hall, which was completed in 1893 and became the first venue for Promenade Concerts in 1895, and Crystal Palace, rebuilt in 1855 with a strong leadership in the form of August Manns (1825-1907). Concert attendance was still associated with social status and class, and certain concerts, including those given by London's Royal Philharmonic Society, continued to offer programmes for a "socially exclusive audience."[135] This was not, however, the prerogative of larger venues, which needed to attract larger audiences; hierarchical ticket pricing allowed for a broader slice of society to attend events and, to encourage attendance, programmes were often tailored to a broader audience and accompanied by programme notes, encouraging new audiences to "build appreciation of Classical music."[136] Such changes allowed

[134] Katherine Ellis, "The structures of musical life", *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 344.
[135] Ibid., p. 547.
[136] Derek B. Scott, "Music and social class", *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music,* p. 548.

for the flourishing of a performer's career; Clara Schumann, for example, played in England each year for a period of over thirty years.[137]

Expansion of the concert scene went hand-in-hand with an expansion of educational institutions, particularly conservatories, and a strengthening of the position of music teaching in elementary and secondary school curricula in Great Britain.[138] From 1849 onwards, numerous institutions were founded, including: the Military School of Music (1857); London Academy of Music (1861); National College of Music (1864); College of Organists (1864); Royal Normal College and Academy of Music for the Blind (1873); Church Choral Society of London and College of Choral Music (1872), which later became Trinity College of Music; National Training School for Music (1876), which later became the RCM. Contemporary commentator Oscar Bie (1864-1938), described the Guildhall School of Music, founded in 1880, as the "largest music-school in the world" with "140 professors, 42 teaching rooms, 2700 students; and will shortly be enlarged till it has 69 rooms and 5000 students."[139] In this context, lectures about "proper playing" started to become regular events and, alongside the development of didactic musical literature (discussed in Chapter 3), this spawned a generation of educated musical practitioners.

Naturally, musical scores became cheaper; Britain, as an highly industrialised country, had a well-established publishing industry, and this allowed for a rapid expansion in the production of scores, as explained by Bie: "in 1896 appeared over 2500 'books' of piano solos, 2000 songs with piano accompaniment, more than 250 books of duets, and 300 pieces for piano and violin."[140] Scores continued to be published for the drawing room, and Chopin's works regularly appeared within such collections.[141] Within music publishing, however, a special place was reserved for the complete works of certain

[137] Michael Musgrave, "Performance in the nineteenth century: an overview", *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance,* (eds.) Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 605.
[138] David J. Golby, *Instrumental Teaching in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), p. 260-263.
[139] Oscar Bie, *A History of the Pianoforte and Pianoforte Players,* trans. E. E. Kellett and E. W. Naylor (London: J. M. Dent & company, 1899), p. 305.
[140] Ibid., p. 316.
[141] For example, as part of C. V. Wilkinson's *Well-known piano solos: how to play them with understanding, expression and effect* (London: William Reeves, 1909).

composers. This trend started at the beginning of the century and Chopin's complete works started to be published, as will be discussed later in this chapter. The proliferation of didactic books, sometimes with dubious titles as *The Art of Playing at Sight, by One who has taught Himself,* did not necessarily produce a reciprocal rise in musical professionalism; "the majority of teachers were poorly trained and ill paid."[142]

Pianos design and manufacturing continued to undergo considerable changes,[143] which again influenced the styles of playing and composing. In the words of a famous pianist Leopold Godowsky (1870-1938):

> During this time many significant changes have been made in the mechanism of the instrument and in the methods of manufacture. These changes in the nature of the instrument have in themselves doubtless had much to do with changes in methods of touch as have the natural evolutions coming through countless experiments made by teachers and performers. Thus we may speak of the subject of touch as being divided into three epochs, the first being that of Czerny (characterized by a stroke touch), the second being that of the famous Stuttgart Conservatory (characterized by a pressure touch), and the third or new epoch which is characterized by weight playing. All my own playing is based upon the last named method, and I had the honour of being one of the first to make application of it when I commenced teaching some twenty years ago.[144]

Sales of pianos were constantly rising.[145] This is not surprising given the better living standards enjoyed by the newly formed middle classes.[146] At the beginning of the twentieth century, according to Ehrlich, the number of pianos found in Britain was somewhere between two and four million, or, to put it another way, one instrument per ten to twenty people.[147] Towards the end of the

[142] Ehrlich, *The Piano,* p. 97.
[143] See: Rowland, "The piano since *c.*1825", pp. 40-56.
[144] James Francis Cooke, *Great Pianists on Piano Playing: Godowsky, Hofmann, Lhevinne, Paderewski and 24 Other Legendary Performers* (Philadelphia: T. Presser, 1917), pp. 136-137.
[145] Cyril Ehrlich, *Social Emulation and Industrial Progress – The Victorian Piano* (Antrim: W. & G. Baird Ltd, 1975), p. 6.
[146] We also read that "Chopin's works cannot be well played upon a bad instrument. The common Stricker-action Cottage Pianoforte, with its coarse tone and coarser touch, is altogether unsuitable." From the preface to Jan Kleczyński, *0 wykonywaniu duel Szopena,* Engl. trans. A. Whittingham as *How to Play Chopin: The Works of Frederic Chopin and their Proper Interpretation* (London, 1882).
[147] Ehrlich, *The Piano,* p. 91.

century new inventions started to appear. Edison's tinfoil phonograph (1877), for example, paved the way for rapid developments in recording and reproduction technologies that eventually allowed audiences to listen to music from the comfort of their own homes; such technologies are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

By 1849, the music press had established itself as a vital component of newspapers and journals. The expansion of the market[148] in the second half of the century, a result of the socio-cultural metamorphosis discussed in the first chapter, led to further growth of the music press and precipitated a revival of English music; the increased status of journalists, and the significance of their declamations on the arts and the role of music within the arts, proved an ideal breeding ground for patriotic sentiments, spawning something of a renaissance of national music. Support for English music in the early nineteenth-century press can probably be attributed to English music following the composers of the German Romantic school, which were popular at that time. In the years after 1850, music started to be regarded as a crucial part of British national identity, distancing itself from the German Romantic school, and acquiring greater status, promoted by "watchmen on the walls of music" who contributed to the English Musical Renaissance.[149]

All of the factors mentioned above contribute to the reception of Chopin's music following his death in 1849. In what follows we can see how established tropes, discussed in Chapter 1, are maintained and developed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although such reception is turbulent again, it is perhaps unsurprising, given the rise of British patriotism in the second half of the nineteenth century, that a new phase in his reception started to emerge: Chopin quickly became regarded as a Polish composer, with reviews commenting on his "[...] national music, systematized and arranged."[150]

[148] In the first half of the nineteenth century there were five daily newspapers. However, at a price of 4d or 5d, they were affordable only to middle and upper class readers. This situation changed with the Newspaper Act from 1855, when the prices went down to 1d and led to the expansion in the market.

[149] For detailed discussion of the English Musical Renaissance, see: Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance and the Press 1850-1914: Watchmen of Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

[150] Anonymous, "Deux Nocturnes pour le Piano", *The Athenaeum*, 1270 (28 February 1852), p.

2.3 Reception from 1850 to 1854: continuing the established tropes

Reviews during the middle of the nineteenth century were gradually changing their focus; whereas reviews previously prioritised compositions, they then started to address performers and, importantly, aspects of performances. Accordingly, a separation between composition and performance began to emerge, as is apparent in the following review from *The Musical World*:

> After the sonata M. Hallé trifled away a quarter of an hour with two nocturnes and a polonaise of Chopin, the merits of which we confess our inability to perceive. We are bound, however, to add, that the general feeling differed from our own, and that M. Hallé's performance, vague and dreary as the music itself, was unanimously applauded.[151]

The above review makes reference to a performance by Charles Hallé – a German pianist who, for a substantial portion of his career, lived in Paris, where he befriended Chopin, Liszt, Wagner and Berlioz. Hallé thought highly of Chopin, stating that "in listening to him you lost all power of analysis; you did not for a moment think how perfect was his execution of this or that difficulty; you listened, as it were, to the improvisation of a poem, and were under the charm as long as it lasted."[152] In 1850, Hallé took over the Gentlemen's Concerts, a concert series in Manchester, and gradually enlarged the series' orchestra.[153] He was famous as a Chopin interpreter, continually presenting his music on recital programmes, receiving the following review in *The Musical World*:

> […] one of the most admirable pianists of the present day, whose fame has been worthy acquired in the highest school of pianoforte

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[151] Anonymous, "The Musical Union", *The Musical World,* 17 (27 April 1850), p. 254.

[152] Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger, *Chopin vu par ses élèves* (Neuchâtel, France, Baconniere: 1970); trans. Naomi Shohet, Kyrisa Osostowicz, and Roy Howat as *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher – As Seen by His Pupils,* 3rd ed., ed. Roy Howat (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 271.

[153] Michael Kennedy, "Music", *The Cambridge Cultural History of Britain,* ed. Boris Ford; Volume seven: *Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 277-278.

> playing. A more perfect mechanism than that of M. Hallé was perhaps never possessed by any pianist. His execution is a model of neatness and elegance; in the most capricious, intricate, and crowded "*grupetti*" the ear never misses a note, while equality of tone is preserved as successfully in hazardous *bravura* passages as in the easiest *cantabile*. M. Hallé's playing is indeed provokingly finished, and were it not for the energy and grace of his style, his complete command of the gradations of tone, and the agreeable variety he produces by means the most simple and legitimate, his undeviating certainty, paradoxical as the assertion may seem, might almost prove monotonous.[154]

With a high-profile series and orchestra, Hallé made a significant impact on Manchester's cultural life. In 1860, *The Musical World* noted that "Mr Charles Hallé's Manchester concerts are becoming the vogue with all classes."[155]

Critical reorientation emerged gradually; some reviewers made distinctions between compositions and performances, while others did not. In some cases, failure to distinguish between composer and performer may be observed in newspapers and journals. In one publication, for example, Chopin's Polonaise in A-flat major is described as "noisy"[156] and another stated that "M. Hallé [...] with all his ability could make no effect in the heavy and lumbering 'polonaise' with which it was associated."[157] The same composition was described, on a different occasion in the same journal, as "a brilliant and joyous piece that makes your heart dance,"[158] an explanation clearly influenced by Hallé's interpretation. The A-flat major Polonaise was part of Hallé's standard repertoire, and perceptions of the piece seem to have been based on subjective interpretations of performances, as may be attributed to fashions in music journalism. Further to this, solo piano music was regarded, throughout the mid nineteenth-century, as lower in status than symphonic repertoire. As an anonymous writer in *The Musical World* explained: "after listening for two hours at a stretch (with only ten minutes' interval), to classical chamber music of the highest order, it cannot be expected that long solo displays could be patiently

[154] Anonymous, "The Musical Union", *The Musical World,* 17 (27 April 1850), p. 254.
[155] Robert Beale, *Charles Hallé: A Musical Life* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p. 118
[156] Anonymous, "Manchester", *The Musical World,* 49 (7 December 1850), p. 789.
[157] Anonymous, "Quartet Association", *The Musical World*, 25 (24 June 1854), p. 429.
[158] Anonymous, "Provincial", *The Musical World*, 44 (1 November 1851), p. 700.

endured, however great the talent."[159]

Critical discussion of Chopin's music generally contained a strong element of mythologizing, thus continuing trends set in motion while he was alive. Anecdotal impressions started to solidify into legends, one of them concerning Chopin's physical appearance. In one review, for example, Chopin is described as a "mere breath". The review continues as follows:

> He was a delicate, graceful figure, in the highest degree attractive - the whole man a mere breath- rather a spiritual than a bodily substance -all harmony, like his playing. His way of speaking, too was like the character of his art -soft, fluctuating, murmuring.[160]

Chopin's reputation as a suffering poet of the piano began during his lifetime, and demonstrated close links, common to Romantic thought, between suffering and creative inspiration.[161] Associating Chopin's music and performances with the image of the dying composer/poet, as demonstrated by the review, proved so pervasive as to continue, in one form or another, to the present day. This romantic ideal, which had early manifestations in the titles Wessel gave to Chopin's compositions (see Chapter 1), developed in two main ways. Firstly, one finds a plethora of evidence, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth-century press, about Chopin as an ill man. Kallberg's detailed research about tropes in Chopin's reception showed that such publications are strongly connected with "the cultural categories through which Chopin's pathological body could have physically spurred the metaphorical enactments of hermaphroditism."[162] Secondly, a range of additional tropes paint Chopin as the Ariel, or Raphael, of the piano.[163] Such tropes usually refer to supernatural spirits and fairies, closely associated with an ostensibly feminine topos in

[159] Anonymous, "Music at Manchester: From our own correspondent", *The Musical World,* 49 (3 December 1853), pp. 766-767, regarding Halle's concert at the Town Hall in Manchester on 24 November 1853.
[160] Anonymous, "Reminiscences of Paris, from 1817 to 1848", *The Athenaeum,* 1239 (26 July 1851), p. 798.
[161] Jim Samson, "Chopin Reception: theory, history, analysis", *Chopin Studies,* ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), p. 3.
[162] Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries,* p. 84.
[163] Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time from Personal Acquaintance: Liszt, Chopin, Tausig, Henselt*. (New York: Schirmer, 1899), p. 58

Chopin's reception.[164] When considered together, these two tropes are, as Samson pointed out, responsible for presenting Chopin as "the archetype of romantic artist."[165]

Some articles, besides the usual tropes, presented insight into the polarised reception of Chopin's music in England. For example *The Athenaeum* published the following in 1851:

> Chopin [was] in England ignored and denied a solitary merit beyond that of singularity. Prejudice is everywhere a necessary accompaniment to the presence of Genius - the skeleton at its banquet.[166]

The same journal later that year observed that "the individuality of Chopin as a composer was sure to bring his pianoforte-music one day into request, - no writer since Beethoven having appeared in style so unique, and so innocent of the slightest reference to model, ancient or modern."[167] The anonymous author of the text used the opportunity to label Chopin a "Polish poet". In spite of a scarcity of articles, those published offer a plethora of insights about "the delicate piercing Ariel of modern pianists."[168]

Although these various tropes continued to emerge between 1850 and 1854, they were supplemented by another journalistic topic of the time which demonstrates, one must assume a reliance on hearsay. Reports of Chopin being alive in 1851 were published by *The Guardian* and, after the same mistake occurred in 1854 in Austria, this was translated and reported in *The Musical World.* Rather ironically, the journal failed to correct the mistake of the *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung,* stating that Chopin had died in 1850, rather than 1849:

> The number of *Oestreiche Illustrierte* Zeitung, of the 15th of this month, publishes Chopin's portrait and facsimile, accompanied by the following notice:

[164] For detailed discussion about the origin of these nicknames and historical reaction on them, see: Kallberg, "Small fairy voices: sex, history and meaning in Chopin", *Chopin studies 2*, pp. 50-71.
[165] Samson, *Chopin,* p. 284.
[166] Anonymous, *The Athenaeum,* 1242 (16 August 1851), p. 882.
[167] Anonymous, "Musical and Dramatic Gossip" *The Athenaeum*, 1234 (21 June 1851), p. 668.
[168] Anonymous, "Foreign Literature", *The Critic*, 11/261 (16 February 1852), p. 99.

> Chopin ranks very high among the first celebrities of the world of art in modern times, for he belongs to the most genial composers and talented musicians. He may reckon with certainty upon a brilliant future. We, therefore, beg to present our readers with a very successful portrait of him, together with his facsimile.

The *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* replied:

> Poor Chopin will, no doubt, at some future period, return the writer of the above article his sincere thanks; in the meantime, we beg to inform the gentleman that Chopin died in Paris, in 1850, and that his musical reputation was established long before the *Oestreiche Illustrierte Zeitung* was ever thought of.[169]

2.4 An Increase in Popularity: 1855 to 1876

George Sand's autobiography, *Histoire de Ma Vie,* was published in Paris in 1855 and *The Athenaeum* reviewed it, somewhat harshly, in a two-page article later that year. Sand's comparison of Chopin with Bach created quite a stir in the English press, since it declared that Chopin's music is "more exquisite than that of Sebastian Bach, still more puissant than that of Beethoven, still more dramatic than that of Weber. Chopin is all the three together, and himself besides: that is to say, he is more free in his taste, more austere in his grandeur, more poignant in his grief, than they."[170] One respondent explained that Chopin writes mere pianoforte music, while Bach's fugues and Beethoven's Sonatas are pure music. More subtle comments about the excessiveness of Sand's praise also come to light;[171] conflation of the personal and professional was mentioned and, given Chopin's non-traditional relationship with George Sand, this was not taken lightly. Their relationship was not favoured in the press during the composer's lifetime, and this state-of-affairs continued long after his death.

The popularity of Chopin's music continued in the 1850s and acclamation increased. Concerts containing Chopin's compositions were, by this point, frequent occurrences, including performances by the period's most popular

[169] Anonymous, "Foreign", *The Musical World*, 43 (28 October 1854), p. 710.
[170] Anonymous, "History of my Life [Histoire, &c] By George Sand. Feuilleton of *La Presse*", *The Athenaeum*, 1460 (20 October 1855), p. 1211.
[171] Anonymous, "*Histoire de ma Vie* ("Story of My Life"). Par George Sand. Paris: Victor Lecou (Vol. XX)", *The Critic*, 15/367 (15 July 1856), p. 353.

pianists such as Von Bülow, Hallé and Clara Schumann. Performances were reviewed but, unfortunately, not regularly. Reviews increasingly fell under the influence of romantic perceptions of Chopin's persona. The various tropes, outlined above, gradually solidified, with magazines such as *The Athenaeum* asking:

> What does "the social element" mean? The fact was, that Chopin, one of the most delicately *spirituel* converses whom we ever met, was the delight of perhaps the most super-subtle and intellectual coterie in Paris. He answered no letters, it is true; - he gave lessons (save to ladies whom he liked) very reluctantly; -and his infirm health made him languid, unready, and often times capricious, in performing the duties and attending to the courtesies of life. But he was as willing to discuss French politics or Polish nationality, -to anatomize the new poem or novel, - as to dream at the piano.[172]

Chopin was viewed repeatedly through such prisms. In addition, his music was frequently judged through subjective impressions of his performances, and the combination of these two influences seems to have perpetuated interpretation based on impression rather than fact. Not distinguishing discussion of a composition from discussion of its interpretation continued in the 1850s, resulting in various works, such as the A-flat major Polonaise, being treated in very different ways. For example, *The Musical Gazette* explains that this piece is:

> […] one of the most brilliant and joyous pieces it has been our lot to hear for some time – a grand polonaise in A flat – and grand it is in Hallé's hand in every sense of the word. Such *crescendo* – such majesty – and withal such joyousness that makes your heart dance – not your feet: elevates the soul – not the limbs, or the body –sending everyone home satisfied that Chopin, besides some extraordinary things, must have possessed great talent to produce such music, and that few can give to it such grandeur of expression as Charles Hallé.[173]

And, later the same year, it published the following:

> The *Nocturne* and *Polonaise* by Chopin are eminent among the

[172] Anonymous, *The Athenaeum,* 1412 (18 November 1854), p. 1390.
[173] Anonymous, *The Musical Gazette* (15 March 1856), p. 89.

> strangely unfinished rhapsodies of that composer. Enormously taxing to the player, the labour bestowed on them can never be repaid by the result, even when they are executed by an imaginative pianist like Mad. Schumann, or one of unfailing mechanism, like M. Hallé.[174]

The Musical World reported in 1870:

> Most pianists, it is to be hoped, know that the Polonaises by Chopin, - of their kind, as incomparable and original as his Mazurkas - and among the most picturesque and characteristic pianoforte music in existence. One or two of them, however, may be cited as almost impossible to be performed, so as to work out the conception of the author, which includes gorgeous pomposity of sound, as well as dignity of idea. The Polonaise in A Major is of the number. Even when given by the accomplished hands of the greatest pianists, and the most penetrated by the character of music, it must disappoint the ear, because keys and strings and fingers are limited in their power of expression.[175]

Furthermore *The Monthly Musical Record* explained in 1872:

> In none of his compositions does Chopin appear to greater advantage than in his national dances. It has frequently been remarked that while his larger and more ambitious works are for the most part that (with deference be it said) more or less failures, in his smaller pieces, on the other hand, he is almost uniformly successful, It would be difficult to find a single of his mazurkas, valses, or nocturnes, that does not present points of interest; and the same may be said of the polonaises now before us. There are few dances of which the rhythm is more marked than that of the polonaise, the peculiar accent on the second crotchet of the bar at the cadences being *de rigueur*; and yet no two of the twelve specimens of the dance which the Polish composer has produced are in the least similar.[176]

The trend of describing Chopin's music as difficult and almost impossible to perform was first mentioned in Chapter 1. As we can observe here, such comments continued into the second half of the nineteenth century. According to *The Athenaeum*, for example:

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[174] Anonymous, "Mad. Clara Schumann's Recital" *The Musical World*, 22 (31 May 1856), p. 343.
[175] Henry F. Chorley, "A Polonaise by Chopin" *The Musical World*, 35 (20 August 1870), p. 554.
[176] Anonymous, "Twelve Polonaises for the Piano. Composed by F. Chopin. Edited by E. Pauer. London: Augener & Co" *The Monthly Musical Record* (1 August 1872), p. 118.

> It is true that very few pianists can play the compositions of Chopin in a manner which represents the intentions of the composer. It is equally true, that all pianists are now beginning to attempt them, - as being almost, if not altogether, the last works of value for the pianoforte which Genius has given forth. It is also true, that, even if they are played without true tradition, -that is, steadily, and not with the measured yet freakish delicacy which belonged to Chopin's own style, -there is still enough in them to satisfy the mind and quicken the fancy. Thus, we are inclined to believe that Chopin's best compositions will live, so long as Music has ears, heart and fingers.[177]

A translated article from Robert Schumann in *The Musical World* (regarding the Sonata Op. 35) conveys a similar idea:

> It is unfortunate that so few pianoforte players, even good ones, are capable of forming a general idea of compositions which are too difficult for their fingers to master. Instead of first looking over the piece, they labour stolidly through it, note by note; and, therefore, before they have got the least notion of its general outline and intention, it is naturally thrown aside as strange or confused.[178]

A lengthy article "Chopin a poet and a Pole" published in *The Musical World* (1858) is a perfect encapsulation of nineteenth-century tropes surrounding Chopin. The uniqueness of Chopin's music, based on his individuality, is identified, explaining why it failed to have composer-followers. As the author explained: "because [of] that which formed the originality of Chopin was such a mixture of rare gifts, circumstances, and especially nationality, […] a reproduction will still depend upon the fate of the latter, even if all the former conditions should be complied with. Moreover, Chopin's art was based entirely upon his individuality; it was his own art; tradition and school had very little to do with it."[179] The Polish element of his music is then described: "it is that mourning, that doleful resignation. Suddenly bursting forth into a momentary

[177] Anonymous, "Music and the Drama. New Publications. *Posthumous Works for the Piano of Fred. Chopin. Published from the Original Manuscripts, with the Authorisation of his Family - [Oeuvres Posthumes, &c.]*. By Jules Fontana. Eight Numbers. (Scheurmann & Co.)" *The Athenaeum*, 1458 (6 October, 1855), p. 1155.
[178] Robert Schumann, "Chopin [translations by M. E. von G. from the *Gesammelte Schriften* of Robert Schumann, continued] *The Musical World,* 16 (13 April 1867), p. 230.
[179] Anonymous, "Chopin a poet and a Pole", *The Musical World,* 35 (28 August 1858), pp. 550-551.

wild passion; that constant melancholy; that smiling and tears; that constant hoping and trusting for change, which characterises the nation as the music of Chopin."[180] Chopin, the ill poet, also makes an appearance: "no doubt this dreadful disease had a great influence upon the development of his talent, although, perhaps, the reflex of this constant struggle with life in his music formed, and forms still, for a great many, its greatest attraction."[181] The presentation of information in this way would continue to feature in Chopin reception during the remainder of the century.

New editions of Chopin's works stimulated an increase in critical attention. The *Deux Valses Melancoliques* were published by Ewer in 1854, in an album of posthumous works[182] and by Scheurmann in 1855; Boosey published a new edition of mazurkas in 1860; and the twelve polonaises appeared with Augener in 1872. The reviews of published pieces were more than positive:

> The genius of Chopin was perhaps more decisively shown in his Mazurkas than in any other compositions which he has bequeathed to us.[183]

> Chopin's best works are cast in simple moulds: the valse, polonaise, scherzo, mazurka, and the song-form of the nocturne, are among the chosen means of conveyance for his inspirations. He has accordingly been judged as a composer from a false point of view - the consideration of external form as being one of the principal elements, if not the chief one, of beauty in musical composition, - and has been disparagingly spoken of as a small composer when these works have been compared with others of a higher standard of form.[184]

> In France there never had been a mistake about the fancy and the imagination, the sentiment and sensibility and the imagination, the power and the pathos of Chopin. In England he has not met with equal recognition; but Germany has been generous as well as just. And yet, to render justice to British judgement and taste, it must be stated that there was a firm of musical publishers in London, long

[180] Ibid., p. 550.
[181] Ibid., p. 551.
[182] These are the pieces published posthumously with opus numbers by Fontana, published in eight volumes: Op.66 – Op.73.
[183] Anonymous, "Reviews. *Mazurkas, pour piano,* par F. Chopin. (Novello, Ewer and Co.)", *The Musical Times,* 319 (1 September 1869), p. 212.
[184] Eustace J. Breakspear, "The Works of Chopin in their Relation to Art", *The Monthly Musical record,* 5 (1 January 1875), pp. 2-4.

> since extinct (that of Wessel & Stapleton), which was not insensible to the claims of Chopin for distinction. They founded a musical journal, called *The Musical Examiner*, the editor of which, Mr. J. W. Davison, was one of the most enthusiastic writers in praise of the Polish pianist.[185]

The last article is of particular interest, given Davison's remarks about Chopin, mentioned in Chapter 1. Davison wrote the introduction to the aforementioned Boosey edition of the mazurkas, and declared that "Chopin's genius was not of that high order, his talent was not of that exclusive stamp, his acquirements were not of that remarkable depth, to influence the real progress of art." In addition, throughout the text he continued to refer to Chopin as a poet.[186] Disputes about Chopin's formal- and orchestration-related weaknesses surfaced. We can therefore read that the "composer was not as his best when he attempted to write in classical form"[187] and that "the orchestral accompaniments to this rondo are trivial at the best."[188]

Hugh Reginald Haweis, by contrast, struck a very different and much more positive note in his 1866 review:

> As a romance writer for the pianoforte, he had no models, and will have no rivals. He was original without extravagance, and polished without affectation. It is to him we owe the extension of chords struck together in *arpeggio*, the little groups of superadded notes, "falling like light drops of pearly dew upon the melodic figure", he also invented those admirable harmonic progressions which lend importance to many a slender subject, and redeem his slightest efforts from triviality.[189]

Once again, we can observe the extremely diverse perspectives on Chopin's music during the period; there is clearly a lack of agreement and consistency in published articles dealing with his music. As observed above, in the years 1855

[185] Anonymous, "Chopin and Dr. von Bülow", *The Athenaeum*, 2476 (10 April 1875), p. 496.
[186] *The Mazurkas and Valses of Frederick Chopin, with Memoir by J. W. Davison* (London: Boosey, 1860).
[187] Anonymous, "Reviews. *Life of Chopin*. By Franz Liszt. Translated from the French by M. Walker Cook (William Reeves)", *The Musical Times,* 410 (1 April 1877), pp. 184-185.
[188] Anonymous, "Cristal Palace Concerts", *The Musical World,* 44/50 (15 December 1866), p. 791.
[189] Hugh Reginald Haweis, "Schubert and Chopin", *Contemporary Review,* 2 (May-August 1866), pp. 80-102. Cited in: Agresta, "Chopin in music criticism", pp. 512-514.

to 1876 the reception of Chopin in the British press continued along already established paths. However, the increase in published material about him is, if nothing else, evidence of his rise in popularity and in the demand for his music. This continued in the decades ahead in Britain, as explained below.

2.5 A Further Rise in Popularity, including Weekly Articles about his Life and Work: 1877 to 1879

The English public had been aware of Liszt's book on Chopin since 1851; *The Athenaeum* published an announcement, describing it as "an interesting contribution to the literature of Art - as continuing a fine tracing of a character little understood because of its delicacy, in addition to the usual details and discussions which make up a musical biography."[190] Liszt's book was the first dedicated to Chopin, and was a particularly important source of information for subsequent authors; 76 years after publication, its influence can be detected in Guy de Pourtalès' *Frederick Chopin: A Man of Solitude,* which portrays Chopin as a poet and "an angel, fair of face as a tall, sad woman."[191]

Liszt's biography of Chopin was translated into English in 1877, by Martha Walker Cook, and published by the London-based William Reeves. The translation inspired further articles about Chopin in the press, although not all of the articles concerned themselves with the book itself. Of particular note, were a series of monthly articles by Julius Schucht, entitled "Chopin: His life and Works"; these appeared in *The Monthly Musical Record* comprising mostly biographical facts drawn from Liszt's book. The articles also contained a number of compelling observations on Chopin's reception in Britain:

> In London Chopin met with a most cordial reception; his works had found there a most intelligent audience; they had been played by the first pianists, and had been highly commended by the press. There had also appeared a very interesting pamphlet, under the title of "An Essay on the Works of Frederick Chopin," which was full of characteristic and instructive passages. From the appearance, at a time when Chopin was comparatively unknown, of such an impartial

[190] Anonymous, "Musical and Dramatic Gossip", *The Athenaeum*, 1223 (5 April 1851), p. 387.
[191] de Pourtalès, *Chopin: A Man of Solitude,* p. 17.

> and competent criticism, we may infer that the author was a man of much intelligence and culture. The path of admiration and honour thus lay open to Chopin, and there was rivalry in some of the first salons of the metropolis for the distinction of receiving him.[192]

This description is very similar to Walter Macfarren's view that "the advent of the Polish composer and pianist here exercised a very potent influence on musical taste."[193] However, Schucht claimed that Chopin's works were played only in exclusive circles, and that performers of his music were few in number. For this reason, he felt that Chopin also did not do much to increase his own popularity.[194]

In one article, Schucht made the following claim: "[Chopin] had the good fortune to meet with the interpreter who knew how to render those passages which required *bravura* and strength with even more expression than he could himself have done - a faculty of which Chopin was quick to make recognition with touching gratitude. And this interpreter was the hero of pianoforte *virtuosi* - Franz Liszt."[195] After a full biographical portrait, always generous in its praise of Liszt, Schucht turned his attention to Chopin's works. Operating mostly in a descriptive vein, he advanced commonly-held perspectives about Chopin's compositional technique, in a floridly romantic style. The polonaise, for example, was described as displaying: "knightly courtesy, enthusiasm, and womanly tenderness, […] beautifully and touchingly expressed."[196] Despite advancing such sentiments, Schucht provided important information about performance practice in the late nineteenth century:

> It is certainly no very great achievement to play 22 upper notes on the 12 lower ones (Chopin's "Nocturnes," Pauer's 8vo edition, p.2), but everyone will not at once hit upon the correct phrasing of the

[192] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 June 1877), p. 89.
[193] Macfarren, *Memories: An Autobiography,* p. 58.
[194] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 April 1877), pp. 57-58.
[195] Ibid., p. 57.
[196] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 September 1877), p. 138.

> right hand, so as to bring out the concealed thoughts. In this and many similar passages 2/4 and 3/4 time so melt into one another that the transition can scarcely be perceived. But he who plays first in triplets and then in common time will not rightly express the composer's idea. The player, moreover, who makes the boundary line between the two times apparent by accentuation will never produce the magic effect intended by the composer.[197]

This description is valuable for many reasons and not restricted to discussion of the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 1. Schucht is implying an independence of hands, and that there would not necessarily be common meeting points in the passage. This suggests the use of metrical rubato, and dislocation; a momentary non-synchronization of the melodic line and the bass, emphasizing a cantilena effect as may be used for expressive purposes.[198] The time needed to 'prepare' the tone of the melody results in a longer phrase and a polyphonic treatment of melodic lines.

The sentimental descriptions of the touch required when playing Chopin's compositions do not document a particular technique, aside from asserting that: "the keys must be touched with the tips of the fingers as lightly as the strings of and Aeolian harp are touched by the passing breeze"[199] and noting that "if the *appogiaturas* are to be played with the utmost delicacy, and to glide with the smoothness of glass, they will obviously require the fingers of a *virtuoso*."[200] Schucht's text also provides written evidence about unnotated arpeggiation, which was commonly used by nineteenth-century pianists. This expressive technique involves playing the notes of the chords separately, even if this is not directly indicated in the text. Schucht mentions this technique when describing an ideal interpretation of the Scherzo Op. 31 (referring to the phrase that starts 36 bars before the end):

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[197] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 August 1877), p. 120. [Piece described is Nocturne Op.9 No.1.]

[198] Dislocation can be presented in multiple ways. For more information on the topic, see: Neal Peres Da Costa, "Dislocation in Piano Playing: a Neglected Expressive Technique", *Early Music Performer* 10, (2002), pp. 15-25.

[199] Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 August 1877), p. 121.

[200] Ibid., p. 121. The piece described is the second movement of the Piano Concerto Op. 11

> Such dissonances are the utmost limits of what can be performed on the pianoforte, and they must be softened and modified in touch, and played almost like *arpeggios,* to render them endurable.[201]

Schucht also offers an amusing idea about the "source of sadness" in Chopin's music. He finds understanding of this source particularly important, since "these considerations supply us with a key to the prevailing feature of Chopin's music, and demonstrate that a mind ever encompassed by an atmosphere of sadness could but produce its thoughts in the minor." Furthermore:

> A retrospective glance at the history of the most eastern of European peoples will furnish us with a solution of the problem. For many centuries it was, to a degree greater than any other nation, the victim of overwhelming oppression. Placed on the boundary between Asia and Europe, their land was overrun, in the period of great migrations, by hordes of Mongol Tartars and other wild tribes. Nations passing from Asia towards the west, and again, those returning eastwards, all alike, made the Slavonic countries the scene of the most bloody battles from which general misery inevitably flowed; and not until these days of violence and bloodshed were over could there be any consolidation of the political and social affairs of the Slavonic nations. But at first the distribution of power was most unequal; the peasants were in bondage, the smaller burghers in destitution, and the nobles were under such cruel oppression from despots as to be in daily fear of their lives. This oppression, which was not merely of periodical occurrence, but was continuous for more than a century, and from which there was no relief till quite modern times, could not fail to exercise a depressing influence on the mental life of the people, and incline them to melancholy. Science has taught that specially deep and lasting emotions become hereditary; it is plain, therefore, that melancholy must be an inheritance of the Slavonic nations.[202]

The monthly publications by Schucht started a trend that was followed by Frederick Niecks and Jean Kleczyński. At the same time, Chopin's works were published internationally in a "canonic way"[203] by Richault and Schonenberger

[201] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 September 1877), p. 139.
[202] Julius Schucht, "Chopin: His Life and Works. By Dr. Julius Schucht. *Translated from the German, with the Author's permission, by A. H. W. and E. B.* C.", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 7 (1 August 1877), p. 121.
[203] Philip Brett, "Text, context, and the early music editor", *Authenticity and Early Music: A*

in 1860, Gebethner in 1863, Jurgenson in 1873, Breitkopf in 1878, Kistner in 1879 and Peters in 1879, while in the early twentieth century the complete works were published by Oxford University Press (1932) and Polish Complete Edition (1937).[204] Entering the canon of the nineteenth century confirmed Chopin's status as an important composer, as well as highlighting the popularity of his works and the public demand for them. In late nineteenth-century Britain, the demand especially for drawing room pieces was very high and usually associated with Victorian women who required "short, manageable piano pieces – simple transcriptions, dance pieces, 'character' pieces."[205]

2.6 Reception between 1879 and 1899: following the established paths

In 1879 *The Musical World* announced the first biography of Chopin, written by Moritz Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin, his Life, Letters and Works:*

> Admirers of Chopin's music who would like to see their hero, not as the affected, artificial nonentity described by Liszt, or as the morbidly sentimental being viewed through the mental spectacles of the fickle Mdme Dudevant, but as one full vigorous life and spirit, of aspiration and enthusiasm, should read the recent biography of the Polish pianist and composer, by Moritz Karasowski, himself a Pole, and, it must be admitted, an enthusiast. On that account it is as well to "*gazer un peu.*"[206]

Symposium, ed. Nicholas Kenyon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 86.

[204] *Fréd. Chopin's works, revised and fingered (for the most part according to the composer's notes) by Karl Mikuli,* F. Kistner; Leipzig, 1879. Collection of 17 volumes; *First critically revised complete edition, edited by Woldemar Bargiel, Johannes Brahms, Auguste Franchomme, Franz Liszt, Carl Reineke, Ernst Rudorff,* Breitkopf & Haertel; Leipzig, 1878 – 1880. Collection of 213 pieces in 14 volumes; *Complete works of Chopin, critically revised after the original French, German and Polish editions, by Karl Klindworth,* P. Jurgenson; Moscow, 1873 – 1876. Collection of 6 volumes, only piano works; *Frédéric Chopin: oeuvres pour le piano, edition originale,* Gebethner; Warsaw, *1863.* The third edition was edited by Jan Kleczyński in ten volumes, 1882; *New and cheap Paris edition. The works of Frédéric Chopin, ed. Thomas Tellefsen. Schonenberger;* Paris, 1860. Collection of 12 volumes; *Complete Collection of the Compositions of Frederic Chopin for the Piano-Forte, Wessel & Co; London, 1853. Collection of 71 pieces; Fr. Chopin's Collected Works,* ed. Hermann Scholtz. C. F. Peters; Leipzig, 1879. Collection of 12 volumes; *The Oxford Original Edition of Fr. Chopin. Edited by Edouard Ganache.* Oxford University Press, 1932. Based on Jane Stirling's score. *Complete Works of Frederick Chopin"* (eds.) Ignaz Paderewski, Ludwig Bronarski and Josef Turczynski. 26 volumes. Warsaw 1937. From: Maurice J. E. Brown, *Chopin: an index of his works in chronological order* (London: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 173-175.

[205] Samson, *Chopin,* p. 288.

[206] See: Moritz Karasowski, *Sein leben, seine Werke und Briefe* (Dresden: Ries, 1877); Engl.

This humorous announcement clearly demonstrates an awareness of the polarised views of Chopin, using them to comic effect. The book that is described was a success, eliciting a flattering review in *The Examiner*, for example. *Inter alia* Chopin's popularity was clarified in the review:

> Within the last few years the name of Chopin has become more and more familiar to our English ears. To those who have a real sympathy with the genius of the strangely gifted composer this apparent popularity is far from being wholly satisfactory. For Frederic Chopin has not only become the favoured genius of the high-class concert-room, but his exquisite works have fallen to be prey of the boarding-school teacher..[.]. However, as we all grant the popularity of Chopin's works, although we may not be satisfied with the principal causes of such popularity, it is but natural that we should like to know something about the life of the composer himself. And to respond to this, a lady bearing the name of Emily Hill has translated into English the popular work of Moritz Karasowski. The translator has performed her task excellently well, and no doubt the volume will meet a just need of success.

Although addressed indirectly, the review goes on to highlight the impact of myths surrounding Chopin and his life:

> He [Karasowski] has, in fact, given us a pleasingly and simply written life of the composer interesting from the beginning to the end. And there was indeed some need that such a life should be written; for many years Chopin was only spoken of in the terms of the wildest panegyric, or else his just fame was belied by the very men who were his most servile imitators.

Besides its importance as a commentary on Chopin's works and life, Karasowski's book left testimonies about Chopin's second visit; according to him, Chopin's works were popular, being "everywhere received with unusual marks of respect and friendliness and with the sympathy which is the best reward of the poet and artist."[207] The narrative is mostly told through Chopin's correspondence, but conveyed in a way that fits the author's own vision of the

trans. Emily Hill as *Frederic Chopin. His life and Letters* (London: William Reeves, 1879). From: Anonymous, "Chopin Le Vrai", *The Musical World,* 15 (5 April 1879), p. 214.

[207] Moritz Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin. His life and Letters* (London: William Reeves, 1879), p. 345.

visit. Ultimately, Chopin is again presented as a suffering poet without a country, dying of love for dishonourable George Sand.[208]

In the same year, *The Monthly Musical Record* published a series of articles entitled "A Critical Commentary on the Pianoforte Works on Frederic Chopin" by Niecks; these would later become part of his landmark biography published in 1888. Niecks wrote a lengthy commentary on each of Chopin's works, combining his own thoughts with facts provided by Karasowski and Liszt. On the early works Niecks explained:

> Chopin's early works were tentative -his ambition aimed high and in many directions; but having found the limits of his genius, and the true sphere of his activity, he wisely abstained from obstinately attempting what was beyond his reach, and reserved his strength for that in which he could excel. What influence did Chopin's want of success as a popular virtuoso, a function for which his physical and mental constitution unfitted him, exercise upon his career as a composer? The quantity and quality is indeterminable, but the existence of the influence will hardly be denied, and ought to be taken into account.[209]

Niecks also drew attention to the unpopularity of several early works, namely the *Grande Fantasie sur des Airs polonais*, Op. 13 and *Krakowiak, Grand Rondeau de Concert*, Op. 14:

> Well, one has had nearly fifty years to think about this matter, and seems to have come to conclusion that is hardly worthwhile to trouble one's self much about it. Let us, therefore, not be too hard upon the critics who did not at once greet Chopin as a composer by the grace of God. If our acquaintance with Chopin were to begin with these and similar productions, it may be doubted if, even in the present state of the musical art, we should fully recognise his merits in this incipient stage.
>
> They [Op. 13 and Op. 14] show us Chopin's style in a state of fermentation. If you compare these works with those composed after this clearing process had taken place, you will find that some of the ingredients have been secreted. Indeed, these pieces ought to be regarded rather as depositories of raw material and preparatory studies than as inspired works of art, being not unlike artists' note

[208] Anonymous, "Chopin", *The Examiner*, 71 (19 July 1879), pp. 934-935.
[209] Friedrich Niecks, "A Critical Commentary on the Pianoforte Works of Frederic Chopin. By Fr. Niecks", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 9 (1 September 1879), p. 130.

> and sketch books: a collection of hands, legs, heads, trunks of trees, bits of scenery, and all sorts of odds and ends in more or less unfinished, incomplete, and soulless condition.[210]

Besides the commentary here, Niecks' work presents a range of interesting ideas from other writers, such as Chopin's student, Wilhelm von Lenz:

> Almost all my remarks on the concertos run counter to those made by W. v. Lenz. The F minor concerto he holds to be uninteresting work, immature and fragmentary in plan, and, excepting some delicate ornamentation, without originality. Nay, he goes even so far as to say that the passage-work is of the usual kind met with in the compositions of Hummel and his successors, and that the *cantilena* in the *larghetto* is in the *jejune* style of Hummel; the last movement also receives but scanty and qualified praise. On the other hand, he raves about the E minor concerto, confining himself, however to the first movement. The second movement he calls a "tiresome nocturne," the rondo "a Hummel." A tincture of classical soberness and self-possession in the first movement explains Lenz's admiration of this composition, but I fail to understand the rest of his predilections and critical utterances.[211]

Maintaining a high degree of accuracy, Niecks' writings are also a prime example of the romantic style of writing mentioned earlier in this chapter. For example, when discussing Chopin's Scherzo Op. 31, Niecks asks:

> Is this not like a shriek of despair? And what follows, bewildered efforts of a soul shut in by a wall of circumstances from which it strives in vain to escape? At last, sinking down with fatigue, it dreams a dream of idyllic beauty.[212]

A similar style of writing is evident when Niecks considers harmonic materials, as in the following description of the Berceuse Op. 57:

> It rests on the harmonic basis of tonic and dominant. The triad of the tonic and the chord of the dominant seventh divide every bar between them in brotherly manner. Only in the 12th and 13th bars from the end (the whole piece contains 70) the triad of subdominant comes forward, and gives a little breathing time to the triad of the tonic, the chord of the dominant having already dropped off. Well,

[210] Ibid., p. 131.
[211] Ibid., p. 134.
[212] Ibid., p. 134.

> on this basis Chopin builds, or let us rather say, on this rocking harmonic fluid he sets afloat a charming melody, which is soon joined by a self-willed second part. Afterwards, this melody is dissolved into all kinds of *fioriture, colorature,* and other trickeries, and they are of such fineness, subtlety, loveliness, and gracefulness.[213]

By comparison, the conclusion of Niecks' series of articles on Chopin is relatively detailed and insightful:

> The characteristic features of Chopin's style, then, are: a preference of chromatic to diatonic progressions, of winding to straight lines; a frequent employment of simultaneous even and uneven divisions of the bar and parts of the bar (two against three, three against four notes, &c.), and of rhythmically undermined *fioriture;* a loose-woven, often wide-meshed texture of arpeggio-figuration, and of the harmonic fabric generally; a rhythmical articulation of great variety, richness, and piquancy (syncopations and displacement of accent are favourite contrivances); frequent changes and uncertainty of tonality and bold progressions of harmony.[214]

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *The Monthly Musical Record* continued to bring Chopin-related news from the continent. Amongst this news, one finds comments about Adolph Henselt, drawing attention to the important impact he had on perceptions of Chopin's works; an article, written by Wilhelm von Lenz and translated in 1880 asserts that Henselt's tempo rubato was "not the Rubato of Chopin: it is the reverberation in tempo, not so as to change the appearance of the whole, but like a picture which is viewed reversed through a magnifying glass."[215] This view lends support to remarks made in a famous series of three lecture-articles by Jan Kleczyński, which began in October 1881 before being translated by Alfred Whittingham. Kleczyński opened the first of the lectures by explaining that Chopin has been greatly underestimated overseas, and was due the levels of recognition given "by Liszt, by Schumann, and by Schucht." Romanticised descriptions of pieces are in evidence, such as on the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 1 "[exhibiting] to us a musical

[213] Friedrich Niecks, "A Critical Commentary on the Pianoforte Works of Frederic Chopin. By Fr. Niecks", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 9 (1 December 1879), p. 178.
[214] Ibid., p. 180.
[215] Wilhelm von Lenz, "Adolph Henselt. *From the German of Herr von Lenz.*", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 10 (1 December 1880), p. 164.

form unknown until that time; a thrilling sadness together with novel elegance of construction. In the middle part, *which should not be played too fast,* the melody drags along in heavy octaves, as though the soul were sinking beneath the weight of thought and the heat of a summer's night." A marking for the middle part in the octaves reads *sotto voce*, implying that the octaves should not be played heavily. Further on Kleczyński explains how Chopin's works should be interpreted:

> 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. Chopin has, without doubt, his negative points which serve as the basis, so to speak, of the positive side of his genius. He somewhat lost sight of himself in the Parisian drawing-rooms; perhaps he did not come up to the expectations which he raised, so far as considerable works are concerned. Considering the richness of his talent, he has disappointed us somewhat, as he disappointed Schumann; but, on the other hand, throwing his whole heart into small works, he has finished and perfected them in an admirable manner. The executant should not exaggerate his weak points; on the contrary, as we shall say when we come to speak of style, he should treat them as the reflection of the more powerful passages."[216]

More written evidence for dislocation is provided here. Kleczyński's text needs to be read in the context of nineteenth-century piano technique: the advice about the rubato and dislocation implies that certain pianists (like those school-girls mentioned) would overemphasize such expressive techniques. Dislocation was commonly used throughout the nineteenth century but, if not perfected, would yield disappointing results. Kleczyński studied with three eminent Chopin pupils and therefore provides valuable testimony to the existence of a technique that is rarely discussed in modern scholarship. Tempo rubato, however, has been mentioned, quite frequently, as one of the trademarks of Chopin's technique and

[216] Jean Kleczyński, "Frederic Chopin's Works, and their Proper Interpretation. *Three Lectures delivered at Varsovia. By Jean Kleczyński. Translated by Alfred Whittingham.* Lecture I", *The Orchestra and the Choir* (October, 1881), pp. 71-77.

absolutely necessary for effective performance of his music.

In his second lecture, Kleczyński presented a series of exercises that Chopin used in his teachings. These considered the position of the hand, which was to be prepared carefully and to remain tranquil while playing.[217] The correct use of the pedals is also discussed, shedding light on Chopin's own use of the two pedals in combination:

> Chopin brought this resource to perfection. We know those graces which are so beautiful when played with the help of the soft pedal - (the *Nocturne in F sharp,* part 2; the *Nocturne in G minor;* the Larghetto of the *Concerto in F minor;* the trio of the *Impromptu in A flat;* the *Nocturne in D,* &c. Chopin frequently passed, and without transition, from the open to the soft pedal, especially in enharmonic modulation. These passages had an altogether particular charm, especially when played on Pleyel's pianofortes. For instance, the first measure of the solo in the Larghetto of the *Concerto in F minor* on the note E flat; the *Polonaise in C minor* (Op. 40) upon the return of the motive of the trio; the *Mazurka in A minor* (Op. 17), eighth measure; the *Polonaise in C sharp minor* (Op. 26), second part, ninth measure, &c.[218]

The lecture series finished with a discussion of interpretations of Chopin's works, providing insight into performing practice and Chopin's compositional style:

> The root of his musical tendency was truly the aspiration to broad and noble style. This beautiful style in the course of time became absolutely his own; still several masters, both his predecessors and contemporaries served as his models. We know with what care he studied Bach; he found in Adagios of Beethoven that clearness of thought and that serenity, which he so well knew how to adopt and to utilize. In other works of less value, but suited to the pianoforte, we also find that harmony and that elegance, which Chopin has brought to such a height of perfection. For example, Field's Nocturnes, his First Concerto; Cramer's Study in D (in Book 4 of his Studies) which is similar in style to the Concertos of Field: then the Concertos of Hummel and the Andante to his Fantasia (Op.18), &c.

