Cello Techniques and Performing Practices in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

George William Kennaway

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

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ABSTRACT

This thesis comprises a study of cello performance practices throughout the nineteenth century and into the early decades of the twentieth. It is organised in terms of the increasing complexity of the concepts which it examines, as they are to be found in printed and manuscript music, instrumental methods and larger treatises, early recordings, concert reviews and pictures. Basic posture is considered along with different ways of holding the bow. The development of the tail-pin shows that even when it was widely used, the older posture was still referred to as a model. Some implications for tone quality and tonal projection are considered in the light of the shape of the arms. Some connections between the cellist's posture and that recommended by etiquette books are explored. The functionality of the left hand and arm, and the development of modern scale fingerings, show that there was a considerable period of overlap between newer and older practices, with modern scale fingerings evolving over a long period of time. Similarly, views on the function of the right wrist in bowing are shown to change gradually, moving towards a more active upper arm movement with less extreme flexibility of the wrist. Two central expressive techniques especially associated with string playing are considered in the context of the cello, namely vibrato and portamento. These topics are examined in the light of written indications in music, recommendations in cello treatises, and the practices evidenced in early recordings. The sources for this study can be brought into an overall framework of a constant dialogue between 'theory', as expressed in verbal instructions to the learner, or general *a priori* reflections about the cello, and 'practice', manifested in performing editions and early recordings, or in individual acts of reception. A wide divergence is noted, both between theory and practice in general, and in terms of different styles of playing observable at any one time. It is suggested that tensions between practice and critical disapproval can be resolved in terms of Lacanian discourse. Several test cases are used in order to compare several different recordings of the same works. The question of the musical character of the cello is discussed in terms of widespread assumptions about its gendered identity. A wide range of sources suggest that this moved from a straightforwardly 'masculine' identity expressed through a controlling, elevated eloquence to a less clearly defined one, incorporating the 'feminine', with a greater stress on uninhibited emotional expression. Some performance implications for this change of view are pursued with respect to specific repertoires. Broad conclusions stress the importance of the diversity of performance practices as opposed to unifying generalisations.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS 1

ABSTRACT 2

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS 5

NOTES 12

ABBREVIATIONS 13

INTRODUCTION 14

CHAPTER 1: BASIC POSTURE AND BOW HOLD 20
- BASIC POSTURE 23
- HOLDING AND PLACING THE BOW 41
  - (A) DISTANCE FROM BRIDGE 42
  - (B) HOLDING THE BOW, SHAPE OF THE ARM 44

CHAPTER 2: THE LEFT ARM AND HAND, AND SCALE FINGERINGS 54
- HAND SHAPE: VIOLINISTIC, SQUARE, SLOPED 57
- LEFT ARM SHAPE 70
- SCALE FINGERINGS 72
- CHROMATIC SCALES 81

CHAPTER 3: THE BOW IN MOTION 87
- THE RIGHT WRIST 87
- PASSIVE AND ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE BOWING ARM 93
- *DÉTACHÉ* AND *SPICCATO* 101
- BEETHOVEN'S '*JUDAS MACCABAEUS' VARIATIONS*, NO. 7 108
- UP-BOW STACCATO 116

CHAPTER 4: PLAYING WITH EXPRESSION – PORTAMENTO 131
- PORTAMENTO: THEORY 132
- PORTAMENTO: PRACTICE 150
- GRÜTZMACHER'S PORTAMENTO 160

CHAPTER 5: PLAYING WITH EXPRESSION: VIBRATO 174
- VIBRATO AND THE SHORT *MESSA DI VOCE* 188
- VIBRATO: LATER TEACHING 193

CHAPTER 6: VIBRATO AND PORTAMENTO IN EARLY CELLO RECORDINGS 202
- 'THE BROKEN MELODY' 210
- W. H. SQUIRE 212
- SQUIRE AND HARRISON: ELGAR, CELLO CONCERTO 213
- SCHUMANN, 'TRÄUMEREI' 222

PPORTAMENTO 230
VIBRATO 231
BOWING/PHRASING 233
EXPRESSION – PERFORMERS AND CRITICS 241

CHAPTER 7: THE GENDERED CELLO 245
GRACEFUL POSTURE 248
FEMALE VIOLINISTS AND CELLISTS 261
THE MASCULINE CELLO 267
THE 'FEMINISED' CELLO 275

CHAPTER 8: GENDER IN ACTION – PERFORMING THE CELLO 303
THE BOHRER BROTHERS 307
BOHRER COMPOSITIONS: TWO EXAMPLES 309
BOHRER COMPOSITIONS: RECEPTION 319
ROMBERG: COMPOSITIONS 327
ROMBERG: *DIVERTIMENTI* 327
ROMBERG: CONCERTO NO. 2 331
ROMBERG: RECEPTION 333
LALO: CELLO CONCERTO 335

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS 342

BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DISCOGRAPHY 347
PRINCIPAL INTERNET SOURCES 347
MUSICAL WORKS 347
ANONYMOUS SOURCES 350
ANONYMOUS ARTICLES, WITHOUT TITLES 351
CELLO METHODS, STUDIES, EXERCISES AND OTHER INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIAL 351
ALL OTHER SOURCES 354
DISCOGRAPHY 361

INDEX OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Chapter 1

Figure 1/1: Frontispiece illustration, *Broderip and Wilkinson's Complete Treatise for the Violoncello* 20
Figure 1/2: Bréval, *Méthode*, posture illustration 24
Figure 1/3: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, posture illustration 27
Figure 1/4: Photograph of Servais c. 1862 28
Figure 1/5: Swert, *The Violoncello*, posture illustration 31
Figure 1/6: Adrian Shepherd 33
Figure 1/7: Van der Straeten, *Technics*, posture illustration 33
Figure 1/8: Schroeder, *Catechism*, posture illustration 36
Figure 1/9: Thomas Eakins, *The Cello Player*, 1896 37
Figure 1/10: Earnshaw, *Elements*, posture illustration 38
Figure 1/11: Broadley, *Chats*, posture illustration 39
Figure 1/12: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, bowing at the tip 45
Figure 1/13: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, posture illustration 46
Figure 1/14: Schroeder, *Catechism*, posture at heel and tip 46
Figure 1/15: Van der Straeten, *Technics*, posture at tip 47
Figure 1/16: Lee, rev. Becker, *Méthode*, posture illustration 47
Figure 1/17: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, bow holds 50

Chapter 2

Figure 2/1: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, position of L thumb 56
Figure 2/2: Eley, *Improved Method*, exercises for keeping LH fingers down 57
Figure 2/3: Romberg, *Violoncellshule*, left hand 58
Figure 2/4: Emil Lassalle, lithograph portrait of Olive Vaslin, 1842 60
Figure 2/5: Gunn, *Treatise*, LH posture 61
Figure 2/6: Thomas Gainsborough, *The Rev John Chafy Playing the Violincello in a Landscape* 62
Figure 2/7: *The Rev Chafy*, detail of LH 62
Figure 2/8: Duport, *Essai*, problem passage with violinistic LH 63
Figure 2/9: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, problem passage with violinistic LH 63
Figure 2/10: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, left hand 64
Figure 2/11: Schroeder, *Catechism*, left hand 65
Figure 2/12: Alexanian, *Traité*, LH view 67
Figure 2/13: Kummer rev. Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, photograph of LH in 1st posn. 68
Figure 2/14: Pleeth, *Cello*, sloped LH 70
Figure 2/15: Corrette, *Méthode*, chromatic scale fingering 73
Figure 2/16: Corrette, *Méthode*, fingering scheme by fifths 73
Figure 2/17: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, C major scale 73
Figure 2/18: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, chromatic scale 73
Figure 2/19: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, scales on one string 74
Figure 2/20: 'Non-standard' scale fingerings 78
Figure 2/21: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, C# major scale fingering 79

Figure 2/22: Bréval, *Traité*, variant fingerings of E minor 80
Figure 2/23: Olivier-Aubert, *Kurze Answeisung*, C minor 80
Figure 2/24: Waylet, *Gamut*, chromatic scale 81
Figure 2/25: Late eighteenth-century chromatic scale fingerings 82
Figure 2/26: Raoul, *Méthode*, chromatic scale, upper octave 82
Figure 2/27: Baillot *et al.*, Paris Conservatoire method, chromatic scale fingerings 83
Figure 2/28: Duport, *Essai*, chromatic scale 83
Figure 2/29: Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule*, chromatic scale 84
Figure 2/30: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, chromatic exercise 84
Figure 2/31: Eley, *Improved Method*, chromatic scale 85
Figure 2/32: Chevillard, *Méthode Complète*, chromatic scale 85

Chapter 3

Figure 3/1: Brückner, *Scale & Chord Studies*, wrist indications 92
Figure 3/2: Grützmacher, *Daily Exercises*, ed. Wellcke, wrist indications 92
Figure 3/3: Lee, *40 Etudes*, 'Exercice pour l'articulation du poignet droit' 93
Figure 3/4: Lee, *40 Etudes*, 'Exercise pour donner de l'elasticité au poignet' 93
Figure 3/5: Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, music examples for Davidoff's 'Bow-turning' 98
Figure 3/6: Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, illustration of 'Bow-turning' 100
Figure 3/7: Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, 'hand-bowing' exercises with different wrist heights 101
Figure 3/8: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, staccato exercise 102
Figure 3/9: Eley, *Improved Method*, staccato 103
Figure 3/10: Eley, *Improved Method*, marcato 103
Figure 3/11: Eley, *Improved Method*, arpeggio exercises 103
Figure 3/12: Eley, *Improved Method*, arpeggio exercises 104
Figure 3/13: Eley, *Improved Method*, bowing exercise no. 16 104
Figure 3/14: Duport, *Essai*, *detaché* 105
Figure 3/15: Straeten, *Well-Known Cello Solos*, Offenbach 'Musette' 108
Figure 3/16: Vaslin, *L'art du violoncelle*, bowing diagram 109
Figure 3/17: Beethoven, *'Judas Maccabaeus' Variations*, no. 7: Baillot's bowing 110
Figure 3/18: Jules de Swert, *Mécanisme*, *détaché* triplets 110
Figure 3/19: Beethoven, ed. Grützmacher, *'Judas Maccabaeus' variations*, no. 7 111
Figure 3/20: Grützmacher, *Technologie*, op. 38 no 12, *spiccato* 112
Figure 3/21: Grützmacher, *Technologie*, op. 38 no. 20, *spiccato* 112
Figure 3/22: Servais, ed. Grutzmacher, *Concerto op. 5*, 3rd movt, *spiccato* 112
Figure 3/23: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, *spiccato* exercise 113
Figure 3/24: David, *Violinschule*, 'hüpfend' exercise 114
Figure 3/25: Schroeder, *Täglich Studien*, 'hüpfenden' exercise 114
Figure 3/26: Servais, *Concerto no. 2, martelé* 115
Figure 3/27: Grützmacher, ed. Welleke, *Daily Exercises*, 'springing bow-stroke' exercises 115
Figure 3/28: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, up- and down-bow staccato 118
Figure 3/29: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 94 120
Figure 3/30: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 95 120

Figure 3/31: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 99 120
Figure 3/32: J. Reinagle, string quartet no. 2, 1st movt. 121
Figure 3/33: Romberg, *Concerto no. 2*, op. 3, 3rd movt. 121
Figure 3/34: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, dotted-rhythm bowing 122
Figure 3/35: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 5, opening bars 123
Figure 3/36: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 5, middle section, beginning 123
Figure 3/37: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 12, opening bars 123
Figure 3/38: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 12, artificial harmonics, up-bow staccato 124
Figure 3/39: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 1st movt. 124
Figure 3/40: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 1st movt 124
Figure 3/41: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 3rd movt 124
Figure 3/42: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*, up-bow staccato 125
Figure 3/43: Servais, *Concerto militaire, Andante religioso*, up-bow accents 125
Figure 3/44: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, up-bow staccato exercise 126
Figure 3/45: Kreutzer, *40 Etudes*, Study no. 4, opening 126
Figure 3/46: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, up-bow staccato exercise 126
Figure 3/47: Servais, *Souvenir d'Anvers, au talon* 128
Figure 3/48: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque, au talon* 128
Figure 3/49: Servais, *Concerto no. 2, au talon* 128
Figure 3/50: Servais, *Duo sur une mélodie de Dalayrac*, var. 2 128
Figure 3/51: Servais, *Duo sur une mélodie de Dalayrac*, var. 2 129
Figure 3/52: Servais, *Fantaisie 'Le desir'*, mixed bowings 130

Chapter 4

Figure 4/1: Baudiot, *Méthode*, same-note shifting 135
Figure 4/2: Baudiot, *Méthode*, same-finger shifts 135
Figure 4/3: Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule*, portamento exercises 136
Figure 4/4: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, portamento exercise 138
Figure 4/5: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, same-finger shifts 138
Figure 4/6: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, turn plus shift 139
Figure 4/7: Davidoff, *Violoncell-Schule*, shifting exercise 143
Figure 4/8: Grazioli, ed. Schroeder, *Sonata in A♭*, 1st movt. 143
Figure 4/9: Werner, *Der Kunst der Bogenführung*, slurred unisons 145
Figure 4/10: Werner, *Zehn Etuden*, extreme glissando 145
Figure 4/11: Kummer, ed. Fuchs, *Adagio* 146
Figure 4/12: Alexanian, *Traité*, same-finger shifts within bow 148
Figure 4/13: Alexanian, *Traité*, same-finger shifts with bow change 148
Figure 4/14: Alexanian, *Traité*, cross-string portamento with extension 148
Figure 4/15: Alexanian, *Traité*, A-shifts 148
Figure 4/16: Alexanian, *Traité*, portamento in longer shifts 149
Figure 4/17: Bach, ed. Dotzauer, *Suite in G*, Menuet 2 150
Figure 4/18: Bach, ed. Dotzauer, *Suite in D minor*, Sarabande 151
Figure 4/19: Dotzauer, *Twelve Exercises*, op. 70 no. 1 151
Figure 4/20: Dotzauer, *Twelve Exercises*, op. 70 no. 12 151
Figure 4/21: Dotzauer, *String Trio* op. 52 151
Figure 4/22: Stiastny, *Concerto* op. 7 152

Figure 4/23: Wolff/Batta, *Duo concertant* 152
Figure 4/24: Wolff/Batta, *Duo concertant* 152
Figure 4/25: Merk, *Variations sur un air tirolien* 153
Figure 4/26: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, same-finger shifts 153
Figure 4/27: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, 1st movt. 153
Figure 4/28: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, 3rd movt. 154
Figure 4/29: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, opening bars 154
Figure 4/30: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, repeated LH4 shifts 155
Figure 4/31: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, repeated LH3 shifts 155
Figure 4/32: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, conclusion 155
Figure 4/33: Servais, *Andante cantabile* 155
Figure 4/34: Servais, *Concerto militaire* 155
Figure 4/35: Beethoven, *Sonata in A* op. 69, Werner's fingering 156
Figure 4/36: Werner, *Study no. 37*, bars 1-2 156
Figure 4/37: Werner, *Study no. 37*, 7 bars from end 156
Figure 4/38: Schumann, ed. Grützmacher, *Stücke im Volkston* op. 102 no. 2 157
Figure 4/39: Kummer, *Study* op. 44 no. 4, on the D string, opening bars 158
Figure 4/40: Kummer, *Study* op. 44 no. 7, on the G string, opening 158
Figure 4/41: Heygesi, *Liebesschmerz* 159
Figure 4/42: Kummer, Pièce fantastique 159
Figure 4/43: Taubert, Concerto op. 173, 1st movt. 159
Figure 4/44: Taubert, Concerto op. 173, 1st movt. 159
Figure 4/45: Grützmacher, Concerto op. 10, 1st movt., conclusion 160
Figure 4/46: Spohr, arr. Grützmacher, Concerto no. 8 160
Figure 4/47: Chopin, arr. Grützmacher, *Waltz* op. 64 no. 2 161
Figure 4/48: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 161
Figure 4/49: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 161
Figure 4/50: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 162
Figure 4/51: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 162
Figure 4/52: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 162
Figure 4/53: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 163
Figure 4/54: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 163
Figure 4/55: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 2nd movt. 163
Figure 4/56: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 2nd movt. 163
Figure 4/57: Mendelssohn, ed. Grutzmacher, *sonata in B flat, 2nd movt.* 163
Figure 4/58: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 164
Figure 4/59: Schumann, arr. Grützmacher, *Violin sonata no. 2* op. 121, 1st movt. 164
Figure 4/60: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 164
Figure 4/61: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 165
Figure 4/62: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 165
Figure 4/63 Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in D*, 3rd movt. 165
Figure 4/64: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46; original and Grützmacher's edition, rhythmic alteration (1) 167
Figure 4/65: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46; original and Grützmacher's edition, rhythmic alteration (2) 168
Figure 4/66: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46, without portamento 168
Figure 4/67: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46, added portamento 168
Figure 4/68: Romberg, *Concerto no. 6*, Schroeder and Grützmacher eds. 169

Figure 4/69: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 170
Figure 4/70: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 171
Figure 4/71: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in B flat*, 3rd movt. 171
Figure 4/72: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in D*, 3rd movt. 171
Figure 4/73: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in B flat*, 1st movt. 171
Figure 4/74: Popper, *Requiem*, 1st cello pt. 172
Figure 4/75: Popper, *Zur Guitarre*, conclusion 172
Figure 4/76: Popper, *Reigen*, quasi-portamento octaves 172
Figure 4/77: Popper, *Wie einst in schöner'n Tagen*, A-string portamento 172

Chapter 5

Figure 5/1: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, vibrato exercise 179
Figure 5/2: Romberg, *Concertino*, vibrato markings 179
Figure 5/3: Hainl, *Fantasia*, vibrato 180
Figure 5/4: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato in Egitto*, no. 8 181
Figure 5/5: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato*, chorus, no. 13 181
Figure 5/6: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato*, no. 15 179
Figure 5/7: Servais, *Fra Diavolo 2me Grand Duo Brillant* 183
Figure 5/8: Servais, *Fantaisie la Romantique* 183
Figure 5/9: Servais, *Souvenir de Spa* 183
Figure 5/10: Servais, *Grande fantaisie sur [...] Lestocq* 183
Figure 5/11: Servais, *Concerto no. 2*, 1st movt. 183
Figure 5/12: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque* 183
Figure 5/13: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*: MS 184
Figure 5/14: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*: transcription 184
Figure 5/15: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, vibrato example 185
Figure 5/16: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, study no. 70 186
Figure 5/17: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, study no. 77 186
Figure 5/18: Kummer, *Study* op. 44 no. 4, bb.1-9 186
Figure 5/19: Kummer, *Study* op. 44 no. 4, bb. 25-28 186
Figure 5/20: Kummer, *Swedish Air and Dance*, vc pt, p 5: vibrato markings 188
Figure 5/21: Lübeck, *4 Preludes from Chopin*, no. 3 188
Figure 5/22: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Duo* no. 1, 3rd movt. 189
Figure 5/23: Chopin, arr. Grützmacher, *Waltz* op. 64 no. 1 ('Minute'), B section 190
Figure 5/24: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Divertimento über schwedische Lieder* 190
Figure 5/25: Taubert, *Concerto* op. 173, 2nd movt. 191
Figure 5/26: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Concerto no. 9* op. 56, 2nd movt. 191
Figure 5/27: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Divertimento über westfälische Lieder* 191
Figure 5/28: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Concerto no. 9* op. 56, 1st movt. 192
Figure 5/29: Leclair, *Musette*, bb1-8, from Joachim, *Violinschule*, ex. no. 105 192
Figure 5/30: Leclair, *Musette*, concluding bars 193
Figure 5/31: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 2, accents with vibrato 194
Figure 5/32: Alexanian, *Traité*, vibrato variation with dynamic 197

Chapter 6

Figure 6/1: Haydn, *Concerto in D*, 2nd movt., ed. Squire 212
Figure 6/2: Schumann, 'Abendlied', arr. Squire 213
Figure 6/3: 'Abendlied', arr. Davidoff 213
Figure 6/4: Schumann, 'Abendlied', arr. Popper 213
Figure 6/5: Bach, arr, Squire, *Suite no. 6 in D*, Gavotte 214
Figure 6/6: Bach, arr. Squire, 'Slumber Song', conclusion 215
Figure 6/7: Schubert, ed. Squire, 'Weigenlied' 215
Figure 6/8: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 3rd movt., Squire's portamenti 217
Figure 6/8: Elgar, *Cello concerto* 3rd movt., Harrison's portamenti 218
Figure 6/10: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 4th movt. conclusion, Harrison's portamenti 220
Figure 6/11: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 4th movt. conclusion, Squire's portamenti 221
Figure 6/12: Schumann, *Träumerei*, parallel comparison of recordings 224-229
Figure 6/13: Kronold, approximate notation of rubato 229
Figure 6/14: Schumann, arr. Davidoff, *Träumerei*, cello pt . 234
Figure 6/15: Schumann, *Träumerei*, original version 235

Chapter 7

Figure 7/1: Francie "Markis" Jameson, c 1890 251
Figure 7/2: Johann Zoffany, *The Gore Family with George, 3rd Earl Cowper* 253
Figure 7/3: Zoffany, *Gore Family*, detail of Charles Gore 254
Figure 7/4: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, frontispiece illustration 256
Figure 7/5: Tom Taggart, aged 83 (1930) 285
Figure 7/6: Arthur Hughes, *The Home Quartette* 289
Figure 7/7: George du Maurier: *The Fair Sex-tette* 290
Figure 7/8: Beatrice Harrison (R), side-saddle posture 291
Figure 7/9: Auguste van Biene, promotional postcard 292
Figure 7/10: Hekking, ed. Fromont-Delune, *Exercises quotidiens*, LH pizzicato 293
Figure 7/11: Hekking, ed. Fromont-Delune, *Exercises quotidiens*,
double stops in high positions 293
Figure 7/12: Helene de Katow, c 1864 294
Figure 7/13: Rosa Szük 295
Figure 7/14: Lisa Christiani 296
Figure 7/15: Elisa de Try 296
Figure 7/16: Augustus John, *Madame Suggia* (1920-23) 297
Figure 7/17: Suggia, c. 1911 298
Figure 7/18: Suggia, c. 1924 298
Figure 7/19: Suggia, with cello, 1930s 299

Chapter 8

Figure 8/1: Janson, *Sonata no. 5*, 3rd movt 305
Figure 8/2: Janson, *Sonata no. 5*, 3rd movt 305
Figure 8/3: Janson, *Sonata no. 6*, 3rd movt 305
Figure 8/4: Lepin, *Sonata no. 6*, 3rd movt. 306
Figure 8/5: Raoul, *Méthode*, mixed bowing exercise 306

Figure 8/6: Bréval, *Sonata no. 5*, 3rd movt. 307
Figure 8/7: Bréval, *Sonata no. 6*, 1st movt. 307
Figure 8/8: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, opening bars 310
Figure 8/9: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, conclusion of theme 311
Figure 8/10: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, variation 1 312
Figure 8/11: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*: variation 2, first part 313
Figure 8/12: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*: end of piano cadenza, start of new theme 314
Figure 8/13: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*: Andante, piano solo episode 314
Figure 8/14: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, transition to return of main theme 315
Figure 8/15: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, cello part, coda and conclusion 316
Figure 8/16: Goltermann, *Concerto no. 2*, 1st movement 317
Figure 8/17: Bohrer bros., *Duo Concertant*, pizzicato 318
Figure 8/18: Bohrer bros., *Duo Concertant*, cello pt, high harmonics 318
Figure 8/19: Bohrer bros., *Duo Concertant*, cello pt, arpeggios harmonics 318
Figure 8/20: Bohrer bros., *Duo concertant*, cello pt, same-finger shifts 320
Figure 8/21: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 1 328
Figure 8/22: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 2 329
Figure 8/23: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 3 (piano solo) 329
Figure 8/24: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 4 329
Figure 8/25: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 5 330
Figure 8/26: Romberg, *Concerto no. 2*, slow movt., modulation to C 332
Figure 8/27: Romberg, *Concerto no. 2*, slow movt. themes 332
Figure 8/28: Lalo, *Cello concerto*, 1st movt., orchestral introduction 337
Figure 8/29: Lalo, *Cello concerto*, 1st movt., first theme 338
Figure 8/30: Lalo, *Cello concerto*, 1st movt., second theme 338
Figure 8/31: Lalo, *Cello concerto*, 1st movt., second theme (development) 338
Figure 8/32: Lalo, *Cello concerto*, 1st movt., coda 339

TABLES

Chapter 1: Table 1: summary list of cello methods 22

Chapter 2: Table 2: Scales in cello methods c. 1765-c. 1851 77

Chapter 6: Table 3: *Träumerei*, comparisons of tempo, portamento and vibrato 223

Chapter 7: Table 4: summary list of women cellists 287

NOTES

Illustrations within the text are numbered in the format [chapter number]/[figure number], so that chapter 3, figure 6 appears as Figure 3/6. This system is also used in the index of illustrations.

Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the writer's, with the original given in a footnote. When quoting from a text originally published in a multilingual edition, only the English version is given unless there are significant differences.

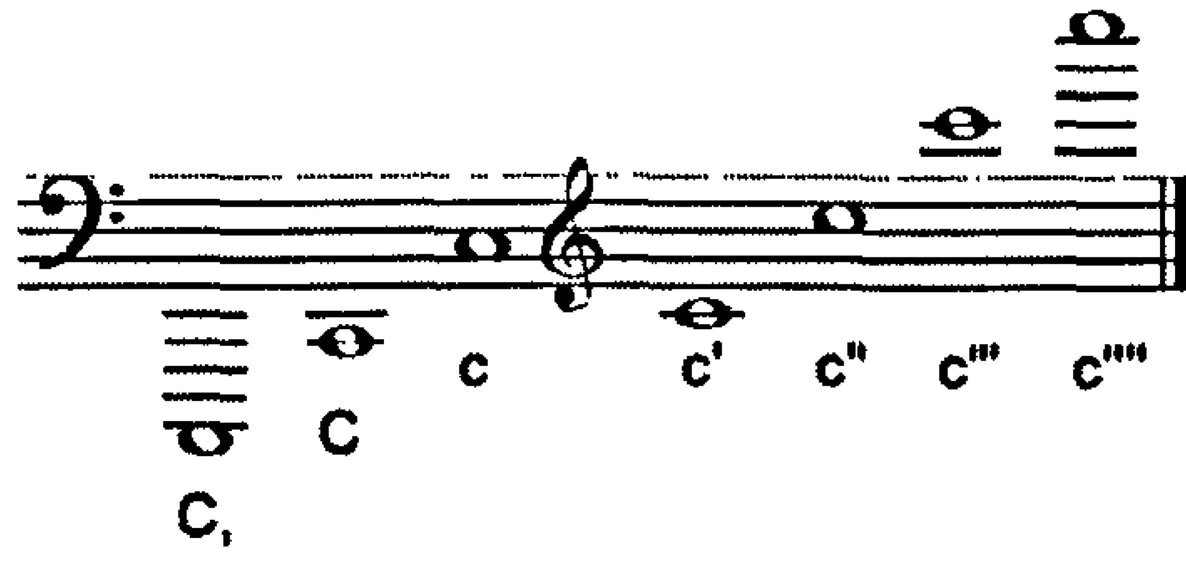
Quotations retain original spelling and punctuation. Unless otherwise stated, italicisation or other emphases are as in the original. In particular, ellipses not within brackets are as in the original text; this especially concerns French texts quoted in chapter 7.

Typeset music examples use modern clefs. Music examples forming part of verbal quotations are not separately captioned. Markings in square brackets in music examples are editorial additions, for clarification or the correction of misprints (in which case the original is also given).

The most frequently used Italian terms such as arco, pizzicato, staccato, vibrato and portamento are not italicised.

For concision, the fingers of each hand are referred to in the text throughout as LH1, RH4, etc. (left hand index finger, right hand little finger). Within the text, the thumb remains 'the thumb'. Fingering in typeset music examples uses the standard modern symbol for the left thumb.

Note-names are in Helmholtz notation, octaves beginning on C:



However, cello string names are standardised as C, G, D, A.

Dates concerning Russian-born musicians are given in New Style where appropriate.

Dates of publication within square brackets are hypothetical, in that they are not supported within the text. However, a date verified from *Hofmeister Monatsbericht* is given thus: [*HM*(year)].[1] All such dates can be confirmed from *Hofmeister XIX*, <http://www.hofmeister.rhul.ac.uk>.

[1] *Musikalisch-literarischer Monatsbericht: über neue Musikalien, musikalische Schriften und Abbildungen* (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1829-1907).

ABBREVIATIONS

Periodicals:

AMZ	*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*
AMZmbR	*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung mit besonderer Rücksicht auf den österreichischen Kaiserstaat*
AWMZ	*Allgemeine wiener Musik-Zeitung*
BAMZ	*Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*
MT	*Musical Times*
MW	*Musical World*
NZM	*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*
RGM	*Revue et gazette musicale*

Other abbreviations:

The Recorded Cello
The Recorded Cello – The History of the Cello on Record, 6 discs (Pearl Gemm CDS 9981-86, 1992)

Brown, *CRPP*
Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999)

Grove Music Online
The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, ed. Laura Macy, URL: <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com>

cond	conductor
movt.	movement
pf.	piano
pt.	part
vc.	cello
vn.	violin

INTRODUCTION

The existing historical literature focussed specifically on the cello is patchy, and often draws heavily on earlier sources. The work of Wasielewski and Edmund van der Straeten, from the later nineteenth/early twentieth centuries, is still used as a source for much biographical detail.[2] Their work still underpins much in the current edition of *Grove*, especially concerning minor figures, or currently under-researched major figures.[3] At the time of writing, for example, there exists no detailed study in English of either Adrien Servais or Friedrich Grützmacher. Servais is therefore still erroneously supposed by many to have adopted the tail-pin because he was overweight. His compositions have not been studied at all by scholars, and the only significant biographical work on him is in Flemish.[4] There has been no modern research on Alfredo Piatti, apart from Barzanò and Bellisario's overview of biographical material. This contains much reference material, such as a catalogue of his compositions, and selections from his correspondence, along with anecdotal material, but is inconsistently referenced, and confusingly structured around a biography followed by 'Notes for an investigation'.[5] Grützmacher is still chiefly identified with his notorious edition of Boccherini's B flat major 'concerto', leading to a lack of interest in his performing editions in general.[6]

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[2] Wilh. Jos. D. Wasielewski, trans. Isobella S. E. Stigand, *The Violoncello and its History* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1894; 1st. pub. 1888); Edmund van de Straeten, *A History of the Violoncello, the Viol da Gamba, their Precursors and Collateral Instruments* (London: William Reeves, 1914).
[3] See, for example, Lynda MacGregor, 'Alfredo Piatti', 'Friedrich Grützmacher', 'Pierre Chevillard', *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* [last accessed 16 March 2009].
[4] Peter François, *'Ah! Le metier de donneur de concerts! Adrien François Servais (1807-1866) als rondreizend cellovirtuos* (Halle, Belgium: vzw Servais, 2007), and exhibition catalogue for Zuidwestbrabants Museum, *Adrien François Servais 1807-2007 Halse cellist met wereldfaam* (Halle, Belgium: vzw Servais, 2007).
[5] Annalisa Lodetti Barzanò and Christian Bellisario, trans. Clarice Zdanski, *Signor Piatti – Cellist, Komponist Avantgardist* (Kronberg : Kronberg Academy Verlag, 2001).
[6] Luigi Boccherini, arr. Friedrich Grützmacher, *Konzert in B* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*IIM*1895].

Existing studies of individual cellists are uneven. An extremely experimental approach is adopted in Elizabeth le Guin's study of Boccherini.[7] She attempts to incorporate the physicality of performance (and of composition-as-performance) into the musical meaning of the work itself, showing how physical tension and harmonic or melodic tension can combine or be at odds. This highly idiosyncratic work has yet to be fully assessed with regard to other repertoires, and although it is open to a charge of excessive subjectivity – as a cellist herself, her own perceptions of the physicality of performance may be quite different from another player's – it suggests stimulating future lines of research.[8] The only biography of David Popper, written by one of his last pupils, is an invaluable source of material from Hungarian journals in particular, and contains many revealing personal anecdotes. De'ak's citations are, however, often inadequate.[9] The literature on Casals, though extensive, generally examines his later teaching and politics rather than his playing, and adds little to the earlier work by Littlehales or Corredor.[10] The most recent such study, Anita Mercier's monograph on Suggia, is almost entirely biographical in orientation, with much information about concert programmes and repertoire, but with very little broader historical context (especially concerning her critical reception), and no detailed examination of her relatively small recorded output.[11] More recent broadly-based histories of the cello, intended for a non-specialist readership, recycle

[7] Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).
[8] Le Guin is well aware of this, as she showed in discussion with the writer at the 2007 International Musicological Society Conference (Zurich).
[9] Steven De'ak, *David Popper* (Neptune City, NJ: Paganiniana Publications, 1980).
[10] Lillian Littlehales, *Pablo Casals* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1929); J. Ma. Corredor, trans. André Mangeot, *Conversations with Casals* (London: Hutchinson, 1956). See, for example, David Blum, *Casals and the Art of Interpretation* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1977); Robert Baldock, *Pablo Casals* (London: Gollancz, 1992).
[11] Anita Mercier, *Guilherminia Suggia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

much older work or contribute peripheral anecdotal material, often interesting in itself.[12]

The position with regard to larger-scale studies of the cello and cellists is broadly similar. Lev Ginsburg's substantial research dealing with nineteenth-century Russian cellists has never been translated into English, with the result that no comprehensive study of the work of Carl Davidoff as a cellist, let alone as a composer, has appeared outside Russia.[13] In modern times, only two substantial treatments of the cello have appeared – the *Cambridge Companion to the Cello* and Valerie Walden's monograph concerning the period 1740-1840.[14] The former covers a very wide area with variable depth and detail. Some chapters, especially those on the leading players in the classical, romantic and twentieth-century periods, are particularly poorly referenced (with much use of van der Straeten and Wasielewski), while others simply attempt too much in the limited space available.[15] Walden deals with the period between Corrette and Romberg and is largely concerned with material drawn from the more prominent cello methods of the period by well-known players, and using very few other primary sources, especially the smaller, cheaper cello tutors published anonymously. She tends to presuppose the validity of the concept of 'schools' of playing, and also uses sources from much later than her defined period in order to give additional importance to topics which are of marginal significance. However, her material on 'good style', though inconclusive and unfocussed, constitutes an

[12] Elizabeth Cowling, *The Cello* (London: Batsford, 1975); Margaret Campbell, *The Great Cellists* (London: Gollancz, 1988).
[13] Lev Ginsburg, *Istoriya violonchel'novo: iskusstva russkaya klassicheskaya violonchel'naya shkola (1860-1917)* [History of the art of the violoncello, Russian classical violoncello school] (Moscow: Musiyka, 1965). A large collection of autograph MSS of Davidoff's compositions is held at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire library; as well as cello pieces, he composed a large number of songs and attempted an opera (*Mazeppa*) which he did not complete.
[14] Robin Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cello* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello: A History of Technique and Performance Practice, 1740-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[15] See, for example, Margaret Campbell, 'Masters of the Baroque and Classical Eras', 'Nineteenth-Century Virtuosi', 'Masters of the Twentieth Century', in Stowell, ibid., pp. 52-91, or Peter Allsop, 'Ensemble Music: in the Chamber and the Orchestra', ibid., pp. 160-177.

admirable attempt to broaden the traditional parameters of the discourse of historical performance practice.[16] Wiesenfeldt's recent treatment of the German nineteenth-century cello sonata contains virtually no material on performance, focussing instead on formal analysis.[17] The same is true, though to a lesser degree, of Sylvette Maillot's examination of cello music in eighteenth-century France.[18]

Traditional studies have generally adopted an evolutionary model – cellists are normally assessed in terms of their contribution to the 'development' of technique, and the overall emphasis is on the leading virtuosi or on the most influential teachers. This has led some cello treatises to be down-valued, and to a privileging of technical innovation. This evolutionary view can be found, unsurprisingly, in the work of Wasielewski, but a concept of history as progress is considerably older. There is clearly a change in many aspects of cello performance practices during this period – or, rather, cellists play differently at different times and places. However, a Darwinist view of an instrument's historical development can both distort and obscure matters which can be focussed differently. It is admittedly hard to avoid a developmental view of a topic presented, in its different manifestations, chronologically.

At the turn of the last century, there were two distinctive views about the 'development' of the cello, both of which have problems. Wasielewski asserted that in the nineteenth century the cello set aside inappropriate violinistic mannerisms and gradually assumed its 'true' character.[19] The twentieth-century literature for the cello would certainly not reinforce this essentialist view, not least because the very concept of an inherent

[16] Walden, 'Elements of aesthetics and style', *One Hundred Years of Violoncello*, pp. 270-300.
[17] Christiane Wiesenfeldt, *Zwischen Beethoven Und Brahms: Die Violoncello-Sonate im 19. Jahrhundert. Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, band 51* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2006).
[18] Sylvette Maillot, *Le violoncelle en France au XVIIIième siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1985).
[19] Jos. D. Wasielewski, trans. I. S. E. Stigand, *The Violoncello and its History* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1894), pp. 212-213.

'character' becomes increasingly unsustainable.

Another, more stimulating, view, expressed by Krall and at even greater length by Alexanian, but also implicit in almost every pedagogical work on the cello, was that its pedagogical history was that of a search for fundamental principles.[20] Krall describes 'the continual endeavour of players to find and establish laws'.[21] Casals's preface to Alexanian describes the *Traité* as 'a well elaborated plan for the analysis of the theory of violoncello playing [...] a serious effort towards the casting off of the shackles of superannuated prejudices'.[22] Here, 'progress' is from the straightforward pragmatism of much nineteenth-century cello teaching (where one is basically taught what one will need in order to play cello pieces) to a more thoroughly scientific approach based on systematic thinking and a knowledge of anatomy, which brings with it the pursuit of technical development for its own sake, far beyond the requirements of the most difficult music written for the instrument.[23] Yet even this apparent transformation is not straightforwardly linear. The late-eighteenth-century scale fingerings of John Gunn mark a decisive shift towards more ergonomic fingerings which are independent of apparent musical structures, based on principles which can be applied to any scale. The very short, repetitive, left hand exercises of Bideau (1802) anticipate the standard work of this kind by Feuillard.[24] Gunn, and to a degree Bideau, are being analytic, and this over a century before the much more obviously, and explicitly, scientific approaches taken by Alexanian or Becker.

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[20] Emil Krall, *The Art of Tone-Production on the Violoncello* (London: The Strad Office, John Leng & Co., 1913); Dinan Alexanian, *Traité théorique et pratique du violoncelle* (Paris: A. Z. Mathot, 1922).
[21] Krall, ibid., unpaginated preface.
[22] Alexanian, ibid., p. 4.
[23] See, for example,, the transcendental studies of Bazelaire, based on much earlier studies by Kummer. Paul Bazelaire, *10 Etudes transcendantes d'après des études mélodiques de F. A. Kummer* (Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1936).
[24] Dominique Bideau, *Grand nouvelle méthode raisonée* (Paris: Naderman, [1802]); Louis R. Feuillard, *Tägliche Übungen Exercices journaliers Daily Exercises* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1919).

Therefore, while a diachronic study of the evidence predisposes towards a developmental narrative model, this study will frequently stress the synchronic diversity of practices, with the intention of discouraging over-simplified generic approaches to historically informed performance. This diversity will also be examined in the light of the frequent apparent contradiction between 'theory' (verbal instructions of whatever form, such as pedagogical material or concert reviews) and 'practice' (performing editions, the evidence of early recordings, or particular individual reception of a performance). Concert reviews can partake of both, in that the critic may express a general stylistic preference as well as record what actually took place. The theories and practices recorded here are presented with a view to retaining their variety, rather than seeking an over-arching normalising narrative. This is because such narratives, whether couched in evolutionary terms, or in terms of 'schools', are hard to justify empirically and tend to pre-determine routes of inquiry.

The source materials used here are mostly conventional, and relate directly to matters of musical performance. There are other materials which are less frequently encountered in studies of this type, in particular as they concern ideas of the character of the cello and its gendered identity. This entails the use of sources familiar to researchers in other fields, including literary representations of the cello in novels, poetry, drama and miscellaneous newspaper and journal articles, mostly written by non-expert musicians or non-musicians. Wider theories of gender as performance are avoided in favour of a close attention to the source materials. Some implications of this research for performers and listeners are explored, with the overall intention of offering a different perspective on performance research. Differing perceptions of the inherent character of the cello can, it is argued, influence both performance styles and audience reception.

CHAPTER 1:
BASIC POSTURE AND BOW HOLD

Figure 1/1: Frontispiece illustration, *Broderip and Wilkinson's Complete Treatise for the Violoncello.*[1]

Broderip and Wilkinson's *Complete Treatise* is an anonymous work costing three shillings, quite modest in its scope, typical of several others from the 1790s onwards. This illustration shows a man, perhaps the intended reader, or the sort of person the reader aspired to be, playing the cello in a small music room. Another instrument, possibly a bass viol, lies neglected in the shadows, while a chamber organ dominates the opposite wall. Elaborate wall hangings and side panels hung with musical instruments frame the player like a proscenium arch – the cellist is playing to an unseen audience, the reader. His melody is 'unheard', not only in a Keatsian sense, but because

[1] Anon., *Broderip and Wilkinson's Complete Treatise for the Violoncello* (London: the Editors, c.1800).

of his general posture. He holds the bow a considerable distance from the heel, almost at the balance point, and it is at least three inches from the bridge. His left hand looks like a violinist's, and his left elbow sags behind the instrument. The cello itself may be resting on the ground or held precariously between the legs (the artist's perspective drawing is poor). Although it seems to rest against his left leg rather than be held by it, the text makes it clear that it is indeed held between the legs. He turns his head sharply to his right to read the music, which would otherwise obscure him from the reader. In fact, almost every aspect of his general deportment minimises the amount of sound he can produce.

This chapter considers the most basic topics in cello playing: posture and bow hold. They are often ignored in studies of historical performance practices. Nonetheless, without a clear understanding of this groundwork there is no foundation for studying many other aspects of performance. Table 1 lists the cello methods which are referred to in the course of this discussion.

Table 1: summary list of cello methods referred to here, in chronological order

DATE	AUTHOR	SHORT TITLE
1741	Corrette	*Méthode théorique*
c.1765	Crome	*Compleat Tutor*
c.1775	Azaïs	*Méthode*
1785	Anon., pub. Preston and Son	*New Instructions*
1787	Anon., pub. Goulding	*New and Complete Instructions*
1797	Raoul	*Méthode*
1800	Anon., pub. Broderip and Wilkinson	*Complete Treatise*
1802	Bideau	*Grand nouvelle méthode*
1804	Bréval	*Traité*
1805	Baillot *et al.*	*Méthode*
1805	Anon., pub. Clementi, Banger, *et al.*	*New and Complete Instructions*
1806	Gunn	*Theory and Practice*
1806	Duport	*Essai*
1810	Bréval, trans. Peile	*Bréval's New Instructions*
1819	Peile	*New and Complete Tutor*
1825	Dotzauer	*Méthode*
1826	Crouch	*Compleat Treatise*
1827	Eley	*Improved Method*
1835	Kastner	*Méthode elementaire*
1839	Kummer	*Violoncelloschule*
1840	Romberg	*Violoncellschule*
1851-5	Lindley	*Lindley's Handbook*
1864	Duport, ed. Lindner	*Essai*
1873	Dotzauer, ed. Braga	*Metodo*
1877	Kummer, ed. Piatti	*Violoncello School*
1878	Junod	*New and Concise Method*
1878	Rabaud	*Méthode complète*
1879	Howell	*Edward Howell's First Book*
1882	Schulz	*Elementar-Violoncelloschule*
1882	de Swert	*The Violoncello*
1882	Werner	*Praktische Violoncell-Schule*
1884	Vaslin	*L'art du violoncelle*
1888	Davidoff	*Violoncell-Schule*
1888	Romberg, ed. Swert and Grünfeld	*Violoncelloschule*
1893	Schroeder	*Catechism of Cello Playing*
1895	Weber	*Premier Method*
1898	Van der Straeten	*History of the Violoncello*
1899	Broadley	*Chats to Cello Students*
1900-3	Lee, ed. Becker	*Violoncello Technics*
1902	Dressel	*Moderne Violoncell Schule*
1907	Fuchs	*Violoncello-Schule*
1909	Langey	*Practical Tutor*
1909	Kummer, ed. Becker	*Violoncelloschule*
1910	Piatti, ed. Whitehouse and Tabb	*Violoncello Method*
1913	Krall	*Art of Tone-Production*
1919	Earnshaw	*Elements of 'Cello Technique*
1920	Vadding and Meerseburger	*Das Violoncello*

1922	Alexanian	*Traité*
1982	Bunting	*Essay on the Craft of 'Cello Playing*

BASIC POSTURE

Throughout the nineteenth century, cellists sat in fundamentally the same way, with the left foot slightly forward of the right, the back edge of the cello against the left calf, and the front edge against the right. This simple formula occurs in virtually every cello tutor, but with variations, additions and shifts of emphasis.

Robert Crome gives a brief but interesting recommendation:

> ...the lower part is to rest on the Calves of the Leggs supported with the Knees, but for the greater ease of a Learner we wou'd advise him to have an hole made in the Tail-pin and a Wooden Peg to screw into it to rest on the Floor which may be taken out as he pleases.[2]

This is one of very few references to a tail-pin before the later nineteenth century. Before Crome, only Corrette mentions it once, briefly and disapprovingly:

> ...note that the instrument does not touch the ground at all, since that makes it muted: sometimes one puts a stick at the end to support the cello, when one plays standing up: not only is this posture not the most attractive, but it is moreover the most contrary for difficult passages [...][3]

Some tutors, such as Bréval's, rely entirely on illustration to convey correct posture:

> Looking attentively, one learns the manner of holding the instrument more easily than from a written description.[4]

His depiction (figure 2) has some curious features.[5] The player's heels are off the ground, and he is leaning markedly to his left. His left calf is against the lower ribs of

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[2] Robert Crome, *The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello* (London: C. & S. Thompson [1765?]), p. 1. Throughout, I will use the term 'tail-pin' to denote the spike which supports the instrument, and 'button' to denote the small round wooden knob around which the tailpiece gut is wound and through which the tail-pin is mounted. Some writers, such as Crome, use different conventions, but this is clarified by context.

[3] '...observer que l'Instrument ne touche point a terre, attendu que cela le rend sourd: quelque fois on met un bâton au bout pour soutenir la basse, quand on joue debout: non seulement cette posture n'est pas la plus belle, mais elle est encore la plus contraire aux passages difficiles...' Michel Corrette, *Méthode théorique et pratique* (Paris: Mlle. Castagnery, 1741), p. 7.

[4] 'En observant avec attention, on apprendra plus aisément que par une démonstration écrite, la manière de tenir l'Instrument.' J. B. Bréval, *Traité du violoncelle*, op. 42 (Paris: Imbault, [1804]), p. 5.

the cello rather than the back edge. This posture would quickly create considerable tension and affect tone quality. The illustration (and Romberg's drawing, figure 3 below) shows the feet turned out, contradicting the Paris Conservatoire cello method ('It is necessary to avoid turning out the feet').[6]

Peile's 1810 (extremely free) translation of Bréval is a little more detailed:

> The holding the Instrument is particularly to be observed and the following directions will serve to give a proper idea of it. The learner being seated as forward as convenient on a Chair or Stool rather low, is to extend his legs with the feet turned outwards, and receive the Instrument between so that the upper edge of the Violoncello may press against the Calf of the right leg, and the opposite lower edge against the Calf of the left leg together with the lower part of the left thigh, this position inclining the fingerboard inwards which must always be observed.[7]

Figure 1/2: Bréval, *Méthode*, posture illustration.

The advice to use a low stool also occurs in Gunn and Romberg. John Gunn offers similar advice in the second, considerably revised, edition of his cello method:

[5] J. B. Bréval, trans. J. Peile, *Bréval's New Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: C. Wheatstone & Co., [1810]), p. 6.

[6] Baillot, P., J. H. Levasseur, C.-S. Catel and C.- N. Baudiot, trans. A. Merrick, *Method for the Violoncello* (London: Cocks & Co. [1830]), p. 14. 1st ed., Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode de Violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1805).

[7] J. B. Bréval, trans. J. Peile, *New Instructions*, p. 6.

> The mode of holding the instrument is far from being indifferent, and we see several ways adopted, which are exceptionable, from the obstructions they oppose to good tone and a facility of expression. The position which in these respects possesses the greatest advantages, is the following. The player sitting as forward as he can on a chair or stool, rather low, is to extend his left leg nearly as far as he can, so as not to rest solely on the heel, but with the foot flat on the ground; this is done in order to depress the left knee, which would otherwise oppose the proper action of the bow. The right knee must be extended a little outwards, so as exactly to receive the Violoncello between both legs, the toes of the right foot being turned quite outwards, so that the Calf of that leg which will be perpendicular to the ground, may be pressed against the upper rim or edge of the instrument, while the opposite lower edge is pressed against the lower part of the left thigh a very little above the knee, the upper rim will thus project beyond the knee, and the bridge will be on a line with the right knee, as it necessary the bow should pass on the fourth string in the direction of the bow, a___b at fig: 11 of the annexed plate, about three inches above the bridge: for it the instrument be held lower, the bow must be drawn on that string in the direction of the dotted line d...b. The finger board should incline to the body and towards the left shoulder, as at fig: 17.[8]

Even the comprehensive Duport deals with the subject in fewer words:

> The hold of the cello between the legs varies a lot, according to people's different habits and sizes. One can very well play, holding the instrument a little higher or lower. This is the manner most used, which must be the best. One must first sit towards the front of the chair, bringing the left foot well forward, and the right closer: then place the instrument between the legs, so that the lower left hand corner bout is by the left knee joint, so that the weight of the instrument is borne by the left calf: and above the left foot. If the knee is opposite this bout it will prevent the bow passing easily, when one wishes to use the A string. The right leg is placed against the curve below the instrument, to hold it securely.[9]

[8] John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: the Author, 2nd edn. [1806]), p. 5-6. This passage does not appear in the first edition.

[9] 'La tenue du violoncelle entre les jambes varie beaucoup, suivant les habitudes et la différente taille des personnes. On peut très-bien jouer en tenant son Instrument, un peu plus haut ou un peu plus bas. Voiçi la manière la plus usitée et qui doit être la meilleure. Il faut premièrement s'asseoir sur le devant de sa chaise, porter ensuite le pied gauche loin de soi en avant, et rapprocher le droit: alors placer l'Instrument entre les jambes, de façon que le coin de l'échancrure inférieure d'en bas a gauche, se trouve dans la jointure du genou gauche, afin que le poids de l'Instrument, soit porté sur le mollet de la jambe gauches: et le pied gauche en dehors. Si le genou se trouvoit au contraire dans cette échancrure, il empecheroit l'archet de passer aisément, lorsqu'on voudoit se servir de la Chanterelle ou première Corde. La jambe droite se pose contre l'éclisse d'en bas de l'Instrument, pour le maintenir en sûreté.' Jean Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle* (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), p 5.

Bideau also stresses that the weight of the cello rests mainly on the left leg:

> 1mo. To sit on the edge of the chair, 2do. To place it between the legs, 3o., to put both feet forward, to advance the left foot especially, so that all the weight of the instrument can rest on the calf of the left leg, and by this means can hold it with confidence, 4o. to bring the right foot closer, so that the bout is found at the left knee joint.[10]

Eley, like several others, suggests that the height of the seat relates to the player's height.[11] Lindley, a former pupil of Duport, is more concise than his teacher and emphasises the readjustment of posture according the string in use:

> The Instrument should be supported by the calf of the left leg, whilst the right leg affords the pressure requisite to keep it in its place. The Instrument must be under the control of the right leg, so that it may be made to slant one way or the other, as the first and second, or third and fourth strings may be most required.[12]

Romberg places his feet differently (figure 3):

> The heels may be six inches apart, and one foot not more advanced than the other.[13]

[10] '1mo. De s'asseoir sur le bord de la chaise, 2do. De le placer entre ses jambes, 3o. de mettre les deux pieds en dehors, d'avancer surtout le pied gauche, afin que tout le poid de l'instrument puisse poser sur le mollet de la jambe gauche, et par ce moyen le tienne avec assurance, 4o. de rapprocher de soi le pied droit, et de faire en sorte que l'éclisse se trouve entre la jointure du genou gauche.' Dominique Bideau, *Grande nouvelle méthode raisonnée pour le violoncelle* (Paris: Naderman, [1802]). p. 3.
[11] Charles F. Eley, *Improved Method of Instruction for the Violoncello* (London: Clementi & Co., [1827?]), p. 2.
[12] Robert Lindley, *Hand-book for the Violoncello* (London: Musical Bouquet Office, [1851-1855]), p. 5.
[13] Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *A Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 7. Orig., *Violoncellschule* (Berlin: Trautwein, [1840]), p. 6. Illustration, ibid., unpaginated, p. 6 *verso*.

Figure 1/3: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, posture illustration

In this, Georg Kastner agrees (the feet must be 'sur une même ligne' [on the same line]), but it remains a minority view.[14] Note that Romberg's right leg does not just press against the front edge of the cello, but almost envelopes it. In this illustration Romberg is leaning slightly to his left, but his shoulders appear to be more or less level. The net effect is to distribute the weight of the cello more symmetrically than Duport, Bideau or Lindley suggest, and experiment shows that this posture places the instrument more vertically than the conventional posture.

The question as to whether the calves held the cello by the ribs, or by the edges, is important, as the former could dampen the resonance of the instrument. Kummer was among the first to acknowledge this problem, stressing holding the cello by the edges:

> The Violoncello should be held between the legs, so that the lower part of the front edge of the Instrument comes exactly on the right calf, and the back edge exactly on the left calf of the player. But it

[14] Georges Kastner, *Méthode Élémentaire pour le Violoncelle* (Paris: E. Froupenas & Cie., 1835), p. 2.

> must be especially remembered that the sides of the edges be not too much covered by the calf of the leg; as thus the vibration of the Instrument will be impeded.[15]

Concern for tone quality, rather than the comfort of the player, was to lead eventually to the general use of a tail-pin, but it is clear that, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, if used at all, it was rare. Adrien-François Servais (1807-1866) appears to be the first cellist to have used it regularly. Although it seems he taught all his students to play in this way, it would be another half-century before it became virtually universal (figure 4).[16]

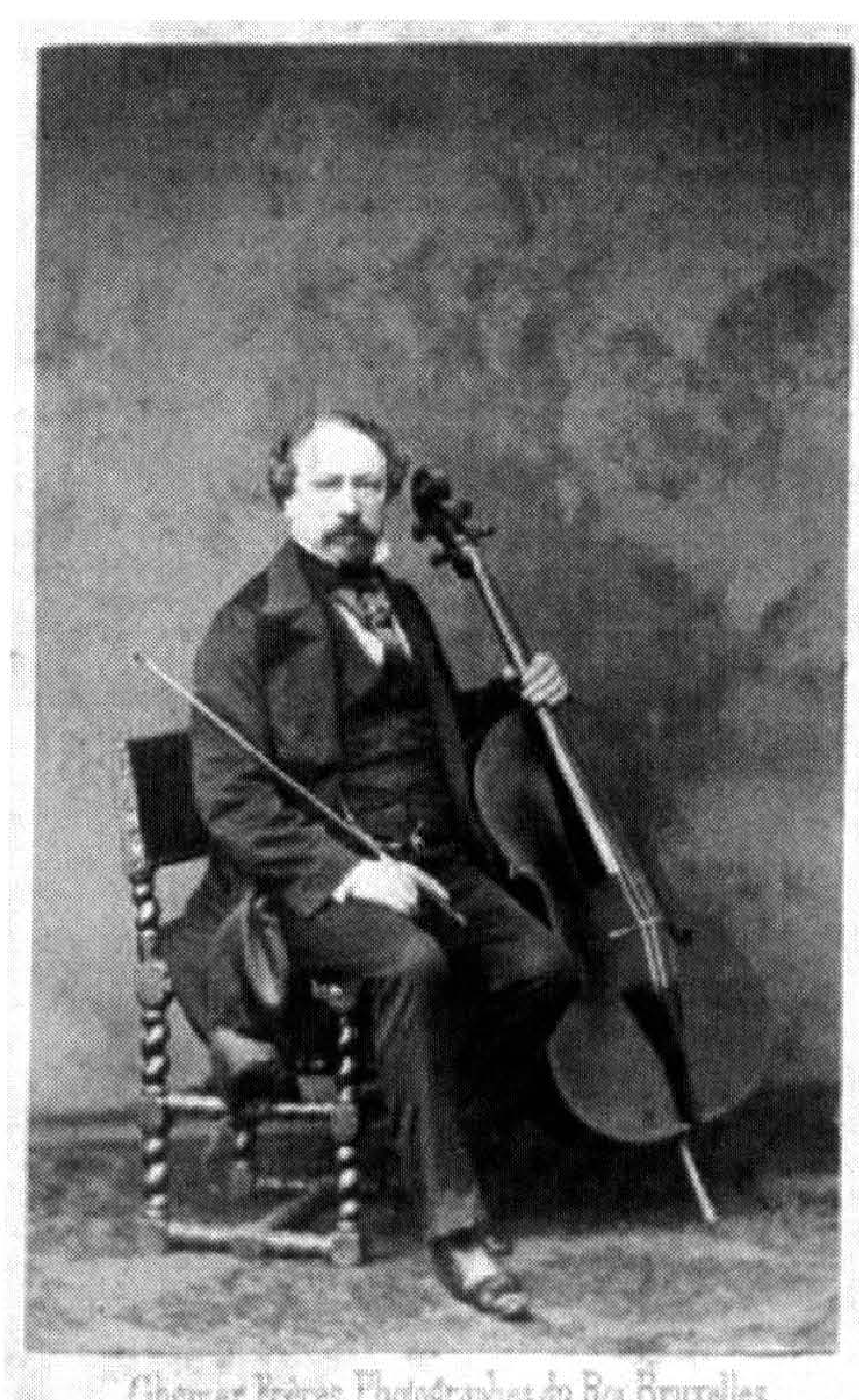

Figure 1/4: Photograph of Servais c. 1862.