[217] Jean Kleczyński, "Frederic Chopin's Works, and their Proper Interpretation. *Three Lectures delivered at Varsovia. By Jean Kleczyński. Translated by Alfred Whittingham.* Lecture I", *The Orchestra and the Choir* (November, 1881), pp. 103-106.
[218] Jean Kleczyński, "Frederic Chopin's Works, and their Proper Interpretation. *Three Lectures delivered at Varsovia. By Jean Kleczyński. Translated by Alfred Whittingham.* Lecture I", *The Orchestra and the Choir* (December, 1881), pp. 137-138.

> This style is based upon simplicity; it admits of no affectation, and therefore does not allow too great changes of movement. This is an absolute condition for the execution of all Chopin's works, especially of his earlier works, and more especially of his concertos; the richness and variety of the embellishments would tend to sickliness and affectation if the execution were not as simple as the conception.

The talk goes on to address Chopin's rubato and, given that this is one of the most detailed descriptions of his approach, is worth quoting at length:

> 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 is 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 instrumentalists should observe the time, whilst he himself departed from it, and then again returned to it. It is, nevertheless, my belief that this means can only be employed in certain particular cases; and I therefore, can only regard it as a *demi-rubato*. […]
>
> We see, therefore, that even the *rubato* is never a defect in time: the idea of rhythm, and consequently of the relative value of the notes, must never be lost, apparent changes and momentary incongruities notwithstanding. I shall now give the result of my own reflections on the *rubato* of Chopin:
>
> 1. Precise rules for it cannot be given; because a good execution of the *rubato* requires a certain musical intuition, that is to say, a certain particular talent.
>
> 2. Every *rubato* has for its foundation the following idea. Each musical thought contains moments in which the voice should be raised or lowered: moments in which the tendency is to retardation or acceleration. The *rubato* is only the exaggeration or bringing into prominence these different parts of the thought; the shadings of the voice make themselves more marked, the differences in the value of notes more apparent.[219]

Kleczyński went on to provide examples of ornamental passages that should be

[219] Jean Kleczyński, "Frederic Chopin's Works, and their Proper Interpretation. *Three Lectures delivered at Varsovia. By Jean Kleczyński. Translated by Alfred Whittingham.* Lecture I", *The Orchestra and the Choir* (February, 1882), pp. 202-205.

played more slowly from the beginning and accelerated towards the end: *Nocturne in E-flat* (Op. 9 No. 2), bars 16 and 24; and The *Larghetto* of the *Concerto in F minor,* bars 26, 28, 30, 40, 75 and 77. The years following Kleczyński's lectures saw the appearance of a number of book reviews. Joseph Bennet's review of Liszt's book was highly negative about his style of writing, calling it "hysterical", before explaining that "the biographer, if so we may call him, regarded his subject through a false medium, which distorted its outline and changed its colour. [...] Liszt, who, of all persons, is about the least fitted for the higher work of a biographer. Such work demands self-abnegation, judicial calmness, the repression of all partisanship, and the faculty of weighting evidence with care before accepting its proof without reserve."[220]

As with Niecks', Kleczyński's work was later published as a book. Both works are of considerable importance, demonstrating the popularity of Chopin as a composer and pianist. A review of Nieck's book, however, informs the reader that Chopin lacked the peculiar qualities, natural and requisite, for successful cultivation of the larger forms of composition."[221] Once again, we observe long-established tropes in operation, whereby Chopin is presented as a composer of small and short rather than large-scale works. In 1892, Willeby states, in the preface to his book *Frederic Francois Chopin*, that "so much has already been written concerning Frederic Chopin and his work, that it would be at first sight seem unnecessary to add further to the list. Nevertheless, it is only quite recently that the truth concerning many points in his career has come to light."[222] Similar sentiments were raised in respects of Chopin's regular appearances in concerts of the time. *The Record*, for example, published an article accusing pianists of poor judgement for choosing to perform Chopin's works far too often:

> It may be asked why there should not be greater variety, considering the quantity of good material at disposal? The answer is not difficult: there are pianists who do not think; others who do think, but principally of themselves. The former are only too glad to imitate a

[220] Joseph Bennett, "The Great Composers, n. XI. Chopin", *The Musical Times,* 467 (1 January 1882), pp. 12-15.
[221] T. L. S., "The Life of Chopin. *By F. Niecks*", *The Musical Standard,* 36 (9 February 1889), pp. 109-110.
[222] Charles Willeby*, Frederic François Chopin* (London: Samoson Low, Marston & Company, 1892), Preface, p. 1.

> scheme already in hand. As to Chopin, it would be well if most pianists *did* neglect him, at any rate, for a while.[223]

Meanwhile, George Bernard Shaw's review of Charles Willeby's *Life of Chopin,* revisited a familiar theme, namely Willeby's opinion that "in the Concerto, Chopin's subordination to, and inability to cope with, form was conspicuous as was his superiority and independence of it in his smaller works."[224] According to Shaw:

> This implies that form means sonata form and nothing else, an unwarrantable piece of pedantry, which one remembers as common enough in the most incompetent and old-fashioned criticisms of Chopin's ballades, Liszt's symphonic poems, and Wagner's works generally, but which is now totally out of countenance. Mr. Willeby himself would not stand by it for a moment.[225]

Yet another series of articles, entitled "On the interpretation of Chopin's works" appeared in *The Musical Standard* in 1896. Above all, the author explained how Chopin's students approached certain aspects of piano technique:

> Judging from the accounts given us by De Lenz, George Mathias, Princess Czartoryska, and others, the great composer must have been equally great as a teacher. He appears to have made the most careful study of touch by applying different methods of staccato, demi-staccato, legato, and portamento.

On pedalling we are told:

> Scholtz, Klindworth, Kulak, Mikuli, and all their editors of Chopin's works are very careful as to the use of the first pedal, but not in a single instance have they indicated the use of the second pedal, which is of equal importance. The effects produced by the great pianists spoken of as 'velvet' are brought about by the second pedal or the combination of both pedals.

And on tempo rubato:

> I would say that the exaggerated use of the rubato is responsible to a great degree for the misconception of Chopin's music. No composer

[223] Anonymous, "Pianist's Programmes", *The Monthly Musical Record,* 22 (1 June 1892), p. 259.
[224] George Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1932), Vol. II, p. 209.
[225] Ibid., 209.

> for the piano has ever been so much the victim of misapprehension on the part of his interpreters as Francois Chopin.[226]

In spite of such criticism, myths remained in circulation at the end of the century. In 1897, for example, one is reminded that "the delicacy of Chopin's playing is traditional, but Liszt is authority for the statement that Chopin was fond of hearing his larger and more heroic works played with a power of which he himself was incapable."[227] Comments relating to the "ill poet" are frequently found in such literature. For example, the books of William Henry Hadow (1859-1937) contain descriptions of Chopin as "the Musset of Music […] keen, delicate, sensitive, sometimes marring his thought with the querulousness of an invalid."[228] In 1898 Rutland Boughton wrote a series of articles on Chopin's works in the form of a descriptive analysis, with no new information presented.[229] Then in 1899 Bie again perpetuates the notion of Chopin as a short-form composer: "His sonatas remain most strange to us; they are sonatas in the strict sense as little as the other sonatas by the Romantics. Chopin cares so little for form that he avoids the recurrence to the first theme."[230]

Despite all these positions, there is ample evidence testifying to the popularity of Chopin's music at the turn of the century. Henry Davey's lengthy article in *The Musical Herald* in October 1899, for example, serves as a prime example of the popularity of Chopin's music at the end of the nineteenth century:

> Every pianist plays them [Chopin's works] at his recitals; every professor teaches them; they are practised all the year round without intermission. It may safely be stated that Chopin's music is always being played somewhere, that not a single moment in the whole year is it silent. No other pianoforte music is so universally loved; from the greatest virtuosi down to the British school-girl, everyone delights in his works, small or great.[231]

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[226] Anonymous, "On the Interpretation of Chopin's Works", *The Musical Standard,* 50 (27 June 1896), pp. 411-412.
[227] W. S. B. Matthews. "Chopin's Style", *The Musical Standard,* 51 (8 May 1897), p. 302.
[228] W. H. Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1893), p. 129.
[229] Rutland Boughton, "Chopin's Works", *The Musical Standard,* 52 (3 September 1898), p. 148.
[230] Bie, *A History of Pianoforte and Pianoforte Players,* p. 262.
[231] Henry Davey, "Chopin: The Fiftieth Anniversary of his Death" *The Musical Herald* (1 October 1899), p. 291.

Written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Chopin's death, this article highlights something significant in the reception of Chopin's music; despite a somewhat tentative and polarised reception, both during his life and after his death, the music of Chopin had become well and truly part of the British musical canon.

2.7 Conclusion

Chopin's reception in nineteenth-century Britain reveals three recurring themes: Chopin as romantic composer; Chopin as nationalist composer (closely related to his status as suffering poet); and Chopin as salon composer struggling with large-scale forms. Evaluating these perspectives from the viewpoint of the twenty-first century, with a large volume of available and often contradictory information about the composer at our disposal makes reception research a somewhat arduous task: biographies, theoretical work on his music and a plethora of different contexts and pianistic interpretations inform the criticism which, in turn, forms reception.

By 1899, the concluding point for this chapter, Chopin had firmly entered the musical canon in Great Britain: various editions had been published, performances of his works had become increasingly popular, and regular biographies had started to appear. At the same time, writings had begun to offer information on how his works should be performed; already considered towards the end of the chapter, this will become the central focus for Chapter 3. Gathering information from the press in the nineteenth century helps to paint a general picture of Chopin reception in Britain. These facts assume practical significance in the ensuing chapters, particularly when taken in context with the analysis of the first sound recordings of Chopin's music in Britain and by pianists with strong connections to Britain.

Chapter 3
Chopin's Playing:
written evidence and sound evidence

3.1 Introduction

The previous two chapters considered the nineteenth-century reception of Chopin's music and pianism during his lifetime and after his death. They considered some of the many ways in which the reception of his music was formed, and reformed, in response to a range of social and cultural stimuli. The current chapter considers the key traits of Chopin's pianistic style and technique, placing both in an historical and musical context in order to establish a broad perspective relating to aesthetic tendencies and preoccupations of the nineteenth century. These traits are presented and discussed in broad categories, which foreground rhythmic and tempo fluctuations, whilst paying particular attention to tempo rubato and bel canto influences. Findings serve to explicate the central tenets of Chopin's musical practice, with evidence drawn from two different sources: 1) written evidence from the era, including accounts of Chopin's playing and of contemporary practice in general and, 2) early sound recordings from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. These sources reveal a range of different, yet often complementary, aspects of Chopin's pianism, offering a more rounded understanding of Chopin's pianistic style than has been presented thus far in the critical literature. The sources themselves, however, demand careful and critical attention; each piece of evidence offers a mere fragment of a bigger picture and, when considered in isolation, is often ambiguous, misleading, and occasionally contradicts other material. Amongst various sources of evidence, early recordings prove to be an invaluable, and all-too-often overlooked, resource for understanding aspects of Chopin's playing style and approach that is frequently difficult, if not impossible, to grasp from text-based sources. This observation, which is consistent with contemporary musicological interest in the use of early recordings as primary evidence, paves the way for a more detailed exploration

of early recordings in Chapter 4, in which case studies further explore expressive techniques and stylistic pianism relating to Chopin's music.

3.2 Rhythmic and Tempo Flexibilities

One of the most discussed musical terms when approaching Chopin's music and his pianism is *tempo rubato*. A hallmark of his playing, Chopin was constantly praised for his use of it. In the nineteenth century, the term *rubato* was already connected specially with Chopin[232] and this link continues into the twentieth century.[233] Chopin's use of rubato is, however, the subject of much debate and many pianists consequently have been criticised for not using it "properly" when performing his music; testimonial accounts of Chopin's use of rhythmic flexibilities vary, as do the many other writings on the subject and, with this in mind, it is necessary to undertake detailed investigation of tempo rubato.

According to Dolmetsch, rhythmic flexibility involves "alterations of time introduced by the performer for the sake of expression." Dolmetsch goes on to explain that: "This device is as old as music itself."[234] The claim is evidenced by the fact that innumerable writers of instrumental and vocal treatises from the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries cite the necessity of rhythmic flexibility in performance, including Tosi (1723), Quantz (1752), C. Ph. E. Bach (1753 and 1762), Leopold Mozart (1756), Marpurg (1755, 1756 and 1763), E.W. Wolf (1785), and Türk (1789, 1802 and 1804).[235]

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[232] Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 190.
[233] Jeffrey Kallberg, "Hearing Poland", *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music (Studies in Musical Genres and Repertories)*, ed. R. Larry Todd, (New York: Schirmer, 1990), p. 243.
[234] Arnold Dolmetsch, *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII and XVIII Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 284.
[235] Pier Franceso Tosi, *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* (Bologna, 1723), Eng. trans. J. E. Galliard as *Observations on the Florid Song* (London, 1742); Ger. trans. J. F. Agricola as *Anleitung zur Singkunst* (Berlin, 1757), p. 99; Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin, 1752), Eng. trans. E. R. Reilly as *On Playing the Flute* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1966), p. 252-253; Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen,* 2 Vols. (Berlin, 1753, 1762); Engl. trans. W. J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (London: Cassell, 1949), p. 99-100; Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756); Engl. trans. E. Knocker as *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 266-268; Fridriech Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst das Clavier zu spielen, durch den Verfasser des critischen Musicus an der Spree* (Berlin, 1750); Fr. trans. as *Principes du clavecin* (Berlin, 1756), Engl. trans. E. L. Hayes (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976); F. W. Marpurg: *Anleitung zum Clavierspielen* (Berlin, 1755), Engl. trans. E. L. Hayes (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976); F. W. Marpurg: *Anleitung zur Musik*

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the topic is explored in the works of (among others) Adam (1804), Corri (1810), Spohr (1832), Bacon (1824), Hummel (1827), Baillot (1834), Nathan (1836), Herz (1837) Czerny (1846), García (1840/1, 1847, 1857, 1859, 1894), Kullak (1861), Christiani (1885), Dannreuther (1893 and 1895), Joachim and Moser (1905), Auer (1921) and Flesch (1923 and 1928).[236]

Given the wealth of texts listed above, it is unsurprising that writers have drawn varied conclusions about the exact nature of rhythmic and tempo flexibilities, offering different suggestions about how to deal with them in performance. Furthermore, these writings refer to tempo rubato in many

überhaupt und zur Singkunst (Berlin, 1763); Engl. trans. E. L. Hayes (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1976); Georg Friedrich Wolf, *Eine Sonatine: Vier affectvolle Sonaten und ein dreyzehnmal varVol. IIrtes Thema, welches sich mit einer kurzen und freien Fantasie anfängt und endiget* (Leipzig, 1785); Eng. trans. C. Hogwood "A supplement to C. P. E. Bach's Versuch: E. Wolf's Anleitung of 1785", *C. P. E. Bach Studies,* ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 151-152; Daniel Gottlob Türk*, Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lehrende, neue vermehrte und verbesserte Ausgabe* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789; 2nd enlarged edition, 1802); Eng. trans. C. G. Naumburger as *Treatise on the Art of Teaching and Practising the Piano Forte by D. G. Turk, Professor and Director of Music at the Royal Prussian University of Halle, with Explanatory Examples Translated from German and Abridged by C. G. Naumburger* (London: Preston, preface dated 1804), pp. 370-374.

[236] Louis Adam, *Méthode de piano du Conservatoire* (Paris, 1804/5), p. 140-160; Domenico Corri, *The Singers Preceptor, or Corri's Treatise on Vocal Music* (London: Chappell & Co., 1810). Reprint in *Domenico Corri's Treatises on Singing,* ed. Richard Maunder (New York: Garland, 1993); Vol. I, p. 68-90; Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna, 1832), trans. C. Rudolphus as *Louis Spohr's Grand Violin School* (London, preface dated 1833), p. 249; Richard Mackenzie Bacon, *Elements of Vocal Science; being a Philosophical Enquiry into some of the Principles of Singing* (London, 1824), pp. 84-85; Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* (London, preface dated 1827), pp. 419-427; Pierre Baillot, *L'Art du violon: nouvelle méthode* (Paris, 1834); trans. Louise Goldberg as *The Art of the Violin* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 1991), p. 182; Isaac Nathan, *Musurgia Vocalis, An Essay on the History and Theory of Music, and on the Qualities, Capabilities, and management of the Human Voice* (London: Fentum, 1836); pp. 190-191; Henri Herz, *Méthode complète de piano* (Paris, 1837), p. 86; Carl Czerny, *Complete Theoretical and Practical Piano Forte School Op. 500* (London: Cocks, 1839), Vol. 3, pp. 31-38; Manuel Patricio Rodíguez García, *Traité complet de l'art du chant,* I (Paris 1840/1; Second Volume, 1847), Vol. I pp. 24- 49; *García's New Treatise on the Art of Singing A Compendious Method of Instruction* (London: Beale & Chappell, 1857), pp. 50-51; *Nouveaus traité sommaire de l'art du chant* or *Neue summarische Abhandlungen über die Kunst des Gesanges* (Schott, 1859); *Hints on Singing* (London, 1894); Adolph Kullak, *Die Ästhetik des Klavierspiels* (Berlin, 1861), trans. T. Baker as *The Aesthetics of Pianoforte-Playing* (New York, 1893), p. 282; Adolphe Christiani, *The Principles of Expression in Pianoforte Playing* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1885), pp. 299-301; Edward Dannreuther, *Musical Ornamentation,* (London: Novello, 1893 and 1895), Vol. I p. 161; Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule,* Trans. A. Moffat (Berlin: Simrock, 1905), Vol. Vol. II p. 20; Leopold Auer, *Violin Playing As I Teach It* (New York: Frederick Stokes, 1921), p. 156; Carl Flesch, *Die Kunst des Violin-Spiels*, Engl. trans F. H. Martens as *The Art of Violin Playing: The Artistic Realisation and Construction* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1923; Vol. II, 1930), Vol. II, p. 57.

different ways, thus complicating the notion of rhythmic and tempo fluctuations; it is not always clear which type is being discussed. Musical scores do not necessarily offer any further clarification. Rubato, and tempo modifications in general, are notoriously difficult to notate; even when indicated in the score, as may be achieved with metronome markings, it is difficult for a performer to realise such directions, largely due to the fact that subtleties of musical performance cannot always be precisely notated. More importantly, it is rare to find such markings; the lack of instructions in the text has been noted as a characteristic of music of the early nineteenth century. As García pointed out, both rallentando and accelerando, although not marked, are frequently required in the music of Donizetti and Bellini.[237] This point was noted by Taylor in *Technique and Expression*, who referred specifically to metric rubato and to tempo rubato being "too delicate and subtle to be expressed in notation."[238] Indeed, the same issue was raised by Liszt, who described shuddering at the thought of notating rubato.[239] There are certainly a few cases in which metrical rubato appears to have been notated, such as in the manuscript of Chopin's Nocturne, Op. Posth. in C-sharp Minor, in which the second theme is written in three-four rhythm and the accompaniment is in four-four; this creates a cross-rhythm structure which, when played correctly, sounds like written-out metric rubato.[240] Such examples are extremely rare, however, and it may be that they indicate a form of rhythmic flexibility more generally, rather than tempo rubato specifically.

The issue of tempo rubato is further complicated by the lack of consensus in respect of terminology; there is still no uniformity in names given to various types. This applies especially to tempo modification and metrical rubato, which are labelled differently in recent writings on the subject. For example, Ferguson refers to *melodic* and *structural* rubato, Donington makes a

[237] Hudson, *Stolen Time,* p. 179.
[238] Franklin Taylor, *Technique and Expression in Pianoforte Playing* (London: Novello, 1897), p. 73.
[239] *Letters of Franz Liszt* ed. La Mara, trans. C. Bache, 2 vols (London : H. Grevel & Co., 1894.), Vol. II, p.194.
[240] For the example of score, see: Lennox Berkeley, "Nocturnes, Berceuse, Barcarolle" from *Frédéric Chopin, Profiles of the Man and the Musician,* ed. Alan Walker (London: Barrie and Rockliff, 1966), p. 171.

distinction between *borrowed* and *stolen time*, Rosenblum identifies *contrametric* or *melodic* and *agogic rubato*, while Hudson distinguishes earlier and later types.[241] Philip refers to *accelerando* and *rallentando*, differentiating those from *melodic rubato* and *agogic accents*, while an entry on tempo rubato from Riemann's dictionary differentiates *tied* and *free* tempo rubato.[242] Rowland writes about *non-synchronised rubato* as a part of rhythmic flexibility and Peres Da Costa uses the terms *metrical rubato* and *tempo modification*.[243] In the interest of clarity, Peres Da Costa's terms are used for the remainder of the chapter.

As Rowland has suggested,[244] definitions of tempo rubato correspond with changes in performing practices, which is further complicated by the existence of different pianists from the same generation who belong to different performing traditions; there is no temporal or generational definition or approach that may be satisfactory in this context. It is therefore important to observe the written evidence about Chopin's playing in the context of the time in which he lived and the associated performing traditions of which he was a part. This will help to understand the development of tempo rubato in historical terms.

3.3 Tempo Rubato: an historical overview

Pier Francesco Tosi first used the term tempo rubato in 1723, with a notice from the author: "who does not know how to steal the time in singing [...] is destitute

[241] Howard Ferguson, *Style and Interpretation: An Anthology of 16th - 19th Century Keyboard Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964), Vol. IV p. 8; Robert Donington, *The Interpretation of Early Music* (London: Faber & Faber, 1965), pp. 430-434; Sandra P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), pp. 373-392; Sandra P. Rosenblum, "The Uses of Rubato in Music, Eighteenth to Twentieth Centuries", *Performance Practice Review,* Vol. 7 No.1 (Spring, 1994), pp. 33- 53; Hudson, *Stolen Time,* p. 1.

[242] Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and musical style. Changing tastes in instrumental performance, 1900-1950.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 37-70; *Riemann Musik Lexikon,* ed. Wilibald Gurlitt (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967), pp. 945-946

[243] David Rowland, "Chopin's *tempo rubato* in context", *Chopin Studies 2,* ed. John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 200; Neal Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record: Performing Practices in Romantic Piano Playing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 189- 308.

[244] Rowland, "Chopin's *tempo rubato* in context", p. 200.

of the best taste and greatest knowledge."[245] Galliard, Tosi's English translator, explained that tempo rubato is stealing time in "Pathetick and Tender [musical sentiment]" when a single instrument or voice parts company with the accompanied bass. However, as mentioned above, writings on rubato vary across the centuries and, almost one hundred years later, Heinrich Christoph Koch (1808) highlighted the Italianate rubato link with improvised ornamentation, while Hummel (1828) associated metrical rubato with the notes of embellishments.[246]

Alteration of the melodic line, while the accompaniment preserves the metrical regularity (metrical rubato), was an underlying feature of tempo rubato in the eighteenth century. Examples are numerous, from Quantz's advice that the accompanist should be careful not to be dragged into tempo rubato and should keep the rhythm steady,[247] to the famous letter from W. A. Mozart to his father, in which he states that: "what […] people cannot grasp is that in *tempo rubato* in an Adagio, the left hand should go on playing in strict time. With them the left hand always follows suit."[248] These two remarks are similar to Baillot's views,[249] and Spohr's explanation that the conductor has to deter the soloist from hurrying or retarding "everywhere but in passages treated *tempo rubato,* during which the accompaniment should proceed undisturbed in its measured course."[250] This view is further evidenced and supported by García, who writes**:**

> In order to make an effect of the tempo rubato perceptible in singing, it is necessary to sustain the tempo of the accompaniment with precision. The singer, free on this condition to increase and decrease

[245] Tosi, *Observations on the Florid Song,* p. 156.
[246] Heinrich Christoph Koch, "Über den technischen Ausdruck: Tempo rubato", *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 10/33 (11 May 1808), col. 518. Cited in: Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music,* p. 376; Johann Nepomuk Hummel, *A complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte* (London, 1828), Vol. II p. 53. Cited in: Rowland, "Chopin's *tempo rubato* in context", p. 204.
[247] Quantz, *On Playing the Flute,* pp. 252-253.
[248] *The letters of Mozart and his Family,* ed. Emily Anderson (3rd edition, London: Norton, 1985), pp. 339-40.
[249] Baillot writes that the performer should use tempo rubato in spite of himself, and "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." Baillot, *L'Art du violon: nouvelle méthode*, pp. 136-137. Cited in: Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 274 and Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and musical style,* p. 222.
[250] Spohr, *Louis Spohr's Grand Violin School,* p. 215.

> alternately the partial values, will be able to set off certain phrases in a new way.[251]

In the violin school of Joachim and Moser from almost a century later (1905), similar advice is given: a bass line, which is altered in tempo and rhythm, in conjunction with a free melodic line, shows "offence against all musical feeling."[252] Authors such as Adam, Hummel, Czerny and Wieck[253] criticised the use of rhythmic flexibility on account of metrical rubato. However, most of their criticisms are directed at the *over*-use of rhythmic flexibilities, a topic that remained popular throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The entry in *Black's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1924), for example, states that "the judicious use of Rubato is essential to the proper expression of most music, but its abuse is frequent."[254] Addressing a similar topic in the 1911 edition of the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* Fuller Maitland notes that the use of rubato is left entirely to the discretion of the performer. Even so, he also notes that "in the case of the older masters, it is entirely and unconditionally inadmissible, and it may be doubted whether it should be introduced in Beethoven, although many great interpreters of his music do not hesitate to use it."[255] It is clear from Fuller Maitland's discussion that he equates rubato with tempo modification. By contrast, the later *Everyman's Dictionary of Music* (1946), makes reference to both metrical rubato and tempo flexibility in the entry on rubato.[256]

Metrical tempo rubato was often described as a difficult technique to apply to piano playing, as the complete autonomy of hands is needed for a proper rendition. Written sources regarding string playing and singing show similarities in the understanding and application of metrical rubato, where the soloist's part is free from the piano or orchestral accompaniment. A vocal perspective is found in Domenico Corri's *The Singer's Preceptor* (1810), and

[251] Philip, *Early Recordings and musical style,* p. 222.
[252] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* p. 192.
[253] Rowland, "Chopin's *tempo rubato* in context", pp. 204-206.
[254] *Black's dictionary of Music and Musicians: Covering the entire period of musical history from the earliest times to 1924,* ed. L. J. De Bekker (London: A. & C. Black, 1924), p. 578.
[255] *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians*, ed. J. A. Fuller Maitland (London Macmillan and Co., 1911 – second edition), Vol IV, p. 176.
[256] *Everyman's Dictionary of Music*, compiled by Eric Blom (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1946), p. 515.

Manuel García's extensive elaboration of tempo rubato in *Traité complet de l'art du chant* (1840/1 and 1847). These texts divide metrical rubato into three categories: small-scale alteration, inequality, and large-scale alteration.[257] In similar fashion, C. Ph. E. Bach's explanation of tempo rubato refers to agogic accents; he presents examples in which certain notes, indicated with a small cross, should be played beyond their written length.[258] This is similar to Türk who identifies "a kind of shortening or lengthening of notes, or displacement of these." In addition, Türk makes a distinction between tempo rubato, where melody is dislocated or displaced, and quickening and hesitating, both recognised as "extraordinary means" that should be left to the sensitivity of the player.[259]

In 1885, Christiani differentiated between types of rubato, and their means of execution in performance. Stating that most changes in tempo are tempo rubato, Christiani directed attention towards: "1. Any temporary retardation or acceleration […] 2. Any negative grammatical accentuation [...] 3. That capricious and disorderly mode of performance by which some notes are protracted beyond their proper duration and others are curtailed."[260] The latter can always be executed in two different ways, namely with two hands playing simultaneously or with the accompanying hand keeping strict tempo while the other is free, and this is identified, by Christiani, as the rubato of Chopin.

In 1912, Tobias Matthay, an influential piano teacher counting Irene Scharrer and Myra Hess among his pupils, criticised teachers of the time for not understanding the true nature of rubato and instead instructing their students to play "meaningless *ritardandos* and *accelerandos,* in place of the required musically-helpful and true Rubatos."[261] Accordingly, Matthay presents two forms of rubato: the leaning rubato and push-on rubato, both of which are orientated around the pulse of the piece. He later explains it with a straight line (representing the pulse of the piece) from which ritardando and accelerando take

[257] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* p. 145.
[258] Carl Phillip Emanuel Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments,* pp. 160-161.
[259] Türk, *School of Clavier Playing*, pp. 363-364, 359 and 363.
[260] Christiani, *The Principles of Expression*, p. 299.
[261] Tobias Matthay, *Musical Interpretation: Its Laws and Principles, and Their Application in Teaching and Performing* (London: Joseph Williams, 1913), pp. 60-106.

place in equal intervals. In this way, Matthay associates tempo rubato with tempo modification, suggesting that with slight changes in tempo you have to "pay back" what you "borrowed" to maintain the general tempo of the composition.[262] This advice is not without criticism, however. Paderewski, for example, disagreed with the notion of paying back or borrowing: "The simplest form of Tempo Rubato is obtained by a ritenuto or a ritardando which, as everyone knows, serve to increase the value of respective notes. Where there is increase there can have been no robbery. Addition cannot be called subtraction."[263]

John McEwen, principal of the Royal Academy of Music from 1924 to 1936, observed in 1912: "in Tempo Rubato the modifications of the rhythmic movement are realised as alternations in the proportions of the component elements of the rhythmic vibration. […] Rubato is really the substitution of two unequal oscillations for the two equal oscillations of the normal vibration. But these need to complement each other in such a way that their sum – the complete rubato vibration – equals the complete normal vibration."[264] In 1928, the same author published a book on rubato playing, based on research into Duo-Art piano rolls. By measuring the distance between perforations on the rolls, and quantifying the lengths of notes played, McEwen argued that no evidence exists to suggest that pianists pay back borrowed time. In the context of rubato, therefore, he makes connections with Tosi, Dannreuther, Ch. Ph. E. Bach and Franklin Taylor. He also refers to Chopin's rubato as a technique where the singing-hand deviates and the accompaniment keeps time,[265] a description aligned with Mikuli's explanation of a singing hand's freedom and an accompanying hand's strict adherence to time.[266]

A number of early twentieth-century authors acknowledge two different types of tempo rubato. For example, Mania Seguel, a celebrated pianist whose work was praised in *The Sunday Times, Morning Post* and *The Era*, identifies

[262] Robert Phillip, "1900 – 1940", *Performance Practice Music after 1600,* p. 472.
[263] Henry T. Finck, *Chopin and Other Musical Essays* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1889), p. 457.
[264] John B. McEwen, *The Thought in Music* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1912), p. 38.
[265] John B. McEwen, *Tempo Rubato or Time-Variation in Musical Performance* (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 10.
[266] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin*, Vol. II, p. 102.

two types in respect of Chopin's music. The first type occurs where both hands simultaneously hurry up or slow down. The second type, where one hand plays freely and the second plays in strict time, is referred to as "the other kind of *Rubato* – which has been shelved too long."[267] Unlike Seguel, who stressed the importance of metric rubato, J. Alfred Johnstone provided detailed guidance on tempo flexibility and acknowledged another manifestation of tempo rubato that is: "[...] of no slight importance. While the range of its usefulness is smaller, the capriciousness of its application makes it difficult to offer very clear guidance upon the subject."[268] According to Charles Pearce, tempo rubato is a modern device not to be used in music before Weber. Pearce notes that Mendelssohn and Beethoven objected to it, before suggesting that all notes should come together on the downbeat of each bar, exactly as printed in the music.[269]

As we may observe from the views outlined above differences between metric rubato and tempo flexibility were acknowledged by some authors, but referred to as a single type by others. It remains certain, though, that both existed centuries before being included in written texts and, above all, were a product of musical interpretations related to the performance traditions of their respective eras. With this historical context in mind, we shall now turn our attention to Chopin's playing, in order to understand his use of metrical rubato and tempo modifications.

3.4 Chopin's Playing, Metrical Rubato and Tempo Modifications

Testimonies to Chopin's treatment of rhythm offer varied perspectives. Some writers suggest that he pushed rhythmic freedoms too far,[270] while others identify strictness in his use of tempo. Mikuli, for example, explains:

> In keeping time Chopin was *inexorable*, and some readers will be surprised to learn that the metronome never left his piano. Even in his much maligned tempo rubato, the hand responsible for

[267] Mania Seguel, *Chopin's Tempo Rubato* (Accrington: The Old Parsonage Press, 1928), p. 5.
[268] J. Alfred Johnstone, *The Art of Teaching Pianoforte Playing, A Systematised Selection of Practical Suggestions for Young Teachers and Students* (London: WM. Reeves, 1912), p. 113.
[269] Charles W. Pearce, *The Art of Piano-Teacher* (London: Winthorp Rogers, 1920), p. 290-291.
[270] Henry T. Finck, *Success in Music and How it is Won* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), p. 270.

> accompaniment would keep strict time, while the other hand, singing melody, would be free of essence of the musical thought from all rhythmic fetters, either by lingering hesitantly or by eagerly anticipating the movement with a certain impatient vehemence akin to passionate speech.[271]

Mikuli's description aligns with Taylor's suggestion that "any independent accompaniment to a rubato phrase must always keep strict time."[272] This view is further supported by Karasowski:

> He would keep the bass quiet and steady, while the right hand moved in free *tempo,* sometimes with the left hand, and sometimes quite independently, as, for example, when it plays quavers, trills, or those magic, rhythmical runs and *fioritures* peculiar to Chopin. "The left hand," he used to say, "should be like a bandmaster, and never for a moment become unsteady or falter."[273]

There is evidence to suggest that Chopin's contemporaries taught their students to perform his pieces using metrical rubato. Alkan's student, Alexandre de Bertha, noted: "[Alkan] would repeat again and again Chopin's own axiom that the left hand must act as a conductor, regulating and tempering any involuntary inflictions [sic] of the right hand."[274] Madame Dubois told Niecks that Chopin advised his students to: "let your left hand be your conductor and always keep time."[275] This is further supported by recollections from Madame Peruzzi, who explains that: "he got very angry at being accused of not keeping time; calling his left hand his *maître de chapelle* and allowing his right to wander about *ad libitum*."[276] Kleczyński compared Chopin with Paganini who, when playing with an orchestra, wanted the other instrumentalists to: "observe the time, whilst [he] himself departed from it."[277] In similar fashion, Lenz suggested that Chopin viewed his left hand as a conductor and encouraged his

[271] Carl Mikuli, *Vorwort* to his edition of Chopin's compositions (Leipzig, 1880). Cited in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 49.
[272] Taylor, *Technique and Expression in Pianoforte Playing,* p. 73.
[273] Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin,* p. 321.
[274] Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing,* p. 36.
[275] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin,* Vol. II, p.102.
[276] Ibid., p. 339.
[277] Jan Kleczyński, *0 wykonywaniu duel Szopena* (Warsaw, 1879); trans. A. Whittingham as *How to Play Chopin: The Works of Frederic Chopin and their Proper Interpretation,* 4th edn. (London, 1882), p. 57.

students to do with their right hand what they wanted.[278] Mathias also explained that Chopin: "often required simultaneously that the left hand, playing the accompaniment, should remain in 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."[279] This view is echoed at the end of the century by Henry Finck in *Chopin and Other Musical Essays* (1894):

> […] it is generally supposed that the peculiarity of Chopin's style consisted simply in this, that he prolonged certain notes in a bar at the expense of the others – robbing from one what he gave to his neighbour. But this is a very inadequate conception of the term. Chopin's rubato means much more than this. It includes, to a large extent, the frequent unexpected changes of time and rhythm, together with the ritardandos and accelerandos.[280]

Beyond providing evidence of Chopin's use of metrical rubato, the various testimonials and written texts leave much to the imagination; it is difficult, if not impossible, to grasp the extent, depth and frequency of Chopin's use of such a device in his own performance. This problem is compounded by the lack of consistency amongst the various testimonials which, as shown above, offer a mixed account of Chopin's practice. Furthermore, one might argue that certain habits, techniques and styles, which were normalised through the contemporary practice of their time, would be unlikely to occupy a prominent position in written texts, precisely because of their normality; it is, as Clarke has pointed out, the social embeddedness of music that conflates its nature and function.[281] Evidence specifically related to Chopin supports this idea. For example, when McEwan considers the piano rolls of Pachmann there is no mention of dislocations or non-synchrony between the left and right hands.

[278] Wilhelm von Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos of Our Time: Liszt, Chopin, Tausig, Henselt*, trans. M. Baker (New York: 1899), p. 54.
[279] Preface to Isidor Philipp's *Exercises quotidiens tirés des oeuvres de Chopin* (Paros: J. Hamelle, 1897). Cited in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* pp. 49-50; as well as: Hudson, *Stolen Time,* p. 194.
[280] Finck, *Chopin and Other Musical Essays,* p. 39.
[281] Eric Clarke, "Listening to Performance", *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding,* p. 186.

While this might seem surprising from a contemporary perspective, it was presumably taken for granted that such dislocations would occur, perhaps explaining McEwan's lack of discussion of them.[282]

Fortunately, written evidence can be supported, and indeed augmented, by reference to a number of early sound recordings, which clearly show that metrical rubato was common-place in performance, offering unique insights into the ways in which it was applied. For example, the use of metrical rubato is evident in the Leschetizky's piano roll of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 (1906) where small-scale alterations involve the shortening and lengthening of rhythmic values of melodic notes, sometimes to the extent of a full quaver. Leschetizky's student, Powell, uses the same techniques in his piano roll of the same piece (1929).[283] However, he also occasionally changes the rhythm of the accompaniment at the same time by playing dotted rhythms in the left hand. Saint-Saëns' piano roll of Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 (1905)[284] features small-scale alterations in almost every bar, by rhythmically altering the notes of the melody, making triplets out of duplets, or doubling the length of the notes. In effect, Saint-Saëns creates dotted rhythms by lengthening the penultimate notes in various bars. The same practice is also heard, for example, in Pugno's acoustic recording of the third movement of the Sonata Op. 35 (1903) and Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 (1903), Pachmann's piano roll (1905), acoustic (1916) and electric recording (1924) of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 and recording of Op. 63 No. 3 (1927), La Forge's recording of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 (1912), Paderewski's acoustic recording of Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1 (1917) and electric recording of Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 (1930), as well d'Albert's acoustic recording of Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2.[285]

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[282] This is also pointed out in: Philip, *Early Recordings and musical style*, p. 47.

[283] Theodore Leschetizky, Welte-Mignon Piano Roll 1194 (1906), transfer Denis Hall (2009); John Powell, Duo-Art Piano Roll 091 (1929), transfer by Denis Hall (2009)

[284] Camille Saint-Saëns, Welte-Mignon Piano Roll 897 (1905), transfer by Dennis Hall (2008)

[285] Raoul Pugno, G & T 2511 (1903), transfer OPAL CD 9836 (1989); Vladimir de Pachmann, Welte-Mignon Piano Roll 1218 (1906), transfer Denis Hall (2013); Vladimir de Pachmann, Columbia L1124 (1916), transfer OPAL CD 9840 (1989); Vladimir de Pachmann, Cc 6253-1 HMV DB 860 (1925), transfer Arbiter 129 (2001); Vladimir de Pachmann, Cc 11762-1 HMV (1927), transfer Arbiter 141 (2007); Frank La Forge, Victor Special 55112-B (1912), transfer OPAL CD 9839 (1988); Ignacy Jan Paderewski, 331AI (1911), transfer APR 6006 (2008); Ignacy Jan Paderewski, CVE 64343 (1930), transfer GEMM CD 9397 (1990); Eugen d'Albert,

In general, early twentieth-century pianists tended to make small-scale alterations throughout, including: "modification of equal-value notes to different notes of equal value, modification of unequal-value notes to equal-value notes, tripletizing of figures that were originally equal-valued or dotted, creation of dotted figures from equal-value notes, overdotting of the certain notes, commencement of trills before their notated position."[286] Large-scale alterations comprising changes to and displacements of melodic material, are witnessed in the aforementioned Leschetizky piano roll from 1905 (Op. 27 No. 2), where the melodic material differs from what is found in his own edition of the piece. Pachmann also makes alterations in all three recordings of Op. 27 no. 2, albeit in various different ways, as will be explained in Chapter 4. Saint-Saëns' changes to the melodic line of Op. 15 No. 2 in his 1905 piano roll comprise additional grace notes.

Text alterations heard in recordings were criticised in the mid-twentieth century, reflecting a very different theoretical and practical tradition. For example, Hedley observed that pianists: "did not hesitate to lay on heavy octaves and thickened chords, together with an abundance of extra harmonies and uncalled-for counterpoints ('More nice, more melodious, you know', as Pachmann cheerfully explained.)"[287] Continuing in the same tone, Hedley stated that Chopin had "a horror of what later became a trade-mark with many pianists: the 'splitting' of the hand whereby a fake intensity or heart-throb was produced by delaying a melody note until the left hand had pronounced its corresponding bass note. And he was equally severe on those who did not play the notes of his chord simultaneously (except where he had expressly indicated the arpeggio."[288] In addition, Hedley explained that Chopin's "fanciful but discreet rubato [is] now staggered along under a weight of distorted rhythm and cheap 'effects'."[289] This mention of "effects" may reference both dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation; curiously the negative view of them continues to the present day with dislocations representing "clumsiness" and a lack of synchronisation, which

Grammophon 1120m-45578 1916), transfer PL 250 (1997).
[286] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* p. 220.
[287] Hedley, *Chopin,* p. 17.
[288] Ibid., p. 21.
[289] Ibid., p. 16.

may be attributable to old age or simply to displaying an old-fashioned sloppiness.[290]

The above criticisms cannot pass without comment; dislocation was usually applied as an expressive effect that intentionally offers a non-synchronisation of the left and right hand. Examples of pianists employing both techniques are numerous, albeit with differing patterns of use. According to Philip, the pianists Rosenthal, Friedman, Hambourg, Moiseiwitsch and Rachmaninoff used dislocation subtly, while others such as Pachmann, Paderewski, Davies and Lamond did so in a more pronounced way.[291] In addition to the aforementioned recordings, dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation can be heard in, for example, Koczalski's recording of the first Ballade (1938); Paderewski's recordings of Mazurka Op. 63 No. 3 (1911 and 1930) and Nocturne Op. 15 No. 1; Rosenthal's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 (1934); and Pachmann's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2.[292] Unnotated arpeggiation features in Leschetizky's piano roll of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 and in Pugno's piano rolls of Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 and Valse Op. 34 No. 1 (1903).[293] The pronounced use of dislocation, though, is still disputed in musicological circles. For example, Rosen in his *Piano Notes* states that:

> […] the claim sometimes made that all pianists in the first quarter of the twentieth century played consistently with this sort of *rubato* and continuously delayed the melody notes in the right hand is manifestly untrue, as any extensive listening to old recordings will show. It was not systematically but sparingly employed by the finest artists. There were indeed a few pianists who abused the device, in particular Paderewski […] Harold Bauer. […] Other pianists used it more sparingly and that economy certainly corresponds to the older tradition in which the *rubato* added expression either to contrasting

[290] Robert Philip, "Pianists on record in the early twentieth century", *The Cambridge Companion to Piano,* p. 87; James Methuen-Campbell, "Chopin in performance", *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin,* p. 201.
[291] Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, p.131
[292] Koczalski, Deutche Grammophon/Polydor 1302-2 GS9 and 1303-2 GS9, 67528 (1939), transfer Marston 52063-2 (2010); Paderewski, HMV DB 1763 (1930), transfer Pearl GEMM 196 (1981); Moriz Rosenthal, Victor 14297 (1934), transfer Naxos 8.558107-10 (2006); Pachmann, Columbia L1014 (1915), transfer OPAL CD 9840 (1989). For more examples, see: Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, pp. 72-89
[293] Leschetizky, Welte-Mignon Piano Roll 1194; Pugno, G & T 2511; Pugno, G & T 2037-F1 (1903), transfer OPAL CD 9836 (1989)

or to a recurring texture.[294]

Extensive listening to early sound recordings serves to counter Rosen's claims, as shown *inter alia* in the research of Peres Da Costa, Philip, Day, Brown, Methuen-Campbell and Milsom. Such recordings reveal practices that written texts of the same era cannot; written evidence, when approached from a twenty-first century perspective, challenges the reader to imagine what the music sounded like, whereas recordings preserve and present aspects of performance practice in considerable detail.

It is important to remember that studying early recordings, like other forms of evidence, requires a careful critical approach since a number of factors potentially have an impact on their reliability. For example, we must consider: the context and circumstances in which a recording was made; the role and function of the recording medium; the qualitative effect of reproduction upon the recorded materials; the degree of seriousness with which the performer regarded the act of recording; and judicious editing that may have been undertaken when producing recordings. Primary among these various considerations, however, is the inescapable fact that an individual recording preserves the practice of an individual performer, or group of performers, at a specific point in time. This opens up the possibility of extreme individualisation of the resulting musical materials, to the point that one may reasonably question the efficacy of their use in the context of musicological research. The same could, of course, apply to written texts, which are likely to preserve the perspectives, preoccupations and aesthetic concerns of individual authors. For this reason, early recordings may, like their written counterparts, be used and understood in combination with other forms of evidence, including other recordings, to build up a comprehensive picture of the environment and context of their production, allowing for the identification of sources that substantially deviate from the established norm. In addition, to regard an early recording as an autonomous product of an individual performer is to overlook, or otherwise ignore, the socially and culturally embedded nature of music as practice; early

[294] Charles Rosen, *Piano Notes: The World of the Pianist* (New York: Free Press, 2004), p. 191.

recordings do not merely showcase individual performers, but capture those technical and stylistic norms that would have been common to whole communities of practice.

There is, of course, another issue that may be raised in relation to these recordings and their relevance to the current thesis; none features the playing of Chopin himself. Rather, the pianists preserved on the first sound recordings are a generation removed from Chopin. A number of leading pianists born between 1810 and 1820 promoted his music, including Liszt (who taught Leschetizky, Moriz Rosenthal, Emil von Sauer, Arthur de Greef, Eugen d'Albert, José Vianna da Motta, Sophie Menter, Anna Mehling, Bernard Stavenhagen), Alkan, Thalberg, Hallé, Anna Caroline de Belleville-Oury, Clara Schumann (who taught Franklin Taylor, Natalie Janotha, Carl Friedberg), von Bülow (who taught da Motta), Anton Rubinstein (who taught Zofia Rabcewicz, Josef Hofmann) von Henselt, Henri Herz and Marie Pleyel. Some of these pianists were directly connected to England, such as von Henselt and Belleville-Oury who performed there in 1867 and 1830 respectively. The first pianists to produce recordings were therefore directly linked to Chopin's students, or to pianists from his professional circles. Chopin's students who taught early-recording pianists were Princess Czartoryska (Natalia Janotha, Sigismund Stojowski and Ignacy Paderewski), Georges Mathias (Teresa Careño, Raoul Pugno, Ernest Schelling, James Huneker and Isidor Phillip), Karol Mikuli (Rosenthal, Aleksandar Michałowski, Raoul Koczalski) and Émile Decombes (Alfred Cortot, André Benoist, Edouard Risler). There are also recordings from Francis Planté, who played in a trio with Auguste Franchomme, and was the earliest-born pianist to record Chopin's music.[295] Among these early performers to record Chopin's music, a number studied with Liszt and Leschetizky. The latter (who was taught by both Liszt and Czerny himself) left twelve piano roll recordings[296] and taught, amongst others, Ignacy Paderewski, Ignacy Friedman, Mark Hambourg, Benno Moiseiwitsch, Arthur Schnabel and Fannie Bloomfield-Zeisler.

These pianists, of course, play in various different ways; at the turn of

[295] Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing,* p. 71.
[296] See: *Welte Piano Roll Catalog, Also Contains Welte-Mignon Piano Roll Listings,* ed. Albert M. Petrak (The Reproducing Piano Roll Foundation, 1998)

the twentieth century distinctions arise between national schools that are as pronounced as those between national receptions of Chopin's music, since both are a product of their social and cultural environments. Nevertheless, one may identify similar underlying approaches to rhythm in recordings of all the above-mentioned pianists and, as a result, it seems reasonable to assume that evidence of Chopin's students' teaching will emerge in the playing of his 'grandstudents'. Among Mikuli's students, only Koczalski described in writing "all the care for authenticity with which Chopin's works must be approached. Here there is no camouflage, no cheap *rubato* and no languishing or useless contortions."[297] Comparing pianists, such as Koczalski and Pugno, is invariably demanding; despite being 'grandstudents' of Chopin, they had different teachers, and their recordings do not offer a simple pattern of influences. However, we can note in the present context that the different approaches to both technique and interpretation are one of the many indicators of a lack of uniformity in Chopin's own playing and teaching. More important, the various pianists captured on these early recordings inevitably carry playing traits of their teachers, thus providing the most tangible link to an age in which sound recording was not yet available.

The issues, challenges and possibilities of using recordings in musicological research will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4. For the time-being, we shall assume that recordings, as a primary source of evidence, present an image of how a performer performed, and that this, considered alongside other sources of evidence, helps to build up a picture of the entire musical culture and environment in which the recordings were created. Moreover, in the case of tempo fluctuations, early recordings show the extent to which written texts cannot, and often do not, present and preserve features of metrical rubato.