There is no mention of a tail-pin in, for instance, Junod's 1878 method, which simply gives the standard warning that '[The player] must avoid covering the sides (or ribs) of

[15] F. A. Kummer, trans. anon., *Violoncello School,* op. 60 (London: Ewer and Co. [1850]), p. 4. Orig, *Violoncelloschule* op.60 (Leipzig: Peters, 1839).
[16] Photograph, Zuidwestbrabants Museum, Belgium.

the instrument so as not to check the vibration of the sound'.[17] The same is true of Edward Howells's much-simplified version of Romberg's tutor.[18] August Schultz's cello method (c. 1882) has a very clear illustration of the instrument with no mention of a tail-pin, and he stresses the importance of holding the cello by the edges so as not to dampen the vibration.[19] Olive Vaslin makes a similar point:

> The pressure necessary to retain the instrument can be exerted without an audible alteration of the vibration, for the simple reason that in this posture the legs only reach the parts [of the cello] already essential to the solidity of the framework.[20]

Moreover, when it does begin to appear in the pedagogical literature (Servais himself left no cello method or course of instruction), it is still very much in the context of the more traditional posture. Both Henri Rabaud (1878) and Jules de Swert (1882) advocate the tail-pin, but the basic posture is not very different. In fact, Rabaud explicitly advises the student to master the 'classical' posture first:

> Several artists make use of a spike, rod or extension to hold up the cello, which fits the button: I advise pupils not to use it before being well familiarised with the classical posture.[21]

De Swert recommends using a tail-pin on tonal grounds, and thus answers Kummer's reservations:

> Nearly all the modern players use a stem made of wood or metal (wood is preferable) about seven or eight inches long, which is fixed

[17] Laurent Junod, trans. F. Clayton, *New and Concise Method for the Violoncello* (London: Lafleur, 1878), p. 3.
[18] Edward Howell, *Edward Howell's First Book for the Violoncello adapted from Romberg's School* (London: Boosey & Co., [1879]), p. 1.
[19] 'Die Waden dürfen dabei niemals die Flächen der Zargen ganz deden, um nicht die Vibration der Töne zu hemmen.' August Schulz, *Elementar-Violoncelloschule* (Hanover: Louis Oertel, [1882]), p. 5.
[20] 'La pression nécessaire au maintien de l'instrument peut s'opérer sans alteration sensible des vibrations, par la raison toute simple que dans cette attitude les jambes n'atteignent que des parties déjà maintenues par la charpente indispensable à la solidité.' Olive Vaslin, *L'art du violoncelle* (Paris: Richault, 1884), pp. 2-3.
[21] 'Plusieur [sic] artistes se servent pour soutenir le Violoncelle d'une *pique, tige* ou *rallonge* qui s'adapte au bouton de l'instrument: j'engage les élèves à ne pas en faire usage avant d'être bien familiarisés avec la tenue classique.' Henri Rabaud, *Méthode Complète de Violoncelle,* op. 12 (Paris: Alphonse Leduc [1878]), p. 1.

> to the lower part of the Violoncello, and on which the instrument rests. In my opinion this is perfectly right, because, by this system, not only is the position of the body freer, but also the tone is favourably influenced by the instrument resting on this stem instead of being held by the pressure of the legs, the latter plan necessarily interfering with the development of the tone.[22]

His accompanying illustration shows that the near-vertical cello and the placing of the feet are still virtually as they would be without a tail-pin. The near-vertical upper right arm, dropped left elbow and pronated right wrist, would be familiar to a cellist from the beginning of the nineteenth century as well. However, this illustration is, in its own way, as misleading as Bréval's, with its rather glum cellist leaning perceptibly to his right (away from the instrument), which would be difficult to sustain for any length of time (figure 5).[23]

[22] Jules de Swert, *The Violoncello* (London and New York: Novello, Ewer and Co. [1882]), p. 4.
[23] Ibid., p. 4.

Figure 1/5: Swert, *The Violoncello*, posture illustration.

Even in 1909, Otto Langey describes posture in terms familiar from a century earlier, and simply adds the tail-pin:

> The performer should sit well forward on his seat, with the left foot in advance of the right, the feet turned outwards. The instrument should be placed between the legs with the lower edge of the back on the calf of the left leg and the edge of the belly on the calf of the right leg. [...] The instrument must rest entirely in this position without the assistance of the left hand, and high enough, so as to prevent the bow touching the knees. An End-pin should be used for this purpose.[24]

The upright posture recommended by Rabaud, illustrated by de Swert, and particularly characteristic of Piatti (who did not use a tail-pin), is also described by Carl Davidoff:

> The player sits forward on the seat, grasps the cello with the left hand on the neck, and secures it with the spike, so that it stands perpendicular to the feet...[25]

[24] Otto Langey, *Practical Tutor for the Violoncello. New Edition, Revised & Enlarged* (London: Hawkes & Son, 1909), p. 7.

[25] 'Der Spieler setzt sich vorn auf den Stuhl, faßt das Violoncell mit der linken Hand am Halse und fixiert es mit dem Stachel, sodaß es vertikal den Füßen steht...' Carl Yu. Davidoff, *Violoncell-Schule* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1888], p. 2.

Werner (1883) gives the standard advice about the length of the tail-pin relative to the player, while implying that it is optional:

> When using a peg at the bottom of the instrument, it is necessary to have it so long, that the lowest screw [C string peg] reaches the left ear at about two or three inches distance, so as not to run the risk of knocking the left knee with the bow in striking the A string.[26]

The advice that the C peg should be opposite the ear was still being repeated thirty years later by Emil Krall.[27] Swert's illustration shows roughly this length of tail-pin, seven or eight inches, similar to that used by Servais. Some modern players (not necessarily those of short stature) still use this length, even though the trend throughout the twentieth century (especially the second half) has been towards longer tail-pins (figure 6).[28]

Edmund van der Straeten (1898) recommended the tail-pin even more firmly:

> The use of the peg is now generally adopted, and offers the double advantage of steadying the instrument and strengthening its tone by an additional amount of resonance, resulting from the communication established by it between the body of the violoncello and the floor. If the peg be of steel, as is now generally the case, it will prove even a stronger medium than a peg made of wood... [Playing without a tail-pin] which is still practised in isolated cases, has the disadvantage of giving the instrument a rather upright position, rendering it somewhat stiff, and necessitating the covering, by the legs, of a greater part of the ribs, which prevents the free emission of sound.[29]

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[26] Josef Werner, trans. anon., *Praktische Violoncell-Schule*, op. 12 (Köln: P. J. Tonger, [*HM*1882]), p. 3.
[27] Emil Krall, *The Art of Tone-Production on the Violoncello* (London: The Strad Office, John Leng & Co., 1913), p. 38.
[28] Photograph supplied by Adrian Shepherd.
[29] Edmund van der Straeten, *History of the Violoncello, the Viol da Gamba, Their Precursors and Collateral Instruments* (London: William Reeves, 1898), pp. 17-18.

Figure 1/6: Adrian Shepherd (former principal cello, Scottish National Orchestra), using a characteristically short tail-pin.

Figure 1/7: Van der Straeten, *Technics*, posture illustration.

Note that van der Straeten (figure 7)[30] is shown with his feet opposite each other, following Romberg – though Romberg also taught the particularly upright posture which van der Straeten so disliked, and which was recommended by Rabaud, de Swert and Davidoff.

[30] Ibid., p. 30. The drawing is a portrait, copied from a photograph of van der Straeten.

Carl Schroeder makes it clear that a wooden tail-pin was screwed into the button, whereas a metal one could slide inside the instrument when not in use.[31] Although metal supplanted wood, the latter was still being described in 1920:

> The spike, whose use has now become general, which has made the holding of the cello easier, will, if made of wood, be about 15 mm thick...[32]

Van der Straeten was not alone in his confident assertion of the ubiquity of the tail-pin. The revised versions of Dotzauer's, Romberg's and Kummer's cello methods, by Gaetano Braga (1873), Jules de Swert (1888) and Hugo Becker (1909) respectively, retain their original texts but add clearly defined editorial comment, initialled and marked by a different typeface, to bring them up to date half a century later.[33] Braga expands Dotzauer's illustrations considerably but makes no mention of a tail-pin.[34] However, de Swert comments on Romberg's description of posture without a tail-pin:

> This stance has almost completely disappeared. The majority of modern cello virtuosi use a spike 7-8 inches long attached below the instrument. The earlier stance is in my opinion uncomfortable and ungraceful; besides it is clear to all, that through the pressure of the leg and the contact with the clothing that the tone must suffer considerably.[35]

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[31] Carl Schroeder, trans. J. Matthews, *Catechism of Cello Playing* (London: Augener & Co., 1893), p. 11. 1st. ed. Hamburg, 1889.

[32] 'Der Stachel, dessen Verwendung jetzt allgemein geworden ist, da er die Haltung des Cellos sehr erleichtert, soll, wenn aus Holz bestehend, etwa 15 mm durchmesser haben...' M. Vadding and Max Merseburger, *Das Violoncello und seine Literatur* (Leipzig: Carl Merseburger, 1920), p. 30.

[33] This contrasts with the approach taken by August Lindner in his trilingual edition of Duport's *Essai,* who claims to retains elements which are no longer current, leaving it to the teacher to explain them, but who also makes several silent alterations. Duport, Jean Louis, trans. August Lindner, *Anleitung zum Fingersatz auf dem Violoncell und zur Bogenführung. Instruction on the fingering and bowing of the violoncello. Essai sur le doigté de violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet* (Offenbach: Jean André, Philadelphia: G. André & Co., Frankfurt: G. A. André, London: Augener & Co., [*HM*1864]), p.1.

[34] Gaetano Braga. *Metodo per Violoncello di J. J. F. Dotzauer* (Milan: Regio Stabilimento Ricordi, 1873).

[35] 'Diese Haltung ist fast ganz abgekommen. Die Mehrzahl der modernen Violoncello-Virtuosen gebrauchen einen Stachel van 7-8 Zoll lang der unten im Instrument eingeschraubt wird. Die fruehere Haltung ist meiner Ansicht nach unbequem und ungrazlös; ausserdem wird es jedem klar sein, dass durch das Drueckcn der Beine und den Contact des Beinkleider der Ton

Similarly, to Kummer's description of posture (quoted above), Becker adds this comment:

> In more recent times a spike is generally used. This innovation brings many advantages: greater stability and better resonance of the instrument, by being less tiring to the player.[36]

In Becker's edition of Sebastian Lee's method he mentioned another benefit, but made it clear that the basic posture was unchanged:

> Latterly, the use of the tail-pin has been pretty generally adopted, as it permits of greater freedom in the handling of the instrument. The above mentioned fundamental principles on position, however, are thereby not altered in their salient features.[37]

Carl Schroeder also describes the older posture as out of date:

> In former times the violoncello was held in such wise as to grip it between the calves of the legs, whereby the position was rather upright, and the entire manner of holding somewhat stiff. Now a peg is used, secured underneath through the button (tail-pin). The holding is by this means rendered more free and comfortable, and the free emission of the tone is no longer hindered by the pressure of the legs against the sides. When a peg is used, the instrument is so placed between the legs as to give it a slanting direction.[38]

Nonetheless, the illustration shows a disposition of the feet and an adjustment of the height of the right leg which would have been easily recognised by any of his predecessors (figure 8).[39]

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bedeutend leiden muss.' Bernhard Romberg, ed. and rev. Jules de Swert and Heinrich Grünfeld, *Violoncelloschule* (Berlin: E. Bote & G. Bock [1888]), p. 4.

[36] 'In neuerer Zeit bedient man sich allgemein des Stachels (Stütze). Diese Neuerung brachte manche Vorteile: großerer Stabilität und bessere Resonanz des Instrumentes, bei geringerer Ermüdung des spielers.' F. A. Kummer, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1909), p. viii.

[37] Sebastian Lee, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncello Tecnics* op. 30 (Mainz: B Schott's Söhne [1900-1903]), p. 2. (English and French). 1st ed., Sebastian Lee, *Méthode pratique pour le Violoncelle (Praktische Violoncell-Schule)* op. 30 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, [*HM*1845]). Becker's later criticisms of the use of the tail-pin are given below.

[38] Carl Schroeder, *Catechism*, pp. 19-20.

[39] Ibid.

Figure 1/8: Schroeder, *Catechism*, posture illustration

Although the recommended length of tail-pin appears to have been 7-8 inches (both in words and illustrations), a somewhat longer one is shown in Thomas Eakins's 1896 portrait of the cellist Rudolph Hennig (1845-1904), although this may be a matter of remaining in proportion with the length of the player's leg (figure 9).[40]

[40] Thomas Eakins, *The Cello Player* (1896), 163 cms x 122 cms., formerly Joseph E. Temple Fund, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (sold privately 2007, current whereabouts unknown).

Figure 1/9: Thomas Eakins (1844-1916), *The Cello Player*, 1896.

An American composite cello method from 1895 shows a diagram of the instrument including a tail-pin without any comment.[41]

However, in spite of this apparent late nineteenth-century consensus, it was clearly optional for some time after. The revised edition of Piatti's cello method by Piatti's pupil William Whitehouse gives both stances:

> There are two ways of holding the cello – without the peg (Piatti's method), and with the peg, the latter being that generally adopted at the present time.[42]

'Piatti's method' is implicitly confirmed by Piatti's own revision of Kummer's cello method, which includes Kummer's illustration of the cello without a tail-pin.[43] Whitehouse's description of posture is essentially the same with or without the tail-pin, rather like Langey's quoted above. Even in 1919 this approach was still recommended by Alfred Earnshaw:

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[41] Carl Weber (ed.), *The Premier Method for Violoncello from the works of [...] Dotzauer, Bach, Laurent, Romberg [...] and others* (Philadelphia, PA: J. W Pepper, 1895), p. 7.
[42] Alfredo Piatti, rev. W. E. Whitehouse and R. V. Tabb, *Violoncello Method*, 3 vols. (London: Augener, 1910), vol. 1, p. [ii].
[43] F. A. Kummer, rev. A Piatti. *Violoncello School for Preliminary Instruction* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1877), unpaginated plate.

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> It is probably only in comparatively recent times that ladies have taken up the cello, and the fact that few, if any, 'cellos were fitted with the sliding peg by which the 'cello could be held up, proves that it was considered only possible for a man to play it. Therefore, the best way to find the correct position in which to hold the instrument is to revert to the old method and hold the 'cello by the knees and calves, when the correct adjustment is assured, then we can use the peg, which to my mind, is certainly easier and more comfortable.[44]

Figure 1/10: Earnshaw, *Elements*, posture illustration

Earnshaw's photograph (figure 10) shows clearly that his posture is 'the old method' - note particularly the turn of the instrument so that the front right edge of the cello rests

[44] Alfred H. Earnshaw, *The Elements of 'Cello Technique* (London: Joseph Williams Limited, 1919), p. 1.

against the player's right leg, and the relatively low position, with the C string peg just clearing the player's shoulder.[45]

The tail-pin was sometimes thought to bring problems of its own. The Yorkshireman Arthur Broadley thought it actually encouraged self-indulgent playing:

> Piatti, who does not use a 'cello peg, holds his instrument in a correct manner, not shuffling about or varying his position. Now if the reader ever has a chance of hearing Van Biene, let him observe the manner in which that artist holds his cello. We have here the two extremes; as Piatti is of the strictly correct order, Van Biene is of the exaggerated artistic order, all the time he is playing constantly striking some fresh attitude. If Van Biene had again to take to concert work, I have no doubt that he would calm down a little in this respect...his exaggerated style while being every effective on the stage, would not be tolerated on the concert platform.[46]

In spite of his reservations, Broadley's own illustration (figure 11 – like van der Straeten, a drawing based on a photograph of the author) shows him using a tail-pin.[47]

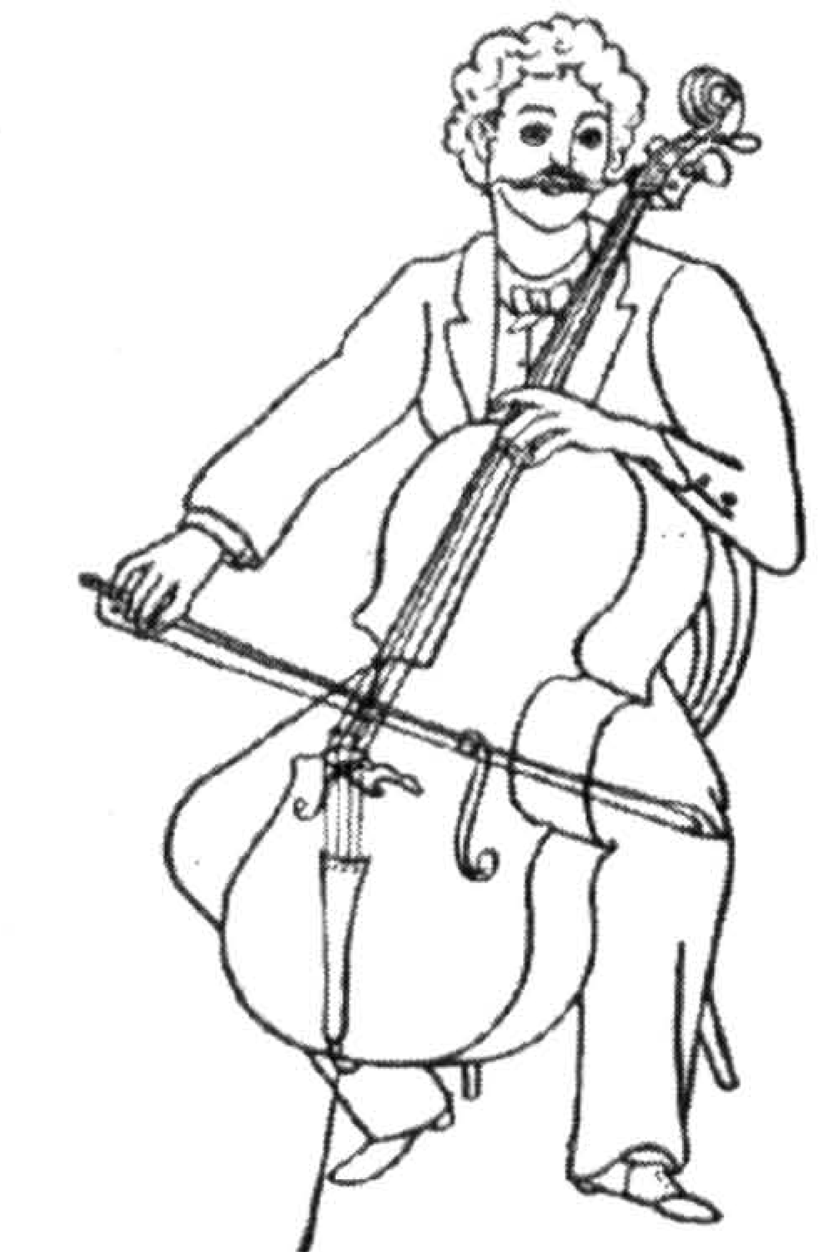

Figure 1/11: Broadley, *Chats*, posture illustration

A little later, Hugo Becker sounded another warning note:

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[45] Ibid., p. 3.

[46] Arthur Broadley, *Chats to Cello Students* (London: 'The Strad' Office, E. Donajowski and D. R. Duncan, 1899), p. 7. Concerning Auguste van Biene, probably the most widely heard cellist in Britain at the turn of the century, see the author's 'The Phenomenon of the Cellist Auguste van Biene: from the Charing Cross Road to Brighton via Broadway', in M. Hewitt and R. Cowgill (eds.), *Victorian Soundscapes*, Leeds Working Papers in Victorian Studies 9 (Leeds: LCVS and LUCEM, 2007), pp. 67-82.

[47] Ibid., p. 8. Broadley uses a similar photographic illustration in his *Adjusting and Repairing Violins, Cellos, &c.* (London: L. Upcott Gill, 1908).

> Unfortunately, simultaneously with the use of the spike a negligent, unattractive posture has crept in, which is detrimental to the handling of the instrument.[48]

The extent of differing views on this topic is shown by two sources published within five years of each other. In 1902, Hans Dressel, a pupil of Grützmacher and Ernest de Munck (himself a Servais pupil), could describe the cellist's posture without any reference to a tail-pin at all:

> The student should sit erectly on the chair, placing the right foot firmly down, and stretching out the left. The 'Cello should be placed in a slanting position, and tilted slightly to the right, leaning on the middle of the player's chest, and held by the legs.[49]

On the other hand, Carl Fuchs was criticised for showing posture illustrations that had omitted the tail-pin in the first edition of his cello method, something that he defended in the second edition (1907):

> Fault has been found with pictures 3 & 4, because the player uses no end-pin. Although it is not advisable to allow beginners to play without a spike, I think it very useful to practise without. The body must then of necessity be kept still, and anyone who has fallen into the habit of holding the legs in an ugly position, can remedy this evil by practising without a tail-pin. Often too a player not accustomed to playing without a spike might be debarred from playing altogether by finding only a 'cello without an end-pin or with too short a one.[50]

Fuchs's description of how to hold the cello without a tail-pin corresponds closely to Romberg:

> ... the front rim on the right side of the 'cello should be embedded in the right calf and the back rim on the left side equally firmly in the left calf.[51]

[48] 'Leider schlich sich aber mit dem Gebrauch des Stachels gleichzeitig eine nächlässige, unschöne Haltung ein, die nachteilig auf die Behandlung des Intruments einwirt.' Kummer ed. Becker, *Violoncellschule*, ibid.
[49] Hans Dressel, *Moderne Violoncell Schule Modern Violoncello School*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, London, Paris and Vienna: Bosworth & Co. 1902), vol. 1 p. 2.
[50] Carl Fuchs, *Violoncello-Schule Violoncello Method vol. 1* (London: Schott & Co. Ltd., 2/1907) unpaginated preface.
[51] Ibid., pp. 1-2. He adds that 'ladies always use a spike'.

The majority of cellists, certainly at the professional end of the spectrum, appear not have used a tail-pin until around the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[52] The principal factor in the increased use of the tail-pin was not, as one might presuppose, increased physical comfort, but improved tone quality. In fact, if followed correctly, the traditional advice to hold the cello at its edges minimises this problem, but the natural tendency to apply pressure to the ribs of the instrument rather than the edges may well have created the perceived disadvantage. For all the care which earlier cellists like Gunn or Duport took to describe this method of holding the cello, there were many who, like Peile, over-simplified to the almost certain detriment of the instrument's resonance:

> The Learner should be seated forward in a chair or stool and the Violoncello held between the two calves of the legs and inclined to the right in order to have a better command of the first String – the Thumb is then to be placed without pressure on the back of the neck of the Violoncello [...][53]

Not only was the tail-pin used, then, for a more resonant if not indeed louder sound, but metal was eventually preferred over wood for the same reason.

HOLDING AND PLACING THE BOW

During the nineteenth century, there is rather less obvious agreement on how to hold the bow and how to explain this to the student. There are two topics to consider: the distance between bow and bridge, and how to hold the bow (including the shape of the right arm).

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[52] Tilden Russell has argued that there was a widespread use of some sort of support for the cello amongst amateurs from long before the nineteenth century, and that method books rigidly codified what had been more flexible in the eighteenth. His iconographical evidence is inconsistent, however, depicting scenes from a very wide range of social situations and historical periods. If anything, he overstates the prevalence of the tail-pin by the end of the nineteenth century by not considering enough early twentieth-century evidence, and does not sufficiently stress the retention of the older posture when using a tail-pin. Tilden A. Russell, 'The Development of the Cello End-Pin', *Imago Musicae* 4 (1987), pp. 335-356.

[53] John Peile, *A New and Complete Tutor for the Violoncello* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter and Co. [1819?]), p. 11. This is a quite separate work from his 'translation' of Bréval quoted above.

a) distance from bridge (point of contact)

The most widespread view throughout the nineteenth century is that the bow should be approximately two inches from the bridge, with some variation for dynamic effect or different tone colours. The overall range is from a minimum of 1" to a maximum of 3". The suggested minimum distances from the bridge vary thus:

Less than 2" from bridge:

Crome (1765), Raoul (1797), Thompson (1800), Bréval/Peile (1810), Lindley (1851-55), de Swert (1882), Alexanian (1922).
These recommend 1½", except De Swert (1") and Alexanian (3 cms./1.2").

2" from bridge:

Azais (1775), Anon. (1785), Anon. (1795), Bréval (1804), Eley (1827), Schroeder (1889), Langey (1909).

More than 2" from bridge:

Corrette (1740), Anon (1787), Hardy (1800), Anon (1805), Gunn (2/1815).

Unspecified:

Baillot *et al.* only say the point of contact should be adjusted for volume; Bréval's illustration looks as if the bow is 2-3" from the bridge; Crouch says that it should be 'rather nearer the bridge than the fingerboard'; Romberg's illustration suggests roughly 2".[54]

The position of the point of contact between bow and string is extremely important with regard to tone quality and tonal projection. This is recognised by some, but not all, writers, and they are mainly concerned with the loss of quality further away from the bridge. Corrette finds 'sons sourds et faux'; Lindley is less critical, noting that one inch from the bridge produces a metallic or reedy' sound, becoming 'soft and fluty'

[54] The French *pouce* was slightly longer than the English inch. Corrette specifies 3-4 'doigts' from the bridge ; i.e. either finger-widths (= 2-3") or ½-inches (= 1.5-2"). Raoul uses the *ligne*, a twelfth of a French *pouce*. He recommends eighteen *lignes* from the bridge, but says that since others prefer twenty-four, one can compromise at twenty to twenty-one, moving closer to the fingerboard for nuances.

three inches away.[55] The difference between these figures and modern practice can be shown in Christopher Bunting's specific insistence that the point of contact should divide the vibrating length of the string in the proportion of 1:13, which means that as the notes are played in higher positions the bow moves closer to the bridge (and *vice versa*), irrespective of dynamic.[56] The concept of the 'sounding point' – the point of contact which produces the most resonance and projection – is almost entirely absent from nineteenth-century cello methods, with the interesting exception of Raoul. If the bow is correctly placed, then

> The vibration of the string is then accompanied by a certain 'biting' which adds to the beauty of the performance. Moreover, because this 'biting' is most difficult to acquire, and that only when one is the master of tone quality, one can bring the bow nearer to the bridge to soften or moderate the voice of the instrument.[57]

Playing three inches from the bridge on gut strings produces a soft-grained, unprojected sound, only suitable for small-scale domestic music-making, and this is heightened in higher positions (even fourth). Lindley may have described this as 'fluty', apparently non-pejoratively, but this is exceptional. The figures above suggest a *slight* trend through the nineteenth century towards a point of contact closer to the bridge. However, with the striking exception of Gunn, the methods that recommend placing the bow 2.5" from the bridge are generally intended for amateurs – published anonymously, covering a smaller range of topics, offering the pupil a range of simple tunes to play in easier keys and limited *tessitura*. Apart from these, 2" is almost standard – Swert is exceptional in recommending 1". All agree that the bow should run parallel to the

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[55] Corrette, *Méthode*, p.9; Lindley, *Handbook*, p. 5.
[56] Christopher Bunting, *Essay on the Craft of 'Cello Playing*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 23-24.
[57] 'La vibration de la corde est alors accompagnée d'un certain *mordant* qui ajoute à la beauté de l'exécution. D'ailleurs comme le mordant est ce qu'il y a de plus difficile à acquérir et que quand on est maître de la qualité de son, on peut rapprocher l'archet de la touche pour adoucir ou pour nuancer la voix de l'instrument.' Jean Marie Raoul, *Méthode de violoncelle* op. 4 (Paris: Pleyel, [c. 1797]), p. 6.

bridge and at right angles to the string, with the single exception of Alexanian who is precise to an unhelpful degree about the geometry (given that the strings are not quite parallel to begin with).[58] The reviewer of Dotzauer's method is almost equally over-exact when he reproves Dotzauer for, ironically, lack of clarity:

> In the fourth section, the conduct of the bow is discussed; page 6, at the top, declares: "the hair crosses the strings as much as possible at right angles – one of the secrets of the production of good tone." The author could have been able to explain [this] more clearly. At best thus: the direction of the bow must be horizontal to the string, so that where the bow rests on the string the two make four right angles. As for sharing the secrets of producing a good tone (and there are several), in the words of the author, if a single one (secret) were simple to elucidate, he would have had to freely share them all.[59]

b) holding the bow, the shape of the arm

There is rather less agreement on the holding of the bow and the general disposition of the right arm, than on the point of contact discussed above. Nonetheless, most cellists recommended these points:

- R fingers spread naturally, and curved
- Stick inclined towards the fingerboard (except when on the C string)
- Wrist curved outwards on upper strings, less so on lower
- RH1 used to increase pressure for more sound
- RH2 touches the hair
- Upper arm barely used
- Most movement comes from R forearm
- String crossing done mainly with the wrist (this will be discussed further in chapter 2)

Some of these points coincide with an almost natural physical tendency, such as the different relation of bow to string on the C and A strings, with the stick leaning more

[58] Diran Alexanian, *Traité théoretique et pratique du violoncelle* (Paris: A. Z. Mathot, 1922), p. 18.

[59] 'Im vierten Abschnitte wird von der Führung des Bogens gesprochen; pag. 6, oben, heisst es: „die Haare bestreichen die Saiten möglichst rechtwinklich – eines der Geheimnisse, einen guten ton hervorzubringen." Der Verfasster hätte sich hier deutlicher erklären können. Allenfalls so: die Richtung des Bogens muss gegen die der Saiten, horizontal sein, so dass da, wo der Bogen die Saiten berührt, von beiden vier rechte Scheitelwinkel gebildet werden. Lassen die Geheimnisse, einen guten Ton hervorzubringen, sich mittheilen, und giebt es deren mehre, wie aus den Worten des Verfassers, (eines von den Geheimnissen) leicht zu folgern ist, so hätte er billig alle angeben sollen.' *BAMZ,* 40 (1825), p. 317.

towards the fingerboard on the upper strings and much less so on the lower, or the differing curvature of the wrist on low and high strings.

The points relating to the upper arm, elbow and use of RH1 constitute some of the most striking differences between nineteenth-century practice and our own time. Illustrations often clearly reinforce the advice not to use the upper arm and to keep the right elbow low (even when playing at the tip) (figures 12-15). Since using the weight of the arm itself as a source of pressure on the string is not possible in this position, RH1 has to vary the bow pressure on its own, and for louder playing it has to stretch forward on the stick with a larger gap RH1-RH2.

Figure 1/12: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, bowing at the tip – note dropped R elbow and bent R wrist[60]

[60] Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, plate facing p. 9.

Figure 1/13: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, posture illustration. [61]

Figure 1/14: Schroeder, *Catechism*, posture at heel and tip.[62]

[61] Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, p. vii.
[62] Schroeder, *Catechism*, pp. 20-21.

Figure 1/15: Van der Straeten, *Technics*, posture at tip.[63]

Figure 1/16: Lee, rev. Becker, *Méthode*, posture illustration.[64]

[63] van der Straeten, *Technics*, p. 31.
[64] Lee, rev. Becker, *Méthode*, figure 1, unpaginated.