3.5 Tempo Modifications in Chopin's Playing in Relation to Early Sound Recordings

Some sources present Chopin's rubato as a delicate use of ritardando and accelerando, including Moscheles who noticed that Chopin's "*rubato*, which,

[297] Methuen-Campbell, "Chopin in performance", p. 195.

with his other interpreters, degenerates into disregard of time, is with him only a charming originality of manner."[298] This is similar to Walter Macfarren's observations after a concert at the Sartoris house:

> Some people entertain the notion that Chopin's music must be always played out of time, whereas nothing is farther from the truth, for in his interpretation of his own music, the subtle distinctions between *rallentando* and *accelerando* were so delicately managed that you never lost the sense of time or rhythm.[299]

Chorley, after the same concert, wrote that Chopin: "makes a free use of *tempo rubato*; leaning about within his bars more than any player we recollect, but still subject to presiding sentiment of measure such as presently habituates the ear to liberties taken."[300] Charles Salman**,** who heard Chopin play in London in 1848, reflects: "In spite of all I had heard of Chopin's tempo rubato, I still recollect noting how precise he was in the matter of time, accent, and rhythm, even when playing most passionately, fancifully, and rhapsodically."[301] Friederike Streicher, one of Chopin's students, noted similarly that he: "required adherence to the strictest rhythms, hated all lingering and dragging, misplaced *rubatos,* as well as exaggerated *ritardandos."*[302] Advice from Kleczyński has a comparable tone: "do not play with short phrases; that is to say, do not keep continually suspending the movement and lowering the tone on too short members of the thought."[303] Beyond these sources, there are numerous descriptions of Chopin's rubato playing so poetic that they do not ultimately tell us much about his style of playing, such as Liszt's comparing it to "the corn in a field swayed by the soft pressure of a warm air, like the top of trees bent hither and thither by a keen breeze."[304] Authors such as Hedley, Finck and von Bülow suggested that the recollections of Chopin's students could not be trusted, on the grounds that they were bad musicians. According to Finck: "a lamentable amount of confusion has been caused by the preposterous 'tradition' that in playing Chopin the left hand

[298] W. H. Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music. Second series: Frederick Chopin, Antonin Dvořàk, Johannes Brahms* (London: Seely and Co. Limited, 1895), p. 164.
[299] Macfarren, *Memories,* p. 59.
[300] Chorley, *The Athenaeum,* 1079 (1 July 1848), p. 660.
[301] Cited in: Hudson, *Stolen Time,* p. 178.
[302] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 341.
[303] Cited in: Hudson, *Stolen Time*, p. 178.
[304] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 101.

must always play in strict time."[305]

The 'tradition' mentioned above may be clearly observed through early recordings, such as Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, which have been subjected to detailed evaluation by Peres Da Costa. Tempo differences in recordings by Diemer (1903/4), Leschetizky (1906), La Forge (1912), Pachmann (1925), Godowski (1928), Powell (1929) and Rosenthal (1936) among others, calculated through percentage changes, show some of considerable liberties taken by musicians. Between bars 7 and 8, for instance, Diemer changed 40%, Leschetizky 42%, La Forge 62% and Pachmann 44%. In marked contrast Godowski's and Barenboim's recordings from 1982 change only 2%, for example.[306] Peres Da Costa's research highlighted the range of tempo changes found in early recordings. These were subsequently compared to recordings made towards the end of the twentieth century. A different research method was employed by Philip, who compared recordings of the first movement of Chopin's Piano Sonata No. 3 by Grainger (1925) and Cortot (1933), which reveal significant changes between bars 1, 31 and 41. The *Allegro maestoso* marked at the beginning can be heard to apply throughout the movement, but Grainger changes from crotchet equals 108, to 124 in bar 31, and to 72 in bar 41. Cortot's changes are even more drastic, going from crotchet equals 108 in bar 1, to 148 in bar 31 and then to c.84 in bar 41.[307] Barcarolle, Op. 60 recorded by Rubinstein in 1928 follows a similar pattern, from dotted crotchet equals 60 at the beginning, reaching 78 in bar 39. Pugno plays with extensive tempo fluctuations in his recordings of the Berceuse (1904). Friedman, Hambourg and Moiseiwitsch share subtle approaches to rubato and rhythmic dislocation of chords. Pianists who recorded the same piece more than once, with years separating recordings, testify to changes in performance styles. For example Rubinstein's recording of Barcarolle, Op. 60 from 1928 shows more tempo fluctuations than the one from 1962. Paderewski's recordings made between 1911 and 1930 often make tempo modifications not notated in the score. Finck identifies the natural and unconscious irregularity of movement in Paderewski

[305] Henry T. Finck, *Success in Music and How it is Won*, p. 271.
[306] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* pp. 252- 262.
[307] Philip, *Early recordings,* p. 19.

recordings: "one might easily suppose he was playing in strict time."[308]

Interpretational traditions change in tandem with cultural and historical development and, as a result, make it impossible to form an objective view of historical playing. Even so, early twentieth-century recorded performances show volatile tempo modifications, as flexibility was applied not just to the overall tempo of the piece, but also to the shaping of phrases and relationships between individual notes. Comparing recordings with scores shows that most tempo modifications were not notated. The pianists of the era often over-dot dotted rhythms, or prolong various notes, including trills; they also tended to group semiquavers into large units, and increase the tempo when crescendo is notated or slow down when asked to diminuendo.

3.6 The Vocal Ideal: bel canto and its influence on tempo rubato, small small-scale alterations and expressive techniques

The entry on Chopin from *Black's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* states that he played with poetic fervour and delicacy, and developed a style of piano technique in which "everything must be made to sing" instead of aiming chiefly at orchestral effect.[309] As has often been discussed, bel canto influenced Chopin's compositional style as well as his pianism. From Schumann onwards[310] it has been conventional to associate Chopin's cantilena writing with his admiration of early nineteenth-century opera. Composition and interpretation are therefore mutually dependent, with the result that vocal ornaments are identified in Chopin's compositions, as portamento and fioriture, as are effects such as cercar la nota and appogiaturas.

Examples of playing modelled on singing are numerous, and are often connected to tempo rubato. For example, according to Christiani: "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."[311] Identified as a means of expressing passion, rubato in Türk's

[308] Finck, *Success in music*, p. 270.
[309] *Blacks dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 116.
[310] Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* p. 81.
[311] Philip, *Early recordings,* p. 43.

view is an aspect of interpretation that cannot be taught. We should listen to the best singers[312] because: "in general […] that instrumentalist plays best who comes closest to the singing voice or who knows how to bring out a beautiful singing tone."[313]

Besides the connection with bel canto, the similarity between Chopin's cantilena and that of composers from earlier centuries is often noted. The compositional influences of Hummel, Field, Cramer, Clementi, Dussek and Weber are prominent in his compositions (especially in his early *style brillante*): according to Karasowski "[he] was very clever in turning to account all the embellishments and *fioritures* characteristic of the old Italian style of vocal music."[314] Chopin's compositional style and lyrical pianism can be seen as a product of two different influences, the first originating from Clementi, Dussek and Field, and the second coming from the bel canto vocal performance style of the time. These stimuli engage with each other, creating a synergy that is not always easy to decipher. Furthermore, the interaction between stimuli has a historical dimension: from the mid eighteenth century onwards composers seem to have been inspired by bel canto. In broad stylistic terms, then, connections between Chopin's ornamental melody and the coloratura aria of Italian opera are not surprising,[315] and modelling piano playing after singing was certainly not a new occurrence.

The connection between playing and singing can be viewed as a continuation of the relationship between playing and speaking. As Chopin wrote in his *Sketch for a Method*: "we use sounds to make music just as we use words to make a language."[316] Once again, Kleczyński confirms Chopin's position, explaining that: "all the theory of the style which Chopin taught to his pupils rested on the analogy between music and language."[317] Again, this was not new, as the use of singing and speech as models for performance was common not only during the nineteenth century, but much earlier as well through the works

[312] Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 10.
[313] Hudson, *Stolen Time,* p. 126.
[314] Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin,* p. 394.
[315] Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* p. 81.
[316] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 195.
[317] Ibid., p. 42.

of Antique and Cicero, Aristotle and Quintilian, where "a piece of music was considered an artistic form of speech, presented according to the orator's art of rhetoric."[318]

3.7 Bel canto in Chopin's Pianism

As with the discussion of rhythmical flexibilities, the influence of bel canto in Chopin's pianism may be gleaned from both written evidence and early recordings. In the context of written evidence, for example, Karasowski states that "The best way to attain naturalness in performance, in Chopin's view, was to listen frequently to Italian singers [..]. He always held up as an example to pianists their broad and simple style, the ease with which they used their voices and the remarkable sustaining powers which this ease gave them."[319] Elsewhere, Eigeldinger provided a list of singers who particularly impressed Chopin, including Mme Cinti-Damoreau, Giulia Grisi, la Malibran, la Pasta among the *prima donnas* and Lablache, Nourrit, Rubini and Tamburini among the men. Chopin mentioned these singers a number of times in his letters where he expressed a deep fascination for their style of singing and the quality of their voices; he also considered Rubini's singing a model for pianistic declamation.[320] Laure Cinti-Damoreau left examples of metrical rubato (namely small-scale alterations) in the *Méthode de chant, composée pur ses classes du Conservatoire* (1849). Addressing the style of Pasta, Grisi, Alboni, Rubini, Tamburini, Mario, Lablache and Tamberlik, Dannreuther writes:

> The cantilena of these great singers was somewhat slower in *tempo* than we are now accustomed to. Not three times slower, as Mr. Ruskin asserts, which would be absurd and impossible, but perceptibly slower. They sang long phrases with full tone in a single breath, and their crescendos and diminuendos were purposely long-drawn and carefully graduated. The turn, in Bellini's cantilena, both andantino and largo, was sung in a very broad way, so that its notes formed part of the principal phrase just as it is now to be found written out and incorporated in Wagner's Tristan. The ornamental notes, resembling a turn at the end of a long breath, were always

[318] Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music: An Introduction,* p. 29.
[319] Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 93. Cited in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher*, p. 44.
[320] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 111.

given piano, diminuendo, leggiero, as in Chopin.[321]

From Karasowski, we learn that Chopin: "[...] loved to find in piano playing what we understand by *portamento* in singing." On this subject, Kleczyński also wrote: "Chopin's advice was, that this theory [of musical declamation] should be grounded upon the rules which guide vocalists, and that it should be perfected by hearing good singers." Some evidence, not directly connected to British audiences, supports these statements. For example, according to Emilie Gretsch: "his playing is entirely based on the vocal style of Rubini, Malibran and Grisi, etc.; he says so himself. But it's a purely pianistic 'voice' that he uses to recreate the particular style of each of these artists, while they have other means at their disposal." Lenz also explains that: "[...] one should follow the school of singing of Pasta to learn about the style of performing Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2."[322] In a similar vein, Moscheles compares Chopin's playing to the art of singing:

> Chopin has just been playing to me, and for the first time I understand his music. The *rubato*, which with his other interpreters, degenerates into disregard of time, is with him only charming originality of manner; the harsh modulations which strike me disagreeably when I am playing his compositions no longer shock me, because he glides over them in a fairy-like way with his delicate fingers; his *piano* is so soft that he does not need any strong *forte* to produce his contrasts, and for this reason one does not miss the orchestral effects which the German School requires from a pianoforte player, but allows one's self to be carried away as but a singer, who, unconcerned about the accompaniment, entirely follows his emotions.[323]

This important description connects bel canto singing technique with tempo rubato. In consequence, we can recognise the two as intertwined in performance, since declamation is most pronounced with rhythmic freedom for the melodic line. When applying a singing style to piano playing, the first and the most obvious point of inspiration is legato technique. Most of the testimonies about Chopin's playing mention his legato performance, especially in cantabile

[321] Dannreuther, *Musical Ornamentation,* Vol. II, p.141.
[322] Cited and discussed in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* pp. 44-45, 110-114.
[323] Hipkins, *How Chopin Played*, p. 12.

sections. Legato is one of the most discussed touches in piano technique, as it is hard to achieve. It is also the one touch repeatedly described with musical symbolism and metaphor, often without a physical explanation to instruct the pianist in the method of production. Bel canto technique is generally equated with the production of an even tone through all the registers of the voice together with legato phrasing which depends on sophisticated breath control. A similar technique is described by Karasowski, who notes that Chopin "advised his students not to fragment the musical idea, but rather to carry it to the listener in one long breath."[324] Breath control was crucial for achieving long legato phrases and "in order to increase the effect of a phrase, it is allowable to unite its different parts by suppressing pauses which separate them."[325] Furthermore, in order to make tempo rubato perceptible, the singer should perform freely while the tempo of the accompaniment is sustained.[326]

Fanny Erskine noted that at their second meeting Chopin was particularly interested to hear about Manuel Garcia.[327] Chopin's interest in Garcia is not surprising; Garcia was a famous singing teacher, whose sisters were the celebrated vocalists Maria Malibran and Pauline Viardot. Garcia taught at the Paris Conservatoire until 1848 and later moved to London where he taught at the Royal Academy of Music from 1848 to 1895. His father was the famous Spanish tenor, Manuel del Populo Vicente Rodrigez Garcia (1775 – 1832), for whom Rossini wrote the part of Almaviva in *The Barber of Seville.* It is clear, from Chopin's letters, that he held Malibran in high esteem and appreciated Pauline Viardot both as a singer and a pianist. Garcia's written work is of considerable importance as it describes in detail nineteenth-century tempo rubato and bel canto. The results of his teaching can be heard in a recording of Peter Schram from 1889.[328]

A similar attitude is witnessed in writings about violin playing. Bel canto technique had a widespread influence on the violin schools of the nineteenth

[324] Karasowski, *Frederic Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 94. Cited in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 44.
[325] Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 155.
[326] Philip, *Early recordings,* p. 222.
[327] Samson, *Chopin*, p. 251.
[328] Peter Schram, Ruben's Collection, cylinder no. 10. Transfer on: www.europeanasounds.eu

century, both Franco-Belgian and German. Despite their polarised approaches, these two schools both prided themselves on the use of *bel canto* style. Joachim's and Moser's *Violonschule* (1905) explains that the German school was based on the *bel canto* tradition.[329] *Bel canto* traits are described similarly in violin and piano treatises, most obviously in long phrasing, and the use of *legato* and *portamento*. In his *Méthode* (1858) Charles de Bériot compared violin playing with singing on numerous occasions, emphasising that: "lyrical declamation and singing teach us how to deliver melody. These vocal studies are great helps to the violinist, whose bow should render the accents of the soul."[330] Kleczyński also describes connections between instrumental and vocal approaches: "that noble roundness of tone which the singer acquires by soft breathing through the throat, the violinist by skilfully gentle pressure of the bow, is reached by the pianist through a pressure of the fingers which is soft and not forced; and in the case of a stronger note, through the elasticity of the arm, as distinguished from violence or heaviness."[331]

It is hardly surprising that bel canto style affected nineteenth-century instrumental playing, on account of the fact that instrumentalists had also been taught to imitate good singers in earlier times. Furthermore, bel canto techniques were conveyed through approaches that were specific to instrumental playing. Curiously, bel canto style was mostly discussed in terms of compositional technique; as such, the influence of bel canto on "late eighteenth and early nineteenth century keyboard cantilena was so widespread that Chopin's response was certainly mediated through earlier piano music."[332] It is exceptional to find detailed information about its influence on interpretation, aside from conventional descriptions of long legato lines and the singing quality of sounds. Free use of agogic accents can be heard, for example, in repetitive rhythmic motives in Cortot's recording of Etude Op. 10 No. 12 (1930), which either prolong semiquavers or dotted quavers. Paderewski also uses many agogic

[329] David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance; an examination of style in performance 1850-1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2003), p. 25.
[330] Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice,* p. 161.
[331] Jan Kleczyński, *Chopin's greater works: (preludes, ballads, nocturnes, polonaises, mazurkas); how they should be understood. Translated with additions by Natalie Janotha* (London: William Reeves, 1896), pp. 19-20.
[332] Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* p. 81.

accents in his recording of the Mazurka Op. 63 No. 3, where rhythms vary subtly throughout the piece, including in pairs of quavers with unequal lengths and dislocations.

Strong connections apparently exist between nineteenth-century bel canto piano technique and characteristics associated with clavichord playing (touch and legato) from the eighteenth century. This was noted by Eigeldinger, who traced the influence of vocal ideals in instrumental playing back to J. S. Bach and Telemann, followed later in the eighteenth century by Türk, Hummel, Mozart and Clementi. As Edith J. Hipkins explains in *How Chopin played: From Contemporary Collections Collected from the Diaries and the Notebooks of the late A. J. Hipkins* (1937):

> It seems evident that, although Chopin's music founded a new school of piano-playing, the playing of Chopin himself was inherited from tradition and belonged to older style. There is no evidence that he ever played the clavichord, but it is beyond dispute that all the characteristics of his playing were those of the clavichord player, and he must have had some knowledge of this expressive instrument, once so common in the world of music. The clavichord touch, the most difficult of any to acquire, would naturally have been transferred to the piano and doubtless formed the foundation of the exquisite *legato* possessed by Chopin and the earlier masters. Certain characteristics of it are mentioned by C.P.E. Bach. *Abzug* (the sliding finger for soft effects); *Tragen der Töne* (emphasized *legato*); and *Bebung* (a vibrato). Dannreuther in his *Ornamentation* says that *Bebung* is possible on the piano if the note is gently reiterated. This must have been still more the case on the early Viennese square piano. Field uses *Bebung* in his nocturnes and Chopin in his early mazurkas, showing that the clavichord tradition then still existed.[333]

Chopin's *Bebung* was described in detail by John Petrie Dunn, a student of Friedrich Niecks, in his *Ornamentation in the works of Frederick Chopin*:

> […] the "Bebung" of C.P.E. Bach […] consists of the expressive *legatissimo* reiteration of one note (generally *cresc.* or *dim.*) Chopin indicates it by a slur [the final two bars of the Etude Op.25 No.2 are given as an example]. If possible, the finger should hold the key slightly below its high level in order to soften the blow of the hammer by shortening its journey; the tone resulting from this -

[333] Hipkins, *How Chopin Played,* p. 12.

> subdued, almost stifled - being admirably adapted to clavichord-like repercussions or echoes. It is, however, but fair to say that one seldom has time to avail oneself of this delicate style of touch. Chopin employs the Bebung fairly often, - generally for a few notes only at time; he always draws attention to it by slurring the repeated notes.[334]

Pearce describes *Bebung* as "the combined tie and staccato between two notes of the same pitch […]. It is a survival of an old "ornament" of the clavichord period […]. But in modern times the dot indicates that the key has to be released and depressed a second time."[335] The same sign nowadays is known as portato or slurred staccato,[336] sometimes portamento; using *Bebung* is misleading in these circumstances because, when applied to the clavichord, there is a fluctuation of pitch that is not possible on the piano. However, historical discussion of *Bebung* at least supports the notion that apparently "old" techniques were still in use in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Clavichord techniques had an influence on performance fashions of Chopin's era. Accordingly, we might suggest that Chopin's style of playing was inherited from an older tradition, a view supported by a letter from Chopin to this friend Tytus Wojciechowski in October 1830: "I astonished Kalkbrenner, who once asked me, was I not a pupil of Field, because I have Cramer's methods and Field's touch. (That delighted me)."[337] Marmontel, on the other hand, thought that: "Chopin clearly belonged to the school of Clementi, whose excellent studies he always recommended and appreciated."[338] This is further supported by Mathias, who described his teacher as: "absolutely of the old *legato* school, of the school of Clementi and Cramer."[339] Sophie Leo explained that he "was not a pianist of the modern school, but, in his own way, had created a style of his own, a style that one cannot describe."[340]

Kleczyński's description of Chopin's "fluent legato in the first place so

[334] John Petrie Dunn, *Ornamentation in works of Frederick Chopin* (London: Novello, 1921), p. 15.
[335] Pearce, *The Art of Piano-Teacher,* p. 254.
[336] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* p. 69.
[337] Hipkins, *How Chopin Played*, p. 22.
[338] Cited in: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 274.
[339] Niecks, *Frederick Chopin,* Vol. II, p. 181.
[340] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 279.

thoroughly vocal, brought out by gliding fingers, and almost continuous"[341] brings together *bel canto* and eighteenth-century techniques. The notion of Chopin's gliding fingers, a commonly prescribed technique originating in eighteenth-century touch for the keyboards of that period, was described by Mikuli: "He often used the same finger to play two adjoining notes consecutively (and this not only when sliding from a black key to a white key), without the slightest noticeable break in the continuity of the line."[342] Dannreuther explained that "with regard to *Tempo Rubato,* Chopin at the pianoforte reminds one of C. Ph. E. Bach at the clavichord", and drew on the Ballade Op. 38, Mazurka Op. 24 No. 3 and Polonaise Op. 40 No. 2 amongst others as examples of Chopin's use of *Bebung,* or reiteration of a note, describing it as portamento. He also suggests playing the shakes in Chopin's music in the same way as those in J. S. Bach's.[343] According to Hipkins, Chopin "[used] the thumb on black keys, passing it under the little finger, sliding one finger from one key to another, especially black to white, or changing fingers on one key like an organist who must preserve the legato of a phrase."[344]

It is therefore apparent that even though Chopin's playing set new directions in piano technique, aspects were inherited from older eras and traditions. As a result, connections between nineteenth-century piano playing and earlier styles is crucial to understanding approaches preserved in early recordings, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. In the same way that past compositional techniques evolve into, and influence, new ones, performance fashion was subject to continual evolution. With respect to the evolution of compositional styles, Samson observed that "Mozart and Haydn, in the slow movements of their concertos and sonatas had already translated gestures from the opera house into the language of the keyboard, as indeed had J. C. and C. P. E. Bach in their different ways before them."[345] The three kinds of rubato, rhythmic flexibility, metric rubato and agogic accents, are present in one form or

[341] Kleczyński, *Chopin's Greater Works,* p. 19
[342] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 46.
[343] Dannreuther, *Musical Ornamentation,* Vol. II, p. 161.
[344] Arthur Hutchings, "The Historical Background", *F. Chopin: Profiles of the Man and the Musician*, p. 37.
[345] Samson, *Chopin,* p. 81.

another in early recordings, often in combination. Even though the writings on the subject frequently imply a preference for one kind or, in some cases, simply fail to acknowledge differences between them, early recordings demonstrate that all three were very much in use, together with late-Romantic mannerisms such as dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation. Evidence from Chopin's pupils and those who heard him play suggest that Chopin used all of the types of rubato discussed above. Furthermore, various contemporary accounts suggest that he generally played fairly quietly, showed "marvellous discretion" in his use of pedals, and that his accentuation was gentle.[346] Even so, written documents need to be read in historical context, requiring sensitivity to possible intentions.

3.8 Written Evidence, Editions and Recordings

As with writings from the press, collected and interpreted in Chapters 1 and 2, it is often difficult to evaluate writers' motivations in regard to discussions of performance; as Lawson explains, sources for historically-informed performance can be unreliable in one way or another, by being self-contradictory, tiresomely repetitive or contradictory when one source is viewed in relation to another.[347] As with nineteenth-century journalistic publications, writings on performance have the potential to perpetrate myths. For example, some writings claim that only Slavic pianists can understand tempo rubato,[348] and others state that Chopin "was less well understood by the generation that immediately followed him than by that of a later period."[349] Trying to understand the intentions behind testimonies is sometimes also difficult on account of political, aesthetic and musical agendas possessed by their authors.[350] Furthermore, the flowery and poetic language used in the nineteenth century, alongside sentimental imagery of the dying poet, often colour written evidence about Chopin's playing. Such sources contain important evidence nonetheless, revealing aspects of the social context that influenced musical practices, and

[346] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* pp. 58, 288.
[347] Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music,* p. 16.
[348] James Huneker, *Chopin: The Man and His Music* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900), p. 348.
[349] Arthur Hedley, *Chopin* (London: J Dent & Sons Ltd, 1947), p .2.
[350] Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music,* p. 22.

ultimately providing valuable information for understanding the cultural context in which Chopin's music was created and the reception of his music and pianism.

From various copies of works used in teaching, we know that Chopin had a habit of altering musical texts. Furthermore, there is considerable evidence of Chopin's contemporaries changing the text of his compositions, which is unsurprising in a nineteenth-century context. The published text became sacrosanct only around the inter-war years of the twentieth century,[351] and negative opinions about changes to texts have solidified since then. As Hedley explains:

> A few specimens of 'improvement' may be chosen at random: Moiseiwitsch preferred to omit eight bars from the Finale of the B minor Sonata, while transposing the end of the E minor Nocturne. Pachmann (on Bulow's suggestion) thought it better to leave out four vital bars in the F sharp major Impromptu while making up for this by inserting about a dozen bars of his own into the B minor Mazurka, op. 33. Paderewski had no hesitation in denaturing the scale in the C sharp minor Waltz […] and so on: the list is endless. Scores of pianists still play 'nice' quiet endings to works in which composers and the logic of his music demand a decided *forte*.[352]

The term *rubato* is noted down in Chopin's music only sporadically, and all instances are documented by Eigeldinger.[353] After 1836, Chopin abandoned the term. However, he used rallentando, ritardando and ritenuto, instructions which, from contemporary glossaries, involve delaying or slowing the movement, and holding back the notes by lengthening their durations.

Pianists in the twenty-first century are confronted by numerous editions of Chopin's works; this was noted by Cone, as well as elaborated in detail by Kallberg, who refers to this as “the Chopin Problem”.[354] Even though Chopin prepared works for publications he would, when playing them, include different ornamentation and improvisation. Primary sources documenting textual

[351] Methuen-Campbell, “Chopin in performance”, p. 192.
[352] Hedley, *Chopin,* pp.18-19.
[353] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 121
[354] Edward T. Cone, “The Pianist as critic”, *The practice of performance. Studies in Musical Interpretation,* ed. John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 244. Kallberg, *Chopin at the Boundaries*, p. 215.

alterations and variants are numerous and include: autographs (occasionally more than one for a work once rejected manuscripts, engraver's exemplars and presentation manuscripts are factored into the equation[355]); demi-autographs;[356] authorised copies; the first printed edition; the first German, French or English edition;[357] and pupils' scores. These sources offer different paths for us to take, and as such provide vital information about Chopin's pianism and changing fashions in performance. These sources can be placed in two broader types of editions, one which attempt to recover Chopin performance tradition (which include editions edited by Chopin's students and their annotated scores) and the other which prevail on editorial freedoms.[358] His students' scores give insight into his interpretative decisions, as well as in his never-ending compositional process. However, such changes must be understood in relation to the particular student involved, and do not necessarily represent a panacea when used in the current context. Hedley, for example, certainly supports this view, claiming that: "the most untrustworthy and dangerous of all 'sources' are the pencilled corrections which Chopin is often stated to have made on pupils' copies of his music", going on to suggest that Chopin's music: "suffered so much at the hands of pretentious and ignorant editors."[359] Such statements, whilst signalling the need to contextualise forms of evidence, are perhaps unrealistic when considering their role in contemporary musicological research. When researching performance practice in the era before recordings, critical editions prepared by performers are valuable for the ideas they offer on interpretation, including on ornamentation and articulation, pedalling, tempo and dynamics. Besides the selection of editions (dependent on the piece), annotated scores from Chopin's students and associates, as Stirling, Dubois, Jedrzejewicz,

[355] Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* p. 2.
[356] Krystyna Kobylańska, "Sur l'histoire des manuscrits de F. Chopin", *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin,* ed. Zofia Lissa (Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers, 1963), p. 483.
[357] Christophe Grabowski and John Rink, *Annotated Catalogue of Chopin's First Editions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
[358] Jim Samson, "Which Chopin?", *Clavier Companion,* Vol. 2 No. 3 (May/June 2010), pp. 14-17.
[359] Arthur Hedley, "Some Observations on the Autograph Sources of Chopin's Works", *The Book of the First International Musicological Congress Devoted to the Works of Frederick Chopin*, p. 475.

Franchomme, Zaleska-Rosengardt, Scherbatoff and others, serve as a reference point for discussion of the case studies in the next chapter.

From the recorded evidence, it is clear that turn-of-the-century musicians read scores differently than most of us do today. For metrical rubato, this creates a problem: rubato is rarely discussed in writing and almost never notated in the score. But it has clearly been an essential part of performance traditions for centuries. Missing details about the performance of metrical rubato can be supplemented by nineteenth-century singing treatises and by recordings of various instrumentalists and singers. Changes to original Chopin musical texts can be detected, amongst many others, in recordings by Busoni (who was famous for his re-writings, most notably in a performance of the A-flat Polonaise with a changed middle section),[360] Rachmaninov (who altered the Funeral March in the Sonata No. 2),[361] and the already mentioned Saint-Saëns' recording of Nocturne Op. 15 No. 2 where he broadens the passage-work with his own text.[362] These recordings, along with many others, evidence a tradition in which performance decisions are not entirely conditioned by written texts. For example, in 1867 Tausig played a series of recitals in Berlin where he completely revised the E minor concerto, re-orchestrating it and adding material to the solo part.

It seems reasonable to suggest, then, that recordings, as a primary source of evidence, indicate how a specific performer generally would have performed. They are, however, complex documents that need to be approached carefully, accounting for recording methods used, editing (case studies run by Trezise show how important it is to understand the role of the re-mastering engineer when analysing recordings[363]) and reproduction. As Johnson has observed, it is clear that we need to resist the assumption that a given recording presents "the work itself" in any authoritative way, as each recording is a "unique artistic

[360] Feruccio Busoni, Welte-Mignon 440, transfer: https://archive.org/details/WelteMignonT-98RollRecordings
[361] Sergei Rachmaninov, RCA Victor 1534 (1930).
[362] Saint-Saëns, Welte-Mignon 897 (1905).
[363] Simon Trezise, "The recorded document: Interpretation and discography", *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 196-209.

creation achieved by a synthesis of composition, performance and particular recording methods."[364]

The first sound recordings offer a plethora of evidence about performing styles at the turn of the twentieth century. Sparing use of vibrato by string players and singers, general avoidance of vibrato on woodwind instruments (except in French circles), prominent portamento by singers and string players, varieties of tempo rubato and improvisational elements, fluctuations of tempo and over-dotting dotted rhythms,[365] are just a few of the descriptors of the sound world from over a century ago. In addition to piano recordings, there are a number of violin, cello and vocal recordings of Chopin's music that are important sources for determining general performance style. Once regarded as unhelpful, for overly simplifying the musical experience,[366] early sound recordings are now finding their way into contemporary research as *bona fide* primary source material.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter considered aspects of Chopin's pianism; it offered an historic account of the genesis and evolution of playing styles leading up to Chopin's era, and surveyed written accounts and testimonies of Chopin's pianism from his contemporaries. Furthermore, it has evaluated some of the numerous other sources of evidence that might be valuable in this context; although written texts from the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries present some similarities in terms of their focus and approach to music techniques and styles, the contemporary reader has no clear way of knowing what such techniques actually sounded like during Chopin's lifetime. In this respect, early recordings are an invaluable source of evidence, illuminating aspects of a performance style that is, in some cases, capturing the sound of Chopin's 'grandstudents' in action.

[364] Peter Johnson, "The Legacy of Recordings", *Musical Performance*, p. 209.
[365] Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music; Listening to Musical History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 150.
[366] Tobias Matthay, *The visible and invisible in pianoforte technique, being a digest of the author's technical teachings up to date* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p.145. Claude Debussy makes a similar point, fearing that the music will be domesticated with recordings. See: *Debussy on Music,* collected and introduced by F. Lesure; trans. and ed. by R. Langham Smith (London: Secker & Warburg, 1977), p. 288.

The use of such recordings, in the context of contemporary research, potentially allows for a greater understanding of Chopin's pianism and, importantly, sheds further light on an era in which pianistic techniques frequently differ from those found today. Attention now turns to the use of such recordings as a guide to understanding performance techniques. Chapter 4 considers a number of early recordings, in two large-scale case studies, with the intention of clarifying, and further evidencing, pianistic approaches to Chopin's music.

Chapter 4
Examining Early Recordings of Chopin: two case studies

> "To hear them is to realize how far we've travelled from that phase of history. They show how fundamentally akin to standard modern performance practices are those who claim to be historical. The old recordings utterly debunk that pharisaical claim; for recordings are hardest evidence of performance practice imaginable. If we truly wanted to perform historically, we would begin by imitating early-twentieth-century recordings of late-nineteenth-century music and extrapolate back from there."[367]

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter considered expressive techniques employed in the performance of Chopin's music, as evidenced in written documentation. This chapter also considers such techniques, but with a focus on sonic evidence in the form of early recordings. Having the potential to illuminate stylistic conventions that were common during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, early recordings also hint at earlier conventions; many of the musicians who recorded at this time were brought up in the mid- or late nineteenth-century and, mostly likely, were influenced by earlier playing styles and techniques. As such, their recordings are an invaluable primary source of evidence. They testify to changing fashions in performance and, when considered together, demonstrate an evolution of performing styles more generally. Recordings do not always correspond with their written counterparts; the former often provide information about performance styles and techniques that is rarely discussed in the latter.[368] As such, the role and function of recordings in scholarly research has been disregarded for far too long;[369] early recordings have the potential to illuminate

[367] Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), p. 168.
[368] Philip, *Early Recordings and musical style,* p. 1.
[369] For more general conclusions about the early sound recordings, see Lawson and Stowell, *The Historical Performance of Music,* pp.148-149; Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*; Philip, *Early Recordings and musical* style; Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*; Day, *A Century of Recorded Music.*

aspects of practice that may otherwise be forgotten or overlooked.

This chapter offers two case studies. The first compares and contrasts recordings of a single composition, performed by the same pianist using three different recording technologies: Vladimir de Pachmann's recordings of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 on a piano roll for Welte-Mignon (1906), an acoustic recording for English Columbia (1916) and an electric recording for Gramophone Company (1925). Given that this case study focuses upon one pianist and one piece, the impact of recording technologies are easier to determine, shedding light on interpretational differences.

The second case study compares sixteen recordings of the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, recorded using a range of different media and with a varied set of arrangements. These recordings provide a unique opportunity to examine general performance styles in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is my contention that these interpretations of the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 reveal similarities in musical intentions, most often evident in the use of expressive techniques or devices particular to various instruments or vocal types.

The two case studies build on evidence accumulated in previous chapters, thus considering recordings in the broader context of Chopin's reception and associated written evidence. Accordingly, attention is directed towards tempo modifications, rhythmic alterations, tempo rubato, dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation. The condensed dynamic range, limitations of capturing pedals, implied and inferred timbre and tone are equally interesting topics. However, due to limitations in the various early recording technologies, such topics are not considered in this chapter.

4.1.1 Methods

As we shall discover below, early recordings are an invaluable source of evidence of performing practices of the late nineteenth century. However, as with all types of evidence, their limitations must also be considered. Firstly, as has been widely acknowledged, individual recordings do not offer a snapshot of an entire tradition, but a performance by a single musician or group of musicians. This point becomes all the more significant when interpretative and

improvisatory aspects of nineteenth-century piano music are taken into consideration; recordings do not merely capture individual performances, but specific interpretations which may vary significantly, since notations and performance markings were frequently suggestive rather than prescriptive, particularly in the context of early nineteenth-century piano music.[370]

Thus, the content of a given recording offers highly specific evidence that cannot be relied upon without additional supplementary evidence. In consequence, this chapter considers collections of recordings grouped into case studies. This allows for direct comparisons to be made, and for a more comprehensive picture to be painted. Although each case study offers an autonomous set of conclusions, the value of these recordings fully emerges only at the end of the chapter, where more general conclusions can be reached. Secondly, the performances heard on early recordings are necessarily and understandably conditioned by the recording machinery of their day; this point has been raised by Taruskin, who notes that recordings have an ambiguous relationship with performance, as the technologies involved and their potential influence upon the behaviour of the performer must be accommodated.[371] Furthermore, recording technologies are rarely transparent; durational limitations, the placement of microphones or recording cones, the amount of surface and background noise, the availability for takes and re-takes are just a few of the factors that can potentially influence the production of a record.

Any study dealing with early recordings must attempt to account for the various factors impacting upon, or otherwise influencing, the recording process; although such factors are rarely known, a consideration of the recording technologies themselves enables potential or likely affordances and constraints to be highlighted. And this, in turn, allows us to consider how such technologies might have informed interpretational and performance decisions. The section that follows provides an overview of the various technologies used in recordings discussed in the case studies.

I shall explore early recordings using a range of sonic visualiser tools.

[370] John Butt, *Playing with History: The Historical Approach to Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 112.
[371] Taruskin, *Text and Act*, p. 81.

There are limitations to what can be achieved; despite the quality of visualisation tools, certain aspects of recordings will always evade assessment and analysis, owing to the nature of the recording itself, or the unknown variables that the recording process conceals. Examples are included, where relevant, to demonstrate ways in which recordings may, and may not, be used as primary source materials relative to performance practice.

Despite the limitations outlined above, there are numerous advantages to the visualiser method; although such tools do not, in their own right, constitute a form of analysis, the output of such tools may offer a platform from which certain significant observations may be made. For example, they allow various forms of comparative analysis to be undertaken. In many cases, a quantitative method, turning the data from visualisers into graphs and tables, is followed by comparative analysis. In this way, my observations are supported by quantitative evidence that is presented in a form that is hopefully accessible and understandable.

4.2 Acoustic Recordings: 1890s to 1925

4.2.1 Cylinders

Acoustic recording developed from Edison's phonograph, invented in 1878.[372] Soon after, following Bell's Graphophone system,[373] Thomas Edison (1847-1931) patented the phonograph cylinder, an acoustic recording and reproducing sound device. In this instance, sound vibrations were captured via a conical funnel known as a trumpet or horn. This funnel was attached to a membrane, which was, in turn, attached to a sapphire stylus. Sound waves entering the funnel caused the membrane and then the stylus to vibrate. This activated the needle, which would leave a groove or impression in a wax surface. After being patented in 1886, wax cylinder recordings developed rapidly. Unfortunately,

[372] Phonograph used a tin foil sheet wrapped around a metal cylinder to record and reproduce sounds. Tin foil was not a practical recording medium and the phonograph was marketed as a novelty.

[373] An improved version of the phonograph was invented by Alexander Graham Bell (1847-1922), who, together with Chichester Bell (1848-1924) and Charles Sumner Tainter (1854-1940), replaced the tin foil with cardboard cylinders coated in wax. The process of wax recording on Graphophone was patented in 1886.

however, there was no successful technology for mass production; by setting up a recording bank of the machines, one of them could produce up to twenty master cylinders. With a pantographic process[374] about twenty-five copies of each master could be produced, resulting in a maximum of five hundred copies from one recording session. However, these numbers varied: for example a solo voice could be captured with three recording horns, resulting in a maximum of one hundred and twenty-five copies.[375] Such was the popularity of these cylinders that production could not meet demand; as a result, this form of recording was ultimately commercially unsuccessful.

When compared with zinc discs, the recording quality of the pre-1900 wax cylinders was high. This changed, however, when zinc was replaced with wax. Wax cylinders had one significant advantage over discs: their surface speed remained constant throughout the recording, even though their volume was significantly lower than that of the discs. However, discs were easier to store and press.[376] According to Gronow and Saunio, Edison's Blue Amberol cylinders were considered to be the acme of sound production of their time.[377] The Blue Amberol cylinders were manufactured in the US from 1912 to 1929, and could play four minutes and 45 seconds of music, replacing the black Amberol cylinders that appeared in 1908 (playing four minutes), which in turn improved on the two minutes of standard cylinders. Cylinder records continued to compete with the growing disc record market into the 1910s. However, discs won the commercial battle and, following a significant drop in sales, wax cylinder production stopped in 1929.

4.2.2 Discs

As early as 1887, Emile Berliner (1851-1929) patented a new process of recording on a flat disc which offered a realistic alternative to wax cylinders,

[374] Copies would be drawn from a wax master, allowing mechanical reproduction to produce grooves in each copy.
[375] Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music: Listening to Musical History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 2.
[376] For elaborated details about the differences between cylinders and discs, see Walter L. Welch and Leah Brodbeck Stenzel Burt, *From Tinfoil to Stereo: The Acoustic Years of Recording Industry 1877-1929* (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 1994), especially pp. 125-126.
[377] Pekka Gronow and Ilpo Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry* (London: Cassel, 1998), p. 6.

even if it did take quite a while until the first discs went on sale.[378] During the development phrase, numerous materials were considered, included glass discs coated in lampblack, zinc discs coated in beeswax, celluloid, and vulcanized rubber. Durinoid (powdered shellac and clay bound together with cotton flock and coloured with lampblack) was ultimately preferred, since it was easy to mould and, crucially, it preserved the shape of the groove when cooled. As a result, the use of shellac compound for 78mm records continued well into the middle of the twentieth century. The mass production of wax discs was much easier, as the inside-out matrices of recordings would be a mould for 'stampers' which would then be used to press records. With easier mass-production and the format of the discs, they achieved instant popularity. Shellac discs records, limited to about four and half minutes, dominated the market until the late 1940s, by which point long-playing records had taken over. The discs themselves offer a greater volume with less distortion, as the stylus had less resistance with a lateral-etched method of flat disc recording.[379]

4.2.3 Mechanical Recording Process

Written accounts illustrate how difficult it was to record; anecdotal evidence refers to singers being pulled back and forth from the recording trumpet, while balancing on a movable platform,[380] and chalk marks which determined where the singer should stand in the room according to the specific register exploited and volume required.[381] Nevertheless the human voice and smaller instruments were easier to record than the piano, as their sound could be projected to the horn from close proximity. Singers were the most successful in recording processes, which is one of the reasons why vocal recordings dominated acoustic catalogues of the time.

For pianists, a number of limitations characterized the early recording process. Sometimes, when accompanying singers for example, pianos would be

[378] The first gramophone discs appeared on the market in 1894, issued by the US Gramophone company.
[379] However, distortion remained a problem until 1896, when the clock-motors were introduced, which ensured less surface noise and a cleaner cut of the master recording.
[380] John Frederick Cone, *Adelina Patti: Queen of Hearts* (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1993), p. 246.
[381] Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, p. 10.

placed on a platform at the level of the singer's head. The rostrum made of boxes would be five feet in height, while the piano would be an upright instrument with the back and front removed.[382] Judging by written evidence,[383] very often the recording pianos were not in a good state, and sometimes performers would use their own instruments. On-going developments meant that by 1920 pianists could record on normal grand pianos relatively free from modification. The lack of any electrical or artificial amplification, along with the nature of the medium, meant that the dynamic range was limited, and very quiet sounds were impossible to capture. When recording, all the recording musicians were required to play or sing loudly. However, they had to be careful not to be *too* loud, otherwise they could cause a significant indentation in the wax, and the recording process would have to start again with a new disc. Before 1900, there were problems with reproducing piano sound, which often sounded tinny and thin. Rachmaninov suggested that the thin tone was similar to the Russian balalaika, while Mark Hambourg (1879-1960) compared it to a banjo or guitar.[384] Also, frequency range and dynamic range were restricted to the point that, when recording, pianists found themselves "watching the pedal (because it sounds so bad); thinking of certain notes which had to be stronger or weaker in order to please this devilish machine."[385]

Orchestras were most difficult of all to record; the volume, timbre and directionality of the instruments made for particularly difficult recording sessions. Orchestras needed to be moderated in size, layout and instrumentation in order to fit into studios, but also because they needed to be "grouped very closely about the horn. In the case of the weaker instruments such as violins, it has been possible to use only two of standard construction. The rest of the violins are of the type known as the 'Stroh' violin which is a device strung in the manner of a violin but so arranged that the bridge vibrates a diaphragm attached

[382] Joseph Batten, *Joe's Batten's Book: The Story of Sound Recording*, p. 33. Cited in: Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 15. For similar accounts of the recording process, see: Robert Philip, "Pianists on record in the early twentieth century", *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, pp. 75-76.
[383] Mark Hambourg, *From Piano to Forte: A Thousand and One Notes* (London: Cassell Limited, 1931), p. 288.
[384] Cited in: Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 17; Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, p. 10.
[385] Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, p. 27.

to a horn. The horn is directed toward the recording horn."[386] It is indeed difficult to imagine how challenging it must have been to record in these conditions, which inevitably influenced the performances of recording artists.[387] Difficult recording circumstances rapidly improved, and by 1918 Edison was recording an orchestra of thirty-five members. With increasing numbers of instruments, however, those furthest away from the horn were necessarily the most silent in the recordings. Unfortunately, because of the diminished volume of certain instruments, the surface noise became even more obvious.[388]

4.2.4 Limitations of Mechanical Recording Process and Acoustic Recordings

The acoustic recording process had a significant limitation; it captured an extremely limited frequency range. The human ear is capable of discerning a frequency range of between 20 and 20,000Hz, whereas acoustic recordings could only capture sound between 100 and 4,000Hz.[389] This implies that only a fraction of what we are capable of hearing was capable of being captured, but also, from a practical perspective, that certain instruments were easier to record than others; acoustic recordings were unable to reproduce all of the frequencies below the E below middle C and, at the other extreme, notes higher than the C three octaves above middle C.[390] This does not mean that one is unable to hear the notes themselves; as Maxfield and Harrison explained in 1926, notes were

[386] J. P. Maxfield and H. C. Harrison, "Methods of High Quality Recording and Reproducing of Music and Speech Based on Telephone Research", *The Bell System Technical Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (July, 1926), pp. 493-523, p. 7. Quoted from H. Fletcher, "Physical Criterion for Determining the Pitch of a Musical Tone", in *Physics Review*, Vol. 23, No. 3, (March 1924).
[387] For instance, French horns would have their bells facing the funnel, while the players would have their back turned to the conductor, observing him in the mirror.
[388] Walter L. Welch and Leah Brodbeck Stenzel Burt, *From Tinfoil to stereo*, pp. 153-154.
[389] These numbers vary in different sources. According to Day, it is 168-2,000Hz (Day, *A Century*, p. 9), and 100-2500Hz as information on the website of the Library of Congress (http://www.loc.gov/jukebox/about/acoustical-recording; accessed on 15. August 2015). Maxfield and Harrison's frequency range is 60-6,000Hz, but with an explanation about the deficiencies (J. P. Maxfield and H. C. Harrison, *High Quality Recording and Reproducing of Music and Speech*, p. 5). According to Peres Da Costa it is 100-4000Hz, also with an explanation that the numbers vary in sources, and Bescoby-Chambers suggests a range between 164-2088Hz. See: John Bescoby-Chambers, *The Archives of the Sound: Including a selective catalogue of historical violin, piano, spoken, documentary, orchestral. And composer's own recordings* (Lingfield: The Oakwood Press, 1964), p. 13.
[390] Day, *A Century of Recorded Music*, p. 9.

often reproduced with harmonics alone, thus affecting the quality of the tone and their characteristic timbres.[391]

The acoustic process had another limitation in terms of the length of music that could be recorded on to a single wax cylinder or disc. Two-minute cylinders (pre 1900) were replaced by four-minute Amberol cylinders in 1908 and, in 1904, long-playing cylinders were developed which played up to twelve minutes. Discs before 1900 recorded from 1.5 to 2 minutes, but from 1903 the average recording length was up to 4.5 minutes for a twelve-inch disc.[392] When recording longer repertoire, therefore, musicians would make cuts in the music, or the recording would be set on two or more record sides. A third option was to increase the tempo (which, of course, could not always be done). For example, the 1923 recording of Chopin's Scherzo Op. 20 by Josef Hoffmann lasts four minutes and thirty seconds, while his piano roll of the same piece lasts eight minutes and six seconds.[393]

4.2.5 Electrical Recording

In the early 1920s, electric technologies started to change the nature of the recording process; rather than employing cones or funnels to capture sound, microphones that converted sound-waves into electrical energy became increasingly popular. These new technologies, which were initially developed for use in telephones during the latter part of the nineteenth century, signalled "a paradigm shift in the thinking of recording engineers and record companies;"[394] many established problems associated with the recording process were instantly solved. For example, the development of the carbon microphone allowed for new microphones to be used in recording music (condenser and ribbon microphones, for example). Such microphones, together with vacuum tube amplifiers, could collect more sonic information than the acoustic horn. The use of an amplifier system helped with the control of loudness, as well as with the relative loudness of instruments. The electrical recording system was now made

[391] Maxfield and Harrison,"High Quality Recording and Reproducing of Music and Speech", p.6.
[392] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 20.
[393] Day, *A Century of Recorded Sound*, p. 7.
[394] Michael Chanan, *Repeated Takes: A Short History of Recording and its Effects on Music* (London and New York: Verso, 1995), p. 58.

of a condenser transmitter, vacuum tube amplifier and an electromagnetic recorder.

The transition from acoustic recordings to their electric counterparts, however, was not without its problems. New records did not necessarily work on older machines, and listeners were therefore required to purchase electric gramophones. These new technologies certainly inspired growth in the recording industry, greatly accelerated by an economic boom, which allowed listeners to buy and consume music in their homes.[395]

Electric recordings had a superior frequency range to their acoustic counterparts; the electric recording had a range of 100 to 5,000Hz when first launched, rising to 100 to 8,000Hz by 1934. This meant that electrical recordings had more body and definition in the extended frequencies; bass frequencies, which could not be captured before the advent of electric recordings, provided weight and body to recordings, whilst treble and high frequencies provided definition and clarity. There was another advantage too: electrical recording systems were louder and captured a greater dynamic range. This invariably meant that electrical recordings were superior to their acoustic counterparts, and it is little surprise that the latter quickly fell out of use.