The illustrations of Romberg and Kummer share the highly angled instrument embraced by the right knee, and the low right elbow when playing at the tip. However, in other respects they differ significantly. Romberg's feet are level, but Kummer's left foot is clearly forward of the right. Romberg's right wrist is naturally curved at the heel, and is held very low at the tip, while Kummer's right hand is more naturally curved at the heel and leans forward at the tip. Because it leans forward in this way, Kummer's RH4 rests on top of the stick when at the tip, but Romberg's remains somewhat over the stick. Becker recreated this image photographically in his revision of Lee's method (figure 16), but with a more recognisably modern right arm shape, especially when playing at the tip of the bow.

Romberg appears to maintain the same position of the right hand at each end of the bow (see figures 2 and 12); the right wrist and elbow are low, and the right hand curiously lifted towards RH1. Some of this remains in van der Straeten, whose legs are arranged similarly to Schroeder's.

Keeping the right elbow as low as all of these pictures indicate is, for modern players, extremely unnatural, but there is no doubt that this is an essential part of nineteenth-century cello technique. Romberg notes that both elbows should be low, implying that his left hand shape was not the only element of violin technique incorporated into his own playing:

> Stiffness in the arm generally proceeds from bending the body too much forward, and raising the elbows too high. The great French Violinists have long perceived this defect, and they therefore hold the elbows as low as possible in playing and never raised; because an elevation of the elbow forces the shoulder out of its natural position.[65]

On the above points there is general agreement. On the other hand, there is a wider range of views on these points:

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[65] Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, p. 8.

- Distance of RH1 (or thumb) from nut
- Bow hold 'shallow' (held towards fingertips) or 'deep' (stick running closer to 2nd knuckle, mid-finger)
- Position of thumb relative to RH1 & RH2
- Shape of thumb (straight or bent)
- Thumb flat to the stick
- Shape and position of RH1
- RH3 touching hair
- RH4 passive on stick or active (pressing)
- Balancing function of RH1 & RH4

The standard modern bow hold, with the thumb opposite RH2, did not evolve quickly. Many cellists, earlier in the nineteenth century, placed the thumb between RH1 and 2, freeing RH1 to vary the stick pressure. However, some thought the thumb should be opposite RH2, including Reinagle (1800), Schetky (c.1813), Bréval/Peile (c.1810) and Gunn (2/1815). Romberg and Duport are unusual in placing the thumb between RH2 and 3. Lindley is clearly anachronistic in keeping the thumb opposite RH1 in the 1850s.

Dotzauer acknowledges a wide range of practice in the distance of the hand from the heel of the bow:

> ...among the strongest players one finds those who hold it as close as possible to the heel; others who hold it much shorter [away from the heel]; excess in both is dangerous. Holding the bow too long so that the little finger is on the button, it is impossible to press with enough force to play *forte*, one risks seeing the bow escape from the fingers. It is even worse to hold it so short that the little finger is several inches from the heel; this puts all the weight of the bow behind the hand where it serves no purpose, in this way one cannot draw the tone, and one acquires a bad habit.[66]

[66] '... parmis les plus fort joueurs, on en trouve qui le tiennent le plus près possible de la hausse; d'autres qui le prennent beaucoup plus court; des deux façons l'excès est nuisible. En prenant l'archet trop long de manière à ce que le petit doigt se trouve sur le bouton il est impossible de l'appuyer avec assez de force pour jouer un forte, on risquerait de le voir échapper les doigts. Il est encore plus vicieux de le tenir si court que le petit doigt se trouve à quelque pouces en avant de la hausse; ce qui met tout le poids de l'archet en arrière de la main, ou il ne sert à rien, de cette manière on ne pourrait filer le son, et on contracte une mauvaise habitude.' J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle. Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [1825]), p. 7.

His objection to holding the bow too close to the nut – that RH1 is powerless to increase the pressure of the bow on the string – arises because this puts the thumb *opposite* RH1. Dotzauer is the only cellist to make this point.

He is also the earliest to state that the thumb must be next to the frog. There is some variation in the recommended distance between the RH and the frog, compounded by its being measured in different ways – the distance from the thumb to the frog, or the distance of the hand, measured from RH4 (that is, the size of the gap between *hand* and frog). Some tutors are quite vague in any case. 'Near the nut' is the advice of Crome, Hardy and several anonymous tutors.[67] Many specify 1.5" between the thumb and the nut.[68] A few give the size of the gap between the hand and the nut; Azaïs specifies 1", and Crouch 0.5", although his illustrations do not confirm this clearly (figure 17).[69]

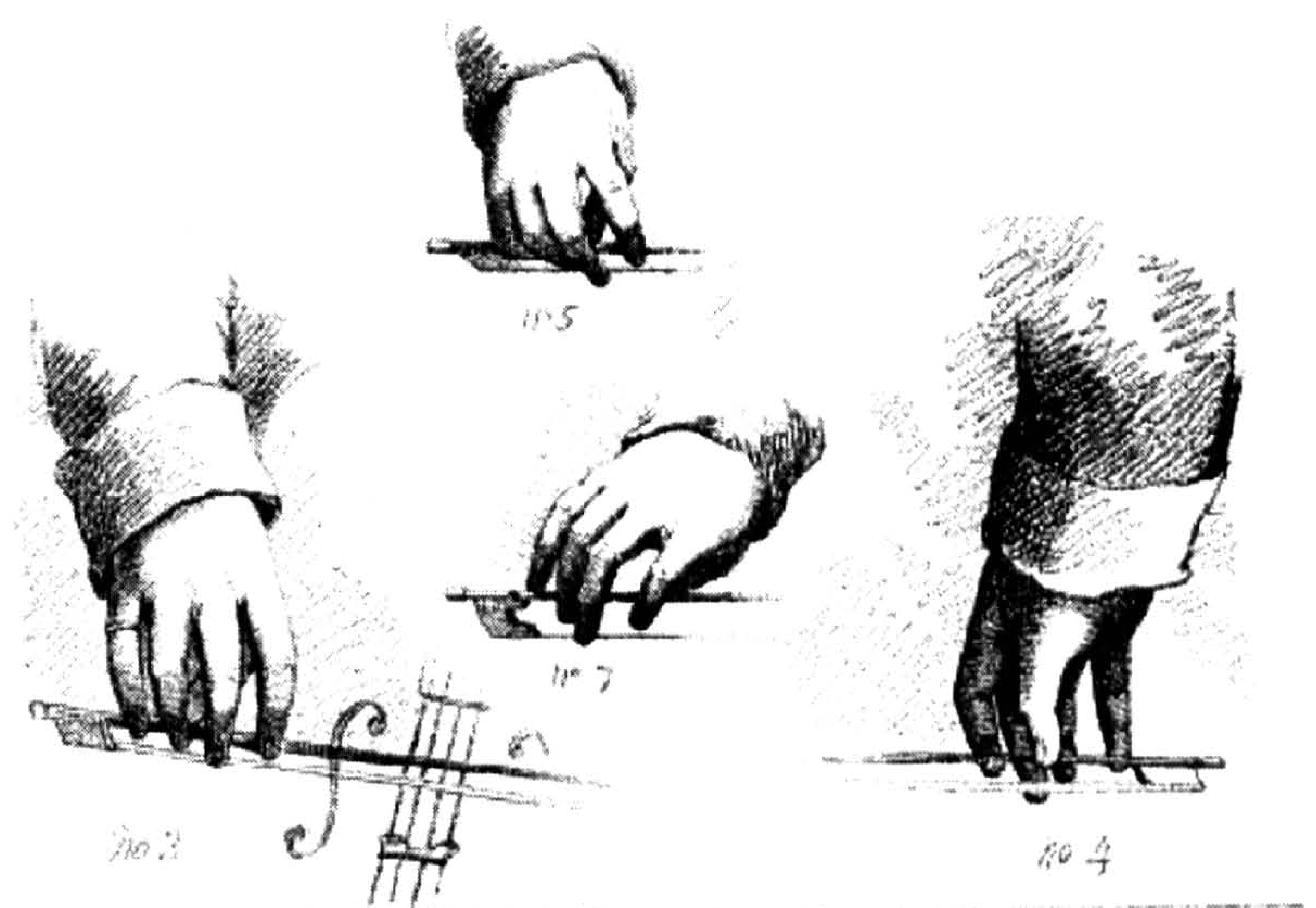

Figure 1/17: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, bow holds

[67] Including *New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: Goulding, [c.1787]), and *New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: Clementi, Banger, Hyde, Collard & Davis, [c. 1805]).
[68] *A New and Complete Tutor* (London: Preston and Son, [1785?]); *New Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: Thomas Cahusac & Sons, [c. 1795]); *Broderip and Wilkinson's Complete Treatise for the Violoncello.* London: the Editors, [c.1800]; Eley, *Improved Method* [1827],
[69] Pierre-Hyacinthe Azaïs, *Méthode de basse* (Paris : the author, [c. 1775]), p. 1; Crouch, *Compleat Ttreatise on the Violoncello* (London: Chappell & Co., [1826]), p. 7, and unpaginated prefaratory illustration.

Dotzauer was the first to specify the bow hold that was to become standard, with the thumb touching the nut with one side of the thumbnail, but in 1825 he was asserting this at a time of wide variation in practice. There is clearly a move from a bow hold some distance from the nut to the modern bow hold, reaching the latter position during the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

This importance of this basic material is twofold. Firstly, it shows that certain patterns of ideas sometimes come together in a general consensus, and sometimes not. Sometimes the majority view changes over time. There are also substantial minority views which never become dominant but which persist nonetheless. It is also important to note occasional 'dissenting' voices, both those who in retrospect seem to be ahead of their time and those who were clearly old-fashioned even at the time of writing. This is particularly clear concerning the use of a tail-pin, by no means mandatory in performance practices as late as the first decade of the twentieth century; even when used, there is much evidence to endorse the older posture as a general model. Secondly, this material has implications for performance practice – or rather, practices. In order to perform a work by Romberg (or one associated with him) in the way that he himself might have done, the cellist will have to acquire an extremely unfamiliar left hand technique, which was never widespread, and of which Romberg was probably the last serious exponent. More generally, if one wishes to play any nineteenth-century music for, or using, the cello, in a 'historically informed' context, then rather than addressing the simple externals of performance such as vibrato, portamento and different types of bowing (considered in later chapters), one should first acquire a physical posture based on a more or less upright instrument, much lower elbows and a virtually inactive upper right arm. This in turn has a considerable effect on tone production – on the actual quality of the basic sound of the instrument.

Robert Lindley's marvellous tone, attested by many accounts, both during his lifetime and posthumously, was largely obtained by his use of particularly thick strings and an unusually heavy bow, unlike many players on the continent.[70]

> The performers on the continent use thinner strings than our own players; and the bridge is generally of *lower* construction; consequently the strings approach nearer the fingerboard, thereby rendering the execution more facile with regard to rapidity. This may in part account for the English player producing a more powerful tone than the foreigners.[71]

> If the tone of Lindley's violoncello playing is to be taken as the proper standard, then Batta [...] must be accused of wanting that richness and fullness of tone which is the characteristic of the violoncello [...] Breadth of tone is produced by mounting the instrument with thick strings, playing with a heavy bow, and with the pressure of Lindley's fingers, which seem made for such resources. Unless born a Hercules, it would be in vain to attempt the pleasing effects of modern violoncello playing with such obstacles [...] If M. Batta be content with the flattery of a limited circle, then he will spurn our advice to use stronger strings [...][72]

However, Lindley was an exception, and it may well be that, with his right thumb opposite RH1, as noted above, his heavy bow and thick strings offered a means of compensating for the enforced weakness of RH1 because of its lack of leverage positioned directly above the fulcrum of the thumb. If the weight of the arm is not used due to the dropped right elbow and passive upper arm, then the position of RH1 relative to the thumb becomes essential for varying volume, and bow holds that put RH1 opposite the thumb effectively remove this as an option. These tend to be the less ambitious tutors intended for the amateur market. The net effect is to minimise the amount of sound that can be produced and also the amount by which it can be varied.

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[70] Lindley's solo appearances were overwhelmingly in chamber music, his own arrangements of Corelli sonatas and trios, or in *obbligati* for small vocal pieces such as Pepusch's cantata *Alexis* or Mozart's 'Batti, batti'. His *Concertante* for two cellos and *Concertante* for violin and cello are apparently the only works with orchestra that he played at the Philharmonic Society. *Concertante* (2 cellos): 23rd February 1824 and 17th April 1826; *Concertante* (violin and cello): 27th April 1829. Myles B. *Foster, The History of the Philharmonic Society of London 1813-1912* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1912), pp. 66, 79, 96.

[71] Anon. review, *MW*, 2 (1837), p. 130.

[72] Anon. review, *MW*, 4 (1839), p. 29.

Amateur cellists working from these tutors would probably, therefore, have played with very little dynamic contrast. This effect is magnified if combined with a low elbow, a virtually immobile upper arm, string crossings done mainly with the wrist, a bow stroke made mostly with the forearm, and the cello held almost vertically. All these factors combine to limit the use of arm weight to obtain pressure on the string, which is, in most of these accounts, achieved through the use of RH1. If they were also combined with a point of contact two inches or more from the bridge, then tone projection and volume would, in terms of modern performance expectations, be severely compromised.

CHAPTER 2:

THE LEFT ARM AND HAND, AND SCALE FINGERINGS

Common ground concerning the shape of the left hand can be summarised thus: fingers curve outwards, the fingertip presses firmly on the string, the thumb pad touches the back of the neck, and the left elbow is low.

Baillot *et al.* and Dotzauer say that the left hand finger pressure should be greater than that of the bow on the string, but several cellists warn about excessive finger pressure and the noise of the finger landing too heavily. Laborde says that the fingers should be rounded:

> [...] in order to attack the string, all the time without force or roughness, which is called 'touch' [*le tact*]. One cannot say too often that this is an essential element for playing the instrument well.[1]

Dotzauer thinks it 'vicieux' to have the fingers too high above the string, and Romberg finds that excessive pressure strains the sinews, so 'that they require whole years of rest before they can again be used for playing'.[2] Although this topic is not often addressed, these sources suggest that the noise of fingers hitting the string was considered unacceptable. Herbert Walenn appears to have taught a 'soft' left hand technique at the turn of the nineteenth century, as four of his pupils continued to teach it well into the twentieth.[3]

The consistent advice to keep the left elbow low is notable. Those tutors that do not mention the shape of the arm at all, concentrating entirely on the hand, probably

[1] '...afin d'attaquer la corde, toutefois sans force ni roideur, ce qui s'appelle *le tact*. On ne saurait trop observer que c'est une partie essentielle pour bien jouer l'instrument'. Jean Benjamin Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (Paris: Enfroy, 1780), p. 310.
[2] Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 97.
[3] These include Valentine Orde, William Pleeth and Michael Edmonds (with all three of whom the writer studied in the 1970s and 80s), and Zara Nelsova, who eventually rejected the 'Russian' approach (high LH fingers and some percussive noise): 'I learned later that this isn't the way to create perfect articulation'. Zara Nelsova, interview with Tim Janof, <http://www.cello.org/Newsletter/Articles/nelsova.htm> [accessed 30th May 2007].

imply that it should stay low, and illustrations support this. Gunn ignores the topic entirely, as does the Paris method, although Crouch, who generally follows the latter closely, keeps the upper arm close to the body.[4] Kummer says that the arm should not be raised.[5] Later writers move slightly from this position. Junod puts the arm 'in an easy position and at some distance from the body', with the left elbow neither raised nor resting against the instrument.[6] Schroeder keeps the upper arm and elbow a little away from the body.[7] Van der Straeten describes the arrangement of the left arm, not in the context of a more or less static position, but one which allows the greatest freedom of movement:

> The upper arm should therefore be kept as steady as possible, so as to allow perfect freedom to the left hand and its movements. To find out the proper position of the left hand and arm, stretch out the latter straight from the shoulder. Then stretch out the fingers [...] and bend the first and second joints, as if for the purpose of scratching. Now, turn the forearm towards you from the elbow joint, and, without altering the relative distance of the fingers, place *their* tips on the A string [...] the left hand standing almost at right angles to the fingerboard. [...] The position of the left arm must of course be modified for comfort's sake; but on no account should the elbow hang quite down, as that would cause the left hand to turn too much sideways [backwards], and when shifting beyond the fourth position, the arm would have to be brought forward [...] If the left hand and arm are placed in the proper manner [...] the latter can shift right up the fingerboard without the least change in position of the upper arm.[8]

The placing of the left thumb is variable. Most tutors recommend that it lies somewhere between LH1 and 2, but a substantial minority (Bideau, Baillot et al., Schetky, Crouch, Romberg and de Swert) put it opposite LH2 or even between LH2 and

[4] Frederick Crouch, *A Compleat Treatise on the Violoncello* (London: Chappell & Co., [1826]), p. 7.
[5] 'Der linke Ellbogen darf nicht gehoben werden'. Friedrich August Kummer, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: Peters, 1839), p. x.
[6] Laurent Junod, trans. F. Clayton, *New and Concise Method* (London: J. A. Lafleur & Son, 1878), p. 3.
[7] Carl Schroeder, trans. J Matthews, *Catechism of Cello Playing* (London: Augener, 1893), p. 22.
[8] Edmund van der Straeten, *Technics of Violoncello Playing* (London: 'The Strad' Office, 1898), pp. 69-71.

3. De Swert, uniquely, tells the cellist to place the thumb round the neck in fourth position so that it touches the ribs of the instrument.[9] Crouch's illustration shows the thumb much further round the neck than most (figure 1).[10]

Figure 2/1: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, position of L thumb

Most tutors recommend keeping the fingers down on the string as much as possible – Eley gives a substantial exercise for this (figure 2).[11] Dotzauer is a little more flexible on this point, saying that in some circumstances one need not keep all the fingers down:

> It is not vitally necessary for the fingers to remain fixed to string in passages such as these: [12]

[9] Jules de Swert, *The Violoncello* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1882), p. 38.
[10] Crouch, ibid., unpaginated plate.
[11] C. F. Eley, *Improved Method for the Violoncello* (London: Clementi & Co., [1827?]), p. 79.
[12] J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle. Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [1825]), p. 5.

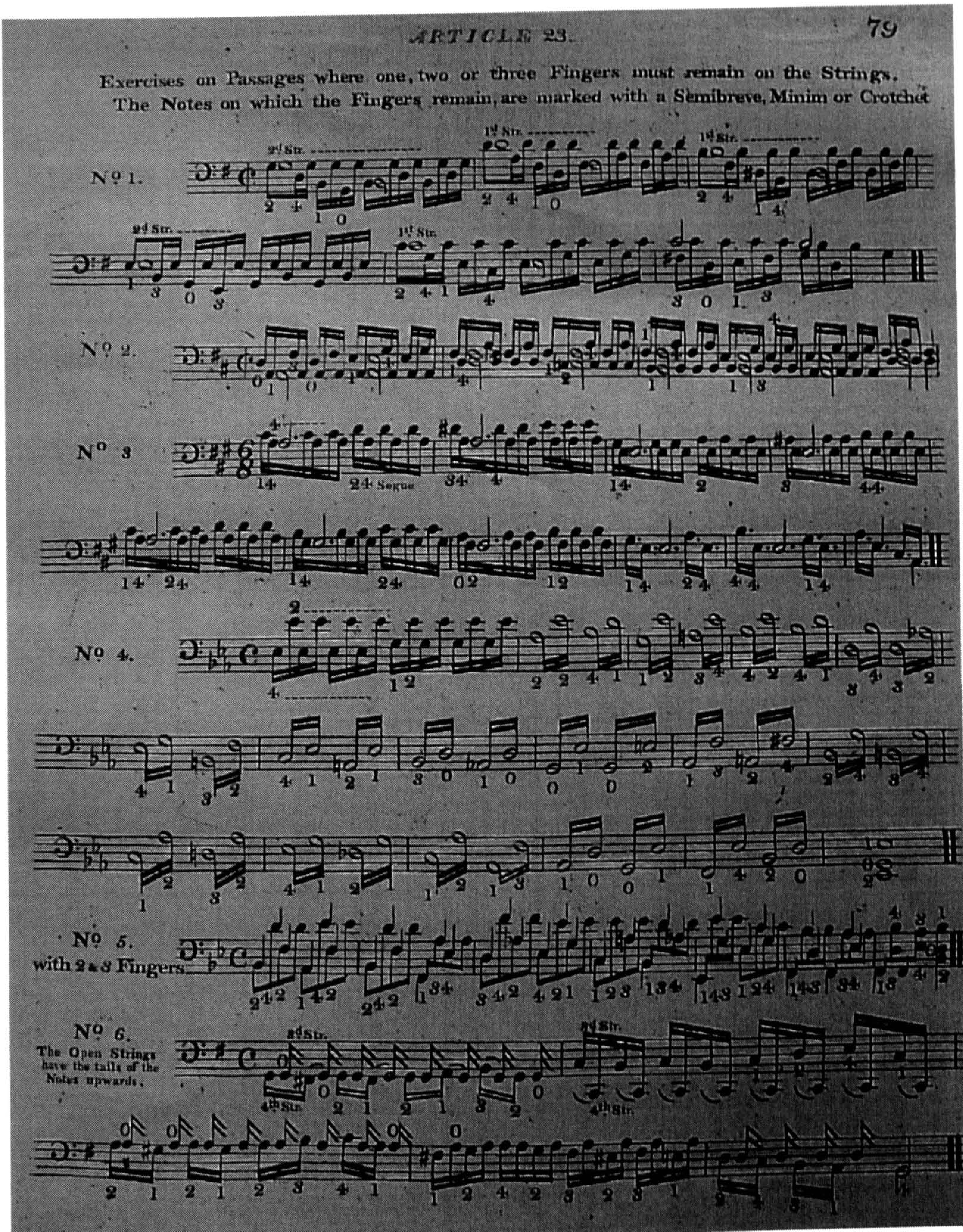

Figure 2/2: Eley, *Improved method*, exercises for keeping LH fingers down

HAND SHAPE: VIOLINISTIC, SQUARE, SLOPED

The most important aspect of the left hand is its basic shape. A few cellists seem to have retained a 'violinistic' left hand, with the fingers slanted backwards at an extremely oblique angle to the fingerboard and the thumb towards the opposite side of

the neck rather than directly beneath it. Romberg is very clear about this in his illustration (figure 3).[13]

Figure 2/3: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, left hand

His left hand leans well back rather than being perpendicular to the fingerboard, and the left elbow is dropped. Romberg gives a uniquely detailed description of this type of left hand:

> The hand should so hold the neck, that the 1st finger should clasp it round, the 2nd should be bent so as to form three sides of a square, the 3rd should be bent half round, and the 4th held straight. The thumb should lie exactly opposite to the 2nd finger [...] The palm of the hand should [...] be kept hollow, nor must the hollow of the thumb be pressed close to the 1st finger. The neck also must remain quite free in the hand [...][14]
>
> The thumb must [...] fall exactly opposite the 2nd finger.The third joint of the first finger ([...] the joint next the hand), should be laid upon the neck of the Violoncello.The fingers should be held at the distance of at least a thumb's breadth above the strings, and all of them curved, except the fourth, which should be held straight, but not further removed from the strings [...]To [play] B on the A string, the 1st finger (still curved) should be pressed down, without disturbing the position of the other fingers ...[15]

Romberg's description of LH1 is quite exceptional, but his illustration reinforces the point. Keeping the lower joint of LH1 in contact with the neck drastically limits its

[13] Romberg, *Violoncellschule,* plate facing p. 6.
[14] Romberg, *Violoncellschule,* p. 7.
[15] Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, p. 10.

movement, and makes even occasional ornamental vibrato very difficult (which may explain why Romberg barely discusses it, limiting it in practice to LH2 – see chapter 3).

Valerie Walden maintains that 'a select group of virtuosos continued to teach and play with [the slanted] hand position', specifying Tricklir (1750-1813), Janson (1742-1803), Romberg (1767-1841) and Vaslin (1794-1889).[16] She does not mention Georg Banger's *Méthode* of 1877, where the highly slanted left hand is also shown, with a very similar illustration to Romberg's but no explanatory text.[17] These players only exist as a group in the sense that they used this hand-shape. Given the relatively early deaths of the first two, the frequently old-fashioned nature of Romberg's treatise, Banger's marginal status and Vaslin's own, highly idiosyncratic approach, Walden somewhat overstates the importance of this 'group'. Vaslin's case is interesting. Like Romberg and Lindley, Vaslin did not set down his teaching ideas on paper until near the end of his life, aged ninety. He enthusiastically promotes the violinistic left hand, which he first adopted it as a teenager during his early years in Paris in 1809 aged fifteen, as a means of compensating for a double-jointed LH3.

> [In the Orchestre des Varietés] I met M. Ropiquet *père*, a modest violinist [...] He was struck by the weakness of my left hand, and he had little trouble in making me understand that the size of this large instrument need not preclude the logical, rational principles of the small one, of the same family [*congénère*]. So I abandoned the position of the thumb relative to the second finger in order to obtain this end, that of fingers which held on to the string. I had at the same time to work on the difficult correction of a third finger whose nature was to flex [...][18]

[16] Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello A History of Technique and Performance Practice 1740-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 100.
[17] Georg Banger, *Méthode pratique de violoncelle Praktische Violoncell-schule* (Offenbach am Main: André, [*HM*1877]). Banger composed several works for the cello (published 1856-81), but is not mentioned in either van der Straeten or Wasielewski, and is not reviewed in any of the more important musical periodicals of the period.
[18] '...j'entrai à 15 ans à l'Orchestre des Varietés. [...] Là je rencontrai Monsieur Ropiquet père, modeste violoniste [...] La défectuosité de ma main gauche le frappe il n'eut pas de peine à me faire comprendre que la dimension du gros instrument n'était pas une raison d'exclure les principes logiques et rationnels du petit, son congénère. Donc j'abandonnai la pose du pouce

Figure 4 shows him using this LH shape, in an illustration dating from shortly after Romberg's death.[19] In this illustration he is not in the act of playing, but he describes how this left hand shape is that by which one takes hold of the instrument:

> It is easy to understand and obtain if one can carefully keep the hand in the position which it takes to grasp the neck at the moment of placing the cello between the legs [...] the thumb goes around the neck and the fingers are found to be arranged curved outwards, offering only the tips to the strings.[20]

Figure 2/4: Emil Lassalle, lithograph portrait of Olive Vaslin, 1842

As Walden notes, John Gunn had already dismissed the slanted left hand in the first edition of his tutor which she cites saying that the modern hand has a 'great

vis-à-vis du second doigt, afin d'obtenir que ce fut le bout, mais bien le bout des doigts qui portât sur la corde. J'eus en même temps à opérer la rectification pénible d'un troisième doigt dont la nature était de fléchir [...]'. Olive Vaslin, *L'art du violoncelle* (Paris: Richault, 1884), p. 1.

[19] Bibliothèque national français, Richelieu Musique fonds estampes Vaslin 001.

[20] ' Ceci est facile à comprendre et à obtenir si l'on veut bien conserver à la main la position qu'elle prend pour saisir le manche au moment de placer le violoncelle entre les jambes [...] le pouce embrasse le manche et les doigts se trouvent tous disposes à se placer en arc-boutants et par conséquent à ne présenter aux cordes que leur extrémité'.Vaslin, ibid., p. 3.

advantage [...] over that formerly in use'.[21] In fact he puts the point even more firmly in the second:

> The position at fig: 18 [see figure 5] formerly much in use, and originating probably from the position of the hand on the Violin, in which it is the best practicable, *is given as a beacon to avoid*; the fingers tending to an oblique direction, as expressed by the dotted lines, cannot be corrected without very long practice... [22]

Gunn's illustration of the violin hold is very similar to Romberg's, especially in the extreme curling of LH1. Something very like this hand shape is seen in Gainsborough's portrait of the Rev. Chafy from 1750-52 (figures 6-7). The player's left thumb is just visible.

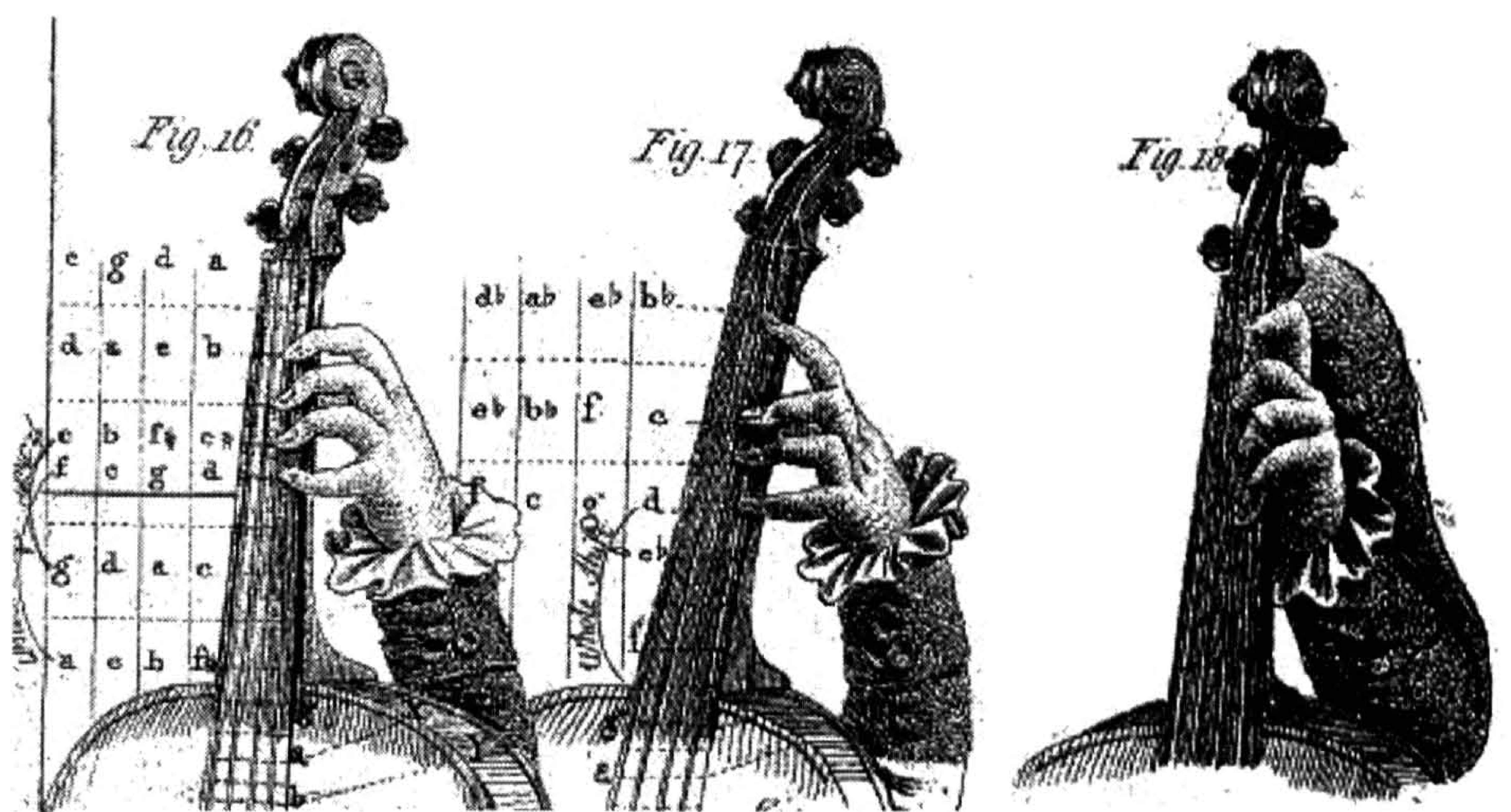

Figure 2/5: Gunn, *Treatise*, LH posture – left to right: closed, extended, and the violin hold

[21] John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: the Author, 1st edn. [1789]), p. 61.
[22] Gunn, *Theory and Practice*, 2nd ed. [1806], p. 6. My italics.