4.2.6 The Electrical Recording Process

The process of recording, when using electric technologies, was relatively straightforward; musicians were not required to group together, or position themselves relative to a small cone or funnel. Instead, they were able to take their positions relative to a microphone. Since microphones could be positioned at some distance from musicians, this allowed for instruments to blend together and, importantly, blend with "reflections from the walls of the room. It [was] in this way that the so-called 'atmosphere' or 'room-tone' has been obtained."[396] Such an atmosphere or tone became a desired characteristic of recordings. However, it was not always easy to achieve: many of the larger halls or concert spaces offered a lively acoustic which was, as a result, difficult to capture,

[395] For tables of world record sales (1921-45), see: Gronow and Saunio, *An International History of the Recording Industry*, p. 38.
[396] Maxfield and Harrison,"High Quality Recording and Reproducing of Music and Speech",p.7.

resulting in "complex wave formation which would mask certain tone colours and muddy rapid passages."[397]

With electrical recording technologies it became possible to record the performer using multiple microphones and to choose which to use as a master. The choice would not always be the most satisfying recording musically, as other perspectives also had to be considered: for example the take had to be fully functioning and not too loud as to cause distortion. With a relatively straightforward recording process, it was now possible to record many times, although the cost of the recording process still brought limits. Musicians now could produce trial takes to establish factors such as microphone positions, overall balance, and quality of the sound.[398] The performers still needed to perform the whole duration of a record side, though, as there was still no way of chopping the recorded music into smaller pieces. The number of takes varied significantly according to the individual performers: for example, Rachmaninov's recording of his Prelude Op. 3 No. 2 from 1928 had 23 takes, whereas two other recordings of the same piece (1919 and 1921) required only three takes.[399] Overdubbing was used to correct problematic sections, which represented the limit of the editing process. As Chanan has pointed out, improvements later on, and the ability to control so many aspects of the recording situation, helped to develop the notion of the recorded 'image' as a kind of illusion permissible through recording technologies.[400]

A list of all the possible problems in the electric recording process is long. A process involving a studio, recorder, stamper production, moulding and storage could create problems with (for example) blasting, bass cut-off, granulation, twinning, groove-wall breakdown, pattern weaving, piano whine, dents, lack of definition, abrasive surface, occlusions, blisters, swingers, noisy surface, and bucking.[401] It is important to be aware of such errors when analysing early recordings, and some are more frequent than others. For

[397] Chanan, *Repeated Takes*, pp. 59-60.
[398] Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, p. 41.
[399] Ibid., pp. 39-41.
[400] Chanan, *Repeated Takes*, p. 59.
[401] William D. Owen and H. Courtney Bryson, "Defects in Gramophone Records", *The Gramophone*, December 1931 and January 1932. The data taken from the first table. From: http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/history/p20_4_2.html: accessed on 15 August 2015.

instance, most records failed to capture bass frequencies below 30Hz; this is because the required groove-width for such low frequencies takes up too much space on the records. Another deficiency significant when analysing recording is piano whine, or the change in pitch of sustained notes in piano recordings. As a member of the reviewing staff of *The Gramophone* revealed in 1928:

> Before writing in detail on the piano records of this month, I want to make it clear to readers of this column that, in my opinion, the standard of recording piano music is not a very satisfactory one, due, no doubt, to the fact that the piano tone never is a lasting tone, but a pizzicato followed by a decrescendo, the recording whereof has met with greater difficulties than is the case with almost any other instrument. There is so much discolouration and unsteadiness of tone, so much "pang" or "meowing" in the resonance, that the trained ear has the greatest pain in translating these sounds into the familiar language of the piano. I therefore want it to be understood that, as a musician, I form my opinion on piano records in accepting the standard as it is without agreeing to it. The fine exceptions which now and again occur give us great hopes that the engineers ultimately will succeed in their uphill task of improvement.[402]

Another common difficulty is increased surface noise, which happens when the plastic material, which is made by mixing shellac with slate powder and carbon black, is not mixed properly. The elements making the record will not be even throughout the disc therefore producing a great amount of noise.

Speed and pitching of the records and discs when transferring is also a difficult procedure that can result in a distorted sound image and therefore a false impression of the sound evidence. Disc production before long-playing records was not standardised. According to Beardsley, many of the acoustic discs were recorded at 68-70rpm.[403] Playing these discs at an incorrect speed (if assuming it to be 78rpm, for example) would result in considerable distortion of the voice. To give just one illustration, the Columbia records specified for 80rpm can play on anything between 76 and 83prm. The electric discs are not very different, as many electrical Victor and HMV recordings are made below 78rpm.[404] British Columbia records should be played at speed between 78 and

[402] Ibid.

[403] Roger Beardsley, "Speeds and pitching of 78rpm gramophone records" A specially edited version of an article first published *Classic Record Collector* (Winter, 1999). From: http://www.charm.rhul.ac.uk/history/p20_4_4.html: accessed on 15 August 2015.

[404] Ibid., examples: Schipa and Bori's duet from *La Bohème* (HMV DB900) plays correctly at around 74rpm, while Giovanni Martinelli's early electric recordings need speed of 75 or 76rpm.

81rpm, and American Columbia records at 76 and 77rpm. If the discs were copied with the aforementioned pantographic process, then the correct speed is a result of two mechanical processes and each would have a speed variant. The other way to determine the right speed of playing the record is by establishing the pitch. Unfortunately, A=440 was not a standard and it varied between around 425 and 445, until 440 was officially set as International Concert Pitch at a 1939 London conference. Also, the tuning of the piano is sometimes imperfect because of the humidity of the room where the recording was made. Transposed material also makes determining the pitch difficult, especially in ensemble playing. Sometimes the two sides of a record cannot be played at the same speed, even though they were recorded in the same way. There is no solution to these problems; every possible fault has to be examined until the right speed is determined.

4.2.7 The Reproducing Piano Rolls

The reproducing piano had a built-in recording mechanism that marked performance information on a paper roll as the piano was played. Although there were certain differences between the various reproducing piano companies, marks, which were typically made with a pencil or stylus, typically represented the notes, tempo and rhythm, speed of dampers and pedalling.[405] After a given performance, holes would be cut into the marked paper; these holes would then be read by a pneumatic mechanism to produce, or reproduce, an instance of the original performance.

Patented by Edwin Welte (1875-1957) and Karl Bockisch (1874-1952), the Welte-Mignon reproducing piano system was premiered in 1904. Their system, along with those that followed (Hupfeld Dea, Ampico and the Aeolian's Duo-Art) preserved, with a high degree of accuracy, the pitch, rhythm, tempo and phrasing of the performance, including the use of pedals.[406] Dynamics and pedalling were harder to capture and were often enhanced through an editing process; the creation of the roll was not always entirely automated, meaning that

[405] Bescoby-Chambers, *The Archives,* p. 15.
[406] Denis Hall, "The Reproducing Piano-What Can It Really Do?" *The Pianola Journal: The Journal of the Pianola Institute*, Vol.14 (2001), p. 6.

an editor had to make certain decisions, particularly concerning dynamic levels. As a result, the accuracy of dynamic levels is a much-debated question: Edwin Welte claimed that he could record dynamics automatically in real time. However, he kept his method a secret and, as a result, again encouraged debates about accuracy.[407] Duo-Art registered dynamics by cutting slots into the rolls as the recording took place. This was typically done by a producer or editor. Dynamics were edited later on in the process, typically under the supervision of both producer and editor, working alongside the pianist.[408] A similar approach was taken by Ampico.

The popularity of reproducing piano rolls in the first decades of the twentieth century is unquestionable. Sales of rolls and reproducing piano systems were extremely high. For example, the Aeolian Company in the United States produced 192,000 instruments in 1925.[409] As a result, many of the well-known pianists of the time produced rolls. There is on-going debate, though, as to the efficacy of them.[410] Robert Philip, in *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, presented a number of common concerns about piano roll recordings, proposing limits to their accuracy and suggesting that they "sound rhythmically clumsy, particularly in the relationship between melody and bass."[411] Others explain that such systems fail to reproduce the sound according to the pianist's action;[412] editing carried out after the recording process is often cited as a major factor in this regard, since the possibility existed for altering note positions, dynamics, and pedalling, meaning that the finished reproducing piano roll preserved a combination of precise information registered during recording and other information edited in afterwards. More problematic,

[407] Hall, "The Reproducing Piano," p. 7.
[408] Denis Hall, "Duo-Art Rolls: A Description of Their Production and an Assessment of Their Performance" *The Pianola Journal: The Journal of the Pianola Institute* vol.10 (1998), p. 11.
[409] Day, *A Century of Recorded Music,* p. 13.
[410] Day, *A Century of Recorded Music,* p. 12-16.
[411] Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 31.
[412] Ibid. In one example, Philip describes the difference between Rachmaninov's recordings of *Lilacs*, Ampico roll from 1922, an acoustic recording from 1923 and an electrical recording from 1942. When describing the roll, he notes: "although the timing is remarkably accurate the performance does not quite hang together […] one of the results of this is that the subtle rhythmic dislocations sound messy, like failures to co-ordinate rather than purposeful expressive devices."

however, is the transference between instruments; the overall sound of the piano roll recordings will depend on the quality of the instrument on which they are performed.[413] This is particularly problematic when attempting to reproduce rolls today; unfortunately, the decline in popularity after 1930 meant that many of these mechanical instruments fell into disrepair, reducing the quality of their reproduction of the original performance, particularly in voicing and the overall balance of the keyboard. As a result, piano rolls must be reproduced under strict, controlled conditions in order to ensure that features are accurately represented in contemporary recordings.

In many respects, these concerns are valid. Even so, it is worth noting that rolls were, on the whole, never released without the approval of the recording artist, suggesting that the artists were happy at least with the finished product as a representation of their playing. Furthermore, it is important to consider the things that could be edited after the performance has taken place. It was certainly possible to correct wrong notes on rolls; the method simply involved covering the 'wrong' note hole, before punching a new hole in the 'correct' place. However, many authors are of the opinion that the editing of Welte-Mignon rolls did not happen often.[414] As pointed out by Peres Da Costa, the early Welte recordings were most likely edited very little, if at all, in line with the policy of the company at this stage. The proof of this lies in the fact that the company did not always edit out the wrong notes, preferring to leave them in to preserve the performance as captured. In any case, some aspects of the recording (such as rhythm and dislocation between melody and accompaniment) could not be changed easily; it would be almost impossible to line up the holes in the paper with minor and, more importantly, irregular delays.[415]

When researching early recorded sound evidence, it is important to include reproducing piano rolls. Firstly, rolls were at the height of their popularity when the gramophone remained an imperfect medium having, as mentioned above, a limited dynamic and frequency range, with a great deal of

[413] Philip, *Performing Music*, pp. 31-34.
[414] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 29.
[415] Ibid.

surface and background noise.[416] Secondly, they provide an additional source of evidence for comparison and contrast with gramophone recordings. Thirdly, piano rolls are often believed to offer a faithful image of pianists' playing because they preserve so many of the important features of the original performance. Although we should not overlook the various concerns expressed in relation to piano rolls, the rolls continue to provide a wide range of information that cannot be found in acoustic recordings from the same era.

4.3 Case Study of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2: one performer, one composition, three recording mediums

4.3.1 Introduction

This case study compares and contrasts three recordings of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, by Vladimir de Pachmann, a pianist praised for his interpretations of Chopin's music.[417] It offers four visualisations of these three recordings, allowing for specific aspects of Pachmann's playing to be identified and discussed. In doing so, we shall observe that even though these recordings vary considerably in numerous respects, they are still strongly representative of Pachmann's playing style, one heavily rooted in nineteenth-century performance fashions.

Known for his eccentric and unusual behaviour,[418] Pachmann had a lengthy pianistic career and was one of the first internationally-renowned pianists to record in Britain.[419] During his fifty-year career, Pachmann often recorded the same programme and, as a result, different recordings of the same piece can be compared and contrasted. This case study considers his recordings of the Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 made for Welte-Mignon (Leipzig, 1906, Welte-Mignon Catalogue Number 1218), English Columbia (London, January 1916 –

[416] Bescoby-Chambers, *The Archives*, p. 47

[417] The comments as: "No one, of course, can play Chopin like Pachmann" from *The Musical Times* (Vol. 63, No. 957; 1 November 1922, p. 800), are a common find.

[418] For more information about the eccentricities of his behaviour, see: Ivor Newton, "At the Piano", *The Worlds of an Accompanist* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1966), pp. 151-152.; Methuen-Campbell, "Chopin in Performance", p. 202; Methuen-Campbell, *Chopin Playing*, pp. 128-130. Because of his behaviour on stage, Bernard Shaw called him "Vladimir de Pachamann, pianist and pantomimist" See: Bernard Shaw, *Music in London 1890-94* (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1932), p.168.

[419] Pachmann recorded in 1907 and 1909 for The Gramophone and Typewriter Limited.

acoustic recording, 6968, L1124) and Gramophone Company Ltd. (Hayes, 6 June 1925 - electrical recording, Cc 6253-1, DB860).[420]

The first of these three recordings, for Welte-Mignon around February 1906, was initially made publicly available as a reproducing piano roll. However, it was never transferred into another medium and, prior to my research, had rarely been heard; evidence of the existence of this reproducing piano roll, first released in April 1927, was found in the Welte catalogue.[421] However, besides a listing in the catalogue, there was no further evidence of its existence. After a lengthy search, a factory reproducing piano rolls was identified (Musikwerkstatt Monschau, Germany) and they kindly provided a copy specifically cut for the purpose of this investigation. It was extremely difficult to locate a working instrument capable of reproducing the roll; after carefully considering a number of possibilities, such as using a *Vorsetzer*,[422] I contacted the Pianola Institute in London, where a Steinway-Welte piano, made in 1922 and restored by Denis Hall (in an extremely good condition and well regulated) was used to reproduce the roll and transfer the recording into a digital medium.[423]

Between December 1915 and January 1916 Pachmann made a series of recordings in his London home, using a Baldwin piano. Such recordings were fairly common at that time; among others Patti recorded at home in 1906, as did Paderewski in 1911.[424] Using acoustic recording technologies, Pachmann recorded various pieces during these sessions, including Liszt's Rigoletto (4'09") and Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 (4'25"). He also recorded Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2, which was later released by English Colombia in 1917. This is the second recording featured in this case study, contrasting with the other two by virtue of abridging Chopin's text; Pachmann plays the piece in 3'48", having started at bar 26. This is, most likely, a consequence of the technologies

[420] The acoustic and electrical recordings can be found on: *The Complete Vladimir de Pachmann,* Marston 54003, 2012. Transfers by Ward Marston. Track numbers: CD 2, 17 and CD 4, 2.
[421] *Welte Piano Roll Catalog,* entry number 1218.
[422] A device with a built-in pneumatic mechanism, which covers the keyboard of the piano, and plays the instrument by pressing the keys and the pedals.
[423] 16 May 2013, using Steinway-Welte Piano No. 209642.
[424] Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record,* p. 17.

involved in the recording process: Pachmann could not have played the whole of the piece because the resulting length, approximately 5'22", would have been too long for the medium employed. As mentioned above, the shortening of pieces for the purpose of a recording, was quite common: Louis Diemer's recording of the Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 is also abridged and has a similar duration, at 3'43".[425] The version of Pachmann's recording used in my research employed early 1920s re-pressed material, so is a result of later pressings.[426] A process of re-mastering ensured that the cylinder was turned at the correct speed, using the optimum stylus size, and artefacts, such as clicks and pops, were removed; according to the mastering engineer, the English Columbia recordings were the most challenging to re-master, as the surface noise, resulting from the use of shellac, occupied a similar frequency range to the piano, meaning that it could not be removed without re-grading the piano's tone.

The third artefact in this case study is an electrical recording of Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 for Gramophone Company in June 1925. It is one of Pachmann's most widely-known recordings made in Hayes, Middlesex. Once again, Pachmann used his own Baldwin piano, recording the nocturne in a single take. Precise details of the recording session, including microphones and studio technologies employed in the recording process, are unknown. However, the quality, in terms of frequency and dynamic range, is highlighted below, and certainly one of the main reasons why this recording is a valuable complement to the piano roll and the acoustic recordings.

4.3.2 Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2

Op. 27 No. 2 in D-flat major is one of Chopin's most popular nocturnes. Composed in 1835, and paired with the Nocturne to Op. 27 No. 1 in C-sharp minor,[427] it quickly became popular and was praised in numerous contemporary

[425] Paris, 1904. G & T, 2981 Fii 35544. Transfer Marston 52054– 2.
[426] Note on the recordings from the mastering engineer, from: http://www.marstonrecords.com/pachmann/pachmann_liner.htm. Accessed on 1 October 2015.
[427] For more information about pairing Nocturnes and their tonal relationships, see: Jeffrey Kallberg, "Compatibility in Chopin's Multipartite Publications", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (Autumn, 1983), pp. 391-417.

sources, also appearing in editions designed for amateur pianists.[428] It was, and continues to be, frequently recorded: Pachmann, for example, recorded it on four occasions. In addition to the recordings used in this case study, there is a further reproducing piano roll which Pachmann made for Duo-Art in London, 1923.[429] Pianists such as Godowsky, La Forge, Leschetizky, Powell and Diémer[430] among others also recorded it. We shall briefly consider the content of the piece, which underpins the discussion of Pachmann's recordings that follows.

Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 in D-flat major is written in 6/8 meter, marked *Lento sostenuto* and comprising two strophes in stanzaic design. The first strophe in D-flat major, which has qualities of an operatic arioso, intertwines with the second strophe in B-flat minor which, by contrast, has a feeling of a duetto. In bar 1, the left hand introduces the accompaniment figure that runs throughout the nocturne. As with much of Chopin's melodic material, the accompaniment has hidden intervallic material that predicts the subsequent melodic structure; the melodic line heard in the opening phrase, for example, is present in the first two bars of the introduction.[431] The first strophe is an eight-bar sentence which leads into the B-flat minor material of the second strophe. Presented in double thirds and sixths, this new strophe acts like a duetto, contrasting with the aria-like first strophe. The first strophe comprises four-and-a-half bars of the statement phrase, followed by three-and-a-half bars of the answer, with a dissonant question lingering in bar 5.[432] The second strophe is constructed in a different way, based on two-bar units which are followed by their ornamented variation. The second theme in B-flat minor is introduced in bars 10 and 11, before continuing with an ornamented version of the same in bars 12 and 13. This is followed by E-flat minor material in bars 14 and 15,

[428] For example, soon after publishing this Nocturne in 1836, Wessel re-issued it later as no. 84 in his series *L'amateur Pianiste.* See: Brown, *Chopin: An Index*, pp. 89 and 93.
[429] Duo-Art, 047 (London: September, 1923). As this roll was perhaps edited, it is not included in this case study.
[430] Leopold Godowsky, Col. WAX 3830-3 and WAX 3831-4 (rec. 1928), transfer APR 7010 (1988); Frank La Forge, Victor Special 55112-B (rec. c. 1912), transfer OPAL CD 9839 (1988); Theodor Leschetizky, Welte-Mignon Piano Roll 1194 (rec. 1906), transfer by Denis Hall (2009); John Powell, Duo-Art Piano Roll 091 (rec. 1929), transfer by Denis Hall (2009); Louis Diémer, G & T mtx 2981F11 (rec. c. 1904), transfer Transfer Marston 52054-2.
[431] Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* p. 87-88.
[432] For more information about this, see: Rosen, *Romantic Generation,* p. 267.

further elaborating the same theme, with subsequent ornamentation in bars 16 and 17. Leading to *con forza* in A-flat major in bars 18 and 19, it is again ornamented in the following two bars. Transition material is introduced in bars 22 and 23, where the accompaniment presents a small melodic line, this time not hidden, and ornamented in bars 24 and 25. Theme A reappears in bar 26, again in D-flat major, and is subsequently ornamented in bars 31 and 32 (based on the same harmonies in the left hand and fioriture in the right hand). The strophes are ornamented in different ways, and Chopin showed his extraordinary compositional creativity through ornamentation in this Nocturne.[433] The first statement of the second strophe is sixteen bars long, and the ornamented strophe A is again eight bars long. The second statement of strophe B is twelve bars long, and Chopin forms his sentence in the same two-by-two way. Through the modulations from A major to C-sharp major, we now reach the third statement of A, again ornamented and eight bars long. The final statement of strophe B is the shortest at eight bars and leads through E-flat minor to D-flat major for the coda at bar 62. An extended sixteen-bar sentence on a new cadential figure creates a sense of overall stability and calm at the close of the piece.

4.3.3 Differences between Recorded Mediums

This visualisation highlights various qualitative differences that characterize Pachmann's three recordings. It is divided into two parts: the first part considers the frequency content of the recordings, and the second addresses dynamic range. While frequency content and dynamic range can be determined in all three cases, it is impossible to know how the recording process has actually influenced or affected these features; as such, they cannot be relied upon as evidence of Pachmann's tone or dynamic approach during the recording session.

Figures 1, 2 and 3 show the three recordings visualised as spectrograms;[434] this involves the representation of the spectrum of frequencies within a sound or, as below, a recording of an entire piece of music. In each

[433] For more information about ornamentation in Chopin's Nocturnes, see: David Rowland, "The Nocturne: development of a new style", *The Cambridge Companion to Chopin*, pp. 46-47.
[434] The Acousmographe, a sound visualisation tool developed by ina-GRM in Paris, was employed to visualise the three recordings.

case, time is presented along the horizontal axis (in hours, minutes and seconds), and frequency content is presented along the vertical axis (in Hz). Dynamic levels are also represented according to the brightness of the image; whiter details shown on the spectrogram are the loudest points within a given recording, and these gradually fade from grey through to black as details become quieter.

A quick visual comparison between the three figures immediately highlights a significant difference between them: the spectrogram image derived from the piano roll (Figure 1) exhibits significantly more contrast than those of the two recordings (Figures 2 and 3). This is because the piano roll, despite being made in 1906, was transferred to a digital medium in 2013 and, as a result, was recorded using modern technologies. As such, there is very little in the way of unwanted noise or distortion; what may be observed in figure 1 is highly defined using this method of visualisation. The tiny dots which constitute the image at the bottom of this figure show the individual notes that Pachmann played; the horizontal axis shows how these notes are displaced in time and the vertical axis how they are displaced in terms of frequency content which, of course, relates to the notes played at a given moment. The two recordings, by contrast, are much harder to read; although the images in Figures 2 and 3 are also comprised of tiny dots, they are much less-clearly defined. This is because both recordings feature a substantial quantity of surface and background noise, a product of the medium employed and the method of sound recording. In both cases, such noise is shown as a large rectangular block of grey that frames the entire recording. Both blocks are relatively uniform across the available frequency range, reaching almost 17000Hz. The block shown in Figure 2 is slightly brighter than that shown in Figure 3, since the background and surface noise is marginally louder. At this stage, the problems associated with early recordings when used to determine frequency content can immediately be grasped: it is impossible to separate background and surface noise from the sound of the piano and, given the even spread of noise across the available frequency range, very difficult to discern note from noise. There is, however, a more significant problem which can be identified through a comparison between

the two recordings (Figure 2 and 3). As stated above, these two recordings were made on the same piano; one might reasonably expect the frequency content to be similar as a result. There are, however, substantial differences between the frequencies represented in the respective spectrogram images. In Figure 2, there appears to be a small proportion of the piano's frequency content captured above 2000Hz, but the vast majority is located between 0 and 1500Hz. Figure 3, in contrast, has captured materials that extend beyond 4000Hz, and therefore presents a much greater frequency range. Such a striking difference underlines one of the major problems with early recordings: they do not capture a reliable or consistent range of frequencies and are not, in this respect, a faithful representation of what was originally played. Since there is no way of accounting for this distortion of the captured performance, it would be unwise to draw conclusions about frequency differences, or any associated notions of tone, timbre or touch.

Given what has been stated above, it might be tempting to assume that the piano roll spectrogram (Figure 1) is more reliable than the two recordings (Figures 2 and 3). After all, it clearly avoids many of the noise-based issues associated with the early recordings and, moreover, was captured using modern recording technologies which, one might hope, would more accurately represent the frequency content as originally performed. Unfortunately, this is not necessarily correct; as mentioned above, the piano roll may have been reproduced using a Welte system. However, it is impossible to know whether the frequency content of the recording has been significantly altered by the use of a different instrument and, furthermore, how much the instrument has changed over the course of its life. Consequently, it would be inadvisable to draw any conclusions about the frequency content of such rolls, unless one could attest to the efficacy of the system used for reproduction.

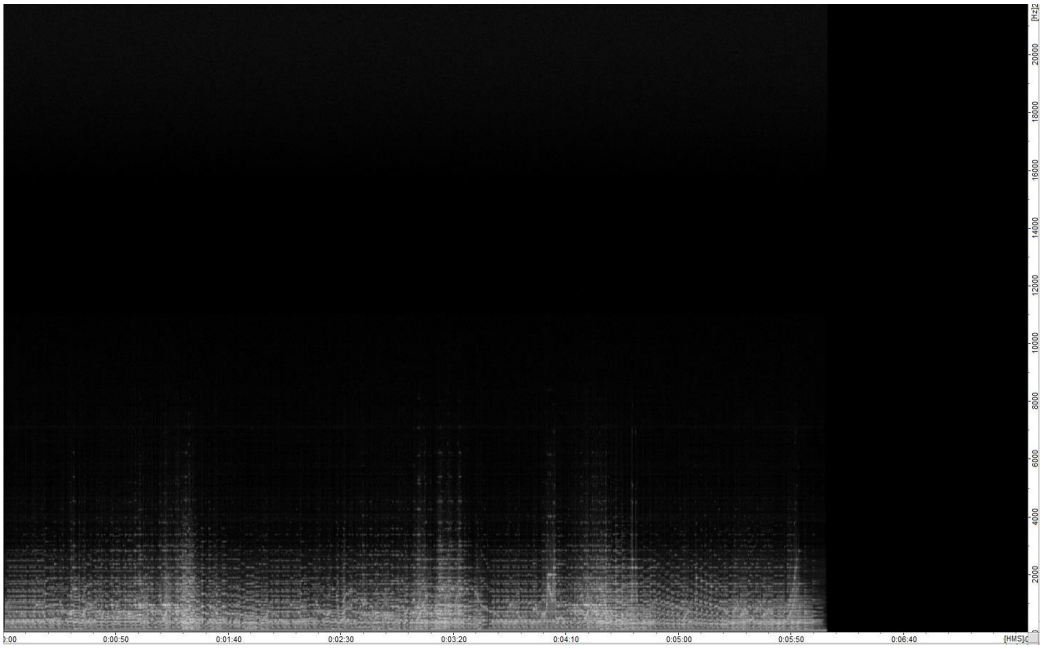


Figure 1. Limitations of the frequency range. Reproducing piano roll.

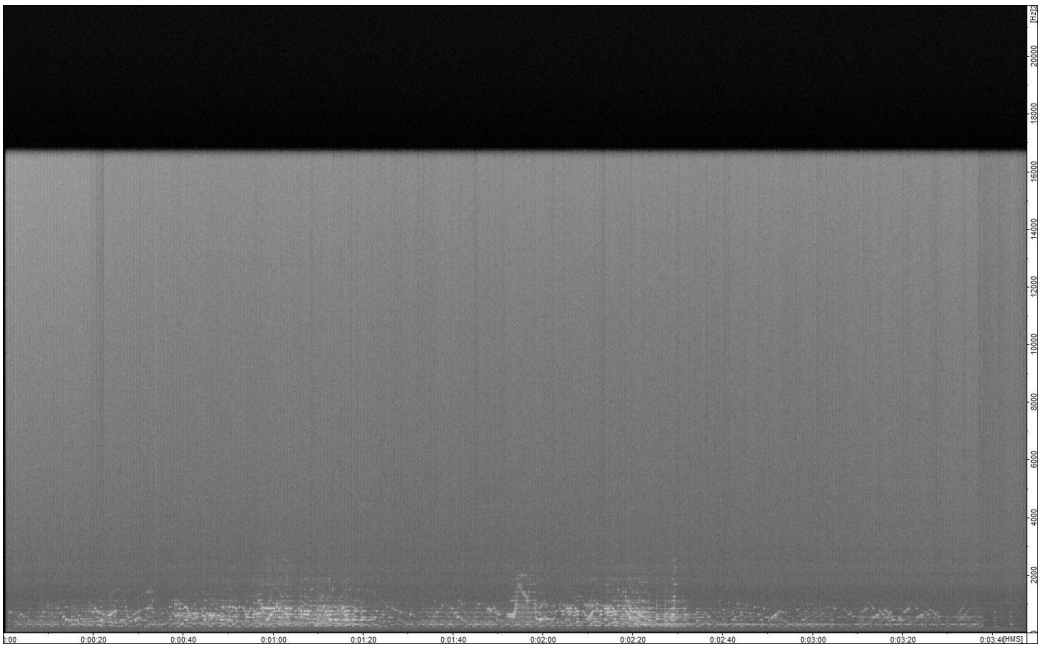


Figure 2. Limitations of the frequency range. Acoustic recording.

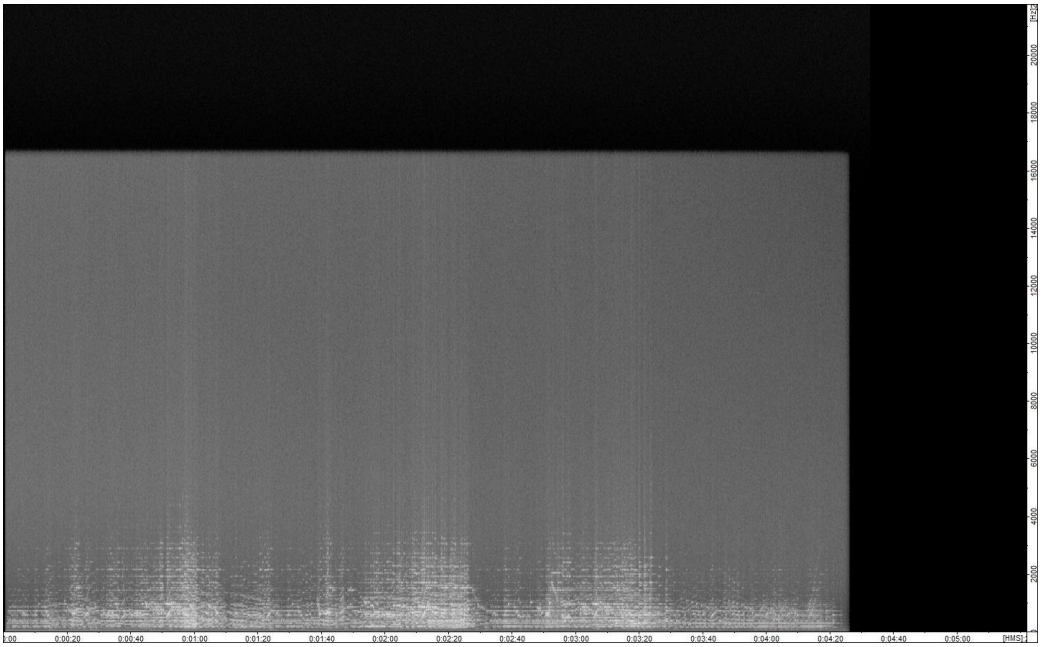


Figure 3. Limitations of the frequency range. Electric recording.

Although spectrograms represent dynamic fluctuations, it is much easier to view such details using waveform visualisations. Accordingly, Figures 4, 5 and 6 show the three recordings, again in their entirety, as waveforms; these show time along the horizontal axis (minutes and seconds) and amplitude along the vertical axis (displayed on a scale that ranges from -1 to +1, allowing for the representation of the positive and negative waveform fluctuations around a central point of 0 which would constitute no signal, and therefore no sound). In each case, the dynamic range can be identified by comparing the loudest (closest to -1 and +1 on the vertical axis) and quietest (closest to 0 on the vertical axis) events in the visualisation.

Given the frequency definition associated with the piano roll (Figure 4), one might reasonably expect similar definition in respect of its dynamic range. Surprisingly, however, the waveform visualisation exhibits a distinct lack of dynamic contrasts; Figure 4 shows the piano roll transfer, with relatively little distinction between the loudest and quietest moments. There are three moments where one can identify a defined dynamic peak (1'12” to 1'25”; 3'02” to 3'22”; 4'15” to 4'43”). Beyond these three moments, however, the waveform is relatively stable, in terms of fluctuations along the vertical axis. As explained in

the first part of this chapter, Welte-Mignon did not explain how their reproducing piano rolls registered dynamics and, as a result, it is impossible to know whether the piano roll is accurately representing what Pachmann played. More significantly, transference between different systems is likely to significantly alter the dynamic range; non-Welte systems are unlikely to read dynamic information in the same way; since this recording was made using a different system (as explained above), the lack of dynamic contrasts in this transfer cannot be taken as evidence of Pachmann's playing.

The acoustic recording, shown in Figure 5, presents a similar picture; although the overall level is significantly louder, there are, once again, relatively few dynamic contrasts and the overall result is relatively uniform. It is tempting to infer that this is a consequence of the recording technologies involved, and their ability to capture dynamic contrasts. However, it is impossible to tell, from the waveform alone, whether dynamic contrasts have been marginalised by the presence of substantial quantities of background and surface noise. As demonstrated by the spectrogram, however, we might note that the noise is dynamically uniform; the slight variations in dynamics presented in Figure 5 are therefore most likely a consequence of the piano playing rather than the presence of noise. Either way, it would be very difficult to draw any meaningful conclusions about the dynamic range in this context, since there is no way of accounting for the recording process and medium, or the additional complication of noise.

Figure 6 shows a much more significant contrast in the dynamic range; one can clearly identify three main dynamic peaks (0'50” to 1'00”; 1'55” to 2'25”; 3'05” to 3'25”), but there are substantial, albeit subtle, variations throughout the recording. This is, as mentioned above, likely to result from the recording process itself, since electrical recordings allowed for a greater dynamic range to be captured. With this in mind, one might reasonably conclude that this recording offers the most realistic visualisation of the dynamic range that Pachmann actually played. However, it is worth remembering that these were very early electrical recordings, and it remains difficult to rule out the possibility of significant distortions occurring during the recording. Either way,

it remains very difficult to conduct any type of comparison between the waveform visualisations; as with their spectrogram counterparts, there are too many unknown variables, which render any conclusions highly problematic.

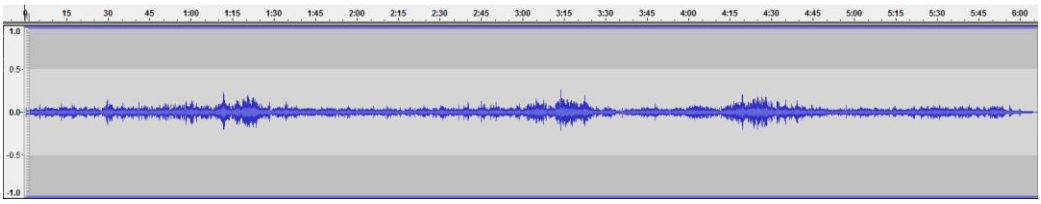


Figure 4. Waveform. Reproducing piano roll.

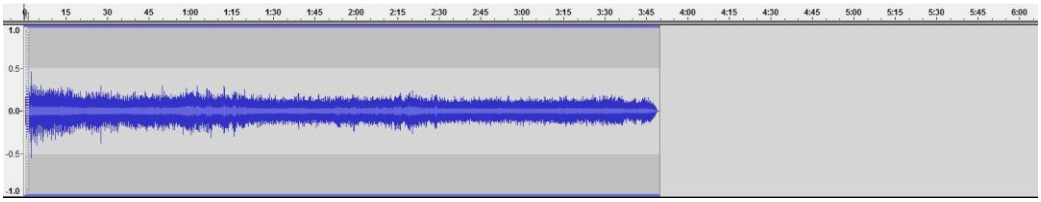


Figure 5. Waveform. Acoustic recording.

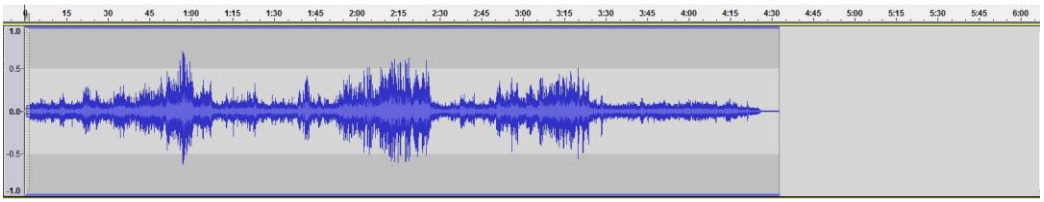


Figure 6. Waveform. Electric recording.

4.3.4 Tempo Alterations

As explained in the previous chapter, early sound recordings evidence varying attitudes towards tempo. In this context, an examination of Pachmann's recordings brings a clearer understanding of his pianistic style. The first part of my examination considers temporal changes between individual bars, while the second translates these changes into metronomic equivalents; an overall picture of Pachmann's tempo changes emerges, with evidence offered in both quantitative and qualitative forms.

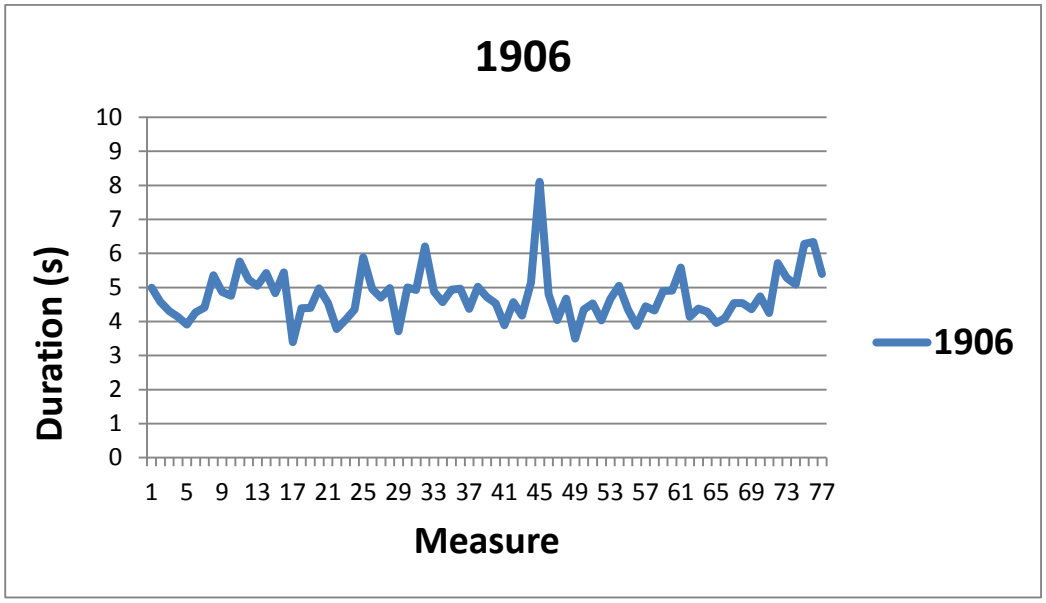
In the first part, tempo changes between individual bars were calculated using sonic visualiser tools; downbeats of each bar were inserted manually, using both aural and visual cues to determine the placement of individual beats.

This method proved more accurate than automated beat-tracking, as made possible by visualisation tools; automation of this process proved very inaccurate, largely owing to the number of dislocations and the use of metrical rubato. Manual input of beats, by contrast, was much more successful, as has been suggested elsewhere.[435] The recorded material was listened to intensively before the visualiser tools were used, developing a degree of familiarity particularly to the background and surface noise, in addition to tempo flexibilities and rubato. The score was used as a reference point. However, specific beats were registered according to the audible content of the recording and visual cues associated with the waveform. Crucially, downbeats were registered by the articulation of the bass note; dislocations are common in all three of Pachmann's recordings, as we shall see below, and it was therefore necessary to develop a consistent approach.

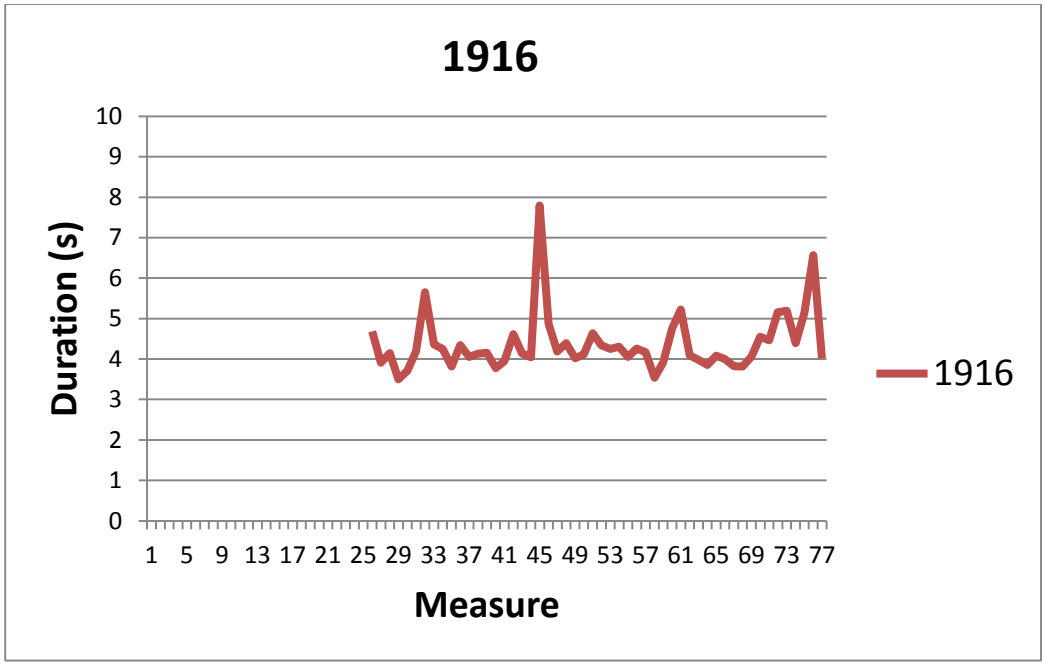
The process of identifying and registering beats was conducted and repeated on numerous occasions, to ensure accuracy. The registered bars were then exported as time data, allowing for tables of bar durations to be produced. In Table 8 (Appendix 1), we can see the duration of bars in seconds throughout Pachmann's 1906 recording. In order to make sense of this information, two additional columns have been added. The first shows the amount of change between bars, again in seconds; an increase in the duration of the bar is marked with a positive time value, and a decrease in duration with a negative time value. The very first figure in this column is marked as 0, as there is obviously no time change when considering the first bar. The second additional column shows the percentage change between bars. This was calculated by dividing the increase or decrease in bar durations by the first bar, before multiplying the result by 100; this ensures that the percentage change is always relative to a bar, rather than the overall tempo for the recording, allowing for changes to be considered at a local level. When calculating the percentage change, a positive value is produced. Even so, numbers shown in black demonstrate an increase in tempo, and numbers in red a decrease in tempo. These numbers provide a quantitative impression of the changing tempo bar-by-bar, which is then repeated in Tables 9

[435] Nicholas Cook, "Methods for analysing recordings", *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, pp. 230-231.

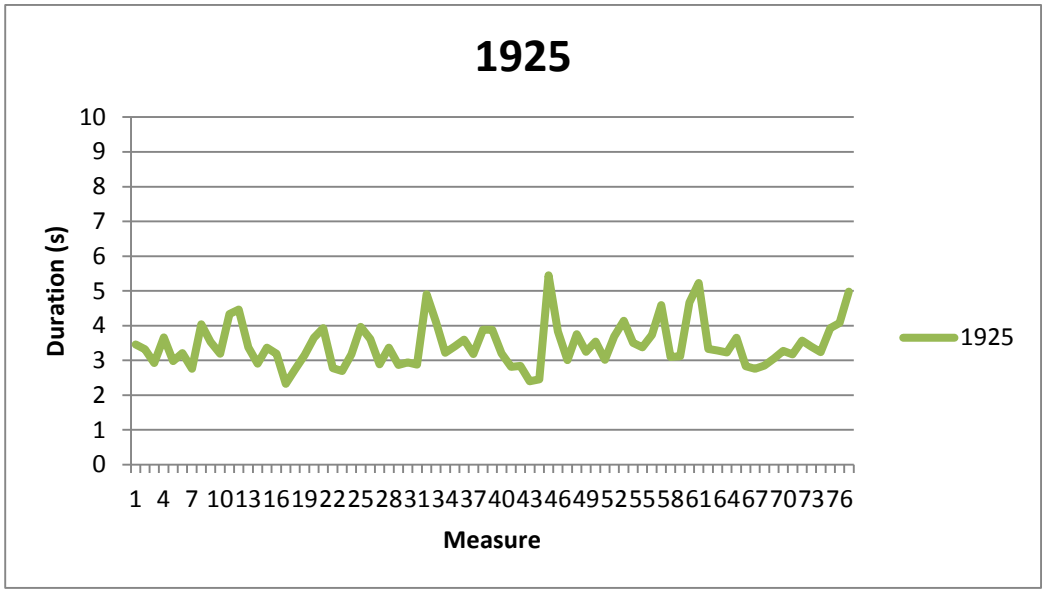
and 10 (Appendix 1), showing Pachmann's 1916 and 1925 recording respectively. This data allows direct comparisons to be made between the three recordings. The same information can also be plotted in graphs (1, 2 and 3) which can then produce a single, composite graph (Graph 4).



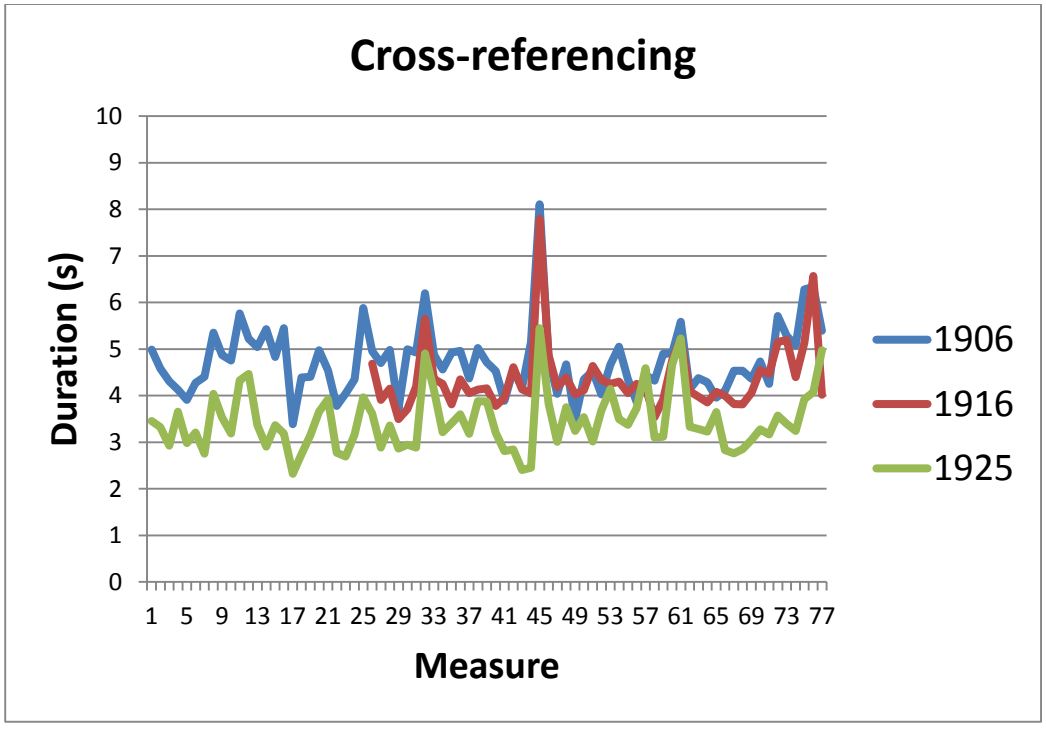
Graph 1. Vladimir de Pachmann, 1906 recording. Bar durations.



Graph 2. Vladimir de Pachmann, 1916 recording. Bar durations.



Graph 3. Vladimir de Pachmann, 1925 recording. Bar durations.



Graph 4. Vladimir de Pachmann, 1906, 1916 and 1925 recordings. Bar durations.

Tables 8, 9 and 10 show that bars rarely comprise the same length. Whilst this is not particularly surprising, the extent of change is often noteworthy. The 1906 reproducing piano roll has a significant number of bars with percentage change

lower than five percent: 4-5, 6-7, 9-10, 12-13, 26-27, 30-31, and 35-36. Between bars 18 and 19, 59 and 60, and 67 and 68, the percentage change of tempo is less than 0.5 and, as shown in the Table 8, this is rounded down to 0.[436] By contrast, the bars with the highest percentage of change (58%) are 44 and 45; these bars lead in to theme A which is then heard for a final time. The other high-percentage changes occur between bars such as 16 and 17 (38%), 17 and 18 (29%), 24 and 25 (35%), 45 and 46 (41%) and 71 and 72 (34%).

The acoustic recording differs from the reproducing piano roll in many respects: it has only a single occurrence of a percentage change of less than 1 (bars 67-68) and a significant number with a change smaller than 5%. At the same time, the recording has a significant number of bars that demonstrate more than 15% change including 26-27, 28-29, 32-33, 41-42, 44-45, 45-46, 57-58, 60-61, 71-72, 73-74, 75-76, and 76-77. This recording, then, demonstrates a different approach from the 1906 roll, with accelerations and retardations happening in shorter phrases.

It is noticeable from the graphs that these recordings also have some striking similarities. Although Pachmann uses various different musical tools to build his interpretation, as will be shown later in this chapter, he upholds a relatively uniform interpretational approach. The major difference that can be observed between the three recordings is in bar 50; at this point, the 1916 recording differs from the other two, in so far as Pachmann speeds up rather than slowing down. This might be due to the fact that the performance is abridged, however, and most of the remaining aspects of bar durations remain relatively consistent with the 1906 and 1925 recordings.

As shown in Table 10, the electric recording from 1925 has the most frequent fluctuations in tempo, even though it has nineteen bars with a percentage change lower than five, making it similar to the reproducing piano roll. In the first eight bars of the Nocturne, for example, Pachmann's tempo alters from 4% to 47%; once again, this will be discussed in more detail later when considering the editions used. The main peaks of change are between bars 31 and 32 (70%) two bars before the second version of the B theme in bar 34.

[436] As seen in the table 1, this recording has nineteen bars with the percentage of change lower than five.

That is understandable, however, as Pachmann has added some unwritten ornamentation, and plays a number of extra notes. In this recording, he again demonstrates a similar percentage change in bars 44 and 45 (122%), prolonging them prior to the last return of theme A.

We can observe all the various changes in the context of the structure of the composition; Table 1 shows how the low percentage changes are relatively consistent across the three recordings. However, it also shows that high percentage changes differ significantly, especially in the second appearance of part A.

	A1 (1 - 9)	B1 (10 - 25)	A2 (26 - 33)	B2 (34 - 45)	A3 (46 - 52)	B3 (53 - 61)	Coda (62-77)
1906	0 – 21	0 – 38	1 – 34	1 – 58	4 – 41	0 – 16	1 – 34
1916			6 – 35	1 – 93	2 – 37	1 – 21	1 – 39
1925	4 – 47	3 – 36	2 – 70	0 – 122	9 – 30	1 – 49	1 – 36

Table 1. Percentage changes mapped on to structural sections of Chopin's Op. 27 No. 2.

Examination of tempo modifications at more localised levels shows significant 'outbursts' of change in all three recordings, particularly in bars 44 and 45 just before the third return of A. Crucially, the only consistent changes higher than 25% occur between bars 31 and 32, 44 and 45, 45 and 46, and 61 and 62. Other changes are much less consistent. For example, between bars 59 and 60, the 1906 recording has 0% change, while the other two have 21% and 49% respectively. Likewise, bars 75 and 76 reveal a similar pattern; once again, the piano roll has an extremely low percentage change (1%) and the electric recording 4%, while the acoustic recording has 28%.

Comparing recordings in their totality foregrounds two principal points of interest. Firstly, the tempo changes in the reproducing piano roll vary from 0% to 58%, while the acoustic recording varies from 1% to 94% and the electrical recording from 1% to 122%. Secondly, the mean average of such changes has 13.73% change for the reproducing piano roll, 11.98% for the acoustic recording, and 16.59% for the electric recording. Taking these two

points together, we see that the reproducing piano roll has fewer extremes in tempo change, when compared to the acoustic recording. However, the overall percentage change is greater in the former than the latter, implying a greater degree of change overall. The electrical recording is, however, the most extreme in both regards, showing the widest gap between the smallest and lowest percentage change, and the highest overall mean average of change.

There are clearly significant differences between the three recordings, revealing a lack of consistency in Pachmann's treatment of overall tempo changes. Such fluctuations appear to show that Pachmann's elastic notion of tempo is consistent with the general late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century style and tendencies, as mentioned in Chapter 3. Observing these changes in numerical and graphic form helps us to understand that these recordings all have substantial variances in tempo; whilst changes occur constantly, it is the mean average of the percentage change that provides the clearest picture of change overall.

Although these various tables and graphs give a good indication of tempo changes across the three recordings, the quantitative data they yield is not consistent with how performers and musicians engage with musical scores and pieces; a percentage change might tell us something about the amount of difference between bars, but it is difficult to appreciate what this means in a practical sense, since musicians tend to think and act in terms of metronome marks, rather than percentages. As a result, the data in the above tables was also 'translated' into metronome marks, thus presenting the same data set, but displayed in more intrinsically musical terms.

The production of metronomic marks was relatively easy to achieve; the value of 60, representing the number of seconds in a minute, was divided by the duration of the bar and then multiplied by the number of beats supposedly occurring during each bar. Unfortunately, whilst this provides a rough estimate of the bar's metronomic value, it does not present an adequate picture of tempo flexibility and modification. When a metronome mark is calculated from the duration of the bar, or even a mean beat duration, it is necessarily an average that does not account for variations within the bar itself; even though the

average speeds will be meaningful in some contexts, they can be highly misleading in discussions about tempo fluctuations. This is because some bars contain an elongated first and last beat, but a much quicker tempo in between; perceptually, the resulting overall tempo will seem much higher than an average of the entire bar might suggest. In spite of this, the number of beats per minute, as shown in Tables 8, 9 and 10, reveal further features of Pachmann's approach to the three recordings.

As discussed above, Pachmann uses tempo modification to enhance expression in individual phrases and sections throughout the three recordings. 'Translating' these changes in the metronome markings reveals striking results. In the reproducing piano roll, the tempo fluctuates from 72bpm for a quaver to 67bpm and 92bpm in the first A strophe. In the electrical recording, Pachmann goes from the opening 104bpm to a low of 89bpm and a high of 131bpm. Considerably faster, the 1925 recording also has a higher tempo span. Combined results are presented in Table 2, where the three recordings' tempo fluctuations are shown from the lowest to highest in each section of the piece.

	A1 (1 - 9)	B1 (10 - 25)	A2 (26 - 33)	B2 (34 - 45)	A3 (46 - 52)	B3 (53 - 61)	Coda (62 - 77)
1906	67 - 92	61 - 106	58 - 97	44 – 92	75 – 103	64 - 93	68 - 91
1916			64 - 103	46 – 95	74 – 89	69 - 102	55 - 94
1925	89 - 131	81 - 155	73 - 126	66 – 150	98 – 120	69 - 116	88 - 130

Table 2. Combined representation of tempo fluctuations in individual sections of the piece.

Once again, we can clearly observe the general trend of tempo changes across the three recordings. Whilst such changes are clearly evident in all of the recordings, they are again most extreme in the electrical recording. Whilst the data used to produce these tables is the same as that used in Appendix 1 (Tables 8, 9 and 10), the use of metronomic markings presents changes in a form that makes more sense for performing musicians

The research with Sonic Visualiser provides information on how

Pachmann approached this Nocturne three times at different stages of his life. The three recordings display similarities, such as the sudden drop of tempo in bar 17, and high peaks of change around bars 33 and 45. Nevertheless, the ways Pachmann reaches these points are clearly different in the three recordings, and that is where the tables and the numerical data help to build a more detailed picture. Thus, we might reasonably conclude that Pachmann's approach to the piece remained the same, but that the paths he took in putting tempo changes into effect are different.

Fluctuating tempo was, as discussed in chapter three, one of the significant features of nineteenth-century performance and is exemplified in numerous ways in Pachmann's recordings. It is interesting to note that the electric recording, as the latest chronologically, is the most erratic in terms of tempo changes. Nonetheless, fluctuating tempi have to be understood in the context of the overall performance and recording medium employed; the reproducing piano roll, which fluctuates around the tempo of 24 for a dotted crotchet, is the slowest overall. This may well be a product of the medium; piano roll creation was, as mentioned above, the most comfortable between acoustic and electric recording processes. The fact that the acoustic recording was abridged already demonstrates a concern with overall duration, but this alteration also enabled Pachmann to choose a slow tempo, as for the 1906 recording. It is not quite as slow, however; after the starting bar played at 26 for a dotted crotchet the performance establishes itself at around 29 for a dotted crochet. The fastest recording is the electrical one; in this context, time limitations still existed, and the chosen tempo here is 35 for a dotted crotchet, significantly faster than both piano roll and acoustic recordings. It is clear that the medium makes a significant difference to the recording process and is likely to have informed the overall tempo for the performance and recording.

Even though the medium appears to affect the overall tempo, there is no corresponding impact upon small-scale tempo changes in any of the three recordings. These changes reveal overall attitudes towards temporal flexibility, with clear similarities and differences emerging among the recordings. We shall now consider such changes in relation to various editions of the score, in order

to determine whether they are clearly aligned with significant moments in the composed work.

4.3.5 Correspondences between Pachmann's Recordings and Various Editions

Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 was first published in 1836.[437] For the purposes of the current research a number of editions were examined in order to come to conclusions about Pachmann's interpretations,[438] based on similarities with his recordings. The examined editions include one transcribed by Marguerite de Pachmann-Labori; this is of particular interest since it was based upon Pachmann's personal scores, being transcribed by his ex-wife and student. The original documents that Pachmann-Labori used to transcribe this Nocturne are not known to the author and, since it was published after Pachmann's death and may not have been approved by the pianist,[439] this particular edition will be examined with a degree of caution. In all examined editions, the tempo marking is 50 for a dotted crotchet, *Lento sostenuto,* a marking derived from the autograph.[440] The tempo marking is the last marking Chopin would usually add to a score and a comparison between the autograph and the first editions shows changes that happened along the way.[441] However, the editions of this Nocturne

[437] Paris: M. Schlesinger, 1836-45; Brandus: 1846-58 and from 1973; Brandus et Dufour: 1858-72. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel: 1836-79. London: Wessel: 1836-59; Ashdown & Parry: from 1860. For more information, see Christophe Grabowski and John Rink, *Annotated Catalogue of Chopin's First Editions*, pp. 194 – 203.

[438] Breitkopf und Härtel, *Friedrich Chopin's Werke: Band IV,* ed. Woldemar Bargiel (Leipzig, 1878), pp. 28-31; Schlesinersche Buch-und Musikhandlung, *Klavierwerke. Instructive Ausgabe, Vol. V: Nocturnes,* ed. Theodor Kullak (Berlin, 1881), pp. 28-31; Maurice Senart, *Édition Nationale de Musique Classique. Édition de travail des oeuvres de Chopin par Alfred CORTOT. Nocturnes,* ed. Alfred Cortot (Paris, 1916), pp. 47-54; Schirmer, *Complete Works for the Piano, Vol.4,* ed. Carl Mikuli (New York, 1894), pp. 37-41; Augener, *Oeuvres pour le piano, Vol. 2: Nocturnes,* ed. Karl Klindworth and Xaver Scharwenka (London, 1883), pp. 289-294, Schirmer, *Complete Works for the Piano, Vol. 4: Nocturnes,* ed. Rafael Joseffy (New York, 1915), pp. 37-41; C. F. Peters, *Sämtliche Pianoforte-Werke, Band I,* ed. Herrmann Scholtz (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 237-240.

[439] *Chopin. (Piano Works.) With the authentic fingering and phrasing of Vladimir de Pachmann.* Transcribed and with notes by Marguerite de Pachmann-Labori (London: Augener, 1935), pp. 2-7.

[440] None of the Stirling score have metronome marking (Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* p. 205)

[441] Roland Jackson, *Performance Practice: a dictionary-guide for musicians* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 88

demonstrate consistency in regard to tempo markings.[442] The metronome marking will strike any pianist who attempts to perform it as way too fast. In general, though, the piece is performed at quite a slow tempo, sometimes more than twice as slow as the composer implied (as in Pachmann's 1906 piano roll).[443] The metronome indication should be interpreted in the context of the time that it was written, which implies relating it to the instrument then in use as well as to performance practices. Lighter-action pianos of Chopin's time, for example, certainly influenced his markings, since they facilitated performances at quick tempos. Furthermore, tempo-keeping was not strictly regulated in the nineteenth century, 50 bpm for a dotted crotchet providing a guide for determining the overall performance speed, as a *lento* ultimately much faster than expected nowadays.[444]

Different editions offer various perspectives on the Nocturne, and these become increasingly significant when considered alongside Pachmann's recordings. Kullak's edition, for example, gives an explanation of the analysis of the Nocturne, which he divides into eight strophes.[445] Along similar lines, Cortot's famous edition has comments on how to practise the material, as well as abstract descriptions about how the material should sound, while Paderewski includes an interesting notation of the bass line, where the bass is separated from the rest of the group in the left hand.[446] From contemporary writings, we learn that the Klindworth edition is: "generally considered the best from an editorial

[442] The first editions all show the same marking, namely: Wessel & Co, *Les Plaintives! Deux. Nocturnes, (le 4^{o} Recueil.) pour le Piano Forte, Op. 27* (London, 1837), Maurice Schlesinger, *Deux Nocturnes pour le Piano, Op. 27* (Paris, 1836) and Breitkopf & Härtel, *Deux Nocturnes pour le Pianoforte, Op. 27* (Leipzig, 1836).

[443] Interestingly, Leschetizky's edition of the same piece also marks 50 for a dotted crotchet, yet his 1906 piano roll is considerably slower. Nocturne Op. 27 No.2 is one of many works by Chopin that seems to have a metronome marking that is exceptionally fast. See: Thomas Higgins, "Tempo and Character in Chopin", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 59 No. 1 (January 1973), pp. 106-120.

[444] Thomas Higgins, "Tempo and Character in Chopin", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 59, No. 1 (Jan., 1973), p. 115.

[445] I – b. 1-9; II – b. 10-13, III (transposed repetition of the II) b. 14 – 25, IV (the repetition of the first) b. 26 – 33, V (transposed repetition of the II) b. 34-45, VI (repetition of the I) b. 46 – 53; VII (repetition of the II) b. 53 (last quaver)-62 and VIII (coda) b. 62 (second half of the bar) – 77.

[446] Only occasionally the bass note is separated from the rest of the semiquavers, as, for example, in the first beat in bar one, fifth beat in bar three, fifth beat in bar six, first beat in bar ten, and so on.

point of view, i.e. in the correctness of the text and the choice of variants, when such exist. Kullak's edition has the advantage of many notes and much interesting comment on the works."[447] In the preface of Pachmann's edition, Marguerite de Pachmann-Labori emphasised the importance of this edition by reference to unusual fingerings and phrasing, as are noticeable from the beginning of the piece. For example, Pachmann appears to switch between the fifth and fourth finger when playing the same key throughout the left hand material. According to de Pachmann-Labori, his fingerings show how to make a continuous legato.

Comparing Pachmann's recordings with the various editions reveals interesting details in all three recordings and the scores themselves help to clarify some of his tempo choices and fluctuations. Firstly, there are no markings in the score[448] to designate tempo change beyond *ritenuto* in bar 25, *calando* in bar 70, and *smorzando* in bar 73. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that a number of markings appear in all the editions that nowadays would not imply tempo change, but certainly did carry such implications in nineteenth-century performance practice: *espressivo* (bar 10), *con forza* (bar 18), *con anima* (bar 54), *con forza* (with portato signs, bar 57), *appasionato* (bar 58). Pachmann's edition includes further markings, for example *senza rigore* in bar 32. Even so, this marking is editorial, as it is marked with a square bracket, as with the *stretto* in bar 44. In bar 42, Pachmann's own marking is *pesante.* A number of written-out crescendos appear as well, for example in bars 13 and 17.

These markings are revealing when considered alongside the recordings. In bar 10, which is marked espressivo, the 1906 recording has only a 2% change. However, in bar 11, the second bar of the B strophe's two-bar writing, the tempo drops from 76bpm to 62bpm. A similar thing happens in the 1925 recording: the tempo fluctuates from 102bpm in bar 9 to 113bpm in bar 10, but then suddenly drops to 83bpm in bar 11. Fluctuations in bars 16, 17 and 18 are even more extreme in the 1906 recording; marked con forza in bar 18, Pachmann goes from 66bpm to 106bpm to 82bpm around bar 18. Both piano roll and electric recording have a high percentage of change between bars 7 and

[447] Jonson, *Handbook to Chopin's Works,* xxxiii
[448] That is, in all the examined editions.

8, and 21 and 47. The various editions of the Nocturne explain why: Mikuli, Kullak, Josseffy, Paderewski, Scholtz, Klindworth all have in bar 8 a *fz* sign for the first beat, with beats 6, 7 and 8 under a *portato* sign (discussed also as *Bebung* in the previous chapter), which imply a broadening of the texture, as Pachmann performed it. Pachmann approached it in slightly different ways, moreover, in the 1906 and 1925 recordings. A similar approach can be heard in bar 15, where all aforementioned editions carry *portato* signs in the 4th, 5th and 6th beats of the bar. In both the piano roll and electrical recording, Pachmann reduces the tempo considerably, broadening the second part of the bar. A lack of broadening and retarding beats with *portato* signs is witnessed in bar 39; whereas the acoustic and electric recordings do not slow down at all, the piano roll actually accelerates, as in bars 55 and 57. In bar 25, all of the examined editions have the marking *ritenuto*, following by *a tempo* in bar 26. Pachmann, in the Welte-Mignon recording, slows down, producing a 35% change between bars 24 and 25 (going from 83 to 61 quavers per minute), to return to the tempo of 73bpm in bar 26, accelerating to almost his starting point, 77 quavers per minute in bar 27. The electrical recording differs, with a change between bars 25 and 26 of 9%. Between bars 26 and 27, however, the change is around 20%, but drops to around 3% in bars 30 and 31; at this point, the drop in tempo fluctuations corresponds with ornamentation introduced into the performance. The editorial *stretto* in bar 44 of Pachmann's edition implies an increase in tempo. Even so, Pachmann slows down in the 1906 reproducing piano roll and 1925 recording, and in the 1916 recording he speeds up by a mere 2bpm.

A number of accelerations and retardations can be explained by considering written accounts of the various editions. It is important to note, though, that even in this context Pachmann's variations in tempo remain significant; besides the (relatively limited) tempo markings and suggestions from the score, Pachmann makes continual tempo fluctuations even though none of the accelerations and broadenings are written in the editions. Pachmann appears to have interpreted the score in light of nineteenth-century trends and traditions, as outlined in Chapter 3. However, it is surprising to see how much his tempo fluctuates at local levels, and more surprising still to observe how

these recordings offer a substantially different reading of the same musical text. Pachmann uses tempo flexibility as an expressive device, as already mentioned, and it seems that when something is structurally significant he employs this particular device to foreground certain elements of the Nocturne; tempo is used to shape phrases in numerous ways, without any real commonality between the recordings. He broadens and hastens the tempo to draw a distinct musical line between the strophes of the Nocturne, in this way enhancing its musical and dramatic effect.

It is clear from this part of the study that Pachmann's interpretation of the Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 varies between the three recordings. Besides the common artistic interpretational path, this can perhaps be partially explained by the specific medium employed in the recording process; as mentioned above, recording using a reproducing piano roll was generally more relaxed than recording with acoustic and electrical media. Differences between recordings aside, Pachmann appears to have used tempo to delineate the overall structure of the piece, and his dramatic tempo shifts, alongside small-scale tempo alterations, seem to be structured around the strophic nature of the piece. In this respect, they appear to represent Pachmann's personal style, as informed by late nineteenth-century performance practice.

4.4 Rhythmic Alterations and Text Variations

The previous part of this case study considered a range of tempo modifications. However, certain modifications are not captured in the tables and graphs I presented, for example agogic lengthening of occasional beats and metric accentuation common to all three recordings. Further modifications of the written text, such as changing the note values (equal to unequal and vice versa), over-dotting, starting the trills before they are notated, and tripletising figures which are written as equal-value notes, are also absent from the tables and graphs. These alterations, integral components of each of the three recordings, must be observed at a local level. Each of the three recordings is different in their application of such alterations, which are possibly influenced by both tempo choice and recording technique.

From the very beginning of the 1906 and 1925 recordings, we observe how much Pachmann deviates from the written text. In strophe A, Pachmann changes notes of equal value to ones of unequal value; he performs the left hand in the whole piece with altered rhythm, prolonging certain notes in the bass. The dotted rhythm of the left hand, which is clearly not written in the score, varies from phrase to phrase as the bass material pulsates through the piece. The expressive agogic lengthening of the first bass note, followed by one in the second bar, predicts what Pachmann will play in the left hand throughout the piece. In the 1925 recording, alterations vary from the very obvious, such as the big stop on the bass note (for example, the first beat of bar 4), to the very slight (for example, bar 2). In strophe B, both recordings present a large number of over-dottings, under-dottings and a dramatic fermata in bar 19 (which is similar to the dramatic pause in bar 38 of the acoustic recording). In the 1906 transfer, Pachmann dots the triplet in the fourth beat of the bar 14. In bar 18 of the electrical recording, Pachmann plays the first three beats without the dotted rhythm, while in bar 20 he plays the octaves dotted. These are just a few examples, demonstrating that something is changed in nearly each bar of every recording, if not rhythmically then through the use of pronounced metric rubato, unnotated arpeggiation or dislocation. This will be discussed in the next part of my chapter. The acoustic recording also presents a plethora of dotted rhythms, for example in the second parts of bars 28 and 29, in the triplet of the third beat of bar 39, and in the third beat of bar 53.

In contrast to the other two recordings, in the electric recording Pachmann makes large-scale alterations, such as playing an extended ornamented run in bar 30, which is not notated in the score, and in jumping up an octave in bar 32, expanding the register to play the run in the first three beats of the bar. In this recording he adds notes, as when he plays a tie in bar 47, adds a C-flat in bar 49 or adds another E-flat in the first beat of the bar 61. Sometimes Pachmann changes the bass note up or down an octave, as in the 1906 recording on the first beats of bars 5, 46 and 49. Adding an octave in the score can be seen in some of Chopin's pupils' scores. For example, he added an octave in the bass notes of the first and fourth beat, just before the beginning of the coda in bar

59.[449] The electric recording has a number of wrong notes, such as in bars 25, 37 and 38, and in the reproducing piano roll Pachmann omits the bass note in the left hand of bar 45, last beat.

Comparing these recordings shows that Pachmann stayed faithful to his own style of playing, in which rhythmical "freedom" is central to the act of performance. Furthermore, similarities in the three recordings, when considered together, evidence a general approach and style. Even when various editions are added into the equation, we can see that his choices demonstrate a high degree of interpretational freedom relative to the musical text. The slight differences in the editions do not cover 'mis-reading' the rhythm and cannot be taken into account when approaching Pachmann's recordings. Pachmann's way of approaching a musical text corresponds in fact to Chopin's own approach to his scores; Chopin used to change his compositions considerably when teaching or playing, as demonstrated by his students' scores and associated testimonies. It is only in the inter-war years of the twentieth century that the printed text became sacrosanct; Pachmann's playing on his recordings ultimately evidences nineteenth-century playing styles. Rhythmical alterations, then, were not considered 'freedoms' in Pachmann's time. It is worth noting that none of the editions, including Pachmann's, show any rhythmical alterations of the text.

4.5 Dislocation and Unnotated Arpeggiation

Dislocation was a commonly-used technique in nineteenth-century playing, a fact to which numerous recordings testify. This non-synchronised playing between left and right hand, which typically involved the playing of the right hand melodic line after the accompaniment in the left hand, was frequently used in slower compositions to emphasise the melody. In practical terms, dislocated notes are generally used at the very beginnings or endings of bars and phrases, and at moments of harmonic or expressive importance. This technique has similarities with metrical rubato, as discussed in the Chapter 3. However, whilst metrical rubato is applied to the phrase, dislocation is localised in the context of

[449] This can also be seen in the scores belonging to Stirling, Dubois and Jędrzejewicz. See: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* pp. 207, 213, 224.

metrical rearrangements.[450]

Written evidence about dislocation is sporadic and, crucially, it is not notated in musical scores. In this context, recorded evidence is of great importance, as it shows the extent to which the expressive device was in use at the turn of the century. Pachmann's recordings of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 are no exception, all three featuring dislocations; and this particular piece provides perfect musical material for applying the device, with its arpeggiated left hand and bel canto melodic line. Recordings of it by numerous other pianists at the turn of the twentieth-century, for example Leschetizky, La Forge, Powell and Rosenthal, all employ dislocation.[451] More generally, sound evidence from the turn of the century proves that dislocation was a significant performance trend. The choice of visualisation tools here is limited. Spectrograms can be used, but do not adequately capture the temporal dislocation between notes, largely owing to the poor-quality graphic representations of sonic phenomena at such a localised level. Programmes that transcribe performances are equally problematic; although they are becoming increasingly sophisticated, they rarely provide transcriptions that correspond with musical scores, and are frequently inaccurate and prone to misreading musical materials. As a result, I used aural verification to identify dislocations in collaboration with the written score.

We can determine Pachmann's approach to dislocation by comparing the three recordings; he clearly uses this expressive technique to provide emphasis at key moments, whilst setting the melodic line against the harmonic accompaniment. The dislocations in the three recordings vary nonetheless, and were probably determined by numerous factors, including: the choice of tempo, the medium used in the recording process, and the instrument played. In some cases, gaps between the left and the right hand are extremely subtle, but in others fairly pronounced; the lack of uniform usage makes them an awkward subject of study.

Figures 7, 8 and 9 present bars 46, 47 and 48, where strophe A returns for a final time. There are significant differences in Pachmann’s use of

[450] For various types of dislocation, see: Peres Da Costa, “Dislocation in Piano Playing: A Neglected Expressive Technique”, pp. 15-25.
[451] For more information on their recordings, see Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 75.

dislocations in these three examples: the 1906 recording has more than the other two recordings, and it is interesting that Pachmann played the melodic note before the bass in the fourth quaver beat of bar 46, since this is a much rarer form of dislocation. Also, there are a significant number of grouped dislocations in bar 48, between fifth and sixth quaver beats, presenting a wonderful example of metric rubato. In the 1916 recording, Pachmann uses fewer dislocations, placing these three times within the three bars. Interestingly, he plays the bass an octave higher than written in the first part of the fourth beat of the bar 46. In 1925, besides the dislocation in bars 46 and 48, Pachmann also changes the text in bar 47, where he plays the tied A in the right hand twice, both as a dotted crotchet and again as a quaver. The choice of tempo appears to dictate the use of dislocations in these examples; given the slower tempo, dislocations are easier to achieve, and have more of an impact. Significantly, they are present throughout in all recordings.

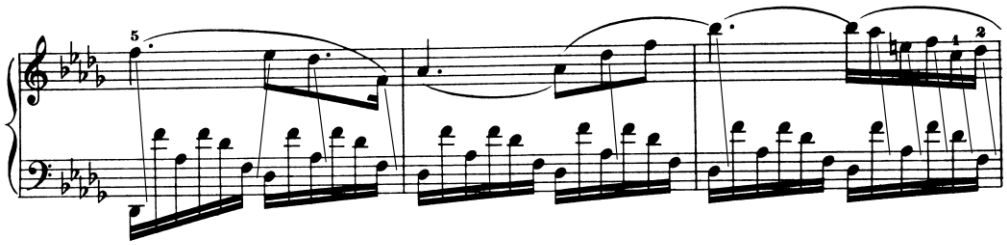


Figure 7. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1906 recording. Bars 46, 47 and 48.

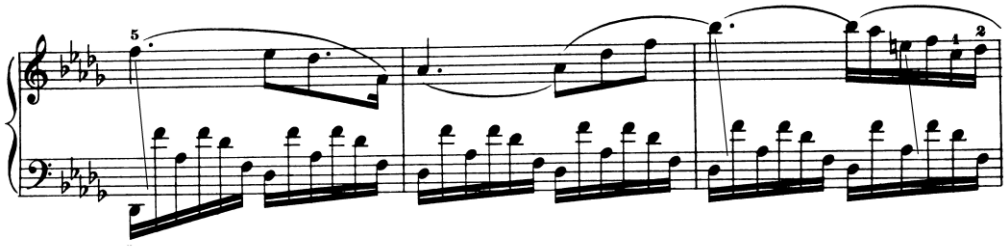


Figure 8. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1916 recording. Bars 46, 47 and 48.

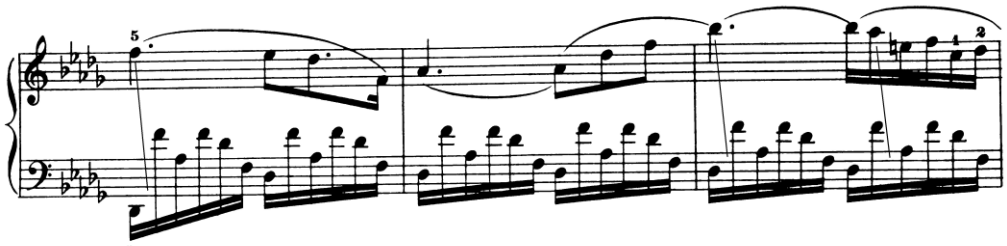


Figure 9. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1925 recording. Bars 46, 47 and 48.

When comparing the first nine bars of the piano roll with the electric recording, we hear that Pachmann employs dislocation throughout in spite of the significantly different tempi. The dislocations are much easier to hear in the piano roll transfer, largely due to the slower tempo. In this context, dislocations are usually placed on the downbeats. However, both recordings show Pachmann using it as an expressive device to emphasize harmonic tension, and to connect consecutive notes within the melody – a common manifestation of dislocation. The electric recording shows dislocation in the semiquavers of the second parts of bars 6 and 8, slowing down the pace, and in effect constituting metric rubato. The dislocations notated in the score are presented in Figures 10 and 11. Table 3 shows the number and placement of dislocations within each bar (the numbers represent the number of the quaver beat).

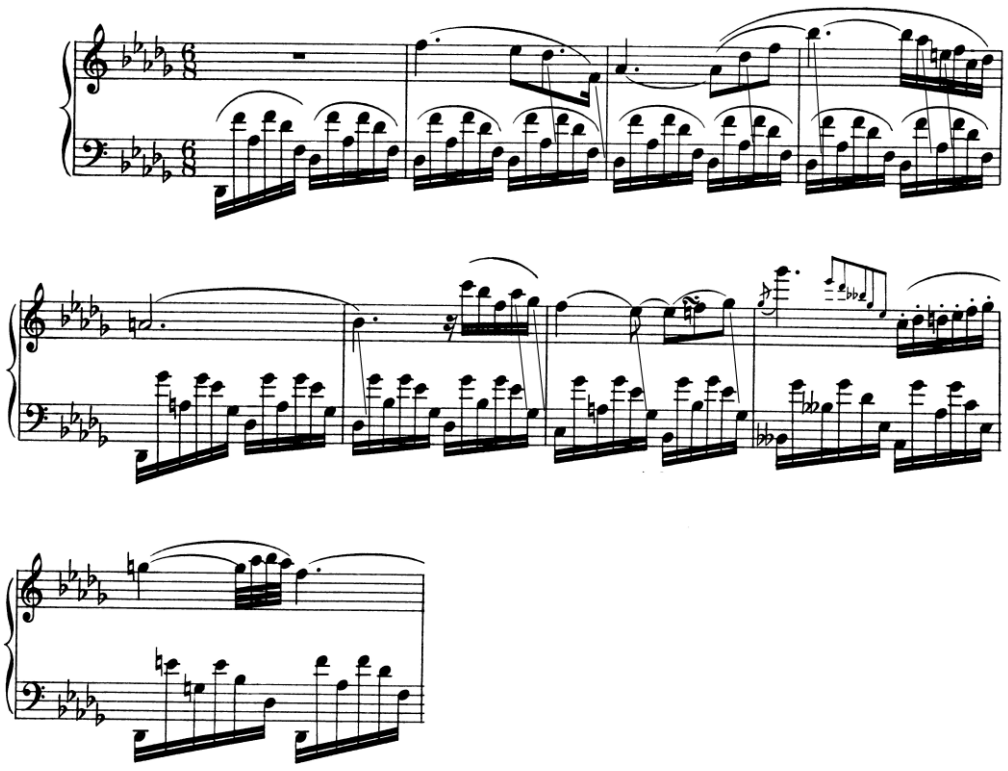


Figure 10. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1906 recording. Bars 1 to 9.

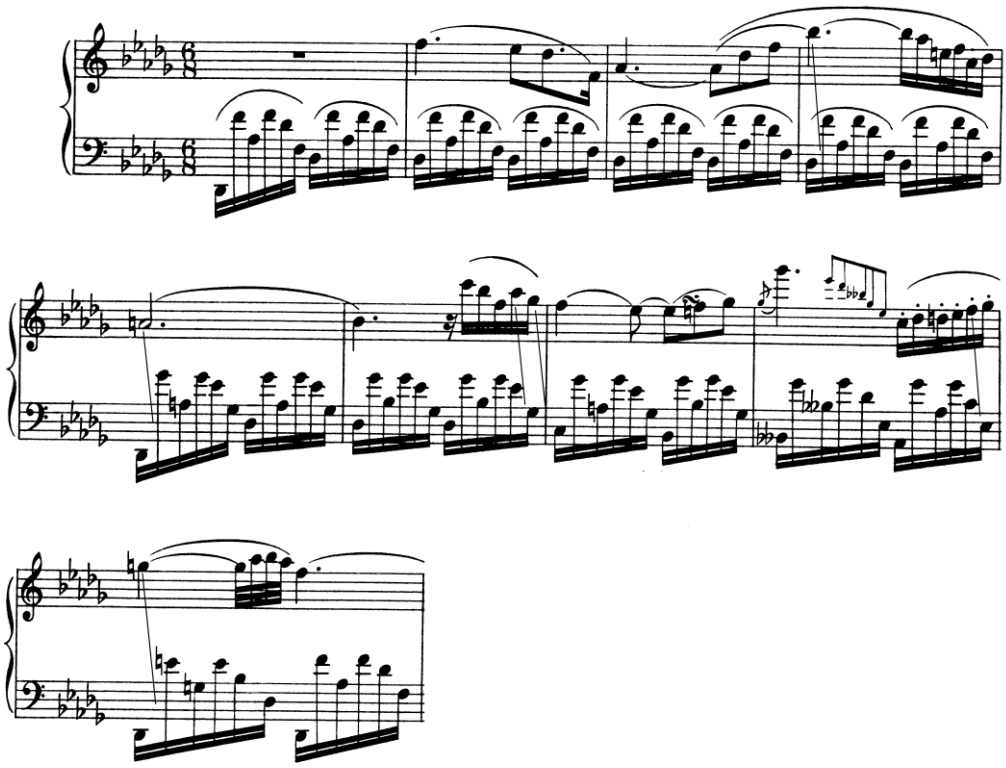


Figure 11. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1925 recording. Bars 1 to 9.

	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1906	5, 6	5	1, 4, 5		1, 6	3, 6		
1925			1	1	6		6	1

Table 3. Summary of dislocations, bars 1 to 9.

Comparison of the coda, from bar 62 to 77, confirms Pachman's approach towards dislocation between the recordings. Figures 12, 13 and 14 present the notated score, while the cross-examination can be seen in Table 4.

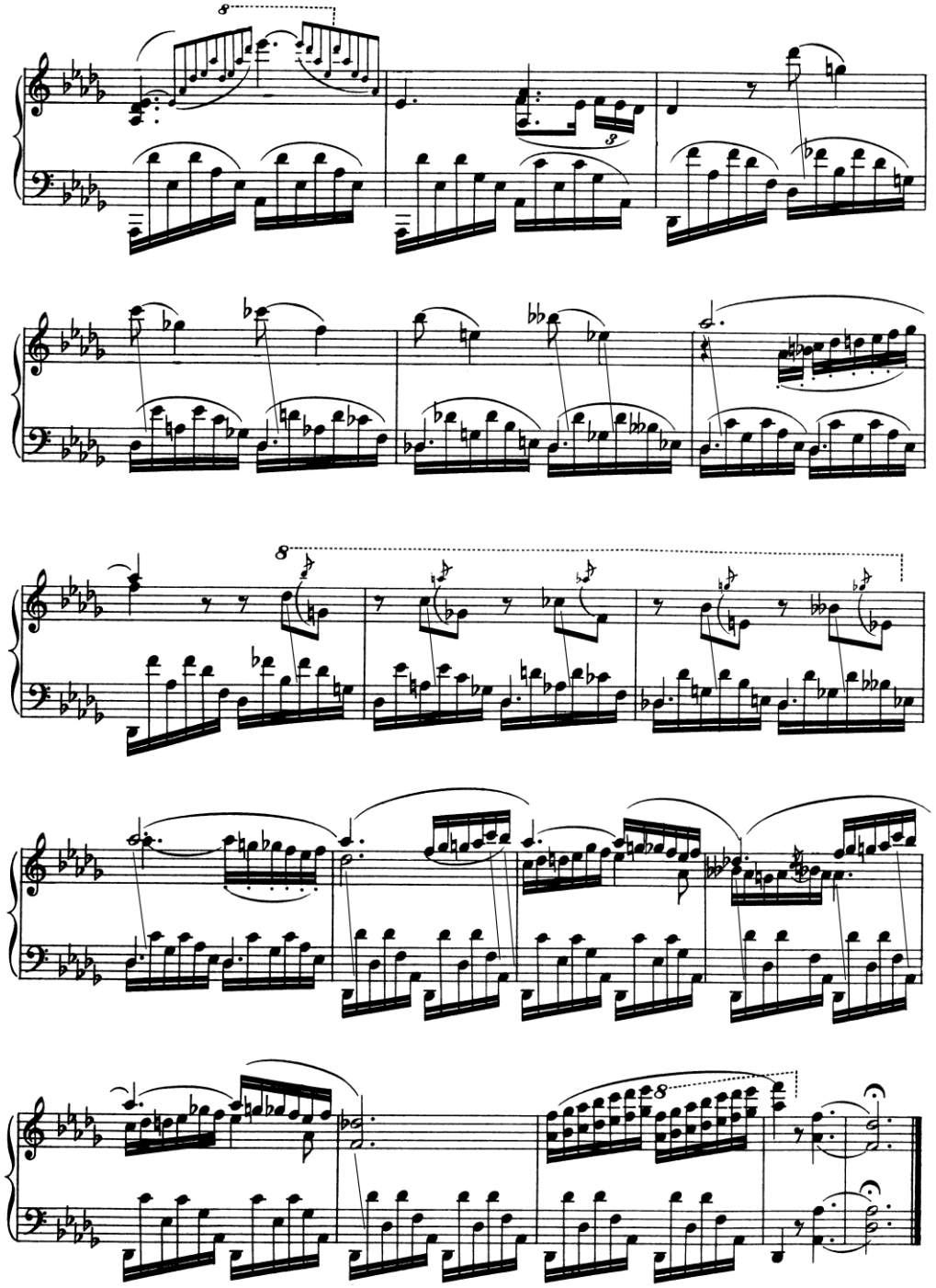


Figure 12. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1906 recording. Coda.

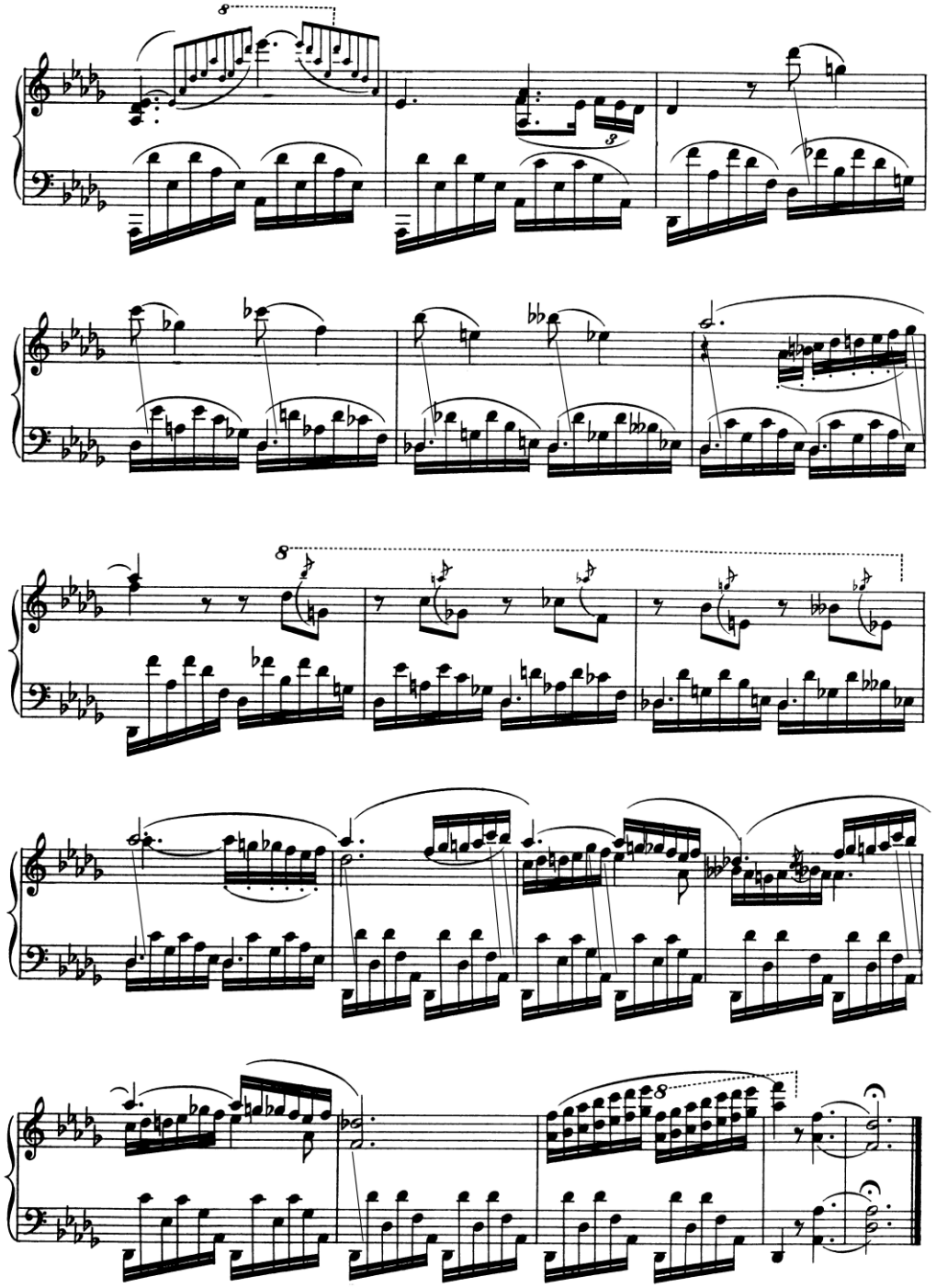


Figure 13. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1916 recording. Coda.

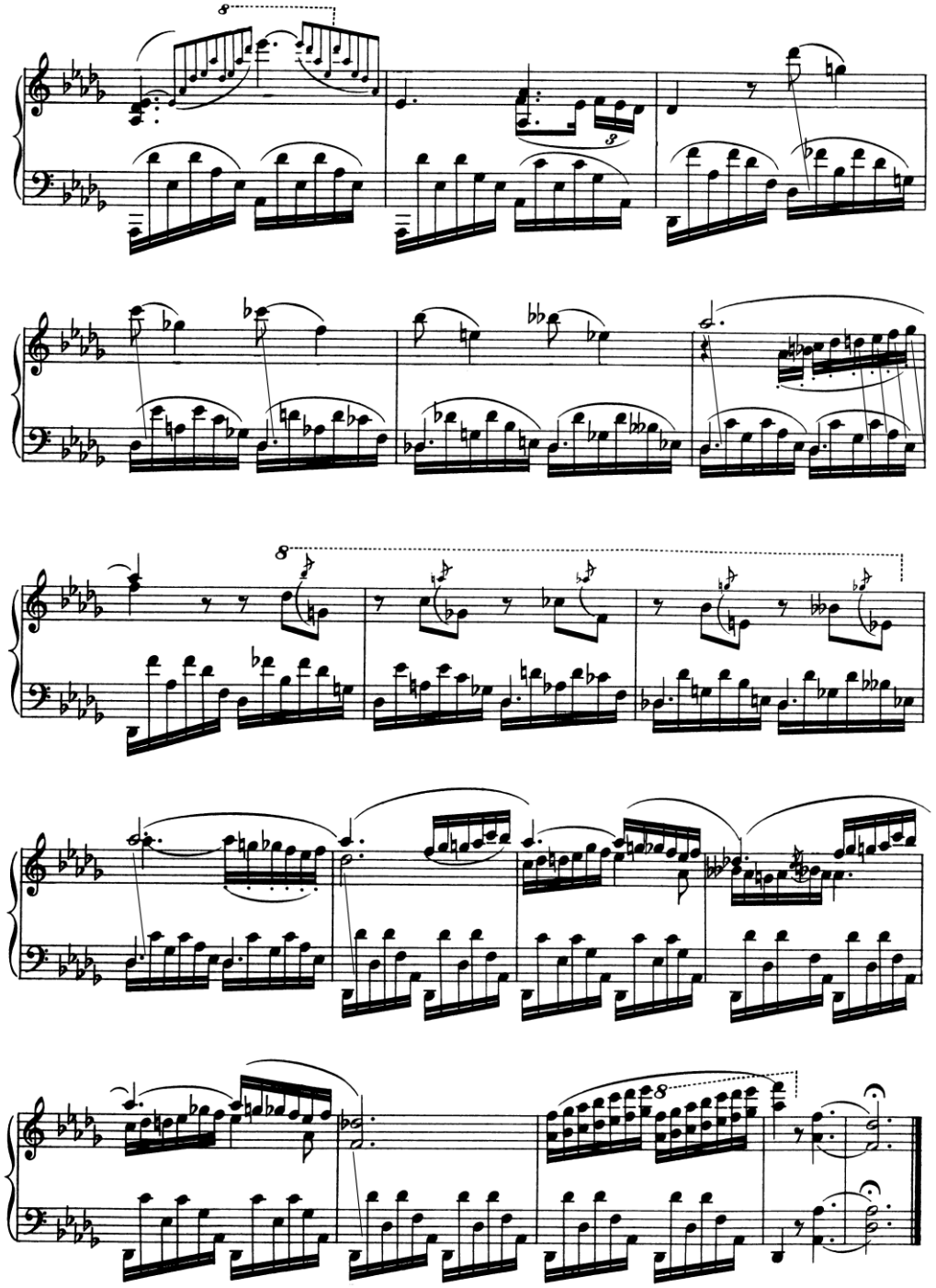


Figure 14. Dislocations in Pachmann's 1925 recording. Coda.

	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77
1906	4	1, 4	4, 5	1	5	2, 5	2, 5	1	1, 6		1, 4, 6		1			
1916	4	1, 4	1, 4	1, 6				1	1, 6	3	6		1			
1925	4	1, 4		1,5, 6				1	1		1		1			

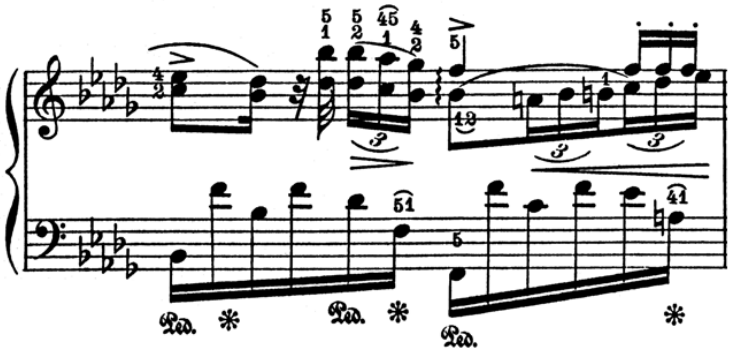
Table 4. Summary of dislocations, bars 62 to 77.

Once again, similar conclusions can be drawn: Pachmann uses dislocation frequently in the recordings. Again, the reproducing piano roll again showed the highest number of dislocations. As shown in both tables, the use of this expressive device reveals similarities between the recordings; Pachmann dislocates the melody from the bass mainly on first and fourth beats, as well as the sixth beat leading into the first. In bar 62, Pachmann dislocates the fourth beat in all recordings to mark the beginning of the coda.

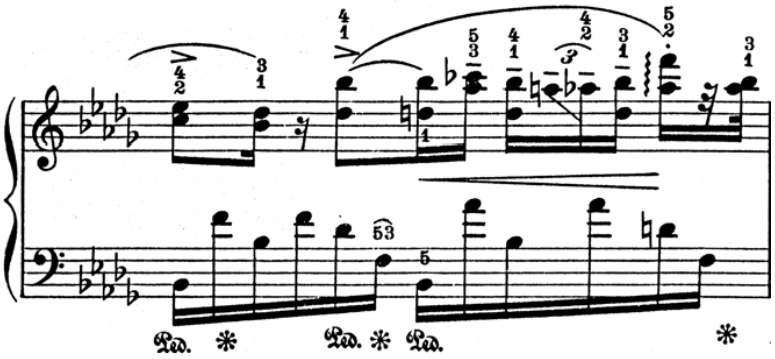
Throughout these recordings, unnotated arpeggiation is very common. At the turn of the century, arpeggiation unmarked in the musical score was as widespread as dislocation and used for similar reasons, namely emphasis of a melodic line, or enhancement of harmonic content through strengthening or softening. As with dislocations, written evidence about unnotated arpeggiation is rare. Again though, abundant evidence exists in the form of sound recordings.

The Nocturne Op. 27 No. 2 is a good piece for employing unnotated arpeggiations, as Pachmann's recordings show. The B strophe is, as mentioned, written in thirds, sixths and sometimes octaves in the right hand; this gave Pachmann the option to arpeggiate the piece in a number of different ways. For example, he uses unnotated arpeggiation to enhance the melodic line of the upper notes of the double thirds, as can be heard in bar 12 in the 1906 recording, in which he plays the lower note of the third before the bass and the top note of the third with the bass. Sometimes he aligns the lower note of the double interval with the left hand, and dislocates the upper one, as in bar 11 of the 1906 and 1925 recordings.