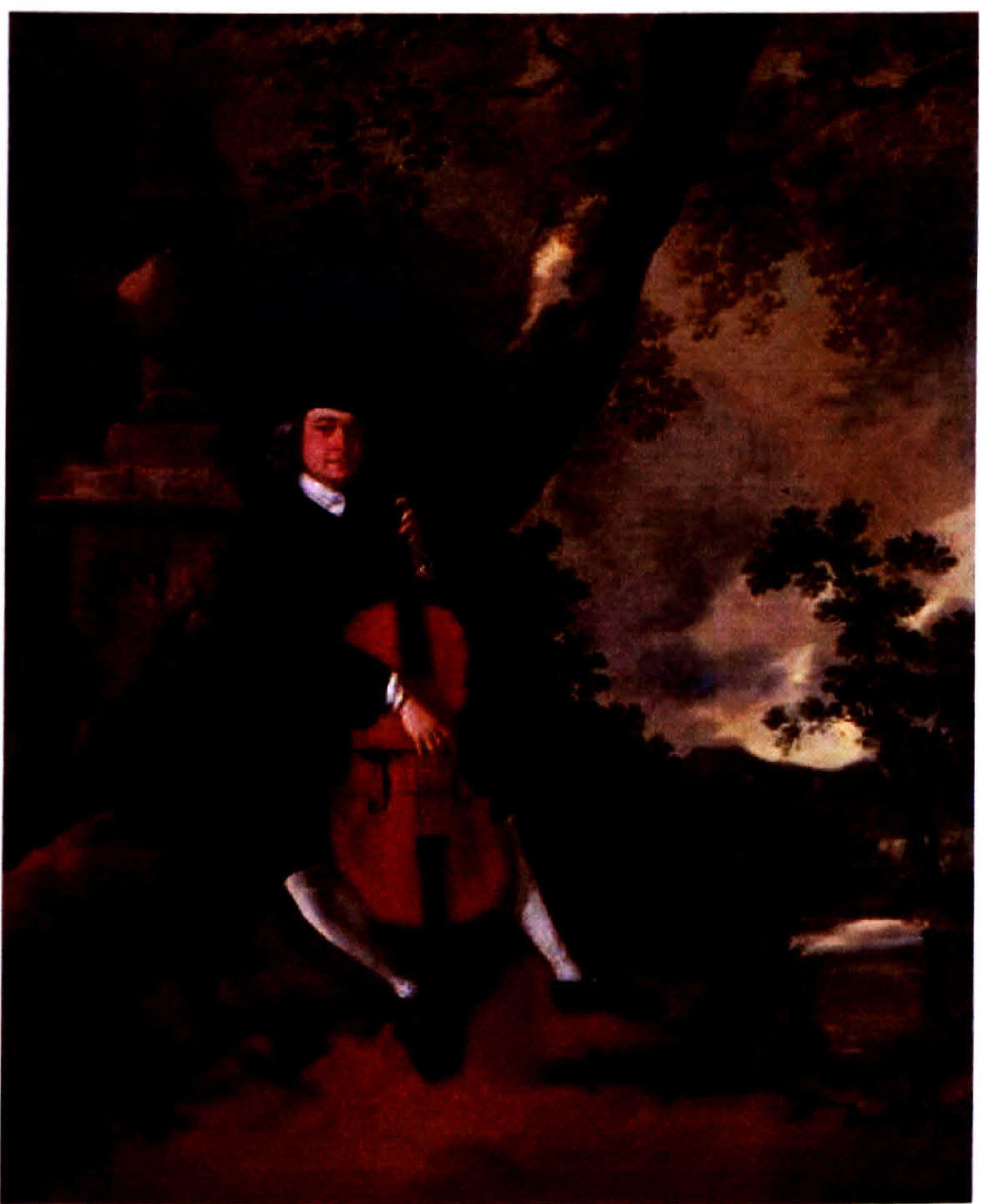

Figure 2/6: Thomas Gainsborough, *The Rev. John Chafy Playing the Violincello in a Landscape* (circa 1750-52), Tate Gallery

Figure 2/7: *The Rev. Chafy*, detail of LH showing thumb

Duport had likewise rejected it:

> By holding the hand faultily we mean the manner and habit of holding the neck of the instrument as is done with the violin, in the palm of the

hand; by this the fingers are shortened, and the stretch from the 1. to the 4. finger [...] will be found almost impossible [...] Those therefore who have adopted this vicious manner, are obliged continually to change the holding of the hand, even while playing one and the same position.[23]

Duport and Kummer each give an example of a passage which cannot be played without moving the hand if it is slanted (figures 8-9).[24]

Figure 2/8: Duport, *Essai*, problem passage with violinistic LH

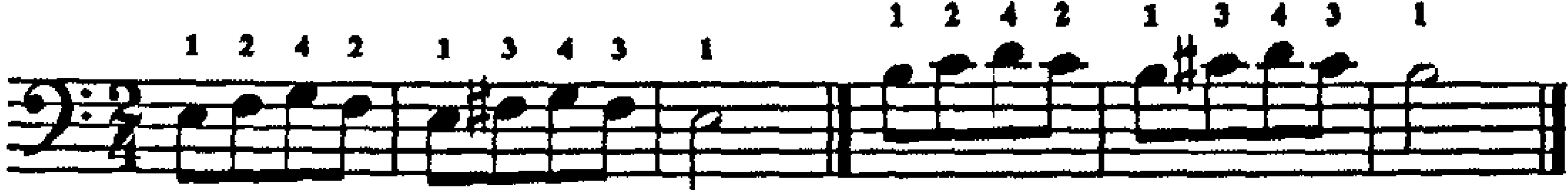

Figure 2/9: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, problem passage with violinistic LH

They each point to different problems (Duport – backward extensions, Kummer – the independence of the fingers, especially LH 2 and 3), but the basic point is the same: the violinistic left hand hampers the freedom of the fingers to move, and forces a constant readjustment of the whole hand.

The modern shape of the left hand is asserted particularly firmly by some, and quite early in this period – Gunn has already been mentioned. According to Bideau it is vital for good tone:

> Execution and accuracy depend on the position of the [left] hand. This point is so essential, that it is necessary to work for a long time before

[23] 'Ce que nous appelons mauvaise position de la main, est d'empoigner le manche comme on fait sur le Violon, cela raccourcit les doigts et rend presque impossible, l'écart du premier au quatrième [...] ce qui fait que les personnes qui jouent avec cette position du main, sont obliges de sauter la main a tout moment, même en jouant la même position ...'. Jean Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté* (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), p. 8. The English translation above, from the later trilingual edition, is much more strongly worded than the original. Duport, trans. August Lindner, *Anleitung zum Fingersatz auf dem Violoncell und zur Bogenführung. Instruction on the fingering and bowing of the violoncello. Essai sur le doigté de violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet* (Offenbach: Jean André, Philadelphia: G André & Co., Frankfurt: G A. André, London: Augener & Co., [*HM*1864]), p. 7.

[24] Duport, *Essai*, p. 8 ; Kummer, *Violoncellschule*, p. x.

> becoming able to place the hand on the instrument. [...] One must put the four fingers on the fingerboard, two inches from the nut, rounding them as much as possible. It is essential in order to produce a good sound to press them firmly on the string, and at the tip. One must then place the thumb behind the neck without holding it, and in the middle, so that it is between the middle and ring fingers.[25]

In his version of Bréval, Peile manages to criticise the violin hold by implication:

> The Learner is then to bring the left hand to the neck of the Instrument, by placing the Thumb without pressure on the back of the Neck, and bend the fingers in an arch like form over the Strings, stretch'd from each other about an Inch, the first joints of which from their points being nearly perpendicular to the strings, *which position must be particularly observed, as any other would be bad,* that is to say, the hand must be square with the fingerboard.[26]

Crouch gives a particularly good illustration (figure 10) of the square left hand, although he combines it with a more violinistic thumb position.[27]

Figure 2/10: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, left hand

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[25] 'De la position de la main dépend l'exécution et la justesse. Cet article est si essentiel, qu'il faut travailler longtems avant que de pouvoir parvenir à fixer la main sur cet instrument. [...] Il faut poser les quatre doigts sur la touche, a la distance de deux pouces du sillet, les arrondir autant qu'il est possible. Il est essentiel pour tirer un beau son de les appuyer fortement sur la corde, et de l'extrémité, il faut placer ensuite le pouce derrière le manche sans le tenir, et au milieu, de sorte qu'il se trouve entre le doigt du milieu et l'annulaire...' Dominique Bideau, *Grande nouvelle méthode* (Paris: Naderman, [c. 1802]), p. 3.

[26] J. B. Bréval, trans. J. Peile, *Bréval's New Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: C. Wheatstone & Co., [1810]), p. 6. Emphasis added.

[27] Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, unpaginated plate.

Significantly, whereas de Swert quotes Romberg's description of posture without a tail-pin and then goes on to say that it is quite out of date (see chapter 1), he omits Romberg's violinistic left hand shape entirely, without comment, simply teaching the square left hand.[28] However, although the violin hold did not last, not everyone advocated a strictly square left hand either. Later in the nineteenth century a third shape appears, somewhere between violinistic and square. Carl Schroeder illustrates it well (figure 11).[29] His left hand is somewhat slanted, but not as much as Romberg's.

Figure 2/11: Schroeder, *Catechism*, left hand

Indeed, Schroeder's fingers look almost vertical (in relation to the floor), as opposed to perpendicular to the fingerboard. This may well be what Junod intends when he says that LH1 should land 'perpendicularly on the string', rather than *to* the string, in other words, vertically.[30] However, Schroeder's left hand attracts a dissenting footnote from the translator Matthews, who himself quotes the cellist Edward Howell at some length:

> Considerably greater variety exists in the manner of holding and the playing the Violoncello than the violin, and the following observations

[28] Bernhard Romberg, rev. Jules de Swert and Heinrich Grünfeld, *Violoncelloschule* (Berlin: E. Bote & G. Bock [1888]), p. 4.
[29] Carl Schroeder, trans. J. Matthews, *Catechism of Violoncello Playing*, p. 21.
[30] Junod, *New Concise Method*, p. 3.

> upon this point by the well known English violoncellist, Mr. Edward Howell, will be read with interest: — "The English (really Duport's) style consists of holding the fingers stretched out over the finger-board in the first position, with every finger over its proper note in the scale of C [*sic* – Howell means semitones]. Under the French system, the fingers are not stretched out at all, but are held sloping back as in playing the violin. The advantage of [the English hold] is obvious. The English method [...] keeps the fingers and hand always in readiness; the fingers have only to be dropped on the note required and with a large amount of certainty. Moreover, a firmer pressure is obtained upon the strings as the flat of the finger is used. Added to this is the certainty and ease with which the hand can be shifted, and an enormous amount of pressure to be gained when using the thumb. The French style of fingering is illustrated by playing with the tip of the finger, each finger being shifted with each note of the scale. The result of this arrangement, which necessitates the bringing forward of the finger for each note, is a loss of power of grip, and a perpetual *glissando* effect. The labour of the performer is increased to a large degree, with results scarcely satisfactory, or even pleasing." If the English method is adopted, the left arm must be held out straighter than as shown in the engraving. *Tr.*[31]

Although confusingly expressed, this interesting comment shows that a sloping left hand was perhaps more widespread than other evidence would suggest, in spite of the valid objections listed. Given that a moderately sloped hand need not necessitate a continual readjustment of the fingers (see Becker below), it may be that Howell's criticisms are directed at a more extremely sloped hand than that, say, of Schroeder himself. Howell (a pupil of Piatti) must have known of Romberg's extreme violinistic hand, since he used Romberg's method, simplified and drastically abridged, as the basis of his own. However, Howell's method omits all reference to the violinistic hand, replacing Romberg's detailed explanation (quoted earlier) with two simple sentences:

> The hand should hold the neck so that the thumb may be exactly opposite to the second finger. The palm of the hand should not be pressed close to the neck, but should be kept hollow.[32]

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[31] Schroeder, trans. Matthews, *Catechism* (1889, trans. 1893), pp. 22-23.
[32] Edward Howell, *First Book for the Violoncello Adapted from Romberg's School* (London: Boosey & Co, [1879]), p. 1.

It is not clear why Howell should call the violin hold 'French', as there is no evidence for this in French cello methods, apart from the special case of Olive Vaslin. Indeed, Duport, whom Howell sees as the founder of the 'English' hold, advocated playing as close to the fingernail as possible, and not, as Howell would have it, with 'the flat of the finger'. The translator's own addition concerning the different angle of the left arm if using the square hand exemplifies a trend towards holding the arm further away from the body, discussed below.

Alexanian, who also supplies exercises to train the spacing of the fingers, gives a much more detailed version of the slightly sloped left hand (figure 12).[33] His photograph of the left hand in half position shows this quite well (bearing in mind that he had unusually large hands).

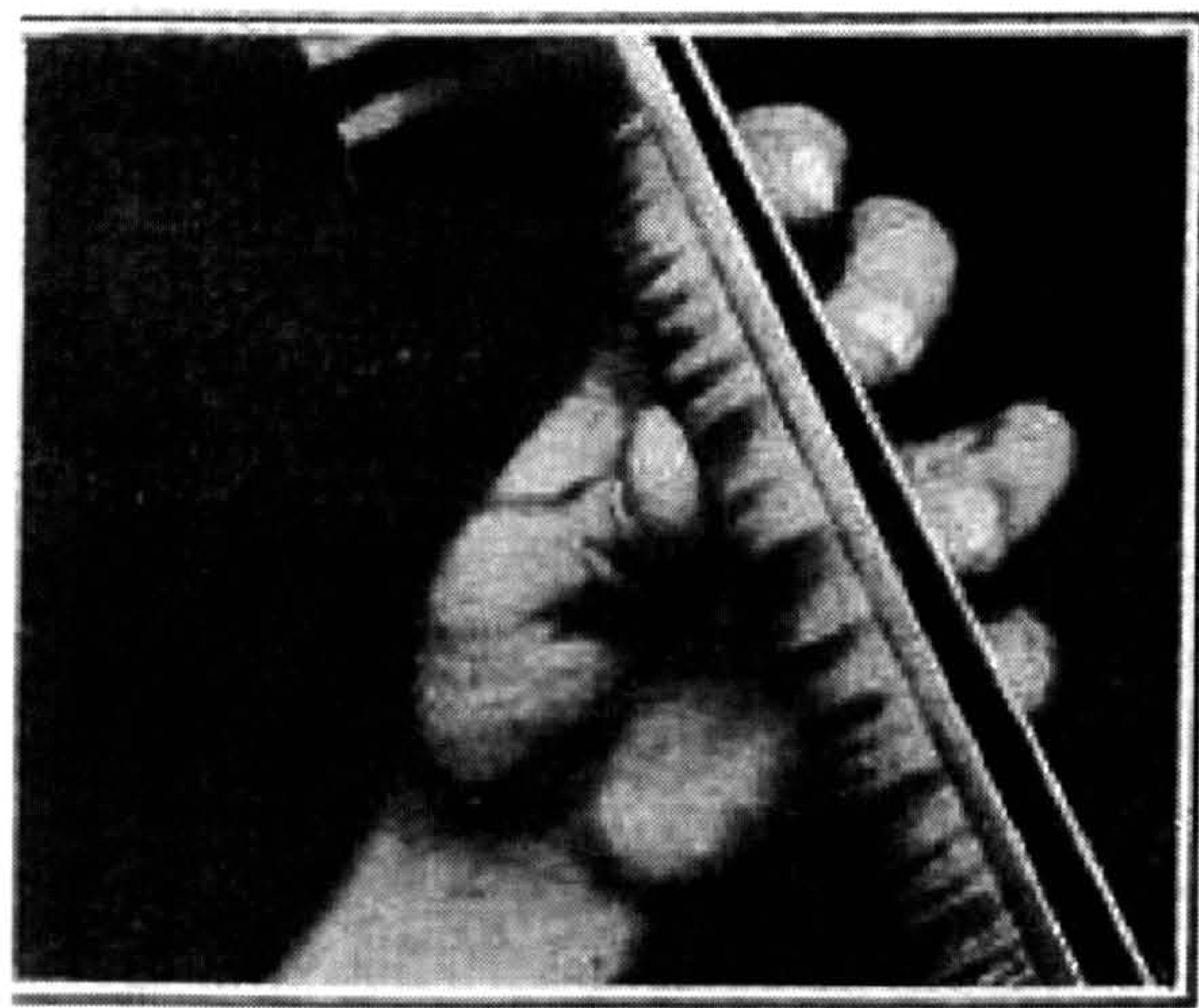
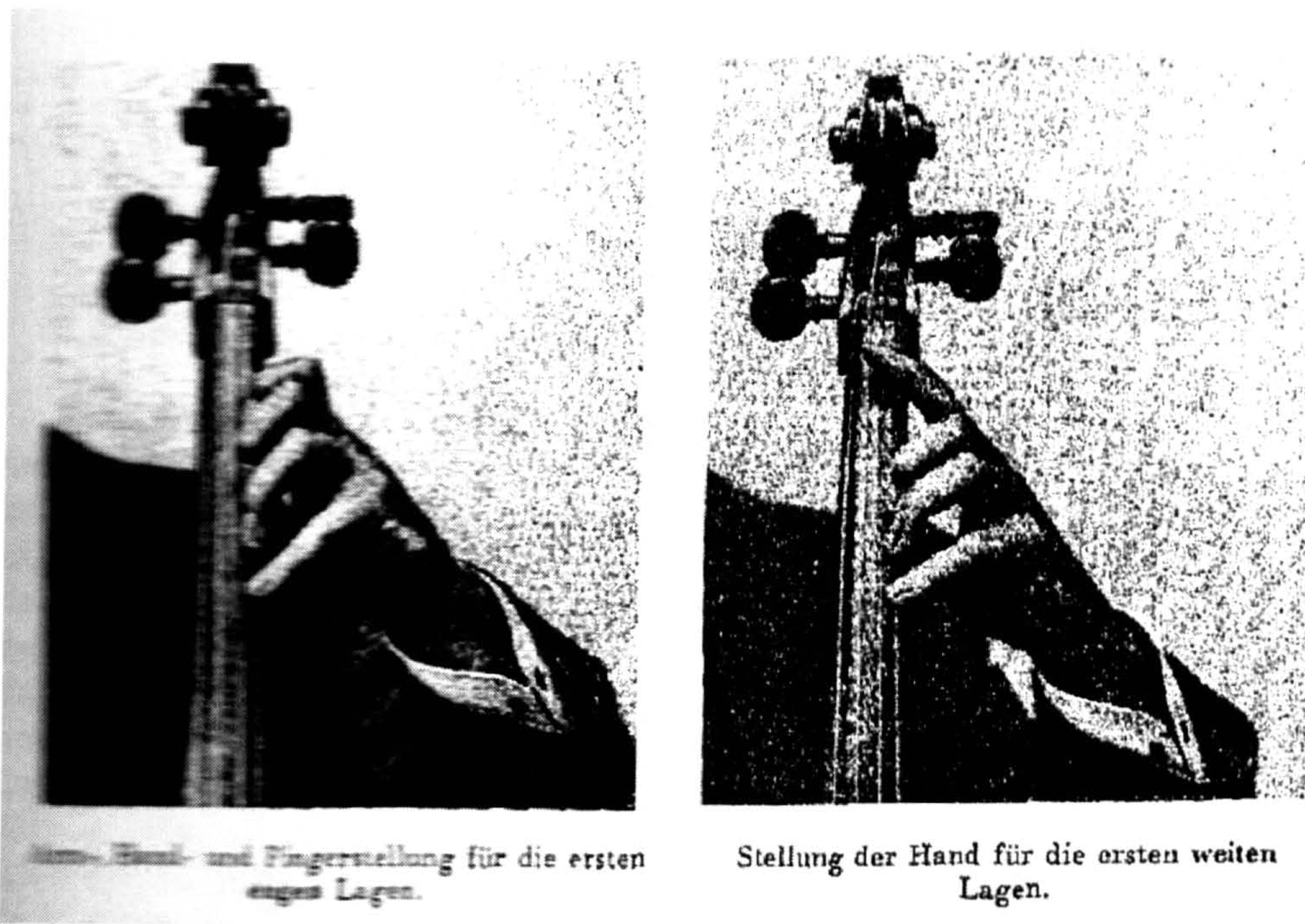


Figure 2/12: Alexanian, *Traité*, LH view

The additional photographs supplied by Becker for his revision of Kummer's method also show this sloped hand clearly, although as with Alexanian it would seem that Becker had large hands and in particular a long LH4 (figure 13).[34]

[33] Dinan Alexanian, *Traité théoretique et pratique du violoncelle* (Paris: A. Z. Mathot, 1922), p. 25.

[34] Friedrich August Kummer, rev. H. Becker, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1909), p. Vb.



für die ersten Lagen.

Stellung der Hand für die ersten weiten Lagen.

Figure 2/13: Kummer rev. Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, photograph of LH in 1st pos., closed (L) and extended (R)

Becker wrote about this hand shape as well:

> It should be noted that the thumb should exert an opposing pressure (Kummer speaks of a "fulcrum") in a diagonal direction; more specifically: with the fingering on the A and D strings the thumb lies more on the inner part of the neck (thus, under the covered strings); with the fingering on the G and C strings, however, more to the outside. The hand is correctly positioned if the channel created by the finger placement runs across (not parallel, but in a sharp angle to the nails) the fingertips. The 1st joint of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd fingers remains almost vertical on the string. The 4th finger, however, is more extended, due to its shortness. With the fingerings in extended positions (two consecutive whole tones) only the 2nd finger is curved; the two others are extended. As a general rule, one can say that the finger position, wherever practicable, should be curved; but where a longer reach is required, extended. To achieve proper position of the left arm the elbow should be held far enough from the body so that the upper arm creates an angle of 45 degrees with the torso, and the forearm is a direct continuation of the back of the hand. The wrist, consequently, should be neither raised nor lowered.[35]

[35] 'Hierzu ist zu bemerken, daß der Daumen den Gegendruck (Kummer spricht von Stützpunkt) in diagonaler Richtung ausüben soll; besser: Bei den Griffen auf a- un D-saite lege man den Daumen mehr an der inneren Teil des Halses (also unter die besponnenen Seiten), bei Behandlung von G- und C-Seite hingegen mehr an den äußeren. Steht die Hand rightig, so läuft

Becker shows here that the partly sloped hand need not involve continual readjustment for passages requiring extensions, in the way that the extreme 'violinistic' hand did. Given the size of his LH4, his comment about straightening it because of its shortness is somewhat disingenuous.[36] Nonetheless, the importance of this passage lies in the fact that Becker does *not* advocate a *square* hand (even for cellists with smaller hands). All those cellists who recommend a moderately sloped left hand place the thumb centrally behind the neck.

Several short Pathé newsreel films from the late 1920s/early 1930s also show cellists using a sloped hand.[37] This hand shape was advocated in modern times by William Pleeth, among others (figure 14) who explicitly related it to that of the violin (as being a good thing).[38] He criticised the square hand as making LH4 becoming 'bandy-legged in order to reach the fingerboard'.[39] The evidence is clear that the square hand was the most widely advocated throughout the nineteenth century, but that towards

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die durch das Aufdrücken der Finger entstehende Rinne quer (nicht parallel, sondern in einem spitzen Winkel zu den Nägeln) über die Fingerspitzen. Das erste Glied des ersten, zweiten und dritten Fingers steht dabei fast senkrecht auf der Saite. Der vierte Finger hingegen wird, seiner Kürze halber, mehr gestreckt. [...] Bei Griffen in weiten Stellungen (zwei aufeinanderfolgende ganze Töne) [...] wird nur der zweite Finger rund aufgesetz; die beiden anderen sind auszustrecken. Dies bezieht sich jedoch nur auf die unteren Positionen. Als allgemeine Regel mag dienen, die Finger, wo immer angägig, rund aufsetzen, wo großere Spannungen zu bewältigen sind, aber auszustrecken. [...] Um eine günstige Stellung des linken Armes zu erreichen, halte man den Ellbogen so weit vom Körper entfernt, daß der Oberarm yum Oberkörper einen Winkel von etwa 45° und der Vorderarm die Fortsetyung des Handrückens in gerarder Richtung bildet. Das Handgelenk darf also weder gehoben noch gesenkt werden.' F. A. Kummer, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, p. x.

[36] Something similar could be said of the illustrations in Maurice Eisenberg's *Cello Playing of Today* (London: Novello, 1959), p. 14-15.

[37] Pathé newsreels:

No. 3254:12 (1929-1930): a short musical item, un-named soprano performing 'Marie' with an un-named pianist and a cellist named Samchtini (probably the Dutch cellist Joachim Samchtini, 1889-1942) who is shown in close-up.

No. 1612:23 (10th August 1933): the tenor Frank Titterton singing 'Once in a blue moon' with the Esmond Trio (three women, un-named).

No. 1163:05 (20th August 1934): the 'Celebrity Trio' (piano - Reginald King, violin - Alfredo Campoli, cello - Otto Fagotti[?]) in 'A Song of Paradise'.

All Pathé newsreels at < http://www.britishpathe.com> [accessed 11th April 2007].

[38] William Pleeth, *Cello* (London: Macdonald & Co, 1982), p. 160.

[39] Ibid., p. 159.

the end of this period and continuing into the first decades of the twentieth century there was interest in a sloped hand that has persisted to modern times.

Figure 2/14: Pleeth, *Cello*, sloped LH

LEFT ARM SHAPE

Whereas the left hand was employed in a shape (or shapes) still recognisable today, the left arm, rather like the bowing arm, was generally lower.

Many tutors ignore the left arm altogether, concentrating entirely on the placing of the fingers. This is true of basic methods such as Crome's (though his frontispiece shows a cellist playing with a dropped left elbow) and most of the anonymous ones, but it applies to Duport and Lindley as well. Some illustrations are quite clear, such as Bréval's (see chapter 1, figure 2), with a dropped left shoulder and elbow and a smooth wrist, and of Romberg's similar picture. In general, earlier in this period players recommend the low left-elbow position. Reinagle puts the ball of the left hand close to the neck, which effectively lowers the arm, Crouch says the upper arm should be close

to the body, and Kummer is quite firm: 'The left elbow must not be raised'.[40] However, later cellists raise the left arm more. Schroeder places the upper arm away from the body and not touching it, with a wrist slightly curved outwards (more so on the C string); Rabaud says it should be neither raised nor rested against the cello, and kept some distance from the body, and Becker indirectly contradicts Kummer:

> To achieve a proper placing of the left arm the elbow should be held far enough from the body so that the upper arm creates an angle of 45 degrees with the torso, and the forearm is a direct continuation of the back of the hand. The wrist, consequently, should be neither raised nor lowered.[41]

In this context, the Paris Conservatoire method's advice that the arm should be neither too high nor too low, reasonable as it sounds, is unusual for its time. Becker's version was to become the standard. Schroeder's outwardly curved wrist looks like an element of an older playing style when compared with Becker's forearm continuing in the same line as the back of the hand. In this context, Casals's account of his early tuition (in 1888, at the age of 12) at the Municipal School of Music in Barcelona may reflect an unusually rigid approach:

> We were taught to play with a stiff arm and obliged to keep a book under the armpit![42]

No cellist in the nineteenth century advocated a stiff arm, even if there was a general view that the left elbow should be kept low, so Casals's un-named Barcelona teacher may have adopted an extreme version of this posture. Keeping a book under the armpit has strong connotations of exercises in deportment, which raises questions of posture,

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[40] 'Der linke Ellbogen darf nicht gehoben werden.' Kummer, rev. Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, p. x.

[41] 'Um eine gunstige Stellung des linken Armes zu erreichen, halte man den Ellbogen so weit vom Korper entfernt, dass der Overarm zum Oberkorper einen Winkel von etwa 45° und der Vorderarm die Fortsetzung des Handruckens in gerarder Richtung bildet. Das Handgelenk darf also weder gehobennoch gesnkt werden.' Ibid.

[42] J. M. Corredor, trans. André Mangeot, *Conversations with Casals* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), p. 25.

better pursued in the wider context of the 'character' of the cello and aspects of its social context, which will be examined in chapter 7.

SCALE FINGERINGS

The study of scales is a universal feature of instrumental tutors in general. While different cello methods go about the teaching scales in different ways, the fundamental issue of fingering is one which all have to address. From the later nineteenth century onwards, there is consensus on this subject, which arose from a perceived need for some sort of systematic approach. Some cello methods appear quite inconsistent, fingering each scale in a more or less *ad hoc* manner, whereas others look for a recurring pattern. The most important issue is that of shifting. The only two-octave major scales playable on the cello entirely in first position are C and D. Even C minor requires a shift on the D string, and D minor requires either a problematic extension on the G string or a shift to fourth position on the C string. It is in this respect that a systematic approach to shifting is most useful.

The fingerings recommended to cellists from Crome's *Compleat Tutor* (1765) until approximately 1840, the date of Romberg's *Violoncellschule*, are surprisingly varied.[43] From the mid-nineteenth century until the present day, standardised fingerings have been in use for diatonic and chromatic scales. In some specific contexts, other fingerings can be required depending on the particular problems involved, but the standard fingering is the default option. The development of what are now 'normal' fingerings shows how persistent certain habits of thought could be. Indeed, the very concept of a 'default' fingering has little validity prior to c.1850.

Fingerings proposed much earlier in the eighteenth century had a surprisingly long life. In particular, Michel Corrette's scale fingerings (figures 15-16), repeated by

[43] Robert Crome, *The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1765?]).

Robert Crome and subsequently copied in later cello tutors, persisted into the early years of the nineteenth century.[44]

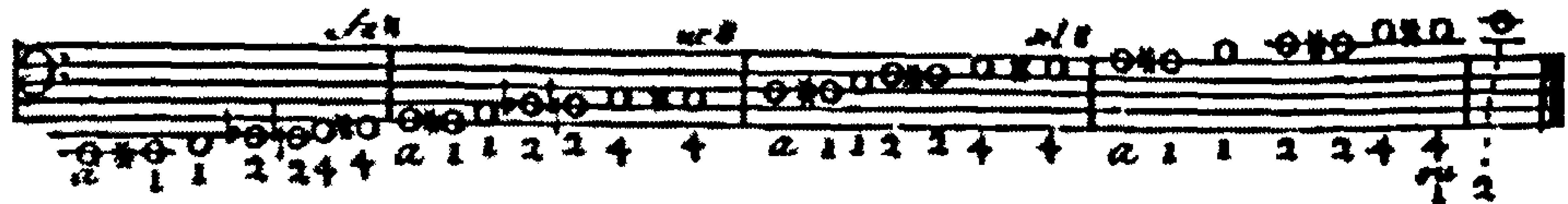

Figure 2/15: Corrette, *Méthode*, chromatic scale fingering

Figure 2/16: Corrette, *Méthode*, fingering scheme by fifths

Crome repeats Corrette's scale fingerings exactly.[45] Both use semitones played with LH2 and 4 (marked + in Crome's 'Gamut'), that is, with LH3 in between them but not lying on a note, and not used in low positions (figure 17).

Figure 2/17: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, C major scale

Like Corrette, his chromatic scale also avoids using LH3 (figure 18).[46]

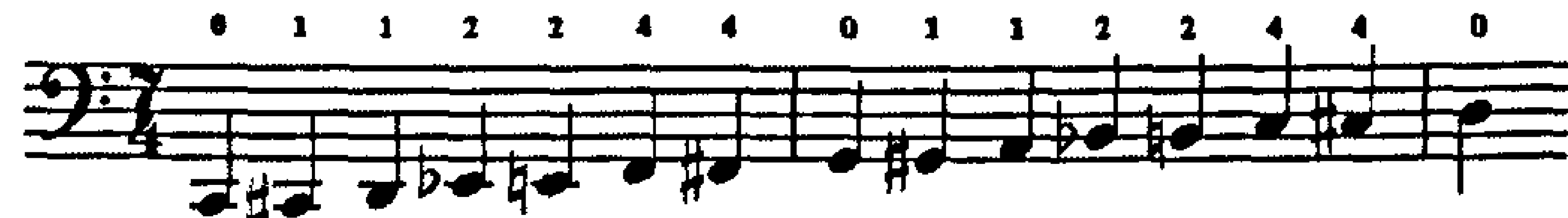

Figure 2/18: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, chromatic scale

Corrette does not explain why LH3 is not used in low positions, but Crome does: 'the distance is great and the Finger shorter'.[47] Crome is writing with reference to the standard violin fingering 0123 – he uses LH4 as an alternative to LH3. It is in this

[44] Michel Corrette, *Méthode théoretique et pratique* (Paris: Mlle. Castagnery, [1741]), p. 21 (figure 15) and p. 18 (figure 16).
[45] Crome, ibid., p. 2.
[46] Crome, ibid., p. 6.
[47] Crome, ibid., p. 2.

context that the third finger is, he argues, unsuitable for the cello. He does use the third finger in the course of an octave of a scale on one string, in fourth position, although paradoxically this fingering is actually more problematic than using the third finger in first position (figure 19).[48] Corrette also does this when he explains fingering in higher positions, but he advises against using the fourth finger there. However he does advocate using the second and third fingers a whole tone apart even in third position, which is less feasible than Crome's fourth position example.[49]

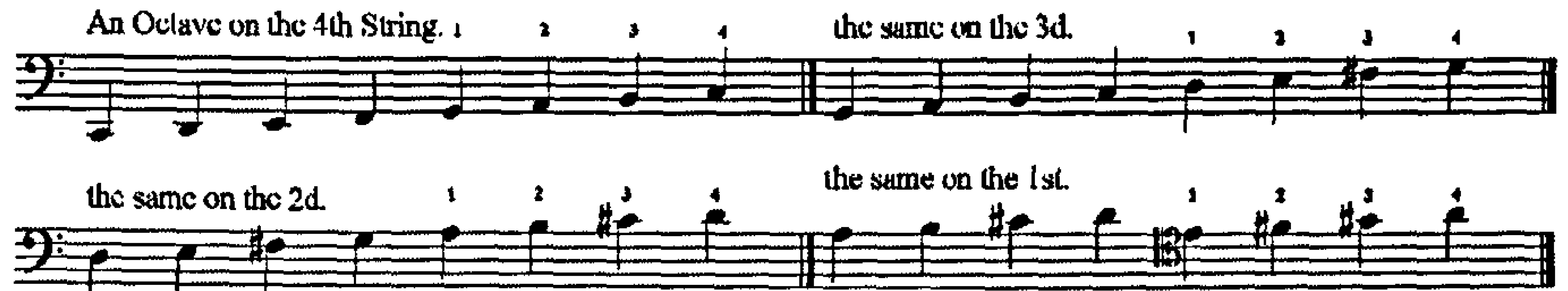

Figure 2/19: Crome, *Compleat Tutor*, scales on one string

Corrette does offer an alternative, chromatic fingering with all four fingers taking adjacent semitones.[50] However, he points out that violinists who play the cello will find this fingering difficult, and that they should use the other fingering. He also identifies the chromatic left hand with the bass viol, and is at pains to state the superiority of the cello, adding that the chromatic fingering is useful for string crossing in augmented fourths with the 2nd and 3rd fingers. However, he calls it 'this false position [...] a gothic relic of the bass violins [...] which are excluded from the Opéra and from all foreign countries'.[51]

There is a further possible explanation for the Corrette fingering in terms of tuning systems. In mean-tone temperament, with 'sharp' minor thirds, 'flat' major thirds, and 'narrow' fifths, LH2 and 3 become noticeably closer together, and LH4

[48] Crome, ibid., p. 18.
[49] Crome, ibid., p. 2.
[50] Corrette, *Méthode*, p. 42.
[51] '[...] cette fausse position [...] un reste gotique des grosses Basses de violon [...] qui sont excluës de l'Opéra et de tous pays Etrangers'. Ibid., p. 43.

sharper, than in equal temperament. This bunching of LH2 and 3 is also a natural physiological tendency. While it must be resisted when playing in equal temperament (and there have been many exercises designed to this end), in mean-tone tuning the positioning of the notes matches this natural tendency much more closely. However, this does not explain the continued currency of the Corrette fingering through the rest of the century.

Crome's teaching, generally very close to Corrette, was borrowed extensively by several later English tutors. Parts of his *Compleat Tutor* reappear in Goulding's *New and Complete Instructions* c. 1787. Crome was published originally by C. and S. Thompson, so it is unsurprising that *Thompson's New Instructions for the Violoncello*, c.1800, is revised version of Crome, retaining many of his characteristic turns of phrase, cutting some passages and adding new ones. Crome is also clearly a source for Clementi's *New and Complete Instructions for the Violoncello* (c. 1805), though the latter also addresses topics not found in Crome. Crome's chromatic scale reappears exactly in both Goulding and Clementi.

Crome limits scales to C major and a chromatic scale, but later cello tutors quickly added more. The table below shows that it was to be some time before cellists were shown fingerings for all diatonic scales. There is a general tendency to limit scales to keys with no more than three or four sharps or flats in the key signature, especially in the smaller anonymous cello methods such as those published by Preston, Goulding or Cahusac. Surprisingly, for what is quite a basic tutor, Goulding gives major scales in four octaves. Hardy's range of scales is unusually limited at this time. Several of these tutors begin and end their scales on notes other than the tonic, which may seem unremarkable but nonetheless becomes very much less common in later methods. Reinagle gives all major and minor scales but only in two octaves. Giving all the scales

only becomes more common from the 1820s.[52] When a more limited range is offered, it is sometimes out of sympathy with the pupil. After showing the fingering for E major, Romberg observes that:

> It would be wrong to torment the beginner with scales that have more than four sharps. He will have enough difficulty with those preceding.[53]

Sebastian Lee says that

> These studies do not go beyond four sharps or flats, in order not to tire the pupil.[54]

However, when Hugo Becker revised this method, he added that while he understood Lee's point of view, nonetheless

> [...] in the editor's opinion, the pupil should, however, know the diatonic scales in all keys [...] for that reason he appends the missing scales.[55]

Not only does Becker add the missing scales, he also gives some enharmonic equivalents such as D# minor and G♭ major. Similarly, Robert Lindley gives only a limited range of scales, fingered 'from the admirable "Méthode" of Duport', adding reassuringly that:

> There are many more Gamuts, or Scales, both major and minor, than are given in this little work, but the pupil will not miss anything that is essential to his practice during a long and industrious period.[56]

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[52] Eley and Kummer omit C♭ and C# major and their relative minors, but there is no technical difference from their enharmonic equivalents. The acoustic distinction between enharmonic pitches ceases to be a topic in these tutors after the turn of the century, so Crouch is unusual in this respect.
[53] 'Es wäre unrecht wenn man der Schüler im Anfänge mit den Tonleitern, die mehr als vier Kreuze haben, belästigen wollte; ist dieses hier gegebene doch beinahe schon zu viel.' Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, p. 26.
[54] 'Les études ne vont pas au de là de quatre dièzes et quart bémols, pour ne fatiguer l'élève.' Sebastian Lee, *Méthode* (Mainz: B. Schott et fils, [*HM*1846]) p. 33.
[55] Sebastian Lee, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncello Tecnics* op. 30 (Mainz: B Schott's Söhne [1900-1903]), p. 29.
[56] Robert Lindley, *Hand-book for the Violoncello* (London: Musical Bouquet Office, [1851-1855]), p.9.

Table 2: Scales in cello methods c.1765-c.1851. All are given in 2 octaves unless indicated otherwise.

1765 Crome	Major: C Minor: none
1785 Anon, pub. Preston	Major: to E and E♭ Minor: none
1787 Anon, pub. Goulding	Major: to E and E♭ (3 octs.) Minor: A
1789 Gunn (1st. ed.)	ALL (some 3 octs.)
1795 Anon., pub. Cahusac	Major: to E and E♭ Minor: to F# and C
1800 Reinagle	ALL
1804 Baillot *et al.*	Major: to B and D♭ Minor: all relatives
1806 Hardy	Major: to B and A♭ Minor: A
1806 Duport	ALL (some 3 octs.)
1810 Bréval/Peile	Major: to E and D♭ Minor: all relatives
1815 Gunn (2nd. ed.)	ALL (some 3 octs.)
1819 Peile	Major: to A and E♭ (3 octs.) Minor: all relatives
1820 Muntzberger	Major: to A and E♭ Minor: to B and F
1824 Dotzauer	ALL (3 octs.)
1826 Baudiot	Major: to B and D♭ Minor: all relatives
1827 Crouch	ALL (inc. enharmonic G#, D#, A# minor)
1827 Eley	ALL
1839 Kummer	ALL
1840 Romberg	Major: to E and A♭ Minor: all relatives (no. of octs. varies – some 1 1/2 , some 2)
1850 Lee	Major: to E and Ab Minor: all relatives
1851-5 Lindley	Major: to E and A♭ Minor: to G and F#

The emergence of standardised scale fingerings in the early nineteenth century was slow. As figure 20 shows, there was no consistent approach to scales which did not use open strings:

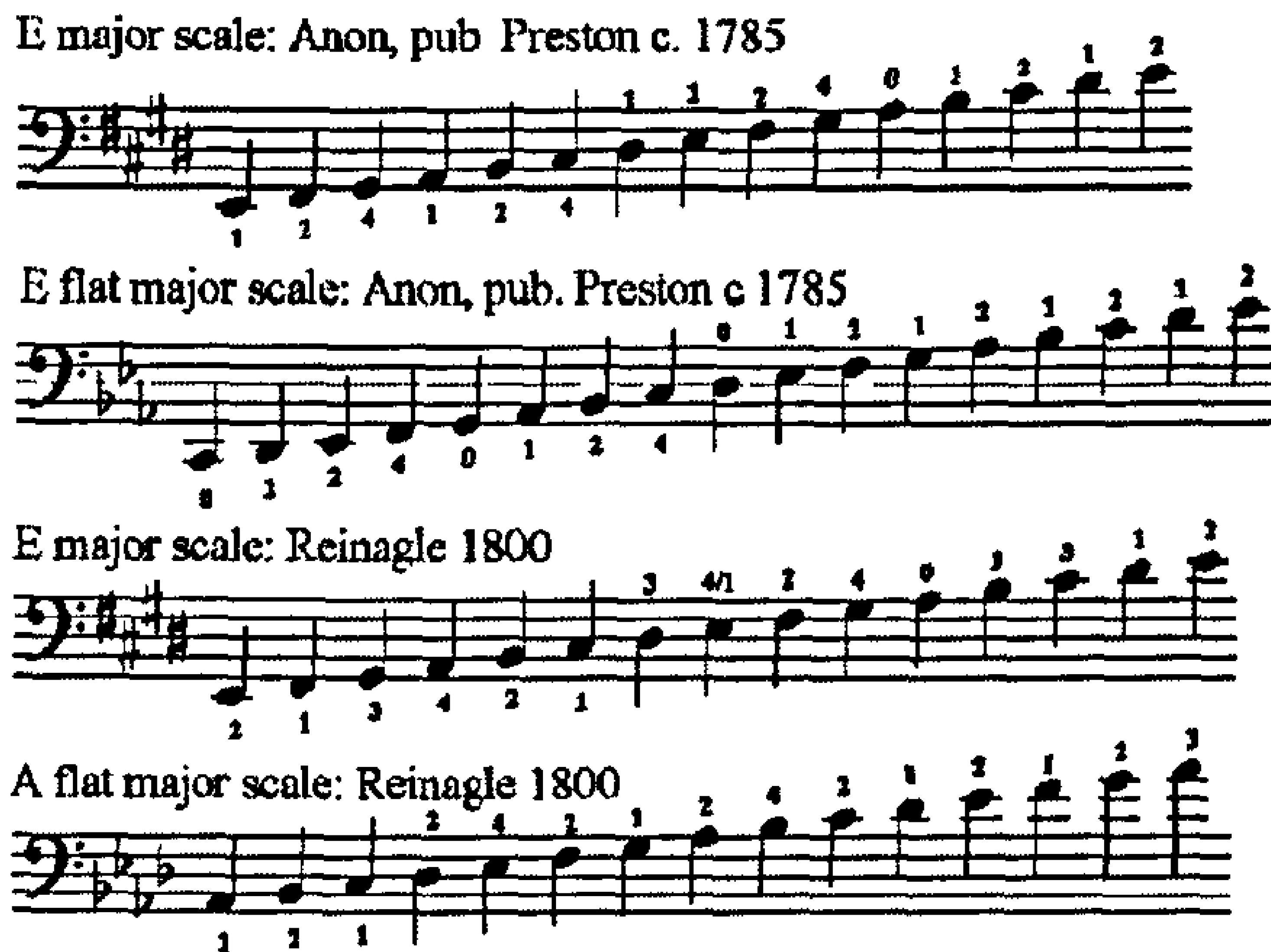

Figure 2/20: 'Non-standard' scale fingerings[57]

John Gunn is the first English cellist to give worked-out fingerings for all scales, based on a simple underlying principle: all scales can be played in groups of three fingered notes. It follows from this that the difficulty of a scale is not related to the number of sharps or flats in the key-signature:

> [...] two octaves in the key of C# show that notwithstanding its seven sharps, it may be taken with as great facility by means of this analysis as any other key.[58]

From Gunn's point of view, 'the four open strings are an exception, and the only one, to general rules of fingering'.[59] These fingerings are given in the 1789 edition of Gunn's *Treatise*, with some additional explanation in the second edition of 1815. Gunn therefore anticipated Duport's *Essai* in this respect by some seventeen years. He was one of the first cellists to seek to clarify a fingering system through analysis based on natural laws, beginning with minutely detailed acoustic explanation of the distribution of notes on the fingerboard:

[57] The E flat scale is given as such in the Preston method, although it starts on C.
[58] Gunn, [1806], p. 32.
[59] Gunn, ibid., p. 36.

> [...] to show that the principles upon which the following system of fingering proceeds, are founded in immutable laws of nature; and, with these for our guide, we do not despair of conducting the learner, with ease and satisfaction, through the whole of this hitherto unexplored labyrinth; and of evincing to him, that what has been deemed complex and intricate, is in reality simple and plain.[60]

The analytic breakthrough that produced ergonomically-based finger-patterns, independent of apparent 'musical' structures, was crucial to the development of cello technique, but this intellectual advance was not recognised at the time. A 1793 review of a reissue of his treatise was sceptical of his approach and ignored his scales:

> [...] we are ready to allow that the scientific part of this work is well executed, and that there are few elementary tracts so replete with science, expressed in such clear and accurate language. We are only doubtful whether the mixture of mathematical theorems with practical precepts will smooth or shorten an incipient musician's road to excellence in the first stages of his progress. We have compared these directions with [Lanzetti and Tillière] and we find no other difference than that Mr. G.'s work is more copious [...][61]

Though the Gunn/Duport fingering eventually became the standard one, other cellists were also working towards systematic fingerings. Some of these persisted well into the nineteenth century, even though many were impractical, particularly at speed. Thus, nearly thirty years after Duport (let alone Gunn), Crouch is still proposing tetrachordal scale fingerings based on the pattern 1134 (figure 21).[62] These fingerings mean that the left hand stays in lower positions, with shorter, but more frequent, shifts between neighbouring positions.

Figure 2/21: Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, C# major scale fingering

[60] Gunn, *Theory and Practice* [1789], p. 43. Gunn's position in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment is a subject still awaiting research. The differences between Gunn and Lanzetti or Tillière are far greater than the reviewer suggests.
[61] Anon., *The Monthly Review, or Literary Journal, Enlarged*, 12 (1793), p. 326.
[62] Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, p. 20.

Several tutors encouraged a flexible approach, sometimes offering three or four alternatives. Bréval is particularly good at this (figure 22).[63]

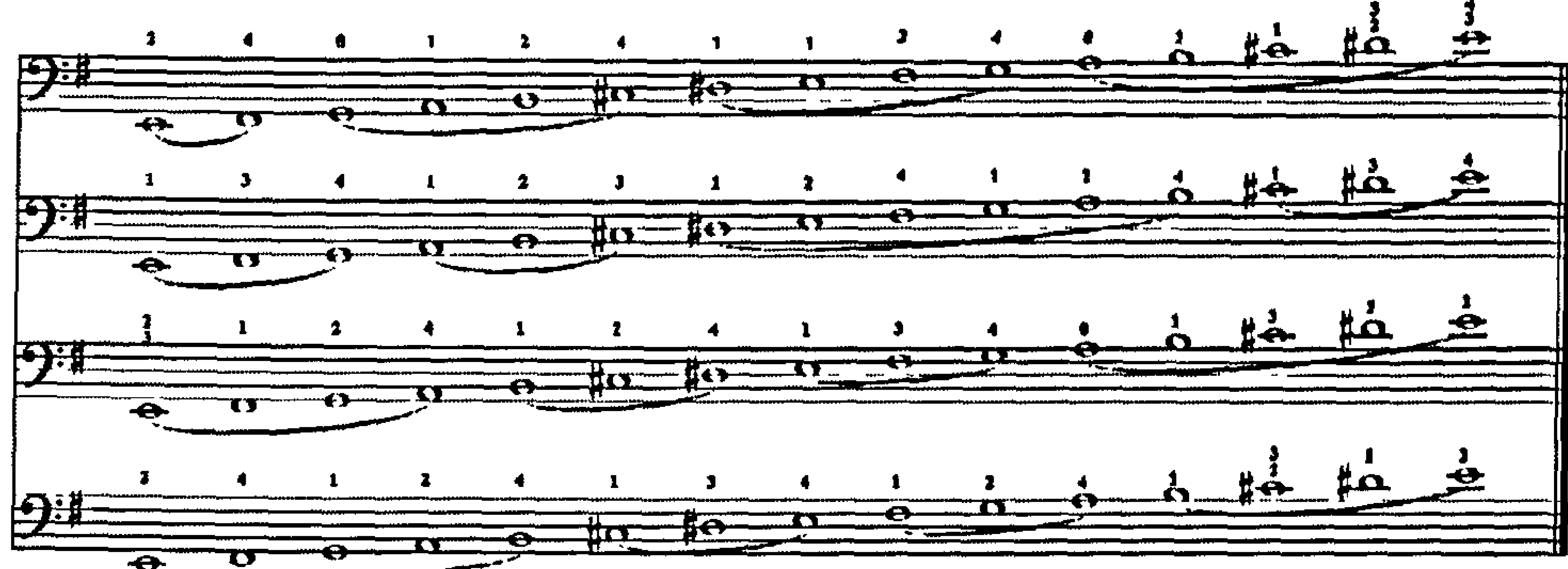

Figure 2/22: Breval, *Traité*, variant fingerings, E minor (slurs indicate notes to be played on the same string)

The second octave of his first fingering is tetrachordal, using 1134; the second fingering is the standard 3-note one; all four fingerings explore the possibility of playing up to six notes on the same string; the third and fourth fingerings work in terms of extending the scale to three octaves.

The harmonic minor scale is almost always omitted from cello methods at this time, only making an appearance towards the end of the nineteenth century. Duport and Romberg give fingerings for some harmonic minor scales, but they are inconsistent, limited in range and sometimes even impractical.[64] Olivier-Aubert gives C and F minor scales ascending in the harmonic form, but descending in the melodic (figure 23).[65]

Figure 2/23: Olivier-Aubert, *Kurze Anweisung*, C minor

[63] Jean-Baptiste Bréval, *Traité du violoncelle* (Paris: Imbault, [c. 1804]), p. 22.
[64] Duport, *Essai*, p. 11; Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, p. 22.
[65] P. F Olivier-Aubert, *Kurze Anweising zum Violoncellspiel* (Vienna: Artaria und Comp., [*HM*1819]), p. 16. According to Schroeder, Olivier-Aubert (1763-1805) was a self-taught player. Schroeder, trans. Mathews, *Catechism*, p. 80.

From a purely technical point of view, the melodic minor scale, being composed entirely of tones and semitones, poses no particular problem of fingering that does not occur in major scales. However, the augmented second in the harmonic minor scale can be awkward if played with LH2 and 4, especially at speed. Nonetheless, the harmonic minor is ignored; even John Gunn does not address this issue. Admittedly, at this period the player was far more likely to encounter melodic minor scales in the actual music played.

CHROMATIC SCALES

From a modern viewpoint, chromatic scale fingering is extraordinarily disorganised in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries. Henry Waylet's fingering (c.1750?), like most eighteenth-century fingerings which became redundant, depended on consecutive same-finger shifts. His enharmonic equivalents are omitted in this example (figure 24).[66]

Figure 2/24: Waylet, *Gamut*, chromatic scale

This represents a small advance on Corrette's chromatic fingering, which compresses the 2nd and 4th fingers into a semitone, but it is clearly still crude as the final octave on the A string shows. Figure 25 shows some more or less unsystematic alternative fingerings from the later eighteenth century.

[66] Anon, *The Gamut for the Violoncello* (London: Henry Waylet, [c.1750?]).

Figure 2/25: Late eighteenth-century chromatic scale fingerings

Laborde's fingering was still being proposed by Muntzberger c.1820.[67] Gunn offers chromatic scales on one string, with the fingering 0112341234 on the lower strings (also used by Eley, discussed below), and 0121234 on the upper.[68] The British Library copy of the Cahusac tutor contains pencilled additions including the old-fashioned Corrette fingering, which suggests that this fingering was still in use among amateurs at least in the early decades of the nineteenth century.[69]

There are several attempts at a systematic chromatic scale fingering, particularly in Laborde, Raoul, and the Paris Conservatoire method.[70] Raoul continues up the scale from the example quoted above thus, hinting at the repeated 123 fingering (figure 26).[71]

Figure 2/26: Raoul, *Méthode*, chromatic scale, upper octave

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[67] J. Muntzberger, *Nouvelle Méthode* (Paris: Sieber, [c.1820]), p. 46.
[68] Gunn, *Treatise* [1806], p. 37.
[69] Anon., *New Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: Thomas Cahusac & Sons., [1795?]), pp. 10-11. The pencil fingerings may be by 'John Sidney', the owner of the Preston tutor, bound together with the Cahusac tutor, whose name appears in pencil on the Preston title page; there are numerous pencil fingerings throughout both books. An autograph letter in the writer's possession, dated 1835, from Robert Lindley to the Rev. Edwin Sidney (1798-1872), Rector of Little Cornard, Suffolk, mentions that Lindley is providing fingerings for some duets. It is possible that John Sidney was a relative of Edwin.
[70] Jean Benjamin Laborde, *Essai sur la musique* (Paris: Enfroy, 1780), p. 313.
[71] Jean Marie Raoul, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, [c. 1797]), pp. 14-15.

The Paris Conservatoire method offers two variations, which are repeated in Crouch (figure 27).[72]

Figure 2/27: Baillot *et al.*, Paris Conservatoire method, chromatic scale fingerings

Both these fingerings are systematic, but only up to a point. The upper fingering uses 0121234 on each of the lower three strings and 123 repeated on the A string, while the lower uses the 123 fingering on the lower three strings and a complex, highly unsystematic, A string fingering using the thumb. Only Duport (figure 28) gives the systematic fingering, now standard, always shifting on LH1 and applicable in all keys.[73]

Nous allons maintenant parcourir cette Gamme dans tous les tons. afin qu'on voye qu'on monte toujours du premier doigt, sur les quatre notes indiquées ci-devant.

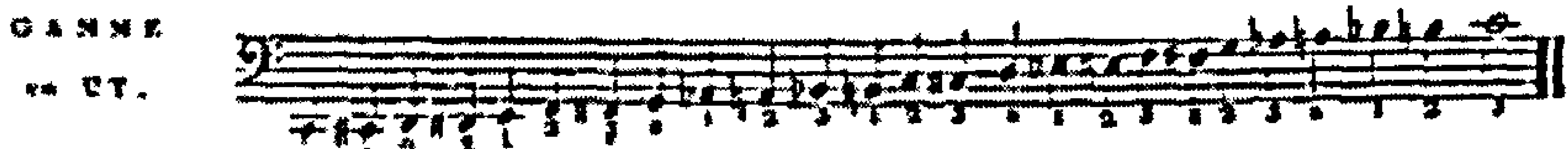

Figure 2/28: Duport, *Essai*, chromatic scale

Duport uses open strings for better intonation and avoids LH4 because it is 'contrary to the regularity of the fingering'.[74] Hus-deforges, Baudiot and Lindley follow Duport, with Hus-desforges quoting him *verbatim*.[75] Baudiot singles out this fingering for special praise:

> We here pay tribute of acknowledgment to our master, M. Duport, it is he who found and established this fingering, and, surely, it is not the only service which he has rendered for the cello.[76]

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[72] P. Baillot, J. H. Levasseur, C.-S. Catel and C.- N. Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1805), p. 69. Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, p. 61.
[73] Duport, *Essai*, p. 41.
[74] '...il s'oppose à la régularité de la doigté'. Ibid.
[75] Pierre Louis Hus-deforges, *Method for the Violoncello* (London: R. Cocks & Co., [1840]), p. 12. French original; *Méthode* (Paris: the author, [1829]). Lindley, *Handbook*, p. 9
[76] Charles Baudiot, *Méthode pour le violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, 1826), p. 18.

However, the chromatic exercise given in the Paris method (figure 30)[77] and reprinted in Crouch, uses older fingerings such as 112233 and a 3232 descending fingering which is also suggested by Dotzauer (figure 29).[78] Dotzauer gives three possible chromatic fingerings in first position (all using open strings) and two for higher positions, although he expresses a clear preference for 'la meilleure' Duport fingering.

Figure 2/29: Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule*, chromatic scale

Figure 2/30: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, chromatic exercise (see bb. 4, 6, and 20-23)

[77] Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode*, pp. 78-80.
[78] Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule* (1825), p. 27. The section in treble clef is fingered in the same way when descending.