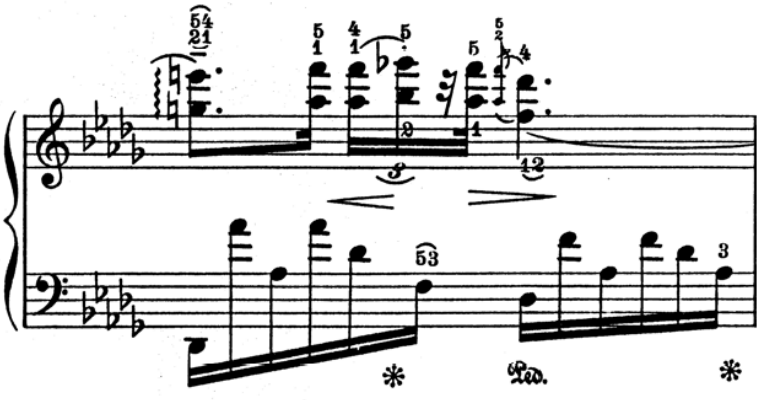
In many cases the speed of the arpeggiation makes it difficult to identify and quantify; a similar point was made with respect to dislocations, which are best heard at a slow tempo. Sometimes the break between the voices is extremely fast, and sometimes it is very stretched, as in the 1906 recording in bar 13. The 1906 recording has the largest number of unnotated arpeggiations (32), the 1916 recording has only two, while the electrical recording has seven. Once again, a comparison between Pachmann's recordings and selected editions is of interest; most editions fail to display arpeggiation signs in bars where Pachmann has used it as an expressive device. Klindworth's and Pachmann's editions are unique in showing the sign when otherwise missing, in bars 11, 13 and 33, as presented in the Figure 15. Klindworth's edition differs from the others: as a critical edition made by the pianist, editor and pupil of Liszt, Karl Klindworth (1830-1916), it contains suggestions as to how the piece should be performed, including arpeggiation signs. It is not known if Pachmann based his score on Klindworth's, but that is certainly a possibility, particularly since both were published by Augner. In the 1906 piano roll recording Pachmann made the arpeggiations much more frequently than in the other two recordings, perhaps influenced by a number of unknown factors. It could be that these three Pachmann recordings testify to changing fashions in performance, where arpeggiation started to fall slightly out of favour, even if still very much present.



Bar 11



Bar 13



Bar 33

Figure 15. Op. 27 No. 2, Pachmann-Labori edition.

As with dislocations, we observe that the slowest recording from 1906 presents the highest number of arpeggiations. However, commonalities between the three recordings are much smaller in this case. We might speculate that Pachmann uses these two expressive devices more when the recording is slower, although he does not employ any in the 1916 recording, which is not much faster than the 1906 one.

4.6 Conclusion

The methods employed in this case study produced a varied range of observations. By focussing upon three recordings by a single performer presenting the same piece, direct comparisons are made possible. This shed light

on the role and function of the medium employed in the creation of such recordings; by recognising that the subject of this case study was recorded performances, rather than performances *per se*, this approach allowed for a greater understanding of those musical features that could not be adequately captured and reproduced, including: dynamic range, the use of pedals, and precise timbre and tone. Certain other musical features, however, were clearly apparent, and examinations, which involved a range of sonic visualisation tools and subsequent analysis of resulting data, revealed significant stylistic consistencies, or similarities, between the various performances; Pachmann used a considerable number of alterations, displacements, broadenings, tripletisings, dramatic fermatas and other forms of rhythmic alterations in all three of the recordings, thus displaying an array of pianistic techniques and skills. All three recordings from 1906 to 1925 showcase the same set of expressive techniques, albeit in a variety of different ways to produce strikingly diverse results. When compared using sonic visualisation tools, however, one may observe a relatively uniform interpretational approach that is consistent with the nineteenth-century styles of playing. This suggests that, whilst interpretational differences remain, a core stylistic approach typical of the era is represented. When comparing the sonic results with the score it becomes immediately apparent how few of these interpretational choices were written down in advance; Pachmann's text reading is significantly different from the one we have nowadays, and his interpretational choices demonstrate a high degree of interpretational freedom relative to the musical text. Since this case study focuses upon a single performer, broader application of findings is not possible; the case study that follows expands the remit, taking a range of different performers and instruments into account. For now, one might note that Pachmann’s recordings testify to the achievements of an exceptional pianist, who ultimately succeeded in mastering the finer details of his art.[452]

[452] Cooke, *Great Pianists on Piano Playing*, p. 182.

4.7 Case Study Two: one composition, sixteen performers, three instruments, and voices

This case study considers sixteen early recordings of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 in various instrumentations (voice and piano, voice and orchestra, violin and piano, cello and piano, and piano solo). Collectively, these recordings offer a unique opportunity to evaluate performance styles; although musical styles underwent rapid change at the turn of the twentieth century, an examination of the same piece presented in multiple different arrangements allows us to compare expressive techniques that are common to all of the various performers. The following argument will be advanced: in spite of differences between the arrangements and the use of different instrumentally- and vocally-expressive techniques, the interpretations of the Nocturne reveal similar musical intentions and overall approaches to the musical text. Even though musical interpretations are inevitably subjective, varying from performer to performer, analysis of the recordings offers an important step in understanding the performance ethos of the late nineteenth century.

4.7.1 Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2

The Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, written between 1830 and 1832, appeared in 1833 from all three of Chopin's publishers.[453] However, the first editions differ in various respects: the Paris edition was based on the original manuscript, whereas the London and Leipzig ones were created using proof sheets from the Paris edition.[454] Since many editions and transcriptions were subsequently produced, the piece's popularity can be assumed; besides regular reprints of the first editions,[455] Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 was published by, amongst others, Breitkopf & Härtel (ed. Woldermar Bargiel, 1880), Schirmer (ed. Theodor Kullak, 1881), Schirmer (ed. Karl Mikuli, 1894), Peters (ed. Herrmann Scholtz,

[453] Maurice Schlesinger, *Trois Nocturnes Pour Le Piano*, Op. 9 (Paris, 1833); Fr. Kistner, *Trois Nocturnes pour le Pianoforte*, Op. 9 (Leipzig, 1833); Wessel & Co., *Les Murmures de la Seine, Trois Nocturnes pour le Piano Forte, Liv. 1 (Op. 9 Nos. 1 & 2), Liv. 2 (Op. 9 No. 3), Op. 9* (London, 1833).
[454] For details about differences in first editions of Op. 9 No. 2, see: www.cfeo.org.uk
[455] Christophe Grabowski and John Rink, *Annotated Catalogue of Chopin's First*, pp. 55-66.

1905), Augner (ed. Karl Klindworth and Xaver Scharwenka, 1882), Schirmer (ed. Rafael Joseffy, 1915) and Senart (ed. Alfred Cortot, c. 1916).

The numerous editions and publications reveal conspicuous differences in the musical text. The situation is further complicated by the existence of at least fifteen annotated scores produced by Chopin's own students.[456] These variants (Lenz, Stirling, Franchomme, Mikuli and Tellefsen/Kleczyński) contain further textual changes, particularly in respect of ornamentations between the strophes, along with different versions of the coda.[457]

The popularity of Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 is further evidenced in a number of transcriptions for other instruments first made during Chopin's lifetime by Karol Lipiński. Violin transcriptions were also carried out by Friedrich Hermann (1828-1907), published by Peters in 1880 as a set of eight Chopin Nocturnes transcribed for solo violin with piano accompaniment, and by Pablo de Sarasate (1844-1908), August Wilhelmj (1845-1908), Jeffrey J. Poole (years unknown), Harold Waverly (years unknown), Hans Sitt (1850-1922) and Ferdinand David. Bosworth & Co, which specialised in popular music, included an arrangement of the Nocturne for violin (or cello) with piano in their series of popular pieces.[458] Fabian Rehfeld's (1842-1920) arrangement for viola was published by Carl Fischer in 1903, three years after Henry Tolhurst's (1854-1939).[459] The cello versions include arrangements by Friedrich Grützmacher (1832-1903), Adrien-François Servais (1807-1866), David Popper (1843-1913) and Ernest Reeves (d. 1942).[460] Unfortunately, vocal transcriptions of this

[456] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher,* pp. 78-79, 257-261.
[457] For musical examples, see: Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher*, pp. 76-79. Rowland pointed out the differences between various endings, see: David Rowland, *Early Keyboard Instruments: A Practical Guide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 110.
[458] Peters, ed. Friedrich Hermann, *Chopin Nocturnes. Piano und Violine* (Leipzig, 1880); Bosworth, ed. Richard Hoffmann, *Blätter und Blüten. Album Leaves: a collection of popular Pieces* (Leipzig, between 1882 and 1889); Kistner, arr. August Wilhelmj, *Notturno von Fr. Chopin, Op.9 No.2 Transcription für Violine mit Begleitung des Pianoforte von August Wilhelmj* (Leipzig, 1873); Beal & Co., arr. Jeffrey J. Poole (London, 1892); F. W. Chanot & Sons, ed. Harold Waverly (London, 1903); Schirmer, arr. Pablo de Sarasate (New York, 1913); Gebr. Reinecke, arr. Hans Sitt (Leipzig, 1896); Breitkopf & Härtel, arr. Ferninand David (Leipzig, 1874).
[459] Carl Fischer, *Famous Compositions Arrangements for Viola and Piano* (New York, 1903); J. Williams, arr. Henry Tolhurst, *Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2. Edited, revised and fingered by H. Tolhurst (Viola and Piano)* (London, 1900).
[460] Peters, ed. Friedrich Grützmacher (Leipzig, 1880); Andre, ed. David Popper, *Perles Musicales: pieces celebres transcribed for cello & piano* ([London], 1896); Walsh, Holmes &

Nocturne are neither as numerous nor as well-known as those for instruments. It was included in *Album of Four Favourite Compositions*, arranged for the voice by Ernest Austin (1874-1947),[461] but, due to the unavailability of the musical score, it was impossible to establish which editions were used for the voice recordings discussed below. Other transcriptions of the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 include those for the plucked guitar, flute, horn, organ, and mandolin. In most cases, a number of 'easy' versions were produced, including for the piano.[462]

Commentators have highlighted similarities between the Nocturne's structure and that of Field's Nocturne No. 8, focussing on the waltz-like accompaniment, harmonic scheme and melodic gestures.[463] Nevertheless, the formal structure of Chopin's piece remains a matter of debate, as highlighted by Rink:[464] commentators have questioned, for example, whether it is written in rounded binary or ternary form. The first segment (A), four bars long, is repeated in a four-bar ornamented version, after which there is a second segment (B) in bar 9. Again four bars long, B leads back to A (bar 13), which is heavily ornamented (13-16). Theme B (unornamented, but including one additional note relative to its first appearance) is reintroduced from bar 17, leading to the third ornamented appearance of A (bars 21-24). From bar 25, a third four-bar segment is introduced and immediately repeated in ornamented form. This leads to the cadenza in bar 32.

Several variants on the structural schemes of the Nocturne can be detected, including: A1 A2 B1 A3 B2 A4 Coda or A B A' Coda, or A B A B A C C Coda, or A A B A Coda. Even so, the simplicity of the piece is, as Chopin seemingly thought himself,[465] one of the major challenges encountered in

Co, *Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 Violin or cello & pianoforte. Arranged by E. Reeves* (London, 1926); Schott, arr. Adrien-François Servais, *Nocturne de F. Chopin, transcrit pour Violoncelle avec accompangnet. De Piano* (Leipzig, 1863).

[461] International Music Co., *Album of four favourite Compositions* (London, 1930).

[462] The substantial research was conducted by Barbara Literska, resulting with publishing the complete transcriptions of Chopin's music in the nineteenth century (*Dziewiętnastowieczne transkrypcje utworów Fryderyka Chopina: aspekty historyczne, teoretyczne i estetyczne*, Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 2004.), however this and other books are available only in Polish, and unfortunately are not listed in British Library.

[463] For more details, see: Samson, *The Music of Chopin,* pp. 83-86.

[464] John Rink, ""Structural Momentum" and closure in Chopin's Nocturne Op. 9, No. 2" in *Schenker Studies 2,* ed. Carl Schnachter and Heidi Siegel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), pp. 109-126.

[465] Eigeldinger, *Chopin, Pianist and Teacher*, p. 77.

performance. According to Kleczyński, the ornamented A versions should be played slowly at the beginning of the bar with a speeding up towards the end, while Lenz advised that the "second variation was to be an Andante, the third a moving Adagio."[466]

4.7.2 Recording Artists

Unsurprisingly, given its popularity, the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 is one of Chopin's most recorded pieces. Numerous early recordings from the late nineteenth century onwards make it an ideal case study; in what follows, a total of sixteen (made between 1891 and 1930) are examined.[467] Understandably, these recordings display clear differences between instrumental approaches and techniques, whilst evidencing performance fashions of the time. Of particular interest is the fact that some of the recording artists were themselves responsible for re-inventing instrumental techniques of the age.[468] As we shall discover, however, there are significant similarities in the various performances, revealing general trends from the end of the nineteenth century.

As in the previous case study, it is important to take into account the date of each recording as well as differences between recording methods and processes. For example, the earliest two, Nicholson (1891) and Conus (1894) were made by Julius Block as cylinder recordings, most probably in his St. Petersburg home. The level of background noise here is occasionally so high that the sound is not fully audible; as a result, certain musical features are very difficult to hear. The age and experience of the performing artist also needs to be considered. The earliest recording, for example, was made in 1891, by Louisa M. Nicholson, and the most recent in 1930, by Ignacy Jan Paderewski. From these dates alone, one could reasonably identify the thirty-nine years of

[466] Ibid., pp. 53 and 77.
[467] For lists of the recordings of Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2, see: Philip, *Early Recordings*, p. 259; Peres Da Costa, *Off the Record*, p. 324. Other source of recordings of Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 is www.charm.rhul.ac.uk where a number of recordings can be found, from pianists Mark Hambourg (1932), Benno Moiseiwitsch (unspecified) and Eileen Joyce (1940); violinist Isolde Menges (1926) with the piano accompaniment, and violinist Patricia Rossborough (1937) with the piano and orchestra improvised jazz version of the piece.
[468] The early recordings of Casals, for example, are considerably different than his later ones, especially regarding his use of the portamento. For more details on Casals' changes in bowing and general cello techniques, see: Philip, *Performing Music*, pp. 195-196.

separation as a significant factor. Crucially, though, Nicholson was just nineteen years old when her recording was made. Paderewski, in contrast, may have produced the most recent recording, but was born twelve years earlier than Nicholson, in 1860. With this in mind, it is insufficient to consider the date of the recording alone without also considering the experience of the performer; both are equally significant, potentially illuminating differences between the education and musical approaches of the performers. Table 5 gives the birth dates and recording dates of all of the performers in this case study.

Performer and Instrument	**Birth Date**	**Recording Date**[469]
Pablo de Sarasate, violin	1844	1904
Vladimir de Pachmann, piano	1848	1915
Ignacy Jan Paderewski, piano	1860	1930
Arnold Rosé, violin	1863	1909/1910
Jules Conus, violin	1869	1894
Leopold Godowsky, piano	1870	1916
Louisa M. Nicholson, soprano	1872	1891
Sergei Rachmaninov, piano	1873	1927
Josef Hofmann, piano	1876	1911/1912
Pau Casals, cello	1876	1926
Victor Sorlin, cello	1877	1910
Bronisław Huberman, violin	1882	1899
Raoul Koczalski, piano	1884	1924
Claudia Muzio, soprano	1889	1921
Kathleen Parlow, violin	1890	1912
William Primrose, violin	1904	1927

Table 5. Performers' birth and recording dates.

[469] Casals, HMV DB966, transfer RCA (1994); Conus, C189, transfer Marston 53011-2 (2008); Hofmann, Columbia 3079, transfer AB 78 924 (1999); Muzio, Edison 7880, transfer Romophone (1995); Nicholson (with Pyotr Schurovsky, piano) Julius Block C61, transfer Marston 53011-2 (2008); Pachmann, Columbia L1014, transfer OPAL 9840 (1989); Paderewski, CVE 64343, transfer GEMM CD 9397 (1990); Parlow, Edison Blue Amberol Record 28142, transfer Adam Stanović (2015); Primrose, [English] Columbia 9258, transfer Adam Stanović (2015); Rosé , WHAT 47987, transfer Arbiter 148 (2006); Sarasate, Opal 804, transfer OPAL 9851 (1999); Sorlin (with Christopher Booth, piano), Victor 35133, transfer National Jukebox (unspecified); Godowsky, Columbia Gramophone Company 36701-4 A 5800 (1916), transfer Marston 52046-2; Rachmaninov, Victor 6731-B (1927), transfer Naxos 8.112020 (2008); Huberman, Columbia, unknown number (1899), transfer Biddulph LAB081/2 (1994); Koczalski, Polydor 65786 (1924), transfer Marston 52063-2 (2010).

In the interests of clarity, my case study considers the recordings in four groups, according to instrumentation (singers, violinists, cellists and pianists).

4.7.3 Nocturne Versions and Textual Changes

Table 6 shows how the various performers have altered the original text, most notably by omitting individual bars.

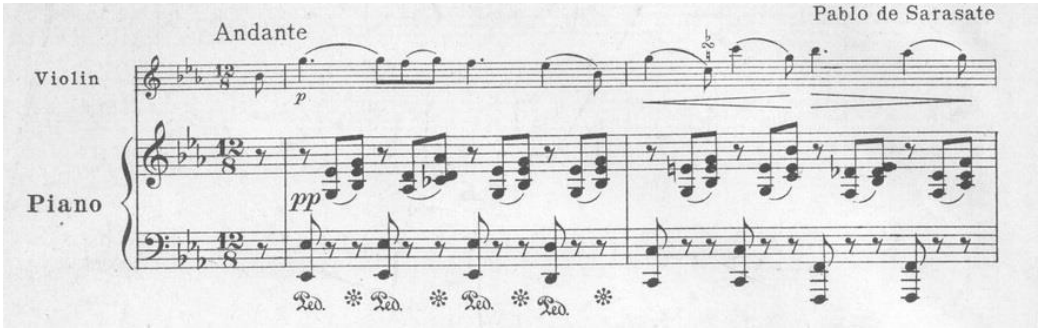
Performer	**Bars omitted**
Pablo de Sarasate	None
Jules Conus	16 (beats 11-12), 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Hubermann	4 (beats 11-12); 5, 6, 7, 8 (beats 1-11)
William Primrose	25, 26, 27, 28
Kathleen Parlow	26, 27, 28, 29
Arnold Rosé	19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30
Leopold Godowsky	None
Vladimir de Pachmann	None
Sergei Rachmaninov	None
Josef Hofmann	None
Ignacy Paderewski, piano	17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Raoul Koczalski	None
Mademoiselle Nikita	Not applicable[470]
Claudia Muzio	Not applicable
Pau Casals	16 (beats 11-12), 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24
Victor Sorlin	None

Table 6. Textual changes, omitted bars.

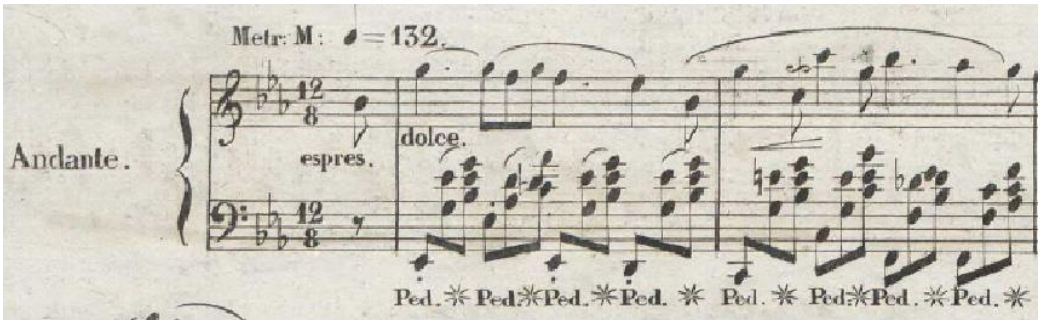
From six of the violin recordings of Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 examined, four were based upon Sarasate's version of the piece. In this transcription, Sarasate divided Chopin's material between the two piano hands, also scoring it for two instruments (violin and piano). While the violin takes the main melodic line, the piano plays the left hand of the text, with the bass note written in octaves and the chordal accompaniment remaining the same, as shown in Figure 16, which first

[470] As it is not possible to determine which edition Nikita and Muzio used, their recordings have not been included in this table.

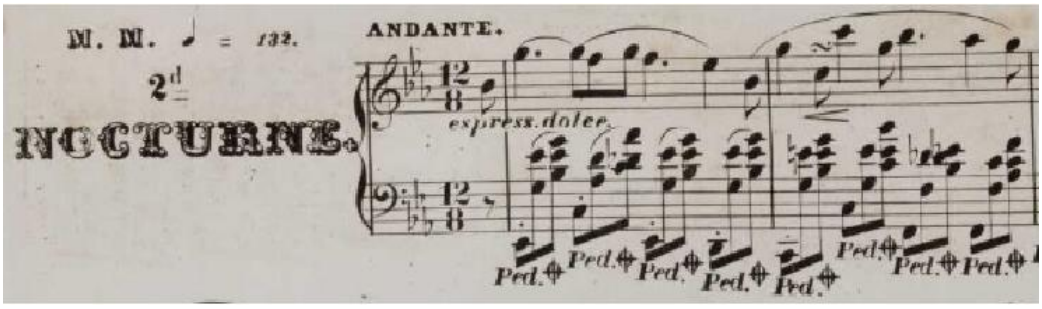
shows Sarasate's version, followed by the first editions (French, German and English).



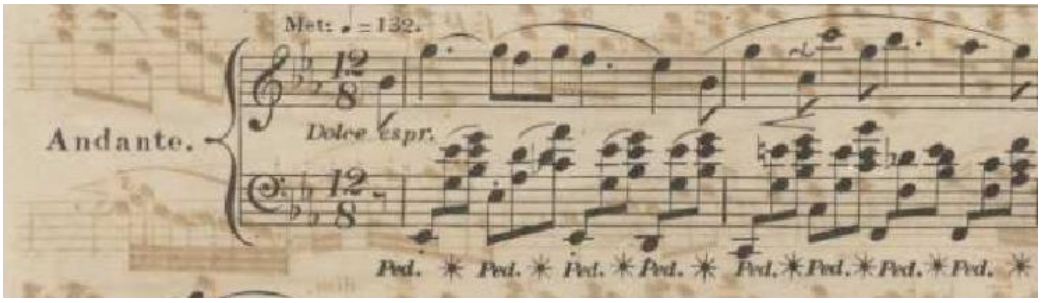
Chopin-Sarasate, bars 1 and 2



French first edition, bars 1 and 2



German first edition, bars 1 and 2

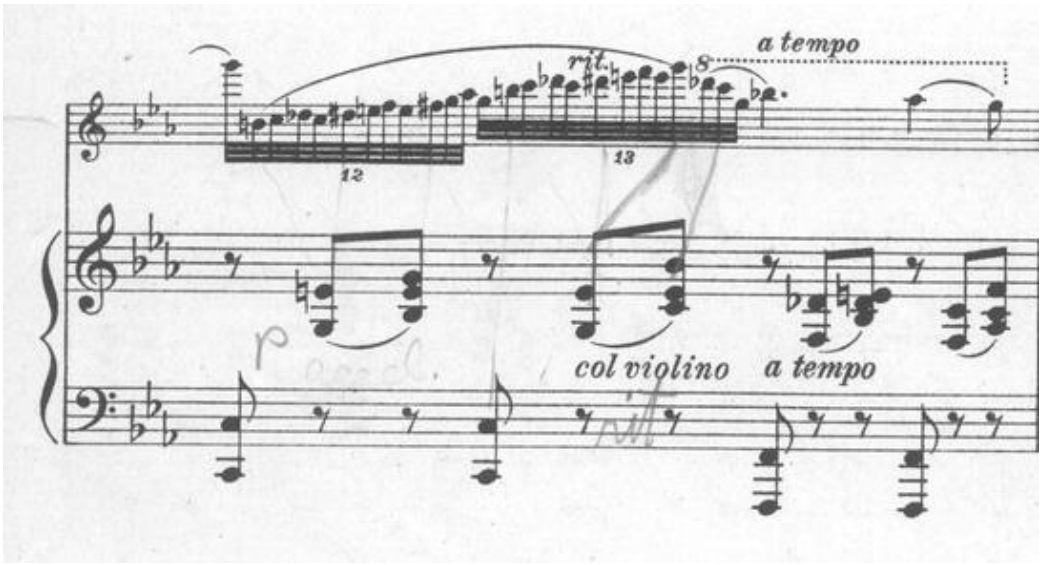


English first edition, bars 1 and 2

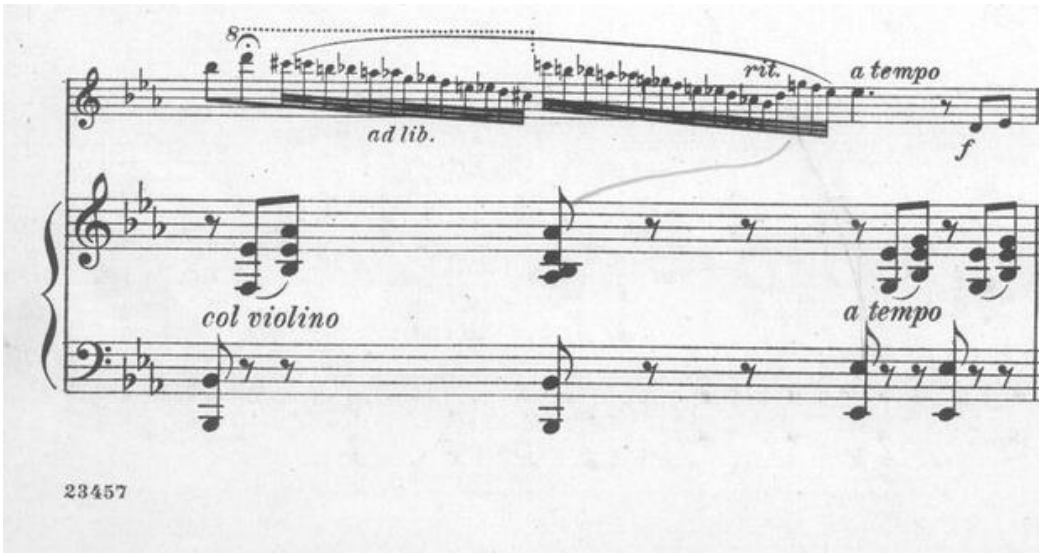
Figure 16. Piano accompaniment in Sarasate's transcription compared with first editions.

The violin part has a number of substantive textual changes. Even though the notes in the first theme are the same, Sarasate introduces a number of alterations to the phrasing. All of the three first-editions for piano share the same phrasing of the first theme, with a distinctive gesture between bars 1 and 2; Sarasate's transcription, which does not follow this phrasing system, subsequently departs quite significantly from Chopin's original.

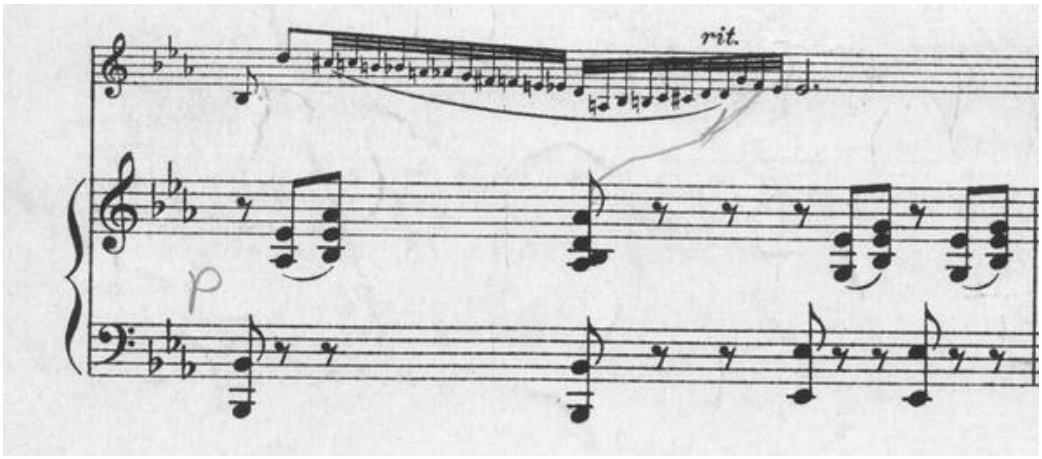
As a virtuoso violinist, Sarasate wrote differently ornamented versions of the first segments (see bars 14, 16, 24) and the elaborated cadenza (see Figure 17). Furthermore, he frequently moves the melodic line between octaves.



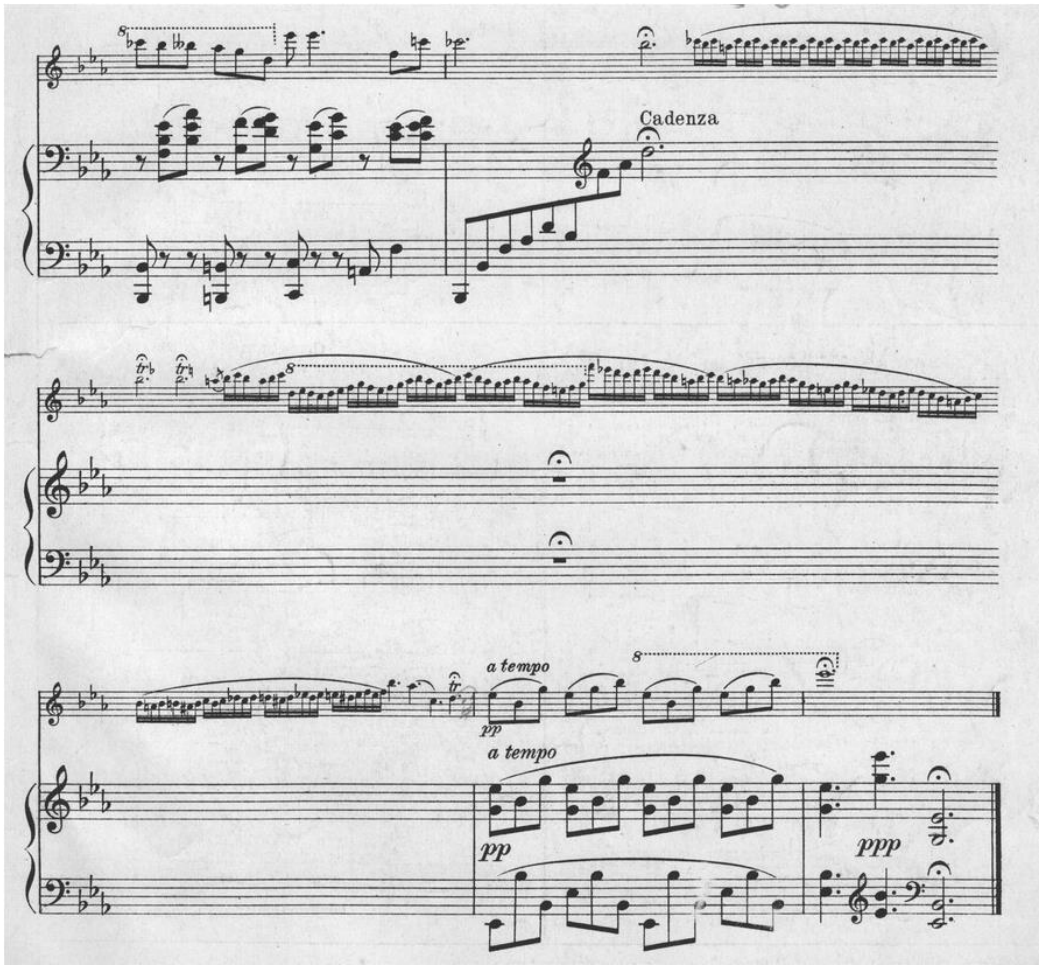
Chopin-Sarasate, Bar 14



Chopin-Sarasate, Bar 16



Chopin-Sarasate, Bar 24



Chopin-Sarasate, Cadenza

Figure 17. Presentation of Sarasate's ornamentation.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, large-scale textual changes were not uncommon in the late nineteenth century, highlighting various freedoms enjoyed by performers. Such changes are often demonstrated in early sound recordings, since limits associated with the chosen recording medium dictated the duration of recorded material. Many of those recordings support this observation; there are numerous cuts in the original text, clearly commensurate with plausible durations using particular technologies.

The kinds of text-based changes mentioned above, especially when involving substantial cuts, make it difficult and sometimes impossible to identify specific transcriptions used, particularly by non-pianists. Conus' cylinder (1894) is a good example: even though Marston Records identify the Chopin-Sarasate version of the Nocturne Op. 9 No. 2 in the liner notes of their publication, there are substantial differences between his playing and the score itself. In bar 11, for example, he plays single notes, rather than double intervals, followed in bars 12 to 14 by textual changes, where double notes and chords appear instead of Sarasate's single notes, most notably in the last five quavers of the bar. In bar 13, Conus starts an octave lower than scored, while in bar 14 he omits the notated passage, including rising semiquavers instead.

The examples highlighted above suggest that Conus is not using Sarasate's transcription; nineteenth-century textual changes rarely involved a complete re-write of the piece from beginning to end. Examination of alternative violin transcriptions failed to identify a different transcription he may have used. However, there are striking similarities between Conus' playing, and the original piano score of Op. 9 No. 2 (in all three first editions). In many cases, Conus appears to follow the right-hand part of the original score. For example, he plays E-flat^{5}, and not E-flat^{4} as marked in Sarasate's transcription, and gives octaves in bar 31. Conus follows the cadenza written by Chopin, but ends it an octave lower than Chopin, playing E-flat^{4} for last two bars (bars 33 and 34).

Hubermann (1899) follows Sarasate's transcription (playing most of the cadenza, for example), but makes a major alteration when he connects bars 4 and 8, skipping the last two quavers of bar 4, then bars 5, 6, 7 in their entirety, and the first ten quavers of bar 8, thus omitting the first ornamentation of the

theme. Parlow also uses Sarasate's version, albeit with two cuts, combining bars 4 and 8, and (like Huberman) skipping 5, 6, and 7. Parlow also misses out bars 26, 27, 28 and 29, and plays a slightly shorter version of the cadenza, cutting out several of the runs in the middle. Primrose, also using Sarasate's transcription, introduces a cut, omitting bars 25, 26, 27 and 28. He is the only violinist, among the recordings examined, who plays the full written-out cadenza.

Sarasate's own recording is of special interest, since he is naturally using his own transcription without making cuts. He does not play the cadenza as written, however, condensing the musical materials to produce a shorter version. Even though he uses his own text, and avoids cuts, Sarasate demonstrates a kind of text reading that one might expect nowadays, producing significant rhythmic alterations as discussed below.

Rosé employs Wilhelmj's transcription for violin and piano. In the key of A major rather than E-flat, it differs in many respects from Sarasate's version, as is immediately obvious at the beginning, where a piano introduction is included (Figure 18). The piano part alters the duration of left-hand bass notes; some chord inversions are also changed (Figure 19). In the same image, we observe that the violin part in Wilhelmj's transcription has marked glissandi, and different phrasing. Furthermore, Wilhelmj's version includes very different ornamental figurations from both Chopin's original and Sarasate's transcription. The cadenzas in Wilhelmj and Sarasate are also different (Figure 20).

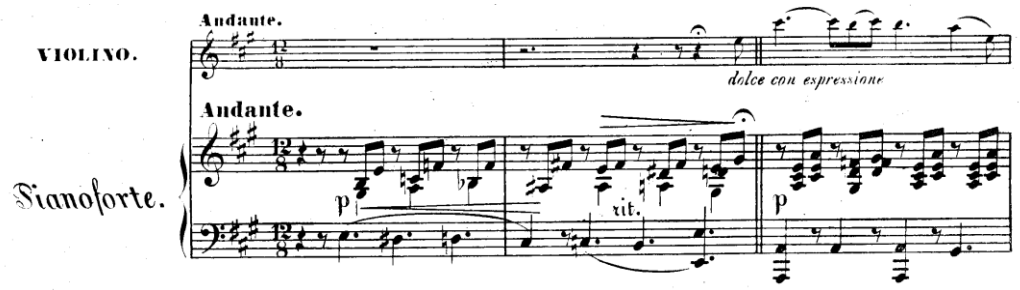
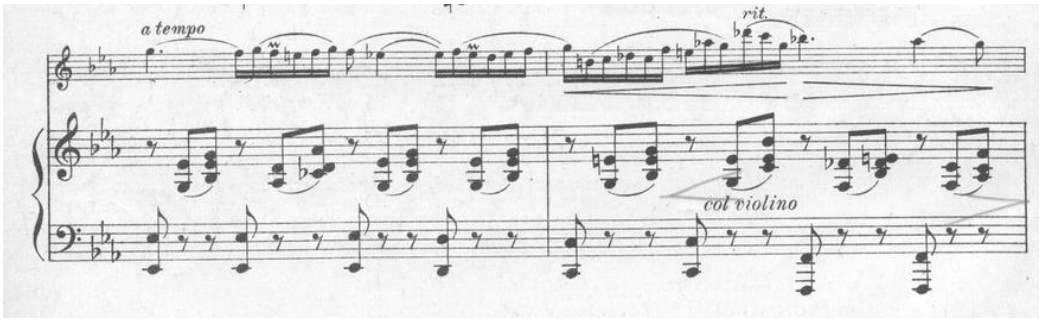
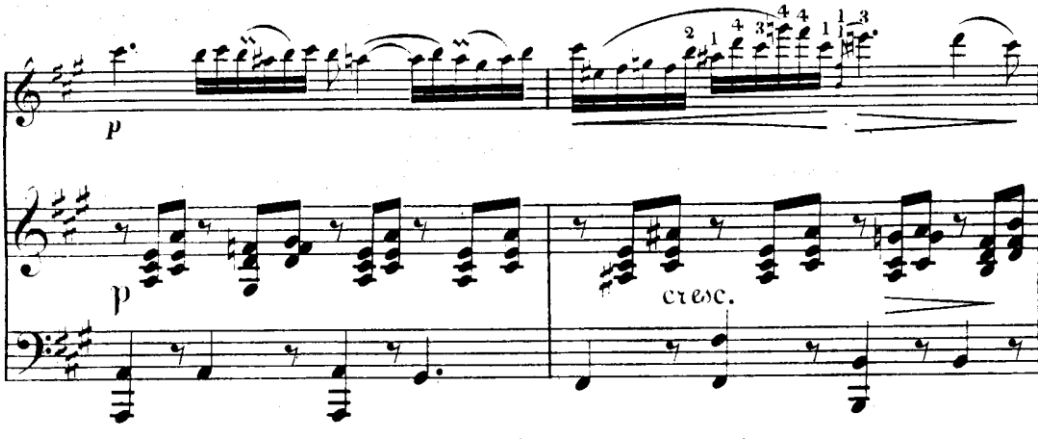


Figure 18. Piano Introduction to Chopin-Wilhelmj.



Chopin-Sarasate, bars 5 and 6



Chopin-Wilhelmj, bars 5 and 6

Figure 19. Comparison between piano parts, Chopin-Sarasate and Chopin-Wilhelmj.

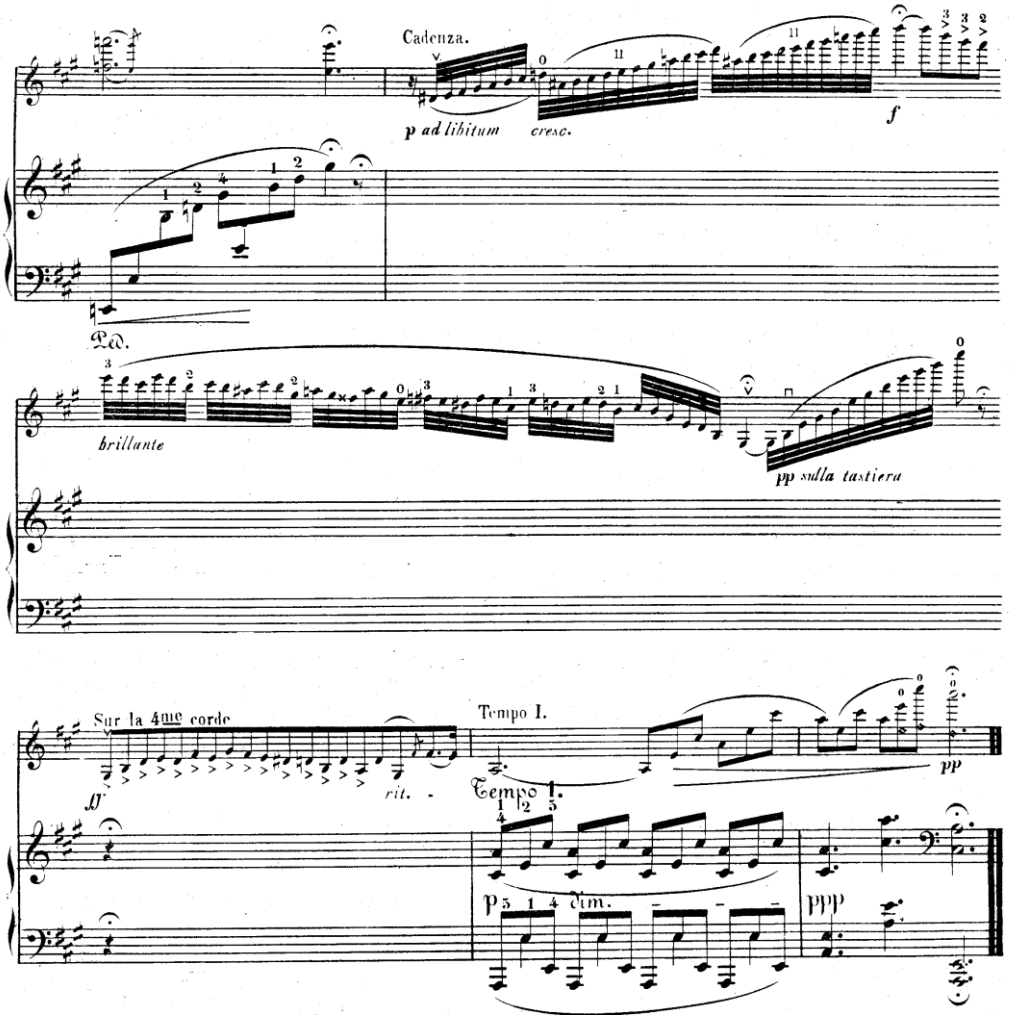


Figure 20. Chopin-Wilhelmj Cadenza.

Rosé omits the first two bars of the introduction, starting on the upbeat to bar 3. He cuts bars 19-30 and the majority of the written-out cadenza, playing only the arpeggiated dominant seventh chord at the end while adding a rhythmically free turn figure. As shown in Table 6, all the examined violinists, with the exception of Sarasate, made cuts in their recordings. Irrespective of recording technologies employed, then, the cutting of the musical text seems to be a performance convention. Sarasate is, of course, the only exception. He is also the only performer who uses his own edition of the piece and, even so, still altered his written cadenza.

Both cellists included in this case study play the same version of the Nocturne, namely a transcription by David Popper. It has a very similar piano

part to Sarasate's version of the piece, with the exception of single notes in the bass rather than octaves. The cello part, however, has a different rhythm at various points (Figure 21).

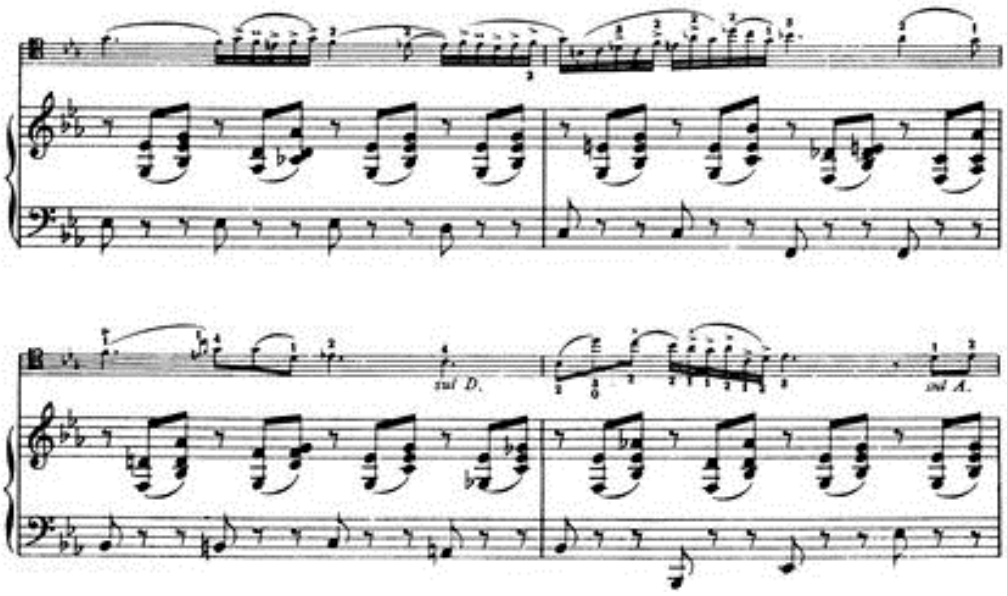
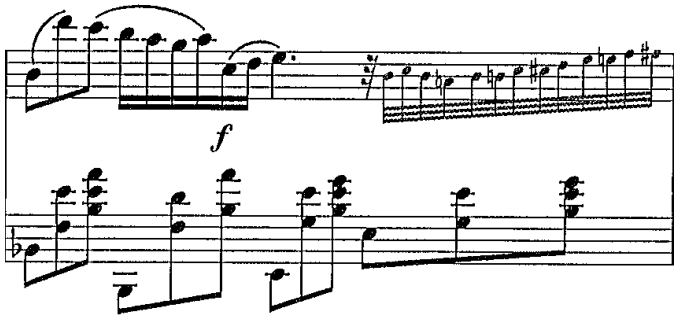


Figure 21. Chopin-Popper, bars 5 to 8.

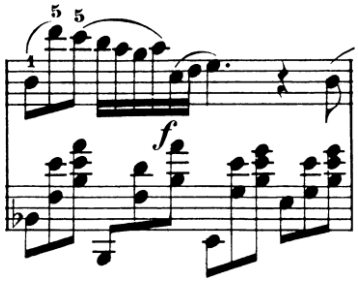
In a similar way to the violinists, Casals makes a major cut, connecting the end of bar 16 to bar 25. Sorlin, however, did not make any cuts to the musical text. In his case, the piece is performed unusually fast, as discussed below.

The piano recordings of Op. 9 No. 2 present a somewhat different picture of performance practice. Although Paderewski omitted bars 17-24, the other five pianists did not make any cuts at all. The same version of the text is used by all of the performers, except Koczalski, although some of the recordings include incorrect notes. Koczalski, a student of Mikuli, recorded his teacher's version of Op. 9 No. 2; Mikuli's version differs from Chopin's original in ornamented bars and is therefore representative of the improvisatory character of Chopin's interpretations. At the beginning of the piece there is an added chromatic scale at the end of the bar 4, leading into the repeated first segment (Image 8). Subsequent divergences from Chopin's version include the various ornamentations in bars 14 (a longer run in place of the first six quavers), 16 (a run based on the melodic line of the first element), 22 (as in bar 14, but with the

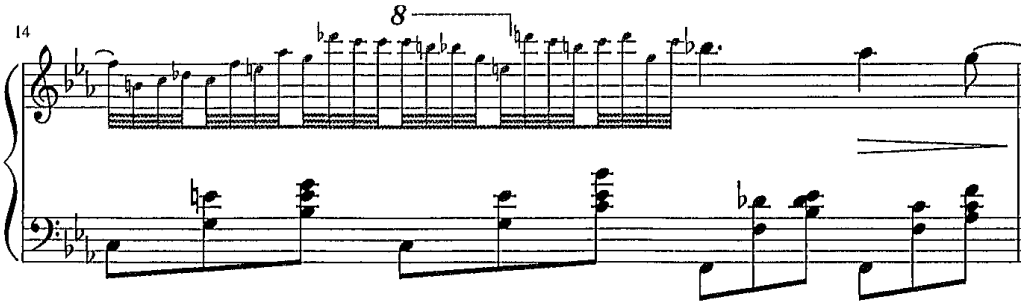
last six quavers altering the melodic line), 24 (a run in double thirds), 31 (added text leading to the cadenza) and at the very end of the piece, where an added bar appears. For all these examples, see Figure 22.



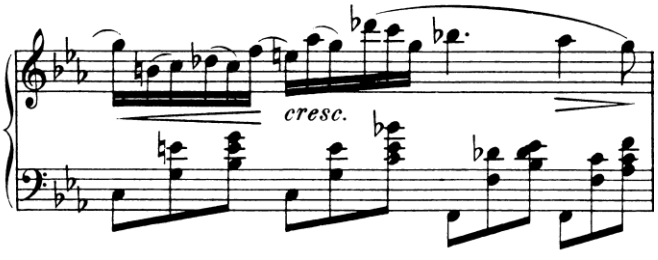
Mikuli Variants, bar 4



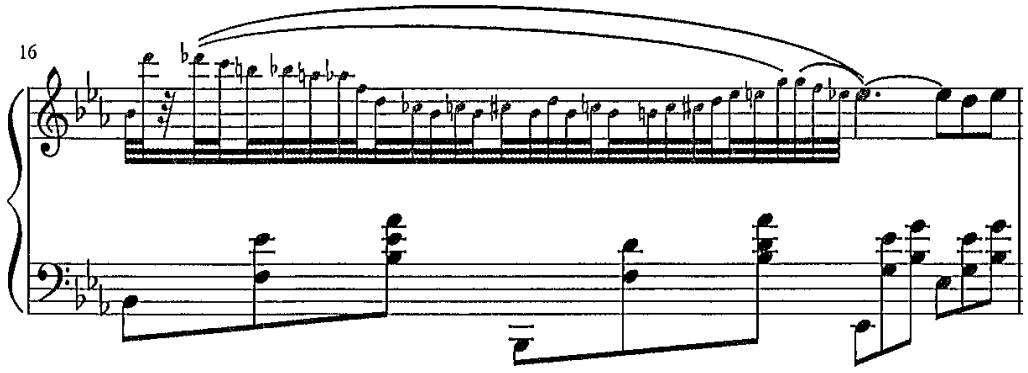
Mikuli Edition, bar 4



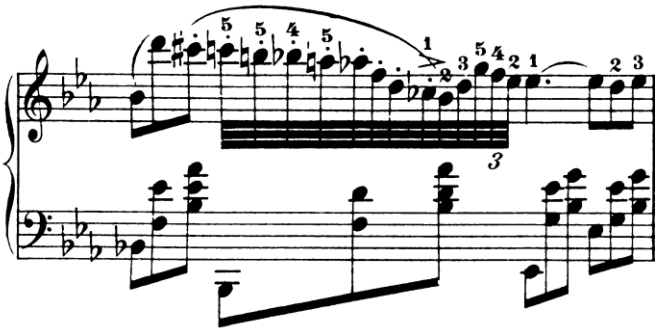
Mikuli Variants, bar 14



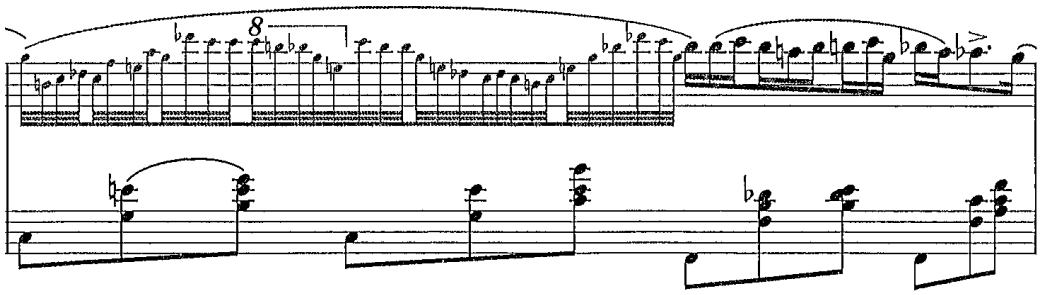
Mikuli Edition, bar 14



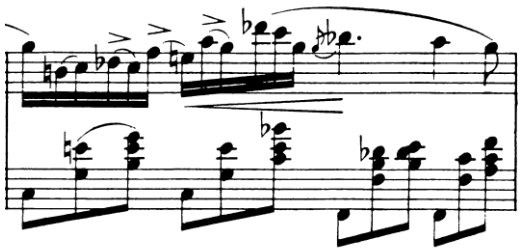
Mikuli Variants, bar 16



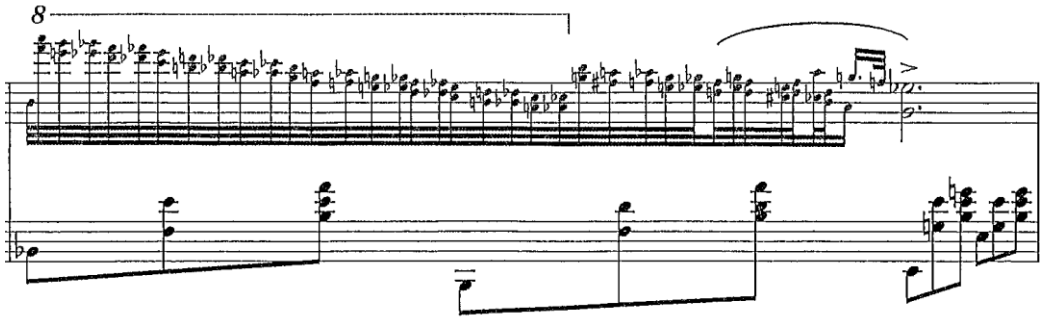
Mikuli Edition, bar 16



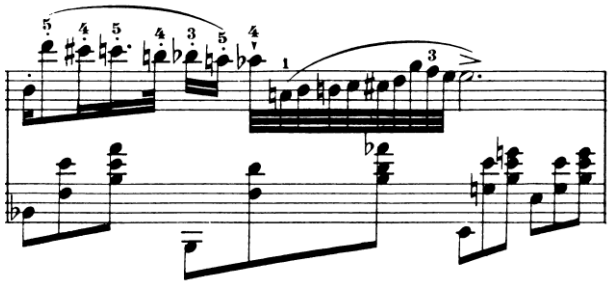
Mikuli Variants, bar 22



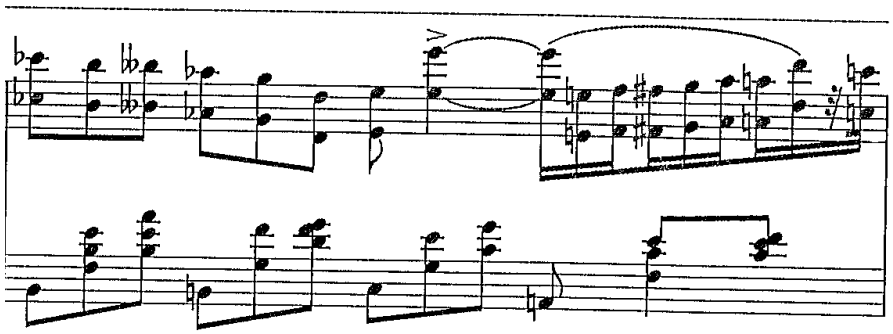
Mikuli Edition, Bar 22



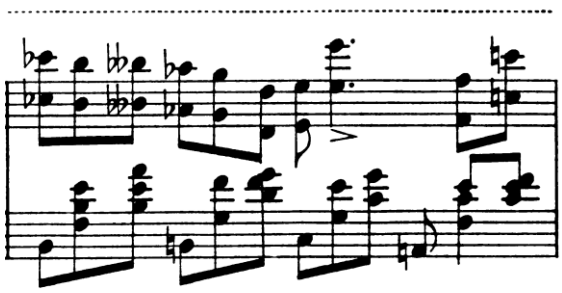
Mikuli Variants, bar 24



Mikuli Edition, Bar 24



Mikuli Variants, bar 31



Mikuli Edition, Bar 31

Figure 22. Comparison between Mikuli variants and edition.

It is impossible to determine how much the two singers deviate from the musical score, since the score itself is unknown. Mademoiselle Nikita's recording from 1891 presents the first sixteen bars of the Nocturne, with the last bar incomplete, perhaps owing to the limited recording duration permitted by a wax cylinder. The recording medium itself produced a lot of background noise, which is occasionally so loud as to render the French lyrics extremely difficult to discern. The performance is introduced as "Nocturne by Chopin, sung by Mademoiselle Nikita, on the 21st November 1891 in Moscow". Although only sixteen bars long, Nikita presents the first segment, an ornamented first segment, the second segment and then another ornamented first segment. Similarly to Nikita, Claudia Muzio performed a version of the Nocturne entitled *Aspiration*, where the author of the text is not identified. The version she recorded is accompanied by an orchestra, which plays an introduction to the piece built completely from material from bars 29, 30, 31 and the arpeggiated chord in bar 32. Muzio does not significantly vary the ornamented version of theme A. But the orchestration changes throughout: in the first A, and in the repeat of A, Muzio is accompanied by wind instruments, while in B the accompaniment is performed by the full orchestra with especially audible flutes. In the second appearance of the first segment, orchestration revolves around the clarinets, which play the arpeggiated chords in semi-quavers, while the rest of the orchestra mark the start of each group. In the second segment, Muzio is again accompanied by the full orchestra with prominent flutes, leading to a third appearance of the first segment accompanied by a harp.

Of the remaining fourteen recordings, seven made cuts to the score and seven none at all. Although the violinists and cellists present a mixed picture in this regard, the most striking discovery relates to the pianists: only Paderewski made cuts. Recording dates are revealing: with the exception of Sarasate, all those prior to 1910 omitted material. Between 1910 and 1924, only Parlow makes cuts, whereas a more mixed picture emerges between 1924 and 1930; pianists play the whole piece while Primrose and Casals play shortened versions.

4.8 Tempo Changes and Elastic Tempo

I shall now consider tempo changes in the sixteen chosen recordings. The method employed is identical to that used in the first case study; visualisation tools, identifying bars and beats, provide numerical data used to produce a series of tables and graphs mapping out tempo changes throughout each recorded performance. All the relevant tables can be found in Appendix II. Each table gives percentage changes as well as metronome markings calculated across the entire performance. The cadenza with its improvisational character, however, is omitted from consideration.

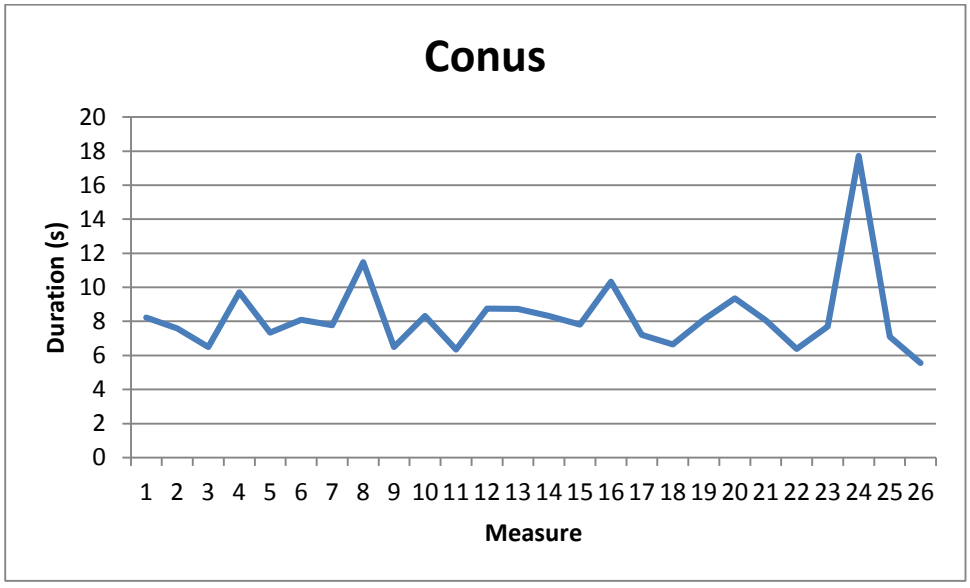
Starting with the performance by Conus, we note two distinct patterns of tempo change. The first involves a gradual increase in tempo, followed by a sudden drop. This can be observed in the first three bars of the four-bar phrase, where the tempo gradually increased before subsequently slowing down. This pattern is repeated in bars 5 – 9 and 14 – 17. In the second case, Conus produces a drop – grow tempo pattern, as we can see from bar 5: 98 – 89 – 93 dropping on 63.[471] These two patterns are sometimes reversed and occur regularly, irrespective of ornamentation. Overall, Conus' tempo changes vary from 0% to 49%.

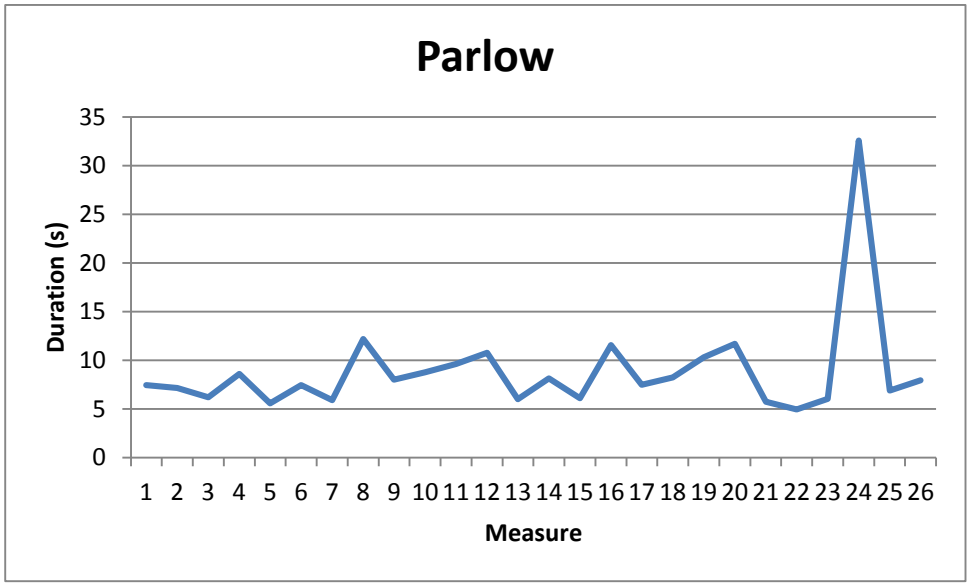
Kathleen Parlow's recording also demonstrates tempo changes. In her case, however, changes are more erratic. For the most part the pattern is similar to Conus' second type, drop - grow, with the exception of bars 1-4, where Parlow accelerates in the first three bars and slows down in the fourth. These somewhat erratic changes occur within phrases and from phrase to phrase. For example, between bars 7 and 8, the tempo alters by 106%. Her minimum change throughout is 9%, while the maximum is 106%. Similarly to Conus, Primrose also employs both drop - grow and grow – grow - drop phrases. The first segment is played both ways by Primose, but the second segment (B) with a grow – drop – grow – drop pattern, presumably because this four-bar phrase has a *portato* first four quavers. Primrose's tempo fluctuations vary from 3% to 69%. Sarasate, like the three violinists discussed thus far, makes a significant drop in

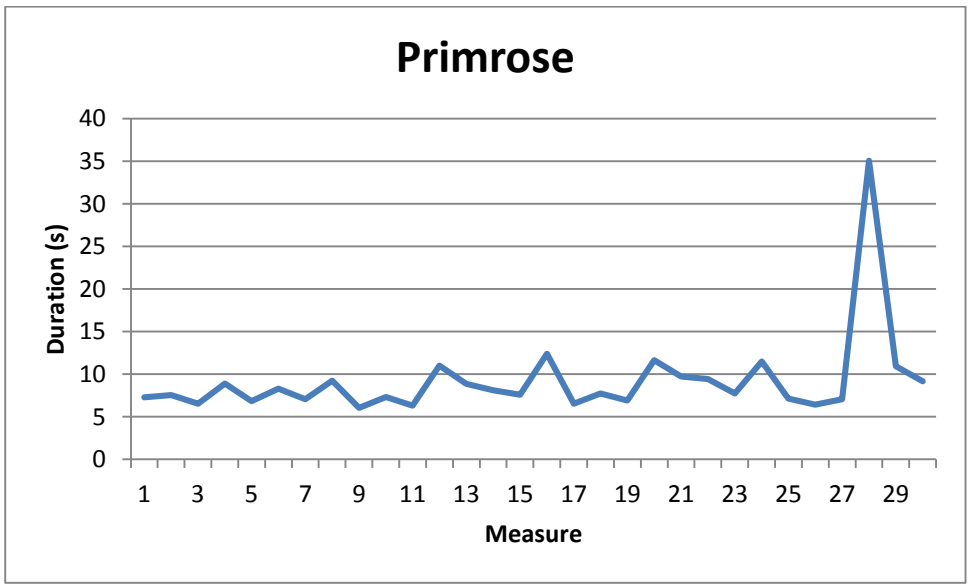
[471] These figures, as found elsewhere in this case study, provide the number of beats per minute (bpm) per quaver.

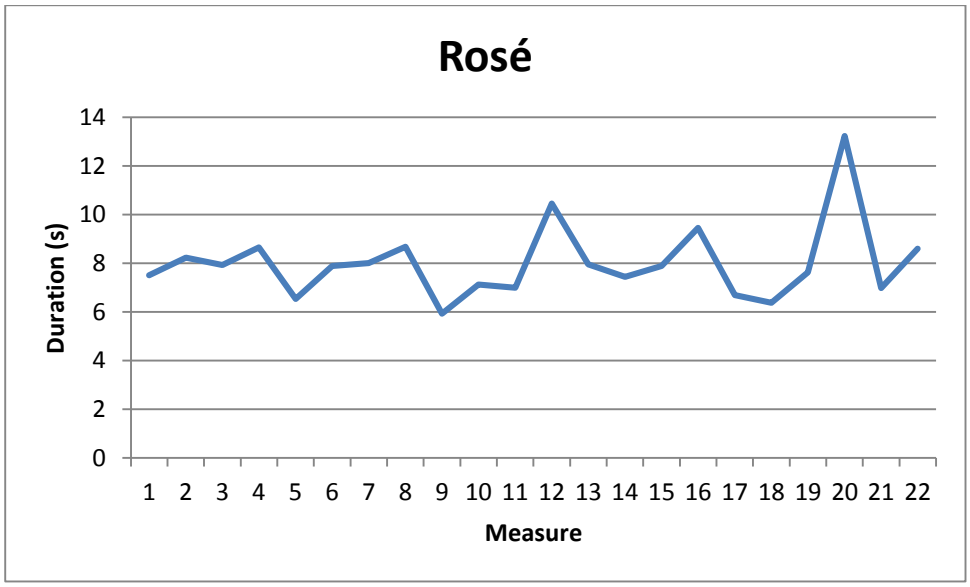
tempo on the fourth bar of each phrase, but follows no established pattern elsewhere. In the first theme, for example, a range of tempi are in evidence; the second and third bars do not change significantly, but alterations between the first and second and the third and fourth bars are considerable. Sarasate's tempo changes vary from 1% to 79%.

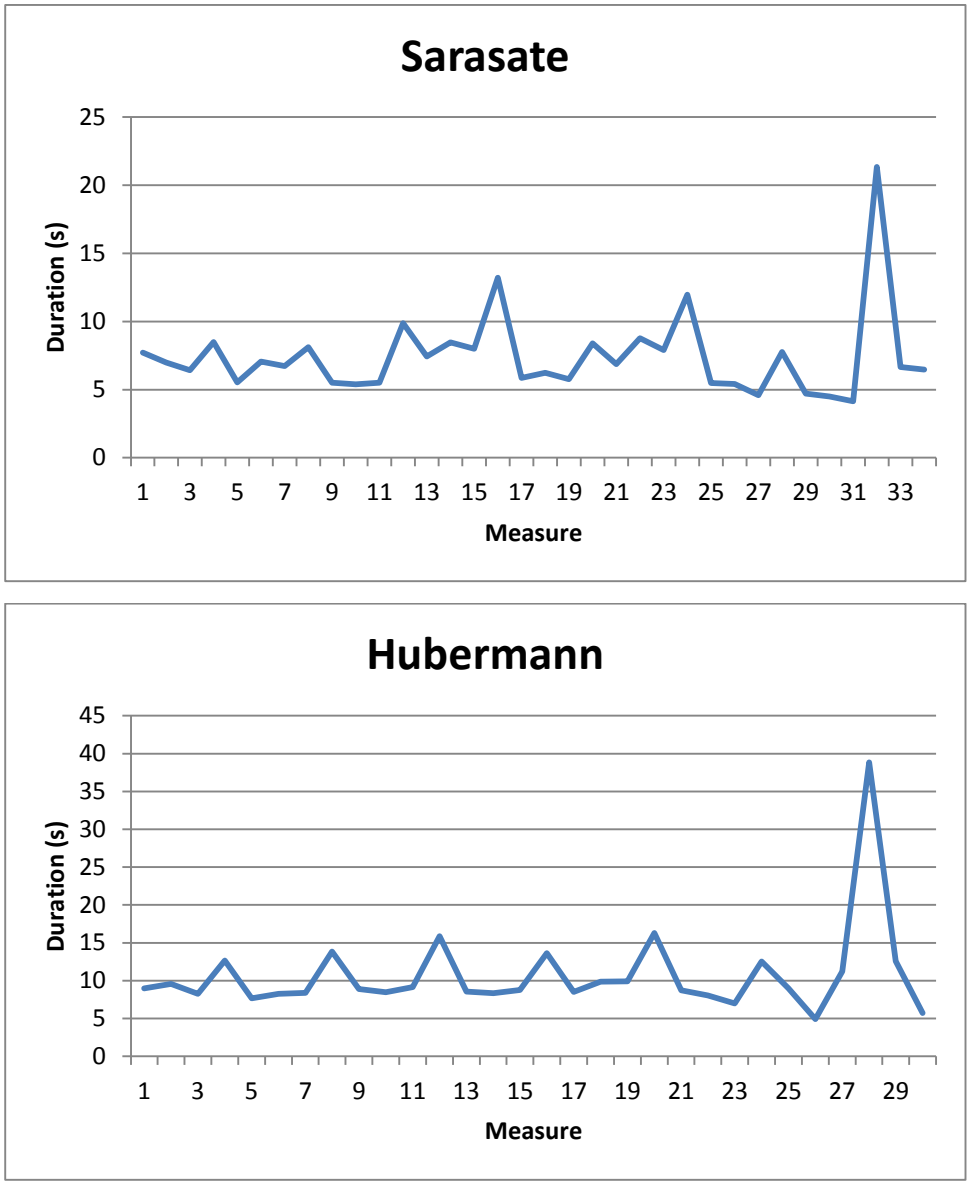
Huberman is more modest in altering the tempo; starting the piece at around 80bpm for a quaver, he only goes beyond 90bpm on one occasion (bar 5). He does significantly slow down at the end of each phrase, and occasionally reaches 45 (bar 12) or 44 (bar 20). His tempo changes vary between 1% and 79%. Rosé, as mentioned, plays a different version of the piece, and makes substantial cuts, performing just 22 bars in total. In the table of percentage changes one notices a varying pattern in his recording. As with all the violinists, Rosé slows down significantly in the last bar of each four-bar phrase. However, he also slows down between the first and second bars, only to change tempo minimally between second and third, before a more significant slowing down. Rosé's overall percentage change varies from 2% to 49%. Overall tempo changes for all of the six violinists can be observed in Graph 5.




Parlow
Duration (s)
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
Measure


Primrose
Duration (s)
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29
Measure


Rosé
Duration (s)
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22
Measure



Graph 5. Violin recordings. Bar durations.

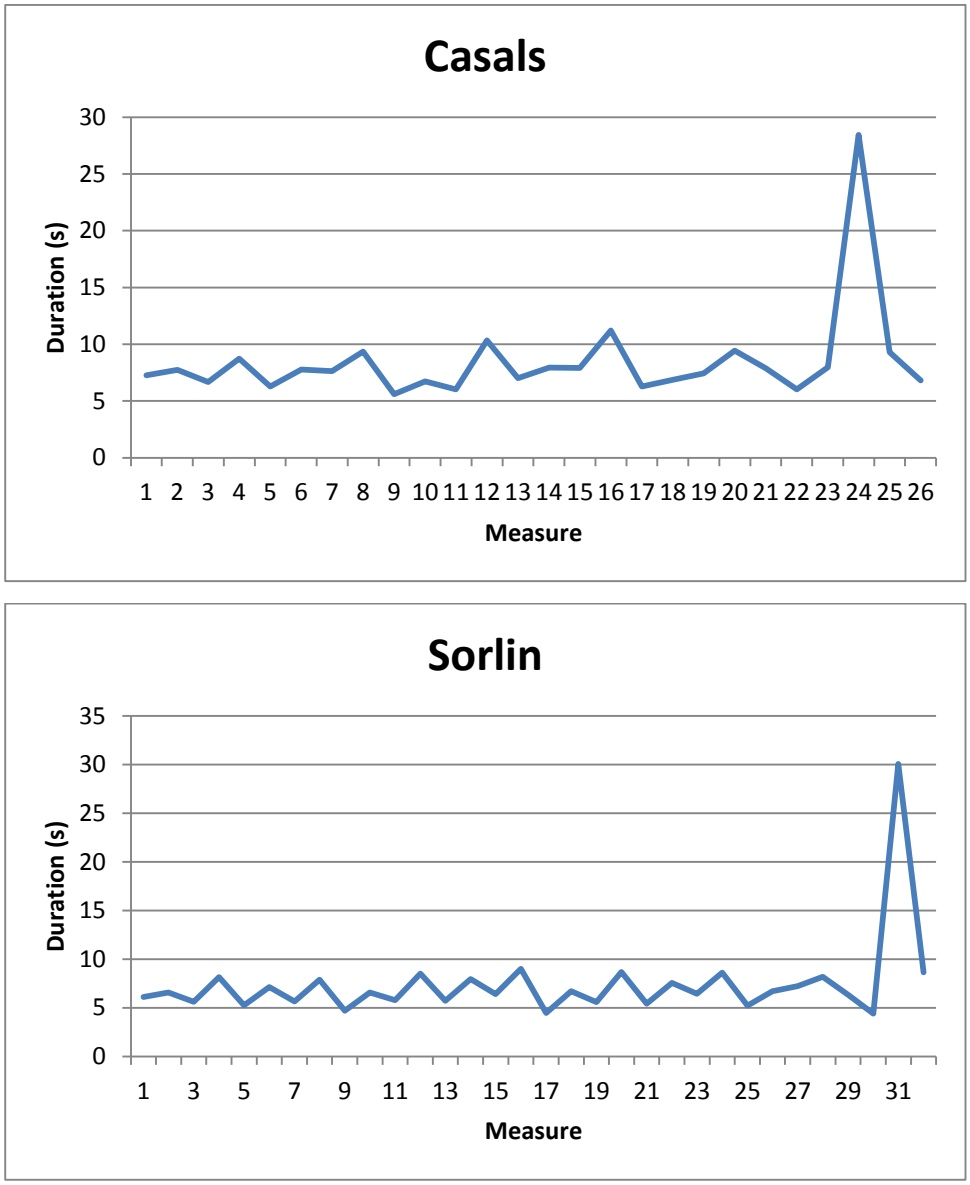
All the violinists emphasize four-bar units, typically slowing down in the fourth bar. Within each four-bar phrase, however, a variety of approaches to tempo changes emerges. Each violinist demonstrates a flexible tempo throughout. However, their starting points are somewhat different. The slowest overall tempo comes from Huberman, who starts at 80bpm for a quaver, followed by Conus at 88bpm at the opening. Other violinists go considerably faster: Parlow began at 97bpm, Primrose 99bpm, Sarasate 93bpm and Rosé 96bpm. Table 7 shows their minimal and maximal deviations from these starting points, presenting changes as percentages.

Performer	Minimum Change (%)	Maximum Change (%)
Jules Conus	0	49
Kathleen Parlow	9	106
Pablo de Sarasate	1	79
Bronisław Huberman	1	79
William Primrose	3	69
Arnold Rosé	2	49
Victor Sorlin	8	55
Pau Casals	0	72
Mademoiselle Nikita	11	69
Claudia Muzio	0	91
Vladimir de Pachmann	1	35
Ignacy Paderewski	0	41
Leopold Godowsky	5	53
Josef Hofmann	1	56
Raoul Koczalski	1	44
Sergei Rachmaninov	0	63

Table 7. Presentation of minimum and maximum change throughout the recording, percentage.

The two cellists follow similar approaches to the violinists. Both Sorlin and Casals slowed down significantly in the fourth bar of the phrase. Casals' phrases do not follow a pattern, as he plays some with grow - drop, some with just a drop and others in a different fashion. His deviations from a starting tempo of 99bpm for a quaver are from 0% to 72%. Sorlin's opening tempo is significantly faster, at 118bpm. Even though the calculations show that his maximum change percentage is 55%, this number is perhaps misleading:

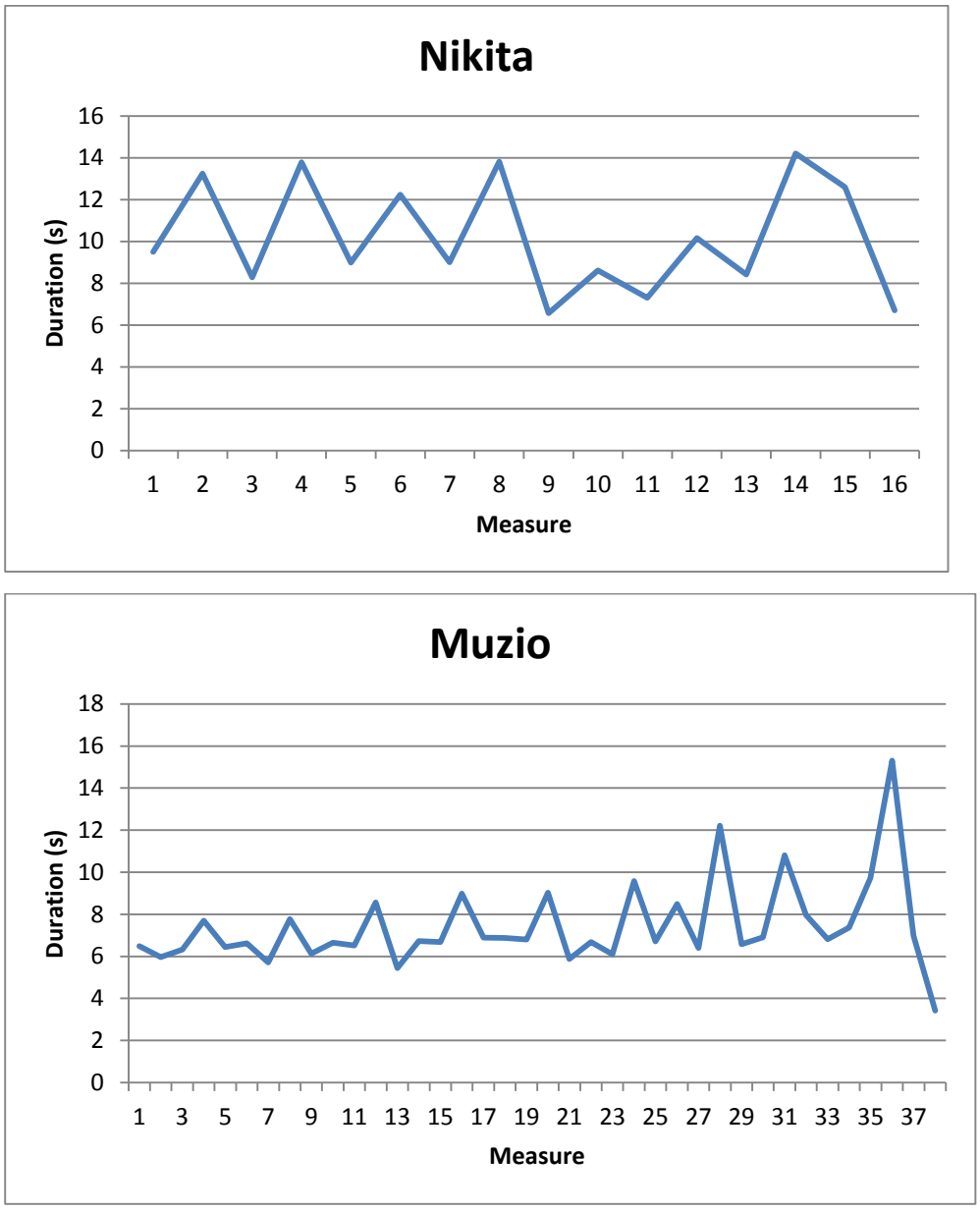
Sorlin's changes are extremely common, as in bars 4-8 and 9-12. They are mostly around 40% between bars, marking a significant difference with Casals, whose recording has larger deviation but is more consistent overall. A comparison of both cellists' tempo flexibilities can be observed in Graph 6.



Graph 6. Cello recordings. Bar durations.

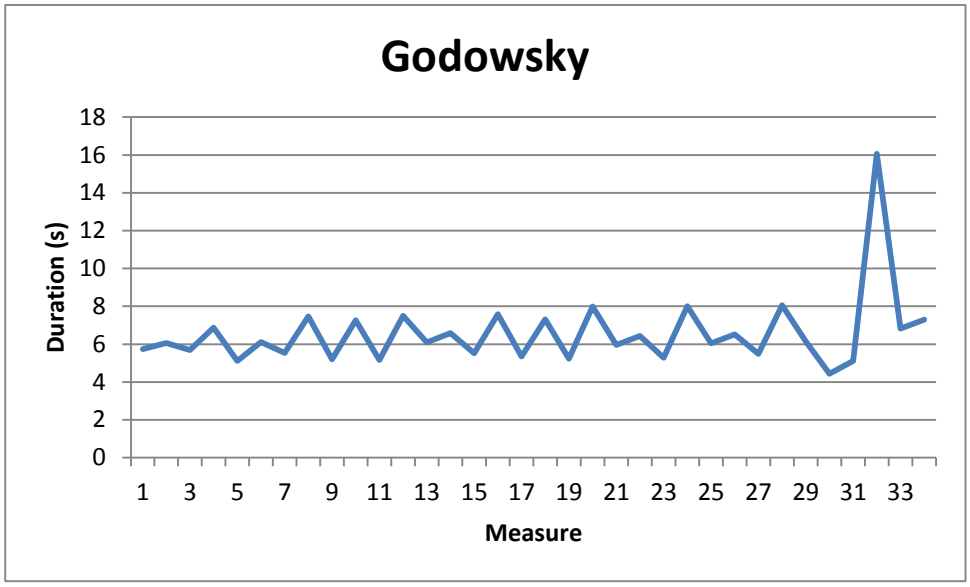
Once again, it is difficult to compare the singers, as Nikita is accompanied by the piano and Muzio by an orchestra. Nikita's recording is no longer audible from the beginning of bar 16 onwards; as a result, final numerical values are not provided. Nikita slowed down significantly in every other bar: 76

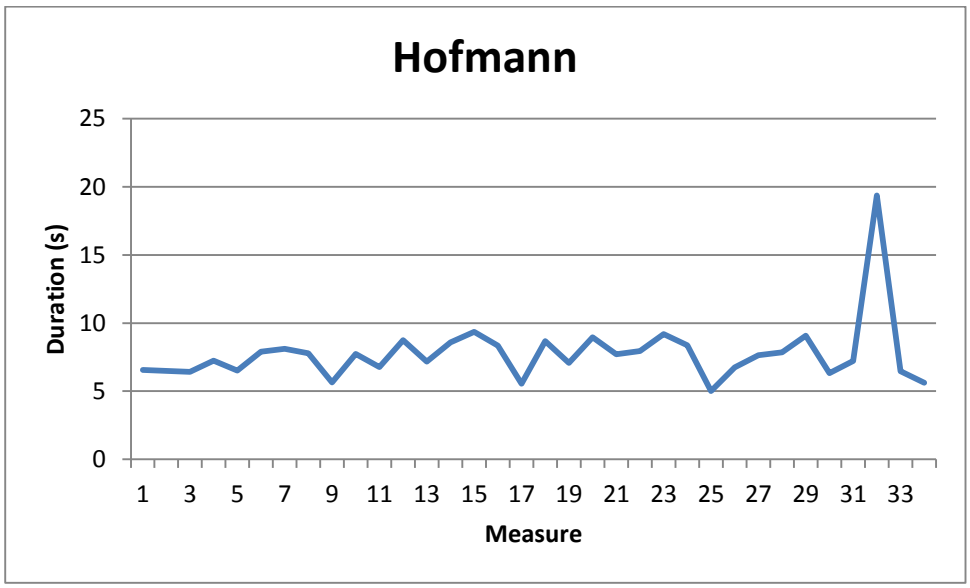
– 54, 87 – 52, 80 – 59, 80 – 52, and so on. Tempo changes appear regularly, and no two adjacent bars comprise less than an 11% alteration. On some occasions, she slows down significantly on account of prolonging high notes. The most extreme tempo change in this context is 69%. Claudia Muzio, a singer born eight years after Nikita's recording was made, starts the Nocturne significantly faster at 111bpm. Her deviations vary from 0% to 91%, and are more varied in general, as evident in Table 27, (Appendix II). Graph 7 shows the tempo flexibilities for both singers.

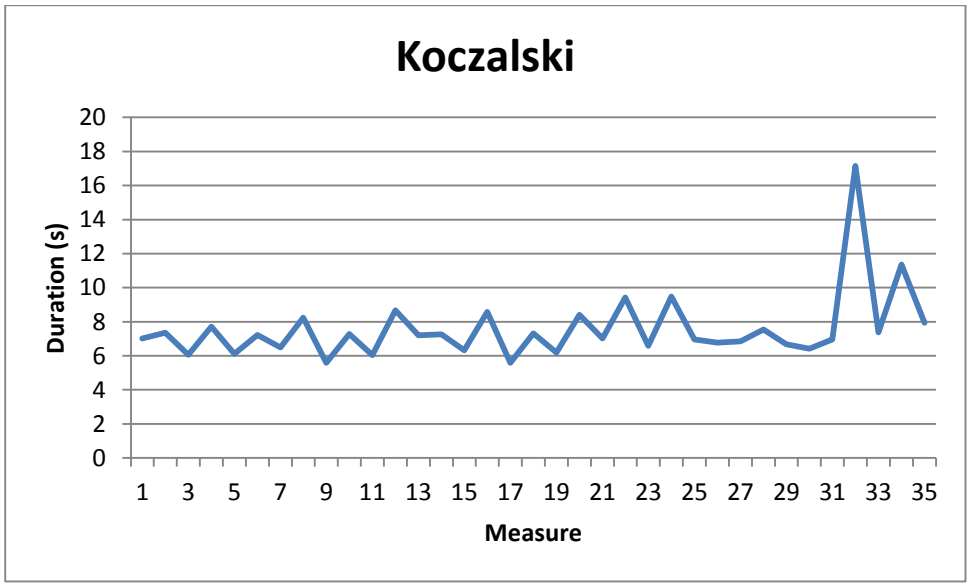


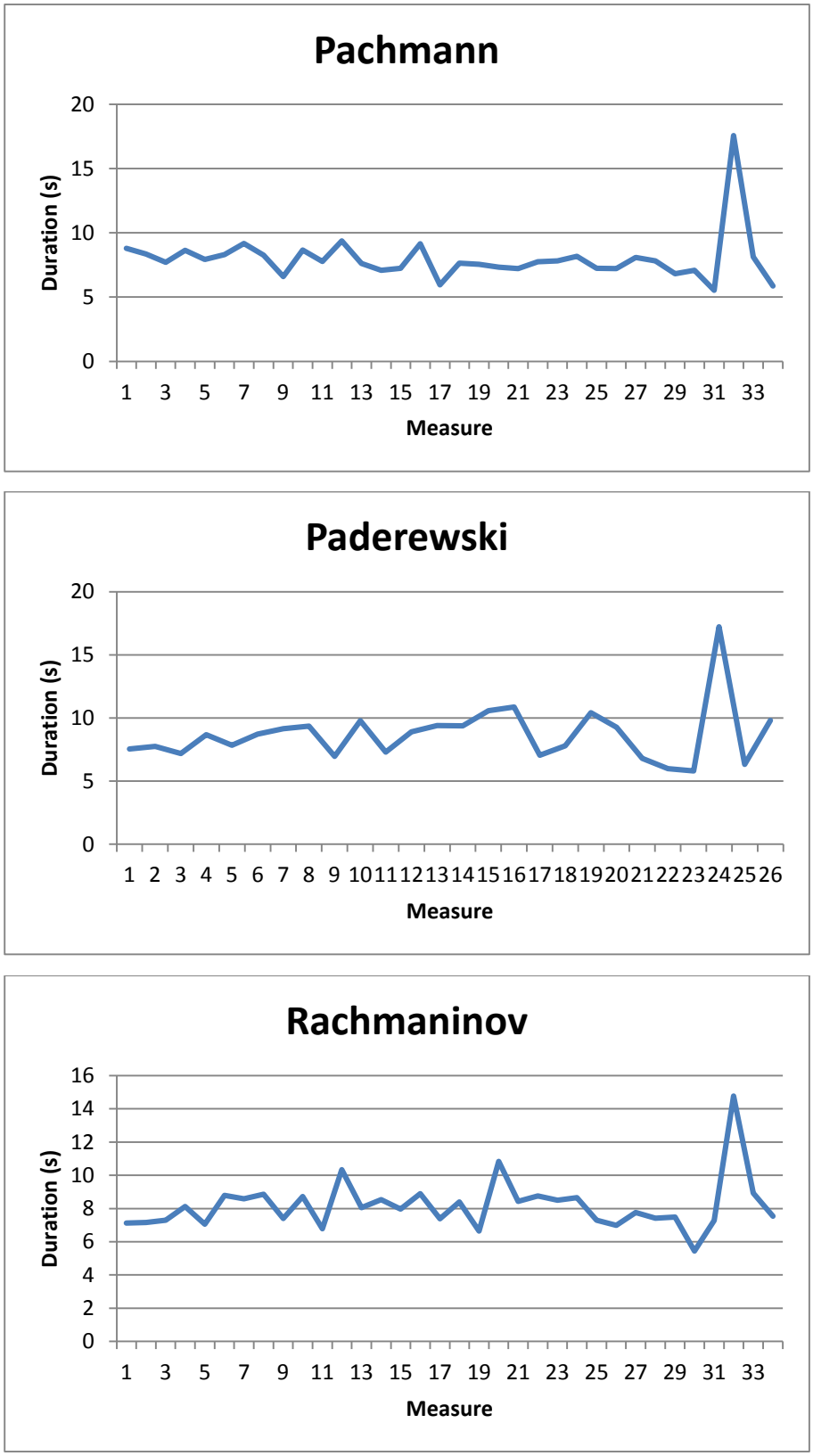
Graph 7. Voice recordings. Bar durations.

The group of pianists provide a wide range of interpretations, giving varied musical results. Once again, however, they are united in their prioritization of the four-bar phrase. Hofmann's recording renders the phrase consistently, slowing down in the fourth bar and providing more varied deviations between second and third bars. Interestingly, Hofmann hardly changes tempo in the first four bars (playing the second and third bars with only 1% change from a starting point of 110bpm for a quaver, and including a 13% drop in the fourth bar). Hofmann's changes range over the course of the piece from 1% to 56%. Godowsky has significantly faster tempi than the other pianists, starting at 125bpm. In addition to slowing down at the end of the fourth bar, Godowsky presents another pattern in his four-bar phrases; the first bar of each is always played at around 120bpm, but the fourth at around 90bpm. Pachmann, by contrast, has the slowest tempo, starting at just 82bpm for a quaver. In addition to being slow from the start, Pachmann does not exhibit much tempo change between bars. His maximum is 35% and lowest 1%. Another difference is that, even though he slows down in the fourth bars of his phrases, he does not do so as much as other pianists. Rachmaninov, in his 1927 recording, begins the piece at 101bpm per quaver. Once again he accentuates four-bar phrases, which slows down in the final bar. His tempo deviations range from 0% to 63%, representing the highest degree of change among pianists. In the majority of four-bar phrases, Rachmaninov increases the tempo between the first and second bars, but drops between the second and third, leading to a final drop between third and fourth. This is very different from Paderewski's more erratic differences between bars, which reveal no obvious pattern. Starting with a tempo of 95bpm per quaver, Paderewski's 1930s recording varies from a 0% to a 41% change. Koczalski starts his recording at a similar tempo to Rachmaninov (103bpm for each quaver), with deviations between 1% and 44%. His patterns of change are also similar to Rachmaninov’s, involving an increase in tempo between the first and second bars, followed by a drop between the second and third, and another drop between third and fourth. All the pianists’ tempo changes can be observed in Graph 8.


Godowsky
Duration (s)
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33
Measure


Hofmann
Duration (s)
0
5
10
15
20
25
1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33
Measure


Koczalski
Duration (s)
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
1 3 5 7 9 11 13 15 17 19 21 23 25 27 29 31 33 35
Measure



Graph 8. Piano recordings. Bar durations.

As observed above, all performers change the tempo of the piece, often quite considerably, throughout their renditions of the Nocturne. Regardless of instrumentation, almost all of them accentuate the four-bar phrasing pattern. The percentage changes, and calculations of metronomic values, are further evidence of elastic tempi at the turn of the nineteenth century. Crucially, this approach to tempo is consistent amongst all of the performers, including those born as early as 1844 (Sarasate) and as late as 1904 (Primrose). Of particular interest is how different instrumentalists approached these tempo changes; even though each performer, naturally, was influenced by the capabilities of their instrument, performances offer a very consistent interpretational style.

4.9 Rhythmic Changes and Small-scale Alterations

Each performer has a personalised approach to rhythmic alterations, resulting in a varied picture overall. The violinists, for example, differ significantly. Conus changes the rhythm of bar 2, playing the first crotchet as a quaver, before continuing with a turn on the second quaver. This is subsequently repeated in bar 26 (on the 7th, 8th and 9th quavers). Furthermore he does not respect the rest in bars 4 and 29, playing a very audible portamento instead. In bar 16, Conus gives dotted rhythms where they are not notated, and in bars 13 and 14 equal value notes as unequal ones. Huberman changes the rhythmic profile much less than Conus. However, he does add one or two non-notated notes before crotchets, as in bar 4 (where the second quaver is also considerably prolonged). Sometimes, as in bar 12, he plays a dotted crotchet as a crotchet plus quaver. He adopts a similar approach in bar 20, where the first dotted crotchet is played as three quavers. With these exceptions, Hubermann follows the score closely, making only a few textual changes.

Sarasate alters the rhythm of his own transcription in many places. In bar 4, for example, he makes a syncopated rhythm out of equal notes, which are marked ritenuto. He repeats this practice in bar 5 and bar 14, where he does not play ritenuto on the fifth quaver, but on the sixth, again syncopating the last three equal-value notes. Like Conus, Sarasate does not respect the crotchet rest in bar 4, and begins the last quaver in the bar slightly early, which leads to de-

synchronisation with the pianist. He repeats this in bar 16; rather than playing the quaver rest on the ninth quaver of the bar, he slides a portamento on it. In bar 5, Sarasate plays beats 7, 8 and 9 in a different order – crotchet-quaver, rather than the other way around. Bar 16 is similar, a dotted crotchet being heard on the first beat instead of a quaver. The piano plays three quavers first, while the violin provides the long note, even though the marking in the score is *col violino.* This is heard again in bar 24, where Sarasate plays the first quaver as a dotted crotchet.

Sarasate sometimes performs notated dotted rhythms as equal ones, such as on the sixth quaver of bars 10 and 18. In contrast, bar 16's run of notes sees Sarasate prolong the penultimate note and then add a dotted rhythm just before the seventh quaver. He also prolongs the second part of the fifth and first part of the sixth quavers in bar 22 and, in so doing, significantly slows down across the bar. In bar 24, he plays the end of the run in a similar manner to bar 16, significantly prolonging G^4 and F^4, and creating a dotted rhythm before playing an E-flat^4 that leads to the seventh quaver. Towards the end, he does not hold the dotted minim in bar 32 as written, quickly moving to the next beat. At the end of the short cadence, he adds three notes after the trill to segué into the penultimate bar of the piece.

Parlow rarely employs rhythmic changes. Bar 14 is one exception, where she holds the first note like a quaver before the run, and the prolongation of the last note of bar 20 is another, where it lasts longer than a dotted crotchet (under a ritenuto sign). In bar 23, Parlow plays a prolonged trill in the first three quavers, subsequently continuing in the same tempo and ignoring the ritenuto sign, and in bar 24 prolongs the third last note of the run and creates a dotted rhythm. Primrose also plays a prolonged first note of the upbeat to the piece, and in bar 4 an unnotated ritenuto at the beginning of the bar. Another ritenuto appears on the first beat of bar 8, even though it is notated on the seventh.

Rosé's recording includes a large number of small-scale rhythmic deviations, in most cases involving the prolongation of individual notes. Very rarely does Rosé alter note values, with the exception of the upbeat to bar 1, which he plays as a dotted crotchet instead of a quaver. In bar 16, he gives the

first beat as a quaver, and makes a triplet out of the ensuing three semiquavers. In the same bar, he prolongs the semiquaver E^6, in effect producing a quaver. The final bar in which he changes the text is bar 32, where a dotted rhythm instead of the triplet appears on the sixth beat of the bar.

Among violinists represented in my study, it is noticeable that those born latest, Primrose and Parlow, employ very few rhythmic changes, while the older performers, Sarasate and Conus, use rhythmic alterations throughout. Tempo deviations of violinists, who for the most part do not change the rhythmic values of the piece, come from employing ritenuti or accelerandi; most do not appear in any notated version of the Nocturne.

Casals does not change the rhythm very often, but does slow down and speed up throughout the piece. Occasional rhythmic adjustments are experienced, nevertheless, in bars 4, 6, 8, 15 and 17, where the highest notes in these bars are held for much longer than written. In bar 11, Casals also plays the dotted crotchet as a quaver and a crotchet, in the process adding a note. Sorlin prolongs the first beat of the piece, and also the highest notes in bars 4, 6, 8, 15, 17, 25. In bar 14, he plays a reversed rhythm of the first three beats: first a quaver and then a crotchet, instead of a crotchet followed by a quaver. The two cellists interpret the piece in contrasting ways, performing different cadenzas, and choosing different tempi and expressive techniques. Even so, they both prolong the highest notes in the bar, providing flexible tempi in their performances.

The two singers seem to approach Chopin’s piece is a similar way to the cellists. Without the score, however, it is not possible to determine the extent to which the notated text has been altered. Nikita slows down and speeds up significantly throughout and sings different rhythms to those in Chopin's first edition in bars 2 and 6 (the turn of the third beat prolonged as a dotted crotchet, and the highest note in the bar as a minim), and in 3 and 8 (where the high note quaver becomes a dotted crotchet). Her top notes are extended to three times their probable original value, producing a kind of operatic quality. Muzio's rhythmic liberties are much less pronounced. However, she does sing a different version of the Nocturne from Nikita (the top notes in bar 4, for example, are

sung an octave lower, and are not extended significantly). Muzio also does not sing the upbeat of the theme after the first occurrence. While the differences between Chopin's score and Muzio's interpretation are extensive, no further conclusions can be reached about them in the absence of the score used by her.