Charles Eley, uniquely, gives this chromatic 1234 fingering (figure 31) which avoids open strings.[79]

Figure 2/31: Eley, *Improved Method*, chromatic scale

The example from John Gunn mentioned earlier uses the 1234 fingering but only in low positions, not as a general solution. Eley then notes that 'Some Professors [...] prefer playing this Scale with only 3 fingers & the open strings', and gives the Duport fingering. This would suggest that, at the very least, Duport's fingering was by no means universal even twenty years after its first appearance. Indeed, even c.1850, Chevillard was proposing this chromatic fingering in low thumb positions (figure 32).[80]

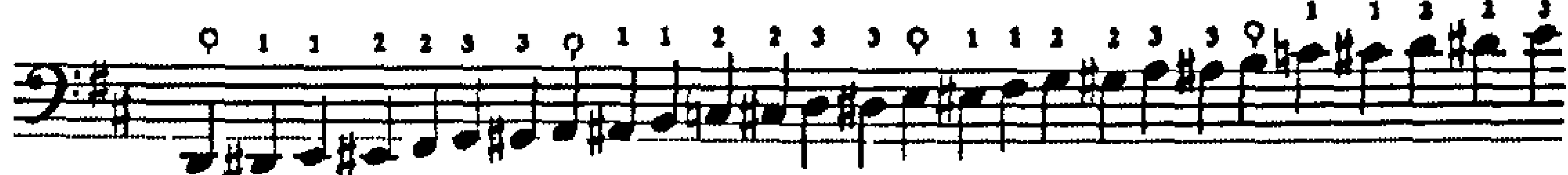

Figure 2/32: Chevillard, *Méthode Complète*, chromatic scale

Baudiot is more consistent here. In his prefaratory remarks about chromatic scales, preceding some ten pages of chromatic exercises, he praises the Duport fingering as 'very ingenious and very regular'.[81] His exercises in the neck positions (as far as c'') only use the Duport fingering, but in higher thumb positions he uses the 112233 fingering shown by Chevillard in low positions.

The apparent difficulty of establishing a standardised fingering for chromatic scales – a process which seems to have taken longer than for diatonic scales – may have been due to the relative rarity of such scales in cello music of the period, coupled with a

[79] Charles Eley, *Improved Method of Instruction for the Violoncello* (London: Clementi & Co., [1827?]), p. 75.
[80] A. Chevillard, *Méthode Complète* (Paris: J. Meissonier, [c.1850]), p. 74. Chevillard gives this fingering for thumb position chromatic scales beginning on tonics as high as G♭'.
[81] '[...] fort ingenieux et très regulier'. Baudiot, *Méthode*, p. 180.

wish to see such scales in terms of using all four fingers. The chief distinctions between these fingering approaches is whether or not they use open strings, and whether or not they are in some sense systematic.[82] The gradual emergence of what are now seen as modern fingerings, over a period of some eight decades, means that for most of this period several different approaches were current. This means in turn that historically informed performers of works which include scales cannot be sure that their fingering would have been used by more than a significant minority of players.

[82] The consistent chromatic fingering 123412341234 occurs briefly in Louis Feuillard's *Tägliche Übungen* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1919), but it is of limited practical application.

Chapter 3: The Bow in Motion

Whereas the previous chapter looked at aspects of bow hold and the placing of the bow on the string, this chapter will deal with the bow in motion, in terms of changing perceptions of the physical movements of the wrist and arm, and specific bow-strokes – in particular, *détaché,* staccato and *spiccato*, whose techniques can differ subtly from the equivalent strokes on the violin.

THE RIGHT WRIST

In order to execute any straight cello bow-stroke longer than an inch or so (which can be done by the fingers alone), the right wrist must be able to bend. It is possible to obtain a very short bow movement with the wrist alone, using the limited amount of available lateral movement, and this forms a part of some later nineteenth-century approaches to bow technique (discussed below). However, virtually all cello methods of any substance describe how, in the course of a down-bow, the wrist will begin raised (pronated) and gradually sink so that at the tip of the bow it is much lower (supinated). This is shown particularly well in the illustrations from Romberg, Kummer and Schroeder in chapter 1. Examples were also given there of extreme supination at the tip.

Most eighteenth-century tutors, and some early nineteenth-century ones (including those aimed at advanced students), such as Corrette, Crome, Tillière, Lepin, Azaïs and Bréval, largely ignore the movement of the wrist. Others, like Schetky, give it only cursory attention:

> The arm from the Shoulder to the Elbow should move as little as possible, the wrist should act freely and be rather supple.[1]

This may indicate that they thought it too obvious to mention, or that they expected a

[1] J. G. C. Schetky, *Practical and Progressive Lessons for the Violoncello* (London: R. Birchall, 1813), p. 2.

teacher to deal with this in the lesson, or that it was simply not important. John Gunn is one of the first to look at the wrist in a little more detail, stressing its role in string crossing. He claims that a sufficiently high arm on the A string gives more power, and

> [...] it will prevent any unnecessary motion of the arm in passing from a lower string to an upper one, or the contrary, which can be sufficiently accomplished by a small turn of the wrist alone [...][2]

His second edition goes into more practical detail, introducing an exercise still practised today. Keeping the arm still, he asks the pupil to move the wrist both horizontally and vertically to show how much can be done without the arm:

> This serves to move the bow in either direction; and the movement of the arm [...] to extend it to the necessary length.[3]

This flexibility means that:

> ... the least elevation possible of the wrist will raise the bow from any string to the next higher string, and an equally small depression will, of course, bring it down to a lower string; consequently, no elevation or depression of the arm can even [sic] be necessary to bow alternately on two contiguous strings.[4]

This basic point is made throughout the pedagogical literature of the cello in varying degrees of detail, although it is usually omitted entirely in the smaller cello tutors. Raoul recommends the study of arpeggios to encourage the flexibility and agility of the wrist ('nothing contributes so efficaciously to the development of the bow')[5], and posits a relationship between the fore-arm and wrist which, unremarkable as it seems at first sight, was eventually to be overturned:

> The bow must be held firmly; but without stiffness; the wrist free; that is its action; it is from its suppleness that the bow derives all its

[2] John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: the Author, 1st edn. [1789]), p. 63.
[3] Gunn, *Theory and Practice* (London: the Author, [1806]), p. 38. This exercise was still being used in the 1970s by Valentine Orde (1889-1983), a prominent Newcastle cello teacher who had studied with Herbert Walenn and Feuermann.
[4] Ibid.
[5] 'Rien ne contribue aussi efficacement au développement de l'archet que cet exercice et pour entretenir la souplesse et l'agilité du poignet [...]'. J. M. Raoul, *Méthode de Violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, [c. 1797]), pp. 30-31.

> advantages. The fore-arm leads the wrist: but it must only guide it and follow it in all its movements.[6]

Leading, but guiding and following – this paradox was not to be resolved until Emil Krall devoted much more space to the topic over a century later. Bowing plays a subsidiary role in Duport's *Essai*, but nonetheless he notes that 'The wrist plays a great part in the bowing' and that in string crossing 'the arm has hardly anything to do.'[7] He also describes the wrist as acting as a hinge (*charnière*) when changing bow:

> ...the wrist must obey, as [if] it were the hinge of a machine...[8]

Bréval himself does not deal with the wrist, but Peile adds the topic in his translation:

> It is also to be observ'd that on crossing from one string to another, the least depression of the Arm must take place, which may all be effected by the wrist[;] at all times the motion of the Bow must proceed from the first joint of the Arm and Wrist.[9]

In his own tutor Peile merely advises the pupil to 'let the motion proceed from the wrist as well as the arm.'[10] Dotzauer stresses that the wrist 'must move with the greatest lightness [...] transitions from one string to another are only made by the wrist.'[11] Crouch and Eley make very similar points, with the latter emphasising the wrist's role in producing good tone by avoiding a stiff arm.[12]

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[6] 'l'Archet doit etre tenu avec fermeté; mais sans raideur; le poignet libre: c'est de son action; c'est de sa souplesse que l'archet tire tous ses avantages. l'Avant-bras conduit le poignet: mais il ne doit que le conduire et le suivre dans tous ses mouvemens.' Ibid., p. 5.

[7] Jean Louis Duport, Essai sur le doigté (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), p. 159-60. Translation from trilingual edition trans. August Lindner, Anleitung zum Fingersatz auf dem Violoncell und zur Bogenführung. Instruction on the fingering and bowing of the violoncello. Essai sur le doigté de violoncelle et sur la conduite de l'archet (Offenbach: Jean André, Philadelphia: G. André & Co., Frankfurt: G. A. André, London: Augener & Co., [HM1864]), p. 140.

[8] Duport, *Essai*, p. 159. This point will recur in the discussion of Davidoff's 'hand-bowing' below.

[9] J. B. Bréval, trans. J. Peile, *Bréval's New Instructions for the Violoncello* (London: C. Wheatstone & Co., [1810]), p. 6.

[10] John Peile, *A New and Complete Tutor for the Violoncello* (London: Goulding, D'Almaine, Potter and Co. [1819?]), p. 16.

[11] '...qui doit se mouvoir avec la plus grand légèreté. L'archet conserve sa place dans la main et les transitions, d'une corde à l'autre ne s'operent que par le poignet.' J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle. Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [1825]), p. 7-8.

[12] See Frederick Crouch, *A Compleat Treatise on the Violoncello* (London: Chappell & Co., [1826]), p. 8; C. F. Eley, *Improved Method for the Violoncello* (London: Clementi & Co.,

Later German cellists go rather further into the role of the wrist and the development of exercises. Romberg repeats the importance of maintaining a flexible wrist in various contexts:

> [...] a flexible wrist is indispensable to a fine execution, and who ever does not acquire this suppleness at first, will not attain it afterwards without infinite labour and pains.[13]
> The chief object of this study is to exercise the wrist in drawing both the up and down-bows. All these exercises must be practised with the wrist only, and without moving the arm in the slightest degree from its natural position.[14]
>
> The shifting of the bow from one string to the other must be done by means of the wrist only.[15]
>
> [In arpeggio bowing] everything must be managed with the wrist.[16]

At about the same time, Kummer suggests a way of practising similar to Gunn's:

> String crossing (string change) must always be the focus of the cellist's greatest attention, since all changes of the bow should be conducted only by means of the wrist, without moving the upper arm. To achieve this skill the student should diligently undertake the following exercises while limiting in their execution a concomitant movement of the right upper arm by leaning it on a table or cupboard.[17]

Lindley, however, takes a somewhat more relaxed view:

> [...] the other fingers must assist in governing the Bow without

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[1827?]), p. 2.

[13] Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 8. This comment is retained in Edward Howell's abridgement of Romberg (*Edward Howell's First Book for the Violoncello adapted from Romberg's School* (London: Boosey & Co., [1879]). Arthur Broadley ruefully observed that he himself had suffered from a faulty wrist and 'had this knowledge [been] imparted to me a couple of years earlier [...] much unlearning and relearning at more than double the expense would have been saved.' Arthur Broadley, *Chats to Cello Students* (London: 'The Strad' Office, E. Donajowski and D. R. Duncan, 1899), p. 11.

[14] Romberg, ibid., p. 14.

[15] Ibid., p. 16.

[16] Ibid., p. 61.

[17] 'Der Saitenübergang (Saitenwechsel) muß dem Violoncellisten stets gegenstand der höchtens Aufmerksamkeit sein, da alle Wendungen des Bogens nur vermittelst des Handgelenks, ohne den Oberarm zu bewegen, ausgeführt werden sollen. Um diese Fertigkeit zu erlangen, nehme der Schüler die nächstfolgenden Beispiele mit allem Fleiß vor und verhindere bei deren Studium eine Mitbewegung des rechten Oberarmes dadurch, daß er ihn an einen tisch oder Schrank lehnt.' F. A. Kummer, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1909), p. 21.

impeding the freedom of the wrist.[18]

> The bow must be drawn across the strings almost at right angles with them, subject merely to the natural play of the wrist. The motion of the bow should proceed from the wrist and elbow exclusively. It needs not that the upper joint of the arm should be absolutely rigid, but it should only move in subservience to the lower joint, without becoming a positive agent...[19]

Lindley's 'natural play of the wrist' is a more modest requirement than the more exaggerated supination illustrated by Romberg.

The flexibility of the wrist continues to be described in very similar terms. Examples virtually identical to those already given can be found in, among others, Grützmacher's *Tägliche Übungen* (the original and all later revisions), de Swert's method, Becker's revisions of both Dotzauer and Kummer, and Whitehouse's edition of Piatti. Specific exercises for the right wrist are numerous – examples occur in Kummer (*Violoncelloschule,* exx. 40-47) and Lee (no. 32, 'pour l'articulation du poignet droit', no. 36 'pour donner l'elasticité au poignet', figures 3-4). Werner gives many exercises explicitly directed at the right wrist.[20] The first study in Popper's *Höhe Schule des Violoncellspiels* is marked in all editions 'With a very loose wrist, at the nut, lightly staccato', and a loose wrist is clearly implied in many of his *legato* studies.[21] Oskar Brückner's *Scale & Chord Studies for the Violoncello* (figure 1) and Wellcke's edition of Grützmacher's *Tägliche Übungen* (figure 2) even contain specific detailed markings for the position of the wrist from note to note, similar to those used by Fuchs (who indicates three different wrist heights, discussed below).[22]

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[18] Robert Lindley, *Handbook for the Violoncello* (London: Musical Bouquet Office, [1851-55]), p. 5.
[19] Ibid., p. 11. By the 'upper joint' Lindley means the shoulder; his 'lower joint' is the elbow.
[20] Josef Werner, trans. anon., Die Kunst der Bogenführung. The Art of Bowing. op. 43. Supplement No. VII to the Author's Violoncello-Method (Heilbronn: C.F. Schmidt, 1894), p. 17ff.
[21] David Popper, *Hohe Schule des Violoncellspiels 40 Études* op. 73 (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1901-1905), no.1. See also nos. 2, 3,4 and 8.
[22] Oskar Brückner, *Scale & Chord Studies for the Violoncello Op. 40* (London: Augener,

Explanation of Signs.		Zur Erklärung der Zeichen.	
⊓	Down stroke.	⊓	*Herunterstrich.*
V	Up stroke.	V	*Heraufstrich.*
Fr.	Heel of bow.	Fr.	*Am Frosch des Bogens.*
M.	Middle of bow.	M.	*In der Mitte des Bogens.*
Sp.	Point of bow.	Sp.	*An der Spitze des Bogens.*
G.B.	Whole bow.	G.B.	*Ganzer Bogen.*
└──	Finger to remain down.	└──	*Liegenlassen der Finger.*
∩	Hand lowered (raised wrist).	∩	*Hand nach unten (gehobenesHandgelenk).*
∪	Hand raised (lowered wrist).	∪	*Hand nach oben (gesenktes Handgelenk).*
♀	Use the thumb.	♀	*Daumen aufsetzen.*
ⓞ	Thumb to lie on the string.	ⓞ	*Daumen mit auf die Saite legen.*

Figure 3/1: O. Brückner, *Scale & Chord Studies*, wrist indications

Explanation of Signs

⊓ Down-bow. V Up-bow
Nut. At Nut of Bow. M. In Middle of Bow
Pt. At Point of Bow. W.B. With Whole Bow
┌── Let fingers lie. ♀ Press thumb on strings
♀ Lift thumb from strings

↑ Raise, ↓ Lower the wrist
reg. Regular (usual) Bowing
* Reserve turn of wrist till lower string is reached

Figure 3/2: Grützmacher, *Daily Exercises*, ed. Wellcke, wrist indications

There are also many earlier studies which are clearly, though not explicitly, aimed at developing the flexibility of the wrist in string-crossing, by such as Duport, Dotzauer, Merk, Franchomme and Grützmacher amongst many others. Lee's wrist studies (figures 3-4) are characterised by combinations of long slurs across three strings with one or two *détaché* semiquavers played at the heel and the tip of the bow.[23] These studies make it clear that flexibility of the wrist was not only important in slurred complex string-crossing, but was also part of the technique of playing short *détaché* notes. The separate semiquavers in b. 4 occur naturally at the tip, the middle of the bow and near the heel.

[*HM*1895]); Friedrich Grützmacher, ed. Willem Welleke, *Daily Exercises* op. 67 (New York: G Schirmer, 1909).

[23] Sebastian Lee, *40 Etudes mélodiques et progressives* op. 31 (Mains: B. Schott's Söhne, [*HM*1853]).

Figure 3/3: Sebastian Lee, *40 Etudes*, no. 32, 'Exercice pour l'articulation du poignet droit'

Figure 3/4: Lee, *40 Etudes*, no. 34, 'Exercise pour donner de l'elasticité au poignet'

PASSIVE AND ACTIVE ELEMENTS OF THE BOWING ARM

Thus far, the unanimous view is that the upper arm is largely passive (if not indeed positively restricted), with wrist, hand and fingers as the most active elements in the chain from shoulder to fingers. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century, a subtle revision of this consensus begins to emerge. Laurent Junod (1878) sees string crossing as beginning with the arm, rather than the wrist:

> The pupil should draw the bow very slowly from one end to the other on each note. The right arm must be well opened without any movement from the shoulder. The pupil should accustom himself not to raise his fingers unnecessarily high, especially in passing from one

> string to another. In order to change the string he should stop the bow for a moment at each extremity, *but without raising it until the movements of the arm and wrist are well regulated*.[24]

Carl Schroeder is less emphatic than his predecessors on the degree of flexibility required of the wrist:

> [...] the wrist, while passing to the higher string, makes a slight inclination inwards, and in passing to the lower string, a slight inclination outwards.[25]

On the other hand, Welleke still focuses on the shape of the hand, and by implication, wrist, when he says of scales using all four strings that

> [t]he wrist-movement [...] is like that for the arpeggio (gradually raising then lowering), but pausing on each separate string. The hand is *constantly bent downward* [i.e, the wrist is raised] till the C-string is quitted, to enable it to rise three times up to the A-string; correspondingly, in passing back from the A-string, it is *constantly bent upward* [i.e. the wrist is lowered] [...][26]

Thus, even in 1909, some cellists managed string-crossing primarily with the wrist. At first sight, van der Straeten gives similar advice, saying that the wrist 'must be constantly and gradually altering its relative position to the forearm', and describing how it is lowered during a down-bow.[27] However, unlike Welleke, he also asks for a 'firm wrist' combined with a turn of the forearm for a bigger sound, and in general he minimises the movement of the wrist overall, ascribing to it a more passive role, and avoiding excessive supination.

> [...] it must be remembered that the wrist must *never* sink below the level with the forearm; nor should the movements of the wrist be sudden or self-intentional. Their only purpose is to allow the bow to travel in the right direction and to the proper distance; and in order to fulfil their purpose they must *follow* those primary motions, being just sufficient to allow their proper executions, which will be impeded by

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[24] L. Junod, trans. F. Clayton, *New and Concise Method for the Violoncello* op. 20 (London: J. R. Lafleur & Son, 1878), p. 6. My emphasis.
[25] Carl Schroeder, *Catechism of Cello Playing* (London: Augener, 1893), p. 32.
[26] Grützmacher, ed. Welleke, *Daily Exercises*, p. 9.
[27] Edmund. van der Straeten, *Technics of Violoncello-Playing* (London: 'The STrad' Office, 1898), pp. 30-31.

excess.[28]

If read outside its wider historical context this advice appears banal. Nonetheless, the change in attitude became widespread. Emil Krall goes into great detail on the anatomical construction of the arm (drawing, like Becker and Fuchs, on Steinhausen's 1903 essay) and in doing so also reverses the conventional wisdom.[29] For Krall, the arm is the most free, and the hand the least free, part of the linkage from shoulder to hand. He stresses the '*swing* of the whole arm as a unity' and even says that the upper arm should lead the bow-stroke.[30] In the course of an entire chapter on the wrist, he makes his perspective clear:

> The wrist is only a subordinate joint in that system of levers: the arm. It belongs to that part of the arm which is relatively passive. Its function is to *mediate* between the movements of the arm and those of the bow. If kept in a natural supple condition, it smoothes and polishes awkward and unpractised arm-movements and assists in perfecting them. [...] There is a great difference between a mediating wrist and an active wrist; the first does what the whole mechanism (arm) desires it to do, the latter imposes upon the arm a tyrannical conception of limited, pettish movements. An over-active wrist completely spoils the production of a large and sonorous tone, it is mainly responsible for absence of tone-power. As already indicated: any bowing executed *exclusively* by the wrist will always bear the stamp of artificiality – of restriction; it is neither significant nor convincing, because it is detached from all other functions of the arm. On the other hand, if a player exhibits perfect ease and freedom in what he believes to be a wrist-technique, then he believes what he *sees*, but is ignorant of what *actually happens*! [...] the [wrist] is always supported and accompanied by the *swing* of the arm, and it is due to this and not to the wrist that he is able to execute the technique with ease and grace.[31]

This explanation, depending as it does on distinctions between the 'mediating' and 'active' wrist, and between the player's perception and 'what actually happens', resolves the paradox implicit in Raoul's formulation quoted earlier. The shift in emphasis is

[28] Ibid., p. 36.
[29] Friedrich Adolf Steinhausen, *Die Physiologie der Bogenführung auf den Streich-instrumenten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903).
[30] Emil Krall, *The Art of Tone-Production on the Violoncello* (London: 'The Strad' Office, 1913), p. 18.
[31] Ibid., p. 22.

continued by Alexanian.[32] In slower exercises Alexanian keeps the curve of the wrist more or less constant. In rapid string crossing he concentrates not on the wrist, but the arm, saying that 'these movements of the hand should be as little pronounced as possible.'[33] Even in passages of *détaché* string crossing in semiquavers he seems not to use the wrist to any marked degree.[34] This aspect of his teaching was noted in the *Musical Times*:

> In a down-bow, contrary to current practice [Alexanian says], the whole of the arm should always be at work.[35]

Alexanian's codification of cello technique was strongly influenced by the practices of Casals, one of whose technical traits was to play with a higher wrist even when at the tip of the bow, with a correspondingly higher elbow, but to move the wrist in general less. This was one of several aspects of Casals's playing which surprised David Popper when he attended a recital by Casals in Budapest in 1912 (which included three of Popper's own pieces). Popper's pupil Stephen De'ak was present:

> During the concert I watched Popper's reaction. His serious appraisal of the performance showed in the expression of his face, and he applauded after each number. But a slight puzzlement veiled the otherwise interested countenance. The striking differences between the prevailing bowing with loose wrist and straight thumb, and Casals' bowing, seemed most obvious when he played at the upper part of the bow without lowering his wrist, and compensated by the gradual pronation and elevation of his arm. But the upper arm position was radically altered when the bow was applied on the 'C' string. It was drawn in close to the body, with the wrist fairly straight.[36]

While Casals was not alone in this use of the wrist, it seems likely that he was more extreme than most other cellists of the period. Indeed, he claimed many years later that his coupling of a higher wrist with a higher elbow 'caused a *furore* among

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[32] Diran Alexanian, trans. Frederick Fairbanks, *Traité théorique et pratique du violoncelle* (Paris: Mathot, 1922), pp. 36ff.
[33] Ibid., p. 74.
[34] Ibid., p. 81.
[35] 'M.-D. C', *MT*, 1st May 1923, p. 325.
[36] Steven De'ak, *David Popper* (New York: Paganiniana Publications, 1980), p. 240.

traditionalists'.[37]

This general change of emphasis with regard to the role of the wrist provides a context for discussion of the only other innovative approach in this field, that of Karl Davidoff and his pupil Carl Fuchs. This concerns the so-called 'Davidoff hinge' and the term 'hand-bowing'.

Davidoff appears to look more at the function of the whole arm than many of his predecessors:

> In this consists the greatest difficulty in the use of the bow, because with this combines movement of the upper and lower arm, however wrist-movement is principally necessary.[38]

However, he makes it clear that string-crossing is still almost entirely executed by the wrist:

> Crossing with the bow from one string to another occurs, as explained earlier, through a small turn of the hand: the movement to the right brings the bow from a higher to a lower string; in the other direction a turn to the left serves to cross from a lower to a higher string. The transition between the strings is relatively so small, that by a certain pressure of the bow only a small turn suffices, in order to take the bow from one string to another. This very important fact for the experienced player presents so much difficulty to the beginner that he does not have control of the bow, and from this easily arises the risk of unnecessarily touching the lower string.[39]

Davidoff is describing a turn of the wrist to change to a neighbouring string, not, for example, the slight stretching of the fingers followed by a simple lifting of the

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[37] J. M. Corredor, trans. André Mangeot, *Conversations with Casals* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), p. 25.

[38] 'Darin besteht die größte Schwierigkeit bei der Bogenführung, weil hierzu kombinierte Bewegungen von Ober- und Unterarm, hauptsächlich aber Handgelenk-Bewegungen notwendig sind.' Karl Yu. Davidoff, *Violoncello-Schule* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1888]), p. 2.

[39] 'Der Übergang mit dem Bogen von einer Saite zur anderen geschieht, wie früher erwähnt, durch kleine Drehungen der Hand: die Bewegung nach rechts bringt den Bogen von einer höheren zur tieferen saite; um gekehrt dient eine Drehung nach links zum Übergang von einer tieferen zur höheren Saite. Die Entfernung zwischen den Saiten sind verhältnismäßig so gering, daß bei einem gewissen Druck des Bogens nur eine kleine Drehung genügt, um den Bogen von einer Saite zur anderen zu bringen. Diese für den geübten Spieler sehr wichtige tatsache bietet dem Anfänger so manche Schwierigkeit, da er den Bogen nicht in der Gewalt hat und daher leicht in Gefahr kommt, die Nebensaiten unnötigerweise zu berühren.' Ibid., p. 10.

wrist/forearm described by earlier cellists (although Gunn, quoted above, appears to anticipate him). This necessitates an alteration to the angle between string and bow. Davidoff's pupil Carl Fuchs describes this process in much more detail. In the opening sections of his cello method Fuchs describes basic string-crossing:

> When passing from a lower to a higher string near the nut, the point of the bow is turned inwards by revolving the wrist slightly to the left [...]. In passing from a higher to a lower string the process is reversed. During these movements the wrist should remain raised.[40]

> In the usual down-bow [...] the wrist gradually sinks as the point of the bow is reached, but if the down-bow precedes the change to a higher string, the wrist [...] must not sink so that when the point of the bow is reached, a <u>sudden</u> drop of the wrist and raising of the hand will bring the bow onto the higher string without any movement of the arm.[41]

He elaborates this in part 2:

> Davidoff's "Bow-turning" (or "Swinging"). In order to avoid roughness in passing from one string to another when playing slurred notes, Davidoff recommended raising the point of the bow slightly in the down bow and lowering it in the up bow, so that the angle (90 degs.) formed by the strings and bow is increased or decreased by 10-20 deg. respectively. By this means the bow touches the next string at a point slightly further from the bridge, where a softer tone can be produced than near the bridge.[42]

Fuchs gives examples (figure 5) from a Dotzauer study and Tchaikovsky's first string quartet op. 11, with instructions for the change in bow angle.[43]

Figure 3/5: Carl Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, music examples for Davidoff's 'Bow-turning'

[40] Carl Fuchs, *Violoncello-Schule Violoncello-Method* 3 vols. (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1909), vol.1, p 7.
[41] Ibid., p. 8.
[42] Ibid., vol. 2 p.55.
[43] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 55

This photograph (figure 6) illustrates the changed angle of the bow, which appears much greater than his verbal description alone suggests.[44]

Davidoff's 'bow-turning', or the 'Davidoff hinge', utilises the more or less vertical movement of the hand about the wrist. However, 'hand-bowing', a term apparently unique to Fuchs, uses the more limited sideways rotation of the hand, with little active involvement of the wrist. Both techniques are integral to Fuch's explanation of bowing technique.

> Imagine that the hand is a pendulum to the end of which the bow is pivoted. The wrist itself is the point from which the pendulum is suspended, the hand forming the pendulum. [...] strictly speaking this bowing is produced by the rotation of the forearm about its longitudinal axis. In spite of the fact that the wrist takes very little part in this bowing it is often but wrongly called 'Wrist-bowing'.[45]

He gives some simple exercises in 'hand-bowing' with the wrist at three different heights – high, 'half-raised' and low (figure 7). These show that this bowing technique is used at the heel or in the middle of the bow, but not at the tip because the wrist is lowered and cannot therefore suspend the hand. Note that he gives bar 36 of the cello part of Beethoven's ninth symphony as an example of 'hand-bowing' in the middle of the bow, with the wrist half-raised.[46] This means that Fuchs played these repeated sextuplets with the bow on the string, and not with a lifted stroke of any kind. Fuchs's illustrations show his mid-bow 'hand-bowing' exercise holding the bow by thumb and index finger alone, with the wrist height he recommends. Using these exercises and photographs, it is possible to reconstruct with reasonable accuracy the type of sound which Fuchs probably expected from his Hallé cello section in the opening bars of the

[44] Ibid., vol. 2, p. v.
[45] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 17. Fuchs gives a very similar explanation in his *Violoncello-Werke* (Mainz: B. Schott's Sohne, 1911), p. 2, where he adds that 'hand-bowing in cello-playing is often misnamed wrist-bowing, a name quite justified in violin-playing, where the difference in the position of the hand necessitates a different sort of movement.'
[46] Presumably he gives this bar rather than the opening bar (on the dominant) because ot uses open strings and is more consistent with the immediately preceding examples.

'Choral' symphony – not particularly clear, and not, perhaps, absolutely *pp* either.

Figure 3/6: Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, illustration of 'Bow-turning'

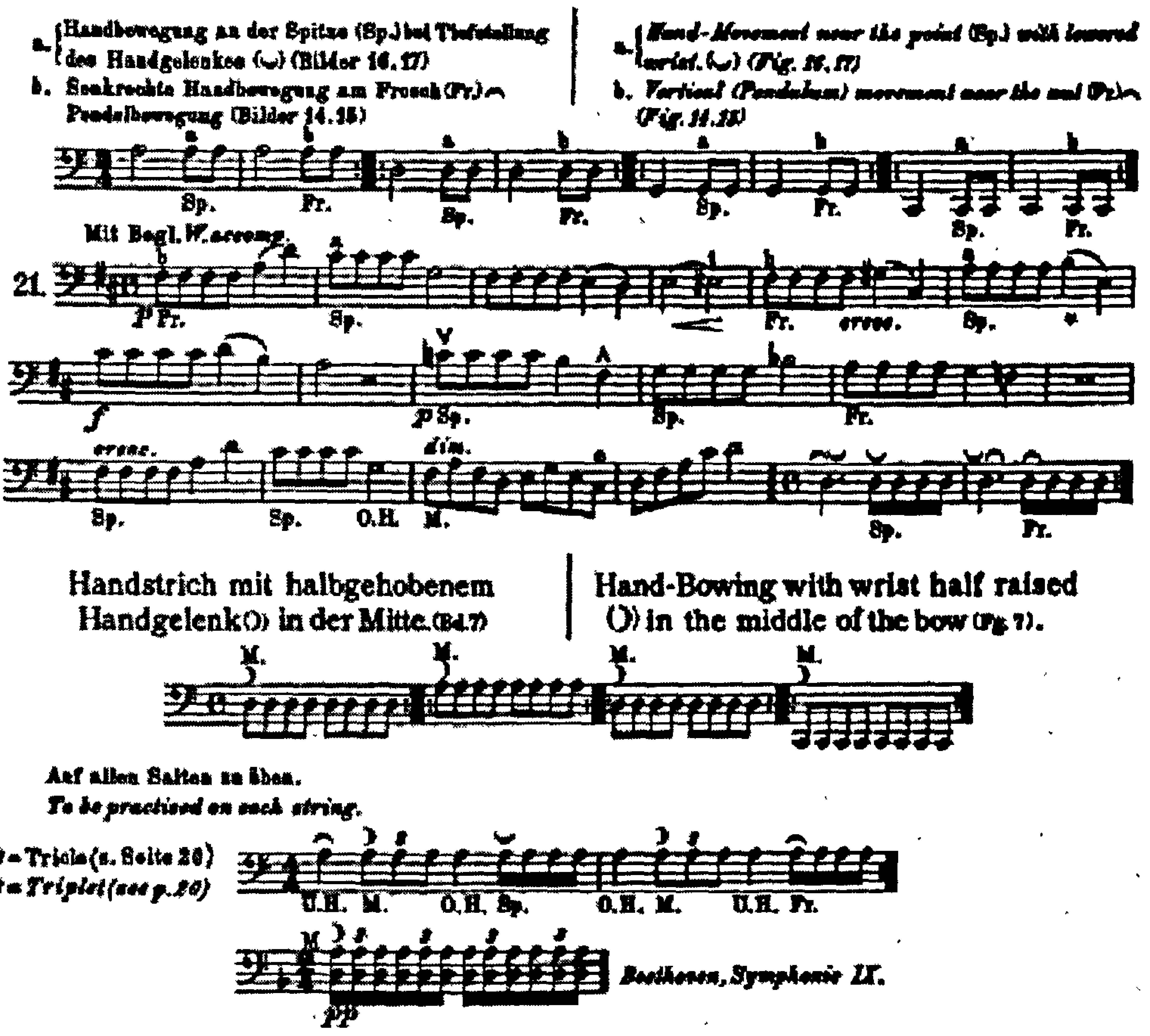


Figure 3/7: Fuchs, *Violoncelloschule*, 'hand-bowing' exercises with different wrist heights[47]

DÉTACHÉ and *SPICCATO*

Discussion of bow strokes is hampered in this period by problems of terminology. The meanings of some terms can be almost diametrically opposed to current practice, and different meanings coexist. Robert Crome sets out an apparently simple classification of bow-strokes:

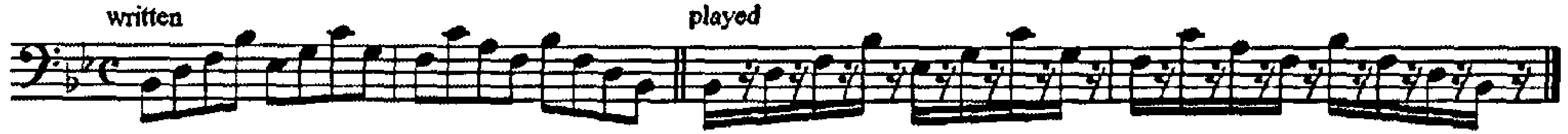
> [...] the principal ways are four. Bowing, which is drawing the Bow backward and forward from every Note, Slurring, which is by drawing the Bow but once for two or any number of Notes; Feathering the Bow, which is done like the Slur, only it must be taken off the String after touching it: The Spring, which last can't be explain'd but by Demonstration.[48]

[47] Ibid., vol. 1 p. 18.

[48] Robert Crome, *The Compleat Tutor for the Violoncello* (London: C. & S. Thompson, [1765?]), p. 11.

He sees no need of any subdivision of types of separate bowing – 'drawing the Bow backward and forward from every Note' suffices. This approach quickly becomes inadequate. Baillot, in the Paris Conservatoire method, specifies the part of the bow and also the effective note-length. In a moderately fast tempo, quavers should be played in the middle of the bow, and shortened:

> Separate the notes by drawing the bow with vivacity and stopping it suddenly at the end of every note.[49]



In fast tempi Baillot advises playing in the middle or even three-quarters of the way down the bow, and he says that the tip should never be used, 'giving always a dull, hard tone, and being unfit for exercising vibrations in such thick strings as those of the cello'.[50] Baillot uses a vertical dash (|) to indicate a *détaché* with a longer stroke than that implied by a staccato dot. The latter should be played shorter, but 'sufficiently distant from the bridge to produce a round and agreeable tone', in passages such as this (figure 8).[51]

Figure 3/8: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, staccato exercise

Eley gives examples of what he terms 'staccato'and 'marcato', although he uses the latter term idiosyncratically (figures 9-10):

[49] P. Baillot, J. H. Levasseur, C.-S. Catel and C.- N. Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1805), p. 23. Eng. trans. Merrick c. 1830.
[50] Baillot *et al.*, ibid.
[51] Ibid.

STACCATO .... denotes to play the notes very short which is produced by lifting the Bow up from the String after each note is played.

Figure 3/ 9: Eley, *Improved Method*, staccato

MARCATO .... means to give a particular stress to each note, but sustain each note its full value with the Bow on the String.

Thus

Figure 3/10: Eley, *Improved Method*, marcato

Eley's 'marcato' is an on-the-string *détaché,* possibly similar to the French *grand détaché*, notated with staccato dots which here do not imply separation, but rather a stressed *non legato*. He omits modern *spiccato* entirely, and only uses a fast slurred staccato in some of his arpeggio exercises, similar to Romberg's two-note arpeggio bowing above. Those marked '+' in figure 11 are also to be played starting with an up-bow, which means that some staccato groups are played with a down-bow.

Figure 3/11: Eley, *Improved Method*, arpeggio exercises, nos. 13-14[52]

[52] Eley, *Improved method*, p. 81.

Figure 3/12: Eley, *Improved Method*, arpeggio exercises nos. 1-5[53]

Eley uses articulation marks quite consistently, with dots only used for a group of several notes played within one bow, and dashes for notes played with separate bows (figure 12). Whether his dashes mean that the bow is to be lifted from the string in exercises nos. 2-4 in the above example (and in similar exercises on the same page) is problematic. In many of these cases, keeping the bow *on* the string is extremely awkward, but this would depend on the tempo, and the frequency of string-crossing. Eley does not deal explicitly with multiple-note up-bow staccato, with the bow remaining on the string throughout and stopping between the notes, but this exercise (figure 13) could be read in this way.[54]

Figure 3/13: Eley, *Improved Method*, bowing exercise no. 16

Crouch, generally paraphrasing the Paris Conservatoire method, departs from it here. For Crouch, in moderate tempi the player uses 'that part of the bow rather

[53] Ibid., p. 80.
[54] Ibid., p. 81.

approaching the point than the nut', and in fast tempi 'that part of the bow near the centre is preferable', and the player should use no more than half an inch of bow per note.[55] Crouch uses the vertical dash to mean a short note, playing a quaver as a semiquaver as in Baillot's example above (which Crouch also uses). However, the staccato dot means, for Crouch, that 'the notes must be played one after the other without separating them by a rest'. The bow is still short and, as in Baillot, should be far enough from the bridge to ensure a full round sound. The inconsistency between Baillot and Crouch puts the latter's observation about articulation marks (the slur, the dash and the dot) into an ironic context: 'From the several ways in which these signs are placed, proceeds an almost endless variety'.[56]

Duport is less clear than usual when discussing *détaché*. At first, he appears to distinguish only between *détaché* and slurred notes. Groups of quavers or semiquavers played with alternating down and up bows are called *détaché*, and if linked together within one bow are called *coulé*.[57] He gives the following pattern (figure 14) followed by numerous bowing variations combining *détaché* and *coulé*, all of which are to be practised starting with an up-bow as well as a down-bow, to acquire 'de la facilité et de l'habileté'.

Figure 3/14: Duport, ***Essai, détaché***

Almost as an afterthought he notes that:

> There are two types of *détaché*, the first pressed [i.e., on the string], which one uses when one wishes to produce a firm tone, and the other skipping a little [*un peu sauté*], which one makes use of in light passages. The latter stroke is played three quarters of the way down

[55] Frederick Crouch, *Compleat Treatise* (London: Chappell & Co., [1826]), p. 28.
[56] Crouch, ibid.
[57] Duport, *Essai*, p. 166.

the bow, towards the tip.[58]

Duport gives no example of *sauté* in the main text of his *Essai*, and his studies contain no passagework that unambiguously requires it. At first sight this part of the bow is peculiarly unsuitable for a 'skipping' stroke, at least for anything more than one or two notes, which may explain why this passage was silently amended in Lindner's 1864 trilingual edition to read:

> There are two manners of detaching: the first manner, with a firm stroke, is used if a full tone is to be drawn out; the second, with a slight skipping of the bow, is employed for passages, which are to be played with a light, brilliant, style. This latter stroke is played with the middle of the bow.[59]

However, it could be that Duport really has in mind the faster *détaché* of Baillot, played three-quarters of the way down the bow. In this light, Lindner's emendation could imply that this stroke was out of favour later in the nineteenth century and the more clearly lifted bow-stroke (which requires a mid-bow point of contact) was more normal. However, some caution is required here, as there is no shortage of cellists who continue to advocate a mid-bow *détaché* firmly on the string. Jules de Swert notes in his so-called 'staccato exercises' that they 'must be played from the middle of the bow, each note of equal length and force'.[60]

Kummer does not discuss *spiccato* bowing at all, so in his revision of Kummer Becker adds his own explanation, under the heading 'The springing bowstroke and its variations (by the editor)':

> Oddly, this type of bowing does not appear in Kummer's school. The editor has in his 'mixed bowing and finger exercises' already explained how this type of stroke is learned. Here the following is mentioned:

[58] 'Il y a deux sortes de détaché, le premier appuyé dont on se sert quand on veut tirer du son, et l'autre un peu sauté dont on se sert dans les choses de légèreté. Ce dernier s'execute des trois quarts de l'archet, vers la pointe'. Ibid.
[59] Duport, ed. Lindner, *Essai* (Offenbach: André, [*HM*1864]), p. 143. The trilingual edition of Duport's *Essai* cuts much material on bowing.
[60] Jules de Swert, *Le Mécanisme du Violoncelle* (Berlin: N. Rimrock, [1872]), p. 36.

> a. The spring-bowing (*spiccato*).
> The cello bow has its greatest elasticity a little below the middle. (Were its weight not unevenly distributed through the weight of the frog and the increasingly strong curve of the bow, it would be found – like the [archery] bow – exactly in the middle). The bow is placed at this point, with a raised wrist, and with all the hair on the string (at an angle of 90°). The tone production will now be achieved, that the hand (under light springing participation of the arm) lets practise a knocking movement of the bow, in a diagonal direction from left to the right. This movement builds a mixture of both wrist styles, the sinking and the sideways movements. By the correct use of the finger joints one prevents the bow from wandering from this position. With a slower tempo, a larger arm movement is combined with the hand movement, as required. This decreases however, in proportion to the tempo, again, so that very rapid consecutive notes can be played with so-called 'standing still' arms. The fingers are always to touch the bow very loosely, in order to make possible the reaction of the "hinges". Also one must not overlook lifting the bow off the string from the first note so that it is able to recoil with its own elasticity.[61]

This type of *spiccato* bowing, relying on a very flexible wrist movement, may have been used by Popper. According to van der Straeten, Popper played his own 'Herbstblume' with 'wonderful charm', and played 'the staccato notes in the first bar in a down bow very lightly from the wrist'.[62] Discussing the opening of Offenbach's

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[61] 'Der Spring-Bogenstrich und dessen Abarten. (Vom Herausgeber.) Merkwürdiger weise figurierten diese Bogenstricharten in der Kummerschen Schule nicht. Der Herausgeber hat in seinen "gemischten Bogen- un Fingerübingen" bereits dargelegt, wie diese Stricharten zu erlernen sind. Hier sei das Folgende erwähnt: a. Der Spring-Bogenstrinch (*Spiccato*). Seine größte Elastizität besitzt der Cellobogen etwas unterhalb der Mitte. (Wären seine Gewichtsverhältnisse durch die Schwere des Frosches und die nach unten stärker werdende Bogenstange nicht ungleich verteilt, so mußte sie, - wie bei dem Schießbogen – genau in der Mitte zu finden sein.) An dieser Stelle setze man den Bogen, bei hochgehobenem Handgelenk, mit allen Haaren (Winkel von etwa 90°) auf die Saite. Die Tonerzeugung wird nun dadurch bewirkt, da[ss] die Hand (unter leichter federnder Beteiligung des Armes) den Bogen, in diagonaler Richtung von links nach rechts, eine klopfende Bewegung ausüben läßt. Diese Bewegung bildet eine Mischung der beiden Handgelenkarten, der senkrechten und der wagrechten [small diagram of arrows]. Durch den richtigen Gebrauch der Fingerscharniere verhindert man den Bogen aus einer einmal angenommen Lage abzuirren. Bei langsameren Tempo gesellt sich zu der Handbewegung, je nach Bedarf, eine größere Tätigkeit des Armes. Diese nimmt jedoch, in richtigem Verhältnis zur Schnelligkeit des Tempos, wieder ab, sodaß sehr rasche aufeinander folgende Noten mit sog. Stillstehendem Arme gespielt werden könner. Die Finger sollen den Bogen stets sehr locker anfassen, um das Reagieren der "Scharniere" zu ermöglichen. Auch darf nicht übersehen werden, den Bogen von der ersten Note ab auf die Saite aufzuwerfen, damit er vermöge seiner eigenen Elastizität zurückprallt.' Kummer, rev. Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 26.

[62] Van der Straeten, *Well-Known Cello Solos*, p. 2. David Popper, 'Herbstblume' in *Im Walde* op. 50 (Hamburg: Rahter, [*HM*1882]).

'Musette', van der Straeten suggests an easier alternative bowing:

> There is at the beginning of the bar a little staccato figure of two quavers and a dotted crochet. This must be played in a down bow with a neat, sharp forearm movement, and unless the violoncellist can do it lightly and gracefully it would be much better to play the notes separately, using a short détaché for the quavers. Of course the effect of the staccato is better, if done well.[63]

Presumably this is Straeten's preferred bowing (figure 15):

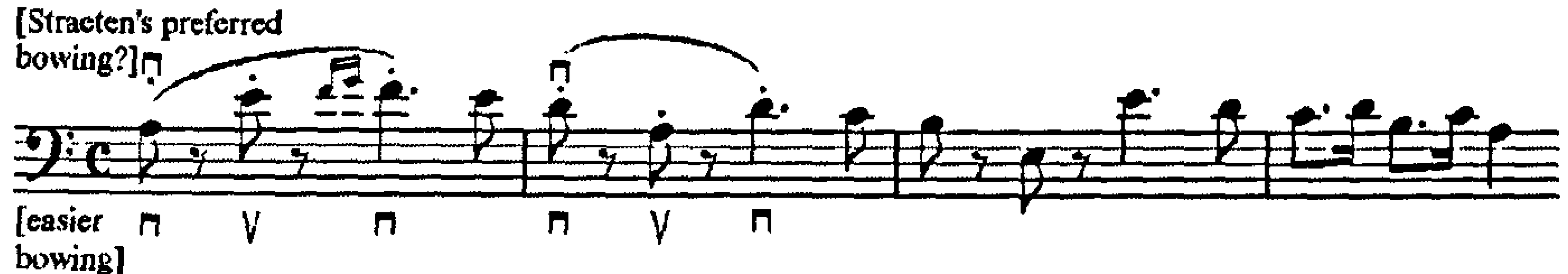

Figure 3/15: Straeten, *Well-Known Cello Solos*, Offenbach 'Musette', preferred bowing

BEETHOVEN, '*JUDAS MACCABAEUS' VARIATIONS*, No. 7

The seventh of Beethoven's variations for cello and piano on 'See, the Conquering Hero comes', from Handel's *Judas Maccabaeus* (WoO 45), gives some idea of the subtle nuances of interpretation necessary when trying accurately to describe these bow-strokes or interpret their notations. Vaslin's treatment of the *détaché* is particularly enthusiastic. He is concerned with the quality of sound in a passage of short, *détaché* notes, and he is especially interesting given his connection with Baillot.

> The rapidity of lively notes forces the restriction of the movement of the right arm. The best part of the bow is found in the middle, because there the hair, having all its elasticity perfectly matching that of the string, can in a circumscribed space obtain an open, rich, albeit short, sound.[64]

Vaslin consistently prefers the middle of the bow for *détaché* passages and for those that combine *détaché* and short slurred groups. He explains this with a diagram (figure 16).[65]

[63] E. van der Straeten, *Well-Known Cello Solos*, p. 7, discussing Jaques Offenbach, *Musette. Air de Ballet du 17e Siècle* op. 24 (Berlin: Schlesinger, [*HM*1846]).
[64] 'La rapidité des notes vives oblige a restreindre les mouvements du bras droit. La meilleure portion de l'archet se trouve au milieu parceque la le crin ayant toute son élasticité en parfaite analogie avec celle de la corde, c'est la que dans un espace circonscrit l'on peut obtenir le son franc et nourri, quoique bref.' Olive Vaslin, *L'art du violoncelle* (Paris: Richault, 1884), p. 10.
[65] Vaslin, ibid., p. 12.

Figure 3/16: Vaslin, *L'art du violoncelle*, bowing diagram

Vaslin gives the example of the seventh *Judas Maccabaeus* variation, showing how Baillot played the seventh variation on the violin.[66] Berlioz described Baillot's performance of this work thus:

> […] the theme of Handel […] is of a noble and simple majesty; the variations with which Beethoven took pleasure to ornament it were performed by Baillot with exact refinement and the fire of youth which we know in him.[67]

According to Vaslin, Baillot's bow-stroke (figure 17) corresponded to the last of Vaslin's illustrations above, the triplet quaver 'avec attaque […] martelé ou piqué'. Beethoven's original has neither staccato markings nor slurs, so Baillot's bow-stroke, endorsed nearly half a century later by Vaslin, is in itself unremarkable.

[66] Beethoven, *XII Variations […] sur un thème de Händel* WoO 45 (Vienna: Artaria, [1797]).
[67] '[…] le thème Haendel au contraire, est d'une noble et simple majesté, les variations dont Beethoven s'est plu à le broder ont été dites par Baillot avec élégance exacte et ce feu de jeunesse que nous lui connaissons.' Hector Berlioz, *Revue musicale*, 17th February 1835, quoted from Marie-Hélène Coudroy-Saghaï (ed.), *Hector Berlioz: Critique musicale 1823-1863*, 2 vols. (Paris:Buchet/Chastel, 1998), vol. 2 p. 65.

Figure 3/17: Beethoven, *'Judas Maccabaeus' Variations*, no. 7: Baillot's bowing as given by Vaslin.

Edmund van der Straeten also comments on this variation, saying that it requires a 'very short and energetic forearm stroke (the short detached stoke – petit détaché [...]) in the middle of the bow', which implies a certain degree of separation, but firmly on the string.[68]

It therefore appears that Baillot, Vaslin and van der Straeten used similar bow-strokes in this variation – more or less corresponding to a modern *martelé*. Other cellists recommended such a bow-stroke in analogous exercises. Such an exercise in de Swert (figure 18) is clearly marked to be played in the upper part of the bow and only with the forearm, which strongly suggests a stroke similar to Baillot and Vaslin.[69]

Figure 3/18: Jules de Swert, *Mécanisme, détaché* triplets

Something very like Baillot's staccato note, with a full sound, quoted from the Paris Conservatoire method above, can be found much later in the century in Carl Schroeder,

[68] E. van de Straeten, *Well-Known Violoncello Solos How to Play Them with Understanding, Expression and Effect* (London: William Reeves, [1922]), p. 75. Van der Straeten does not mention the use of slurs.
[69] de Swert, *Mécanisme*, p. 10.

who describes

> The Hammer bowstroke. In this style of bowing, which is played with the wrist, between the middle and point of the bow, not quickly and without raising the hair from the strings, the attack of the down- and up-stroke must be sharp and firm, short and abrupt, yet full and resonant in tone.[70]

Thus far, many players agree that this variation (or music like it) should be played with a stroke which Vaslin describes as 'biting [...] in a very limited space'.[71]

However, Grützmacher's edition of this work (figure 19) marks the seventh variation with staccato dots throughout, and with more slurs than Baillot.[72]

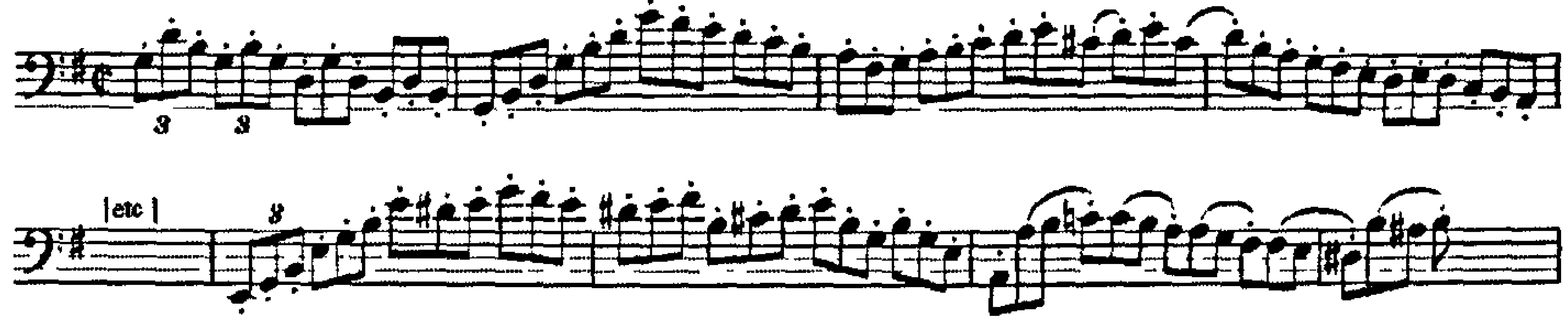

Figure 3/19: Beethoven, ed. Grützmacher, *'Judas Maccabaeus' variations*, no. 7

What these dots mean here is not clear, but they need not necessarily imply a bow-stroke that comes off the string, whether lifted, bounced, or thrown. In this Beethoven example, Grützmacher could intend a lifted bow-stroke, similar to *spiccato* but longer, although this would depend on tempo (the theme is marked 'Allegretto', *alla breve*, and this is unchanged for the first nine variations).

Grützmacher avoids the *spiccato* bow-stroke in his own compositions for notes longer than demisemiquavers, or repeated semiquavers. Indeed, he only indicates it in his op. 38 studies (figs. 20-21).[73]

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[70] Carl Schroeder, *Neue grosse theoretisch praktische Violoncell-Schule* op. 34 (Leipzig: J.Schuberth & Co., [*HM*1877]), p. 28.
[71] 'Mordante [...] dans une espace très restreint'.Vaslin, ibid., p. 12.
[72] Beethoven, ed. F. Grützmacher, *Zwölf Variationen über ein Thema aud "Judas Maccabaeus" von Händel* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1870?]).
[73] Friedrich Grützmacher, *Technologie des Violoncellspiels* op. 38 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, (*HM*1865]).

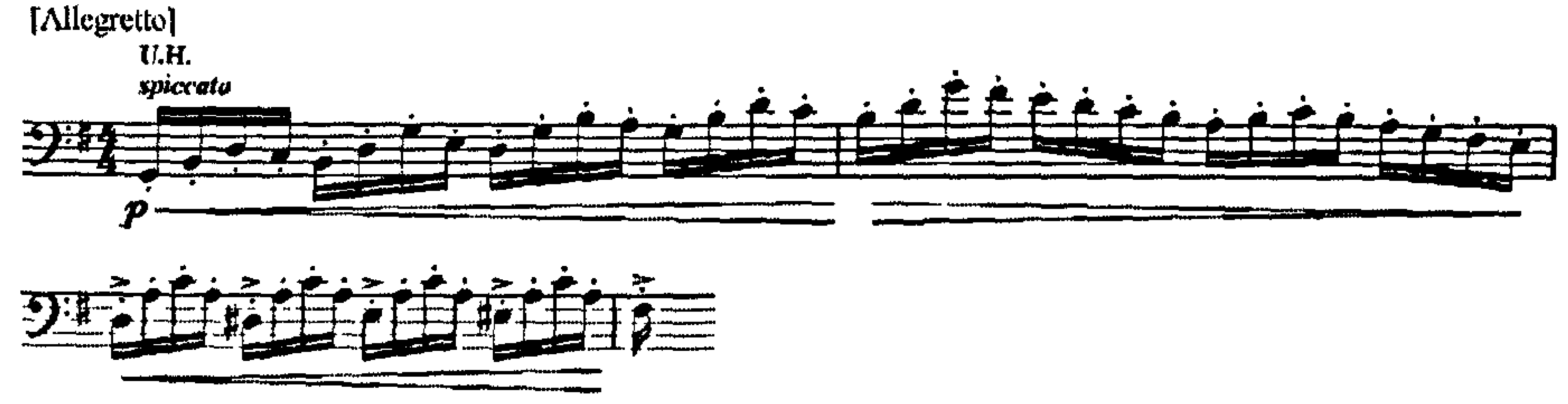

Figure 3/20: Grützmacher, *Technologie*, op. 38 no 12, *spiccato*

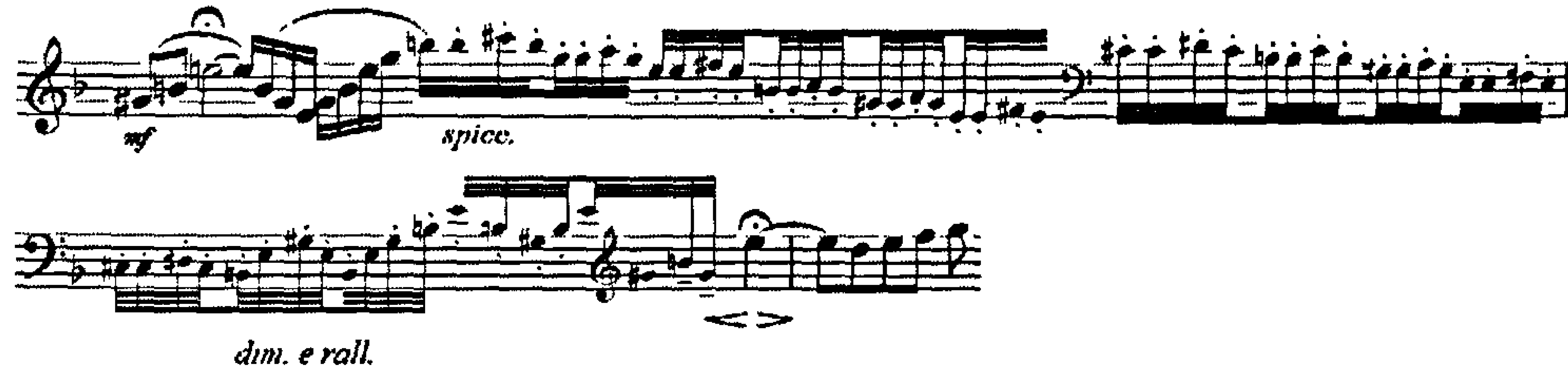

Figure 3/21: Grützmacher, *Technologie*, op. 38 no. 20, *spiccato*

Grutzmacher almost certainly intends *spiccato* in this passage from his edition of Servais's concerto op 5 (figure 22).[74]

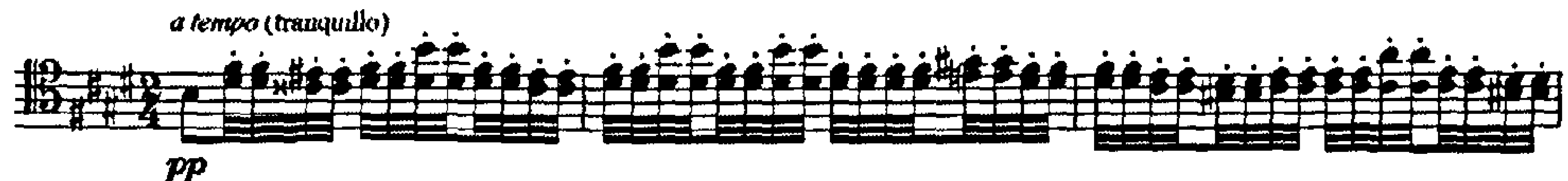

Figure 3/22: Servais, ed. Grutzmacher, *Concerto op. 5*, 3rd movt, *spiccato*

His reluctance to exploit *spiccato* may explain why it is only clearly indicated in his studies and not elsewhere; like Romberg, he is offering it as a technique which he does not himself use.[75]

Romberg uses *détaché* to mean a light off-the-string separated bow-stroke, with the bow held lightly by the thumb, RH1 and RH3 so that it can 'spring well upon the strings