With the exception of Koczalski, we do not know which editions pianists used in their recordings. Even so, the aforementioned editions do not differ in their notated rhythms, only in their interpretational markings. As such, the specific edition used by a pianist does not matter in the context of the current, rhythmically-orientated discussion. Paderewski presents a series of minor rhythmic changes, using agogic lengthening, in the context of dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation (discussed below). He also shortens quavers to semiquavers in bar 9, and plays equal notes as dotted ones in bar 16. In bar 7, Paderewski does not provide a third quaver in the left hand, omitting the notated chord when the right hand has a trill. In a similar way, Godowsky does not employ rhythmic alterations, besides minor agogic lengthening. He plays very fast appoggiaturas leading into the sixth beat in bar 4 and on beat 7 of bar 14. He also adds a B-flat in the right hand in bar 19.

At the beginning of the main theme, Rachmaninov introduces rhythmic alterations, playing the fifth and sixth beats in a syncopated fashion. He also employs additional rhythmic alterations; in bar 10, for example, a dotted rhythm is rendered as equal-value notes on the fifth and sixth beats. Like other pianists, Rachmaninov uses a number of agogic lengthenings which are always combined with dislocation. Hofmann, however, makes a significant number of small textual changes, either rhythmically or by adding individual notes. In bar 4, for instance, he plays an appoggiatura, with a repetition of A-flat[5]. Furthermore he makes a dotted rhythm out of the two semiquavers on the 6th beat (also repeated in bar 8), playing demisemiquavers on the sixth beats of bar 16 and 24 in the same way. In bar 5, the notated rhythm of beats 6 and 7 is reversed – a crotchet followed by a quaver – and in bar 7, the trill at the beginning of the bar significantly prolonged (as in bars 15 and 23 too). In bar 18, Hofmann adds a note, as well as an appoggiatura leading to the sixth beat, and in bar 24 alters the text, omitting two notes from beats five and six. Hofmann also plays an octave

lower than notated on the sixth beat of bar 29, as well as an octave higher on the first beat of the bar 30, and gives two semiquavers instead of a quaver on the eighth beat of the same bar.

Tempo changes in all the chosen recordings are pronounced, and appear with great frequency. With rhythmic alterations, however, it is more difficult to make observations that relate to the specific instrumental groupings; results differ significantly among recordings. Agogic lengthenings, alongside ritenutos and accelerandos of parts of bars, were delivered alongside either dislocations, particularly with the pianists, or portamento playing and singing. It is noticeable that in all recordings, musicians make rhythmical flexibilities an integral component of their interpretations and, in this context, present a high degree of variability.

4.10 Playing with the Accompaniment

It is evident that the various accompanying pianists on the chosen recordings performed from different editions. Particularly in the earliest recordings, though, their participation can at times be very difficult to determine. Conus' accompanist plays the original left-hand part from Chopin's score until bar 32, where a chord is given. Their ensemble playing is highly synchronised in this recording, with a few notable exceptions, such as the third beat of bar 8. Hubermann's pianist changes Sarasate's edition in numerous places, playing chords instead of rests on beats 1, 4, 7 and 9 of various bars. As an ensemble, Huberman and his pianist are not always synchronised, particularly when the violinist makes rhythmic alterations.

The duo of Sarasate and his pianist are, for the most part, highly synchronised. His accompanist closely follows ritenutos, prolongation of beats, and accelerandi. The same can be said of Rosé and his pianist, who also synchronise well; this is particularly striking on account of the rhythmic liberties taken. Parlow's pianist is the only one in the group of accompanists who plays arpeggiated chords (which are not notated in any edition). As a result, the two musicians play together throughout, the pianist spreading chords and waiting for Parlow during retardations. Casals did not make many rhythmic alterations and,

since his temporal changes are employed across phrases, it is not surprising that the piano keeps the pulse effectively, or that the musicians are well synchronised throughout. The same cannot be said of Sorlin, who alters many rhythms. His accompanist keeps the pulse but is required to wait for Sorlin, particularly when he slows down at the end of phrases and prolongs top notes in the bar. In some cases, this results in a lack of synchronisation. The pianist plays a number of wrong notes too, which on occasion affect the harmony.

Muzio's orchestral accompanists perform very precisely; in fact her choices of tempo changes may have been made with orchestral participation in mind. In any case the orchestra closely follows her, providing the piece with its underlying pulse. This does not apply to Nikita, who is accompanied by Pyotr Schurovsky in this recording, where a pulse is hard to detect. In some cases, this is attributable to a near inaudible piano accompaniment. When the piano can be heard, however, it is clear that the pianist supports Nikita's tempo and rhythmic alterations.

Viewed collectively, my recordings showcase an interesting range of ensemble playing. The piano part in the Nocturne's transcriptions is, for the most part, similar to what the left hand plays in Chopin's original text. Even so, the degree of synchronisation is varied, and one might reasonably assume that a lack of synchronisation is used as an expressive device that is similar, in many respects, to dislocations heard in the piano recordings.

4.11 Portamento and Vibrato

Portamento, or an audible slide between two notes, was one of the main expressive techniques in string playing and singing in the nineteenth-century[472] and, not surprisingly, it appears in almost every bar of each string and voice recording. However, different types of portamenti are in evidence. Conus uses it on almost every note change; whilst this makes some of the phrases very long,

[472] For discussion on portamento, see: Philip, *Early Recordings*, pp. 143-178; Clive Brown, "Bowing Styles, Vibrato and Portamento in Nineteenth-Century Violin Playing", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 113 No. 1 (1988), pp. 97-128; Robin Stowell, "Technique and performing practice", *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 122-142.

he produces a range of tone colours through vibrato, which is exclusively applied on dotted crotchets. Conus' portamento is varied throughout, particularly in the speed of each slide. Vibrato is treated as an addition to portamento, often resulting in a long note with slight vibrato. In this way, vibrato takes on an ornamental character, appearing only at selected moments. For example, we can hear that portamento is present in the first bar and its anacrusis, while in the second bar there is only one occurrence of portamento.

Huberman uses vibrato on each crotchet and dotted crotchet. Even so, his vibrato is more pronounced on longer, higher notes. He thereby produces very long phrases, with vibrato and non-vibrato on specific notes creating internal phrasing and enhancing tone colour. Huberman uses portamento less than Conus, playing the whole text with continuous legato, seemingly in 'one breath', while only employing portamento selectively. For example, he uses it seven times in the first four bars and on every occasion that there is a large distance between notes (as in bars 10, 11, 13, 18 and 19). It is clear that Huberman regards portamento as an expressive device to be used sporadically rather than consistently. Interestingly, he does not draw on it in bars already containing ornamentation (for example 14, 16, 24 and the cadenza).

Sarasate also uses portamento ornamentally. However, his approach is a little different from the other violinists on account of the high degree of variation, particularly in speed. Portamenti appear in almost every bar, except where other types of ornamentation are present. In Wilhelmj's transcription portamenti are marked as *glissez*, with a line between notes (in bars 6 and 10), by *glissando*, with a line between notes (in bar 18), by only a line between the notes (in bar 29, albeit following a *dolcissimo* marking), and by two parallel lines between two octaves (in bar 33). This edition also has a number of fingerings for the violin, as well as several notated tempo changes. *Tempo I*, for example, appears in bars 13, 23 and 36. Rosé follows this practice. However, he also adds non-notated portamenti in almost every bar, and twice in bars 3, 6 and 10, omitting them in ornamented bars (such as 15 and 16). Rosé's portamenti are noticeable and pronounced. Although he respects the text, delivering portamenti when notated, he regularly adds them as well.

Parlow only uses portamento when transitioning from higher to lower pitched notes. Primrose also does not use portamento as frequently as others, making it pronounced when he does. Casals' varying uses of portamenti help to differentiate phrases. He exploits it at the opening of the theme, on the major sixth between the two first notes, but omits it when repeating the gesture to lead into bar 2, and uses it to transition to high notes in phrases. Furthermore, Casals plays vibrato on more notes than the other violinists. Like Casals, Sorlin employs portamento on the major sixth at the beginning of the main theme: he does not bring it back until the final iteration of the theme. Muzio rarely uses portamento and when she does coordinates it with drops in pitch. She also includes more vibrato than Nikita (on every note longer than a quaver). Nikita's combination of legato, portamento and vibrato is so integrated and prominent that it seems (even though four-bar phrases are felt) that she sings in one breath from the beginning to the end of the piece.

Since portamento was not marked into the score (with the exception of Wilhelmj's edition) we observe once again – as for dislocation and unmarked arpeggiation - how musical notation did not preserve practices employed by musicians of the time. While all of the violinists, singers and cellists, use it ornamentally, it becomes less and less common in recordings made from the 1920s onwards.

4.12 Dislocation and Unnotated Arpeggiation

Godowsky rarely employs dislocations. However, it is also important to note that his tempo is much faster than all the other pianists, at 125bpm. On the few occasions when he does use dislocations, they are so quick as to be almost unnoticeable, as in last quaver of bar 4, and just before the appoggiatura on the first beat of bar 21. In bar 10, Godowsky plays the second beat of the right hand before the left hand, and therefore makes a dislocation on the second and third beats. He also dislocates (arpeggiates) the first octave of the cadenza bar. Hofmann uses unnotated arpeggiation throughout the piece, which he builds up from arpeggiated chords in the left hand, so that the right hand dislocation in the top voice serves as a continuation of the arpeggiation. In such cases Hofmann

slows down, as in the second and third beats of bar 4. He repeats the same idea in bar 8 (first three beats), 12 (right hand, first dotted crotchet), 16 (first two beats), 19 (last two dotted crotchets), and both 31 and 32 (top octaves).

Rachmaninov demonstrates many ways of dislocating the bass from the melody, as well as employing unnotated arpeggiation throughout. The beginning of his performance (the major sixth) is dislocated; in fact, in the first bar of the piece he dislocates four times and continues to do so frequently throughout in marked contrast with Hofmann and Godowsky. Used in conjunction with unnotated arpeggiation, Rachmaninov stretches the tempo to its plausible maximum. The various ways of using dislocation and unnotated arpeggiation depend for their effect on the speed of the two hands, and Rachmaninov shows a plethora of ways of exploiting it as an expressive effect. At the opening, for example, the second note, a major sixth from the first, is dislocated very quickly, the bass providing a sense of tonic that 'glues' together the first two notes. The fifth beat, however, is dislocated much more slowly, following an unnotated arpeggiation in the left hand (which is played quite swiftly), which leads to the sixth beat dislocated even more slowly, and harmonically emphasising the sixth beat.

Paderewski goes one step further than Rachmaninov, employing dislocation on almost every note. This performance is quite slow (95bpm), allowing Paderewski time and space to dislocate. He uses unnotated arpeggiation in the left hand with great frequency and, in this way, plays most of the piece with his hands apart. When performing semiquavers, Paderewski usually increases the tempo and dislocates only the high notes in the bar. In so doing, he manages to make the semiquavers stand out, avoiding dislocation.

It is interesting to hear how Pachmann manages to dislocate every note, but with a completely different musical outcome. Starting at 82bpm, Pachmann plays the piece even slower than Paderewski. However, the major difference is his treatment of the left hand; while Paderewski makes little gaps between each group of three notes, Pachmann plays the left hand material at a steady pace, giving his rendition an almost hypnotic quality. It is noticeable that the speed of dislocation changes with the speed of the piece; when Pachmann plays faster,

his dislocations are also faster. This interpretation, the left hand playing at a steady pace, is very similar to descriptions of Chopin's metrical rubato, where his left hand is in effect a conductor keeping tempo. Koczalski dislocates throughout his recording, but mostly on crotchets and dotted crotchets. He also uses dislocations in every bar, as a way of balancing the melodic line and the bass with the improvised sections of Mikuli's version of the Nocturne.

The dislocations in all the recordings were either a product of making a single note of the melody stand out, or a product of a phrase employing metrical rubato. Lenz explains what Chopin's instructions were in preparing this piece, which reveals the composer's practice:

> Chopin wanted the bass to be practiced first by itself, divided between the hands – with a full but piano sonority and in strict time, maintaining an absolutely steady allegretto movement without the 12/8 lapsing into triplets, then the left hand can be trusted with the accompaniment played that way and the tenor invited to sing his part in the upper voice.[473]

4.13 Conclusion

This second case study, which considered performances by sixteen different musicians, revealed highly individual approaches to Chopin's music. Clearly, however, similarities between the various instrumental groupings, and even the sixteen musicians as a whole, demand attention. With regard to tempo modifications, for example, one may observe similar overall patterns of changes across the piece, as clearly demonstrated by the graphs showing individual bar durations for each performance. There are, of course, lower-level differences, most notably in rhythmic alterations which invariably differentiate the highly personalised performances of the same piece. In this context, rhythmic changes are closely connected to their instrumental grouping, and specific expressive techniques also associated with those groupings. String players and singers, for example, differentiated their interpretations through portamento and vibrato. By

[473] Cited in: Jonathan Bellman, "Chopin's Pianism And The Reconstruction Of The Ineffable", *MTNA e-Journal* (February, 2012), p. 21.

contrast, pianists employed dislocated and unnotated arpeggiation throughout, allowing them to develop a range of different rhythmical changes.

Each of the sixteen musicians demonstrates a relaxed approach to the written text; free treatment of the rhythm and meter is present in every performance. This was, in many respects, one of the most important findings from the second case study, since it exemplifies the musical values of the late nineteenth century and suggests that approaches to written scores remained largely the same, irrespective of the instruments involved. The group of pianists was exceptional, as their interpretations did not include any major textural cuts; this does not detract from other changes to, or readings of, the musical score, which remain consistent with the interpretational style of the late nineteenth-century performance fashions. Differences between these sixteen performers, based on their year of their birth, are intriguing; older musicians tended to use more portamento and less vibrato than their younger contemporaries.

The number of recordings included in this case study is, of course, insufficient to come to definitive conclusions about nineteenth- and early twentieth-century performance practice in its entirety. Even so, the investigation has revealed central features of such practice and, crucially, has confirmed the value of early sound recordings to contemporary musicological research, which offer invaluable insights into changing fashions of, and stylistic conventions in, performance practice that are rarely identifiable in either written documents or musical scores. In the twenty-first-century we are far removed from the time that Chopin created his music and, of course, musical tastes have changed considerably since then. In this context, recordings made around the turn of the twentieth century are an extraordinarily valuable source of information about performance fashions of a bygone age.

Conclusion

This thesis considered the music of Chopin from a variety of different perspectives. It started by surveying the emergence and development of the reception of Chopin's music within Great Britain and, in doing so, demonstrated some of the various ways in which written evidence, particularly that which was produced by the musical press of the nineteenth century, needs to be understood within the broader context from which it emerged; rather than taking such evidence at face value, the thesis considered some of the numerous motivations, preoccupations and tendencies of the time. This proved to be crucial in understanding historically-informed views of Chopin's music; it was little surprise to discover that Chopin's reception closely relates to the circumstances of the times, involving wide-ranging debate and conflicts of opinion.

In Chapter 1, reception revealed opposing views within the British press; Chopin was embraced as a composer and pianist, ranking amongst the greatest contributors to music. On the other hand, strong resentment was expressed. Unsurprisingly, numerous subtexts underlie respective positions, and this demonstrated how an understanding, and appreciation, of broader social, cultural and political contexts is ultimately crucial in the understanding of an artist's reputation. In this particular context, a rise of nationalism, seeing a defence of British composers, seems particularly significant. More importantly, in the broader span of time, was the acceptance of Romanticism, closely identified with Chopin's music, which were viewed with a degree of scepticism within the British press. Despite comments from the press, however, Chopin was becoming increasingly popular with the British public.

The following chapter continued in a similar vein, highlighting the central trends which occurred in Chopin's reception. The period spanning from 1848 to 1899 saw Chopin entering the musical canon in Great Britain; various editions had been published, performances of Chopin's works became increasingly popular, and regular biographies started to appear. Simultaneously, writings started to offer information on how his works should be performed, allowing for the public to purchase and consume Chopin's music in ways that

were previously unavailable. The popularity of Chopin's music was, in many respects, a result of the proliferation of concerts, the development of audiences, and an increase in publications, both in terms of press attention and the availability of his scores. These various changes helped to develop a musical culture in which Chopin's music thrived, with circumstances supporting his popularity.

When observing these perspectives in the twenty-first century, the sheer volume of available, and often contradictory, information about Chopin makes reception research somewhat arduous: biographies and theoretical work on his music, through a plethora of contexts and pianistic interpretations, inform criticism which, in turn, informs reception. Clearly, responses to Chopin's music were never the same; different attitudes to performance, different kinds of journalist writing, and, ultimately different kinds of playing, conspire to produce a rich and varied musical context which has since passed. With this in mind, it is necessary to consider how background events, framing the ways in which such music was produced and presented, account for the many different factors which informed reception in this context.

Chapter 3 considered testimonial evidence of Chopin's playing, providing an historic account of the genesis and evolution of playing styles leading up to Chopin's era, before addressing Chopin's pianism from the perspective of his contemporaries. Such testimonial accounts are, once again, a product of their time, revealing certain expectations, tendencies and preoccupations of the age. Unlike the previous two chapters, however, these is a greater degree of consistency amongst the accounts discussed in Chapter 3; Chopin was widely acknowledged as an exceptional pianist and, perhaps as a direct consequence, written evidence of the time present striking similarities in terms of their focus and approach to music techniques and styles. Even so, the contemporary reader has no clear way of knowing what such techniques actually sounded like during Chopin's lifetime, and this will always present something of a barrier to any researcher interested in the sound-world of Chopin's pianism.

With the above in mind, the two case studies that were considered in Chapter 4 focussed upon sonic evidence, in the form of early recordings. In

doing so, they illuminated certain stylistic conventions and pianistic techniques common to the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries, paying particular attention to rhythmic alterations, tempo modifications, tempo rubato, dislocation and un-notated arpeggiation. Such recordings demonstrate, beyond any doubt, that performance fashions and styles have since changed. More importantly, they show how recordings provide additional, and complementary, evidence of musical practices. When considered together, the two case studies presented in this chapter helped me to develop an understanding of the various elements upon which those recordings are built. Significantly, they introduced me to a variety of expressive techniques with which I was not familiar or accustomed to hearing. Above all, the distinctive readings of, and attitudes towards the written texts revealed the most startling differences between the performance practices of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and those generally encountered today: early recordings reveal a range of different ways in which performers read musical scores, highlighting the multiplicity of interpretational options that governed their actions. The significance of this discovery cannot be underestimated in the context of my own research interests and values; early recordings provide evidence that complements what may be discovered in written texts, particularly when one is concerned with historically-informed ways of playing and with the broader, normative values that would not necessarily be described in a written document on playing styles and approaches common to a specific era. They are, in this context, substantial pieces of evidence that demand critical and theoretical attention.

With regard to my own performance practice, the findings of this thesis have had profound consequences. Nineteenth-century composers, including Chopin, were in touch with the general trends of their era and as a result did not necessarily notate certain performing practices that were nonetheless considered essential. As a result, it is crucial for a contemporary performer to understand the performing practices of the time. In an attempt to comprehend and adopt aspects of such performance practice, I embarked upon a reconsideration of my own ways of reading musical texts. From my perspective this was a considerable challenge, but it initiated a process that will continue for the remainder of my

career as a performer. Coming from an era where the written text is, by and large, sacrosanct, awareness of different readings presented a significant challenge, whilst offering numerous different opportunities for expanding my performance opens up new possibilities and horizons. In particular, the possibility of employing a range of unfamiliar expressive techniques was particularly significant; many of the expressive techniques that I encountered in the early sound recordings had been absent from my training as a pianist and were, as a result, largely unfamiliar.

The process of adopting these various styles and techniques has been difficult and, at times, laborious. Two principal difficulties arose. Firstly, putting into practice certain stylistic approaches involved a degree of 'unlearning'[474] – a term used by David Milsom to describe the challenge of employing and adopting new styles of playing that are often opposed to what one has been taught in the past. Secondly, the tendency to imitate what I heard on early recordings; as with every form of learning, this process began with imitation of what I encountered during my research. With patience and persistence, however, the process of imitation gradually disappeared and expressive techniques became more deeply assimilated into my performance vocabulary, thus expanding performance possibilities. Accordingly, I would not notate decisions on my score because, as with all expressive techniques, usage depends on a number of different factors, including choice of instrument, choice of tempo, and the setting for the performance. In short, usage depends upon the performative 'moment'.

As with all forms of pianistic learning, my development as a performer has involved collecting, understanding and processing information in order to create something of my own; I attempt, through my performances, to create my own 'version' of the interpretation of Chopin's music. Direct replication or reproduction of early interpretations cannot, of course, be achieved, nor is it necessarily desirable; it is impossible to know what Chopin actually sounded like when he performed and also importantly, it remains impossible to fully

[474] Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance*, p. 4.

grasp aspects of a time and musical culture that have since passed. In this respect, it was helpful for me as a Chopin interpreter to adopt the role of 'horizon merger'; at all times, I strived to grasp historical styles and techniques in-so-far as I was able, assimilating such discoveries with knowledge and experience from my own cultural and social context and background.

As with the discovery of early recordings, it was surprising for me to hear and experience performances on a range of nineteenth-century instruments; as a pianist trained only on modern instruments, the sound-world and technique required to play these early instruments presented a range of hitherto unexplored opportunities and challenges. During the course of this research, I had the chance to try a number of instruments built during the nineteenth century. Using them has enabled, expressive techniques such as dislocation, metrical rubato and unnotated arpeggiation to make much more sense to me as a performer, opening up new stylistic, technical and interpretational possibilities. For example, it was very important to experience the registral split on the nineteenth-century Broadwood, as it creates a polyphonic effect not possible on the modern instrument.[475] The same can also be said of the unique ways of pedalling Chopin's pieces. All in all, the distinctive sound, and considerable differences between instruments of different makers, made for a challenging but richly rewarding experience, helping me to rethink my approach to performing Chopin's music.

Ultimately, my thesis has connected different types of interpretation, starting with the reception of written-evidence, then considering early recordings, before finally evaluating the impact of both on my own interpretations of Chopin's music. In so doing, I have exposed and explored the concerns and preoccupations significant to me as a performer and researcher, and have developed a unique perspective on performance practice. Above all, Chopin's pieces remain fundamentally unchanged, even though the musical world, of which they are a part, is in constant flux. In this context, it has been extremely rewarding to initiate and develop a change in my own pianism,

[475] Winter, "Keyboards", *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, p. 361.

allowing the musical world of the nineteenth-century to inform performance practices of the present.

Appendix I

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change	BPM (calculated with 2 beats per bar)	BPM (calculated with 6 beats per bar)
1	4.99	0.0	0	24	72
2	4.58	-0.4	8	26	79
3	4.31	-0.3	6	28	84
4	4.13	-0.2	4	29	87
5	3.91	-0.2	5	31	92
6	4.27	0.4	9	28	84
7	4.41	0.1	3	27	82
8	5.36	0.9	21	22	67
9	4.87	-0.5	9	25	74
10	4.75	-0.1	2	25	76
11	5.76	1.0	21	21	62
12	5.22	-0.5	9	23	69
13	5.05	-0.2	3	24	71
14	5.43	0.4	8	22	66
15	4.83	-0.6	11	25	74
16	5.45	0.6	13	22	66
17	3.39	-2.1	38	35	106
18	4.39	1.0	29	27	82
19	4.40	0.0	0	27	82
20	4.97	0.6	13	24	72
21	4.54	-0.4	9	26	79
22	3.78	-0.8	17	32	95
23	4.05	0.3	7	30	89
24	4.35	0.3	7	28	83
25	5.88	1.5	35	20	61
26	4.96	-0.9	16	24	73
27	4.70	-0.3	5	26	77
28	4.99	0.3	6	24	72
29	3.72	-1.3	25	32	97
30	5.00	1.3	34	24	72
31	4.93	-0.1	1	24	73
32	6.20	1.3	26	19	58
33	4.88	-1.3	21	25	74
34	4.56	-0.3	6	26	79
35	4.93	0.4	8	24	73
36	4.96	0.0	1	24	73
37	4.37	-0.6	12	27	82
38	5.02	0.7	15	24	72

39	4.72	-0.3	6	25	76
40	4.53	-0.2	4	26	79
41	3.89	-0.6	14	31	92
42	4.56	0.7	17	26	79
43	4.17	-0.4	9	29	86
44	5.14	1.0	23	23	70
45	8.11	3.0	58	15	44
46	4.80	-3.3	41	25	75
47	4.04	-0.8	16	30	89
48	4.67	0.6	16	26	77
49	3.49	-1.2	25	34	103
50	4.35	0.9	24	28	83
51	4.53	0.2	4	27	80
52	4.03	-0.5	11	30	89
53	4.66	0.6	16	26	77
54	5.05	0.4	8	24	71
55	4.35	-0.7	14	28	83
56	3.87	-0.5	11	31	93
57	4.44	0.6	15	27	81
58	4.32	-0.1	3	28	83
59	4.90	0.6	13	25	74
60	4.90	0.0	0	24	73
61	5.59	0.7	14	21	64
62	4.14	-1.4	26	29	87
63	4.38	0.2	6	27	82
64	4.29	-0.1	2	28	84
65	3.96	-0.3	8	30	91
66	4.10	0.1	4	29	88
67	4.54	0.4	11	26	79
68	4.54	0.0	0	26	79
69	4.36	-0.2	4	28	83
70	4.74	0.4	9	25	76
71	4.25	-0.5	10	28	85
72	5.71	1.5	34	21	63
73	5.29	-0.4	7	23	68
74	5.08	-0.2	4	24	71
75	6.28	1.2	24	19	57
76	6.34	0.1	1	19	57
77	5.39	-0.9	15	22	67

Table 8. Pachmann 1906 recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change	BPM (calculated with 2 beats per bar)	BPM (calculated with 6 beats per bar)
26	4.68	0.0	0	26	77
27	3.91	-0.8	17	31	92
28	4.15	0.2	6	29	87
29	3.50	-0.6	16	34	103
30	3.71	0.2	6	32	97
31	4.19	0.5	13	29	86
32	5.65	1.5	35	21	64
33	4.36	-1.3	23	28	83
34	4.25	-0.1	2	28	85
35	3.81	-0.4	10	31	94
36	4.35	0.5	14	28	83
37	4.06	-0.3	7	30	89
38	4.13	0.1	2	29	87
39	4.16	0.0	1	29	87
40	3.78	-0.4	9	32	95
41	3.95	0.2	5	30	91
42	4.61	0.7	17	26	78
43	4.14	-0.5	10	29	87
44	4.05	-0.1	2	30	89
45	7.79	3.7	93	15	46
46	4.87	-2.9	37	25	74
47	4.18	-0.7	14	29	86
48	4.39	0.2	5	27	82
49	4.02	-0.4	8	30	89
50	4.12	0.1	2	29	87
51	4.64	0.5	13	26	78
52	4.33	-0.3	6	28	83
53	4.25	-0.1	2	28	85
54	4.30	0.1	1	28	84
55	4.06	-0.2	6	30	89
56	4.26	0.2	5	28	85
57	4.17	-0.1	2	29	86
58	3.54	-0.6	15	34	102
59	3.92	0.4	11	31	92
60	4.76	0.8	21	25	76
61	5.22	0.5	10	23	69
62	4.09	-1.1	22	29	88
63	3.98	-0.1	3	30	90
64	3.85	-0.1	3	31	93
65	4.08	0.2	6	29	88
66	4.00	-0.1	2	30	90

67	3.82	-0.2	4	31	94
68	3.81	0.0	0	31	94
69	4.06	0.2	6	30	89
70	4.55	0.5	12	26	79
71	4.47	-0.1	2	27	81
72	5.16	0.7	15	23	70
73	5.19	0.0	1	23	69
74	4.40	-0.8	15	27	82
75	5.13	0.7	17	23	70
76	6.57	1.4	28	18	55
77	4.02	-2.5	39	30	89

Table 9. Pachmann 1916 recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	**Duration (s)**	**Change (s)**	**Percentage Change**	**BPM (calculated with 2 beats per bar)**	**BPM (calculated with 6 beats per bar)**
1	3.46	0	0	35	104
2	3.32	-0.1	4	36	108
3	2.93	-0.4	12	41	123
4	3.66	0.7	25	33	98
5	2.98	-0.7	18	40	121
6	3.21	0.2	8	37	112
7	2.75	-0.5	14	44	131
8	4.04	1.3	47	30	89
9	3.53	-0.5	13	34	102
10	3.19	-0.3	10	38	113
11	4.33	1.1	36	28	83
12	4.47	0.1	3	27	81
13	3.37	-1.1	25	36	107
14	2.91	-0.5	14	41	124
15	3.37	0.5	16	36	107
16	3.19	-0.2	5	38	113
17	2.32	-0.9	27	52	155
18	2.74	0.4	18	44	131
19	3.15	0.4	15	38	114
20	3.66	0.5	16	33	98
21	3.93	0.3	7	31	92
22	2.77	-1.2	29	43	130
23	2.69	-0.1	3	45	134
24	3.17	0.5	18	38	114
25	3.97	0.8	25	30	91
26	3.62	-0.3	9	33	100

27	2.88	-0.7	20	42	125
28	3.36	0.5	17	36	107
29	2.87	-0.5	15	42	126
30	2.95	0.1	3	41	122
31	2.88	-0.1	2	42	125
32	4.91	2.0	70	24	73
33	4.12	-0.8	16	29	87
34	3.22	-0.9	22	37	112
35	3.41	0.2	6	35	106
36	3.60	0.2	6	33	100
37	3.18	-0.4	12	38	113
38	3.89	0.7	22	31	93
39	3.88	0.0	0	31	93
40	3.20	-0.7	18	37	112
41	2.81	-0.4	12	43	128
42	2.84	0.0	1	42	127
43	2.40	-0.4	16	50	150
44	2.45	0.1	2	49	147
45	5.45	3.0	122	22	66
46	3.83	-1.6	30	31	94
47	3.01	-0.8	22	40	120
48	3.75	0.7	25	32	96
49	3.25	-0.5	14	37	111
50	3.54	0.3	9	34	102
51	3.02	-0.5	15	40	119
52	3.69	0.7	22	33	98
53	4.14	0.5	12	29	87
54	3.50	-0.6	15	34	103
55	3.37	-0.1	4	36	107
56	3.73	0.4	11	32	96
57	4.59	0.9	23	26	78
58	3.10	-1.5	32	39	116
59	3.12	0.0	1	38	115
60	4.67	1.5	49	26	77
61	5.23	0.6	12	23	69
62	3.33	-1.9	36	36	108
63	3.29	0.0	1	37	110
64	3.23	-0.1	2	37	111
65	3.65	0.4	13	33	99
66	2.83	-0.8	22	42	127
67	2.76	-0.1	2	43	130
68	2.85	0.1	3	42	126
69	3.05	0.2	7	39	118

70	3.28	0.2	7	37	110
71	3.17	-0.1	3	38	114
72	3.57	0.4	13	34	101
73	3.40	-0.2	5	35	106
74	3.24	-0.2	5	37	111
75	3.93	0.7	21	31	92
76	4.07	0.1	4	29	88
77	4.97	0.9	22	24	72

Table 10. Pachmann 1925 recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Bars	**1906**	**1916**	**1925**
3/4	4		25
7/8	21		47
9/10	2		10
10/11	21		36
12/13	3		25
16/17	38		27
17/18	29		18
21/22	17		29
22/23	7		3
24/25	35		25
26/27	5		20
28/29	25		15
29/30	34		3
31/32	26	35	70
44/45	58	93	122
45/46	41	37	30
46/47	16	14	22
47/48	16	5	25
48/49	25	8	14
49/50	24	2	9
51/52	11	6	22
57/58	3	15	32
59/60	0	21	49
61/62	26	22	36
71/72	34	15	13
74/75	24	17	21
75/76	1	28	4
76/77	15	39	22

Table 11. Pachmann recordings: cross-referencing, tempo alterations.

Appendix II

Case Study 2: cellists

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.27	0.0	0	99
2	7.76	0.5	7	93
3	6.69	-1.1	14	108
4	8.75	2.1	31	82
5	6.28	-2.5	28	115
6	7.77	1.5	24	93
7	7.63	-0.1	2	94
8	9.35	1.7	23	77
9	5.61	-3.7	40	128
10	6.73	1.1	20	107
11	6.01	-0.7	11	120
12	10.34	4.3	72	70
13	7.02	-3.3	32	103
14	7.95	0.9	13	91
15	7.92	0.0	0	91
16	11.22	3.3	42	64
17	6.27	-5.0	44	115
18	6.87	0.6	10	105
19	7.45	0.6	8	97
20	9.44	2.0	27	76
21	7.88	-1.6	17	91
22	6.03	-1.9	24	119
23	7.96	1.9	32	90
24	28.43	20.5	257	25
25	9.30	-19.1	67	77
26	6.80	-2.5	27	106

Table 12. Casals recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	6.10	0.0	0	118
2	6.57	0.5	8	110
3	5.60	-1.0	15	129
4	8.16	2.6	46	88
5	5.26	-2.9	36	137
6	7.12	1.9	35	101
7	5.64	-1.5	21	128
8	7.90	2.3	40	91
9	4.70	-3.2	40	153
10	6.56	1.9	40	110
11	5.77	-0.8	12	125
12	8.51	2.7	48	85
13	5.72	-2.8	33	126
14	7.97	2.3	39	90
15	6.40	-1.6	20	113
16	9.01	2.6	41	80
17	4.47	-4.5	50	161
18	6.71	2.2	50	107
19	5.58	-1.1	17	129
20	8.66	3.1	55	83
21	5.42	-3.2	37	133
22	7.56	2.1	40	95
23	6.45	-1.1	15	112
24	8.62	2.2	34	84
25	5.22	-3.4	39	138
26	6.70	1.5	28	108
27	7.24	0.5	8	99
28	8.17	0.9	13	88
29	6.35	-1.8	22	113
30	4.40	-1.9	31	164
31	30.05	25.7	583	24
32	8.64	-21.4	71	83

Table 13. Sorlin recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Case Study 2: pianists

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	5.75	0.0	0	125
2	6.06	0.3	5	119
3	5.69	-0.4	6	127
4	6.88	1.2	21	105
5	5.11	-1.8	26	141
6	6.11	1.0	20	118
7	5.53	-0.6	9	130
8	7.47	1.9	35	96
9	5.20	-2.3	30	138
10	7.27	2.1	40	99
11	5.17	-2.1	29	139
12	7.51	2.3	45	96
13	6.09	-1.4	19	118
14	6.58	0.5	8	109
15	5.51	-1.1	16	131
16	7.58	2.1	38	95
17	5.35	-2.2	29	135
18	7.31	2.0	37	98
19	5.22	-2.1	29	138
20	7.99	2.8	53	90
21	5.96	-2.0	25	121
22	6.44	0.5	8	112
23	5.28	-1.2	18	136
24	8.00	2.7	51	90
25	6.04	-2.0	25	119
26	6.52	0.5	8	110
27	5.48	-1.0	16	131
28	8.06	2.6	47	89
29	6.15	-1.9	24	117
30	4.43	-1.7	28	162
31	5.11	0.7	15	141
32	16.07	11.0	214	45
33	6.83	-9.2	58	105
34	7.29	0.5	7	99

Table 14. Godowsky recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	6.57	0.0	0	110
2	6.49	-0.1	1	111
3	6.42	-0.1	1	112
4	7.24	0.8	13	99
5	6.52	-0.7	10	110
6	7.90	1.4	21	91
7	8.10	0.2	3	89
8	7.78	-0.3	4	93
9	5.64	-2.1	27	128
10	7.74	2.1	37	93
11	6.77	-1.0	13	106
12	8.75	2.0	29	82
13	7.18	-1.6	18	100
14	8.58	1.4	19	84
15	9.36	0.8	9	77
16	8.36	-1.0	11	86
17	5.55	-2.8	34	140
18	8.68	3.1	56	83
19	7.08	-1.6	18	102
20	8.96	1.9	27	80
21	7.71	-1.2	14	93
22	7.96	0.2	3	90
23	9.20	1.2	16	78
24	8.38	-0.8	9	86
25	5.01	-3.4	40	144
26	6.76	1.8	35	106
27	7.65	0.9	13	94
28	7.85	0.2	3	92
29	9.08	1.2	16	79
30	6.34	-2.7	30	114
31	7.22	0.9	14	100
32	19.37	12.1	168	37
33	6.48	-12.9	67	111
34	5.62	-0.9	13	128

Table 15. Hofmann recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.01	0.0	0	103
2	7.35	0.3	5	98
3	6.05	-1.3	18	119
4	7.72	1.7	28	93
5	6.11	-1.6	21	118
6	7.22	1.1	18	100
7	6.50	-0.7	10	111
8	8.24	1.7	27	87
9	5.58	-2.7	32	129
10	7.28	1.7	30	99
11	6.04	-1.2	17	119
12	8.67	2.6	44	83
13	7.20	-1.5	17	100
14	7.26	0.1	1	99
15	6.32	-0.9	13	114
16	8.58	2.3	36	84
17	5.58	-3.0	35	129
18	7.31	1.7	31	98
19	6.19	-1.1	15	116
20	8.41	2.2	36	86
21	7.02	-1.4	16	102
22	9.42	2.4	34	76
23	6.58	-2.8	30	109
24	9.48	2.9	44	76
25	6.97	-2.5	27	103
26	6.78	-0.2	3	106
27	6.86	0.1	1	105
28	7.55	0.7	10	95
29	6.69	-0.9	11	108
30	6.42	-0.3	4	112
31	6.97	0.6	9	103
32	17.14	10.2	146	42
33	7.38	-9.8	57	98
34	11.37	4.0	54	63
35	7.94	-3.4	30	91

Table 16. Koczalski recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	8.81	0.0	0	82
2	8.37	-0.4	5	86
3	7.72	-0.6	8	93
4	8.65	0.9	12	83
5	7.92	-0.7	8	91
6	8.32	0.4	5	87
7	9.19	0.9	10	78
8	8.27	-0.9	10	87
9	6.59	-1.7	20	109
10	8.67	2.1	31	83
11	7.78	-0.9	10	93
12	9.38	1.6	21	77
13	7.62	-1.8	19	94
14	7.09	-0.5	7	102
15	7.24	0.2	2	99
16	9.16	1.9	26	79
17	5.95	-3.2	35	121
18	7.65	1.7	29	94
19	7.56	-0.1	1	95
20	7.34	-0.2	3	98
21	7.23	-0.1	2	100
22	7.76	0.5	7	93
23	7.83	0.1	1	92
24	8.17	0.3	4	88
25	7.24	-0.9	11	99
26	7.21	0.0	0	100
27	8.10	0.9	12	89
28	7.83	-0.3	3	92
29	6.83	-1.0	13	105
30	7.09	0.3	4	101
31	5.54	-1.6	22	130
32	17.57	12.0	217	41
33	8.13	-9.4	54	89
34	5.86	-2.3	28	123

Table 17. Pachmann recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.55	0.0	0	95
2	7.76	0.2	3	93
3	7.17	-0.6	7	100
4	8.67	1.5	21	83
5	7.84	-0.8	10	92
6	8.71	0.9	11	83
7	9.15	0.4	5	79
8	9.35	0.2	2	77
9	6.95	-2.4	26	104
10	9.79	2.8	41	74
11	7.31	-2.5	25	99
12	8.89	1.6	22	81
13	9.40	0.5	6	77
14	9.38	0.0	0	77
15	10.59	1.2	13	68
16	10.87	0.3	3	66
17	7.05	-3.8	35	102
18	7.80	0.8	11	92
19	10.42	2.6	34	69
20	9.27	-1.2	11	78
21	6.80	-2.5	27	106
22	5.98	-0.8	12	120
23	5.80	-0.2	3	124
24	17.23	11.4	197	42
25	6.32	-10.9	63	114
26	9.82	3.5	55	73

Table 18. Paderewski recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.13	0.0	0	101
2	7.15	0.0	0	101
3	7.29	0.1	2	99
4	8.13	0.8	11	89
5	7.06	-1.1	13	102
6	8.80	1.7	25	82
7	8.59	-0.2	2	84
8	8.86	0.3	3	81
9	7.40	-1.5	17	97
10	8.73	1.3	18	82
11	6.78	-2.0	22	106
12	10.33	3.6	52	70
13	8.05	-2.3	22	89
14	8.53	0.5	6	84
15	7.96	-0.6	7	90
16	8.90	0.9	12	81
17	7.37	-1.5	17	98
18	8.40	1.0	14	86
19	6.65	-1.7	21	108
20	10.84	4.2	63	66
21	8.44	-2.4	22	85
22	8.75	0.3	4	82
23	8.49	-0.3	3	85
24	8.66	0.2	2	83
25	7.30	-1.4	16	99
26	6.99	-0.3	4	103
27	7.76	0.8	11	93
28	7.42	-0.3	4	97
29	7.49	0.1	1	96
30	5.45	-2.0	27	132
31	7.28	1.8	34	99
32	14.77	7.5	103	49
33	8.92	-5.8	40	81
34	7.53	-1.4	16	96

Table 19. Rachmaninov recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Case Study 2: violinists

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	8.22	0.0	0	88
2	7.59	-0.6	8	95
3	6.50	-1.1	14	111
4	9.71	3.2	49	74
5	7.34	-2.4	24	98
6	8.09	0.7	10	89
7	7.78	-0.3	4	93
8	11.48	3.7	48	63
9	6.49	-5.0	43	111
10	8.33	1.8	28	86
11	6.35	-2.0	24	113
12	8.74	2.4	38	82
13	8.74	0.0	0	82
14	8.31	-0.4	5	87
15	7.81	-0.5	6	92
16	10.33	2.5	32	70
17	7.21	-3.1	30	100
18	6.66	-0.6	8	108
19	8.11	1.5	22	89
20	9.35	1.2	15	77
21	8.05	-1.3	14	89
22	6.39	-1.7	21	113
23	7.70	1.3	21	94
24	17.72	10.0	130	41
25	7.10	-10.6	60	101
26	5.56	-1.5	22	130

Table 20. Conus recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.45	0.0	0	97
2	7.16	-0.3	4	101
3	6.20	-1.0	13	116
4	8.63	2.4	39	83
5	5.58	-3.0	35	129
6	7.46	1.9	34	97
7	5.93	-1.5	20	121
8	12.21	6.3	106	59
9	8.02	-4.2	34	90
10	8.76	0.7	9	82
11	9.63	0.9	10	75
12	10.78	1.2	12	67
13	6.01	-4.8	44	120
14	8.16	2.2	36	88
15	6.12	-2.0	25	118
16	11.58	5.5	89	62
17	7.50	-4.1	35	96
18	8.26	0.8	10	87
19	10.33	2.1	25	70
20	11.72	1.4	13	61
21	5.76	-6.0	51	125
22	4.95	-0.8	14	145
23	6.05	1.1	22	119
24	32.59	26.5	439	22
25	6.89	-25.7	79	105
26	7.94	1.1	15	91

Table 21. Parlow recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.27	0.0	0	99
2	7.54	0.3	4	96
3	6.55	-1.0	13	110
4	8.90	2.4	36	81
5	6.83	-2.1	23	105
6	8.31	1.5	22	87
7	7.06	-1.2	15	102
8	9.25	2.2	31	78
9	6.05	-3.2	35	119
10	7.33	1.3	21	98
11	6.30	-1.0	14	114
12	11.02	4.7	75	65
13	8.85	-2.2	20	81
14	8.11	-0.7	8	89
15	7.59	-0.5	6	95
16	12.41	4.8	63	58
17	6.52	-5.9	47	110
18	7.72	1.2	18	93
19	6.90	-0.8	11	104
20	11.64	4.7	69	62
21	9.72	-1.9	17	74
22	9.43	-0.3	3	76
23	7.74	-1.7	18	93
24	11.51	3.8	49	63
25	7.13	-4.4	38	101
26	6.41	-0.7	10	112
27	7.05	0.6	10	102
28	35.07	28.0	398	21
29	10.94	-24.1	69	66
30	9.15	-1.8	16	79

Table 22. Primrose recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.52	0.0	0	96
2	8.23	0.7	9	88
3	7.93	-0.3	4	91
4	8.66	0.7	9	83
5	6.53	-2.1	25	110
6	7.89	1.4	21	91
7	8.01	0.1	2	90
8	8.68	0.7	8	83
9	5.93	-2.7	32	121
10	7.13	1.2	20	101
11	7.00	-0.1	2	103
12	10.46	3.5	49	69
13	7.96	-2.5	24	90
14	7.45	-0.5	6	97
15	7.90	0.4	6	91
16	9.45	1.6	20	76
17	6.69	-2.8	29	108
18	6.37	-0.3	5	113
19	7.63	1.3	20	94
20	13.23	5.6	73	54
21	6.99	-6.2	47	103
22	8.61	1.6	23	84

Table 23. Rosé recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	7.70	0.0	0	93
2	6.98	-0.7	9	103
3	6.43	-0.5	8	112
4	8.48	2.1	32	85
5	5.54	-2.9	35	130
6	7.06	1.5	28	102
7	6.72	-0.3	5	107
8	8.12	1.4	21	89
9	5.50	-2.6	32	131
10	5.38	-0.1	2	134
11	5.51	0.1	2	131
12	9.87	4.4	79	73
13	7.43	-2.4	25	97
14	8.47	1.0	14	85
15	8.00	-0.5	6	90
16	13.21	5.2	65	54
17	5.87	-7.3	56	123
18	6.23	0.4	6	116
19	5.76	-0.5	8	125
20	8.41	2.6	46	86
21	6.86	-1.5	18	105
22	8.76	1.9	28	82
23	7.91	-0.8	10	91
24	11.97	4.1	51	60
25	5.48	-6.5	54	131
26	5.41	-0.1	1	133
27	4.60	-0.8	15	157
28	7.75	3.2	69	93
29	4.71	-3.0	39	153
30	4.50	-0.2	5	160
31	4.15	-0.3	8	174
32	21.35	17.2	415	34
33	6.66	-14.7	69	108
34	6.48	-0.2	3	111

Table 24. Sarasate recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	8.96	0.0	0	80
2	9.57	0.6	7	75
3	8.24	-1.3	14	87
4	12.65	4.4	54	57
5	7.68	-5.0	39	94
6	8.25	0.6	7	87
7	8.37	0.1	1	86
8	13.85	5.5	66	52
9	8.89	-5.0	36	81
10	8.46	-0.4	5	85
11	9.14	0.7	8	79
12	15.85	6.7	73	45
13	8.55	-7.3	46	84
14	8.35	-0.2	2	86
15	8.77	0.4	5	82
16	13.65	4.9	56	53
17	8.50	-5.1	38	85
18	9.88	1.4	16	73
19	9.90	0.0	0	73
20	16.30	6.4	65	44
21	8.72	-7.6	46	83
22	8.07	-0.7	8	89
23	6.99	-1.1	13	103
24	12.53	5.5	79	57
25	8.96	-3.6	28	80
26	4.91	-4.0	45	147
27	11.21	6.3	128	64
28	38.85	27.6	247	19
29	12.56	-26.3	68	57
30	5.71	-6.8	55	126

Table 25. Hubermann recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Case Study 2: singers

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	9.50	0.0	0	76
2	13.25	3.7	39	54
3	8.28	-5.0	38	87
4	13.79	5.5	67	52
5	8.99	-4.8	35	80
6	12.24	3.3	36	59
7	9.00	-3.2	26	80
8	13.82	4.8	54	52
9	6.56	-7.3	53	110
10	8.61	2.1	31	84
11	7.30	-1.3	15	99
12	10.16	2.9	39	71
13	8.42	-1.7	17	86
14	14.20	5.8	69	51
15	12.60	-1.6	11	57
16	6.70	-5.9	47	108

Table 26. Nikita recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

Measure	Duration (s)	Change (s)	Percentage Change (%)	BPM
1	6.48	0.0	0	111
2	5.97	-0.5	8	121
3	6.33	0.4	6	114
4	7.70	1.4	22	93
5	6.45	-1.3	16	112
6	6.62	0.2	3	109
7	5.71	-0.9	14	126
8	7.77	2.1	36	93
9	6.13	-1.6	21	117
10	6.65	0.5	8	108
11	6.51	-0.1	2	111
12	8.56	2.0	31	84
13	5.44	-3.1	36	132
14	6.73	1.3	24	107
15	6.69	0.0	1	108
16	8.99	2.3	34	80
17	6.89	-2.1	23	105
18	6.88	0.0	0	105
19	6.81	-0.1	1	106
20	9.02	2.2	33	80
21	5.88	-3.1	35	122
22	6.68	0.8	14	108
23	6.09	-0.6	9	118
24	9.59	3.5	57	75
25	6.72	0.0	0	107
26	8.49	1.8	26	85
27	6.39	-2.1	25	113
28	12.21	5.8	91	59
29	6.58	-5.6	46	109
30	6.90	0.3	5	104
31	10.80	3.9	57	67
32	7.96	-2.8	26	90
33	6.82	-1.1	14	106
34	7.37	0.5	8	98
35	9.73	2.4	32	74
36	15.30	5.6	57	47
37	6.98	-8.3	54	103
38	3.43	-3.6	51	210

Table 27. Muzio recording, bar duration, percentage changes and BPM.

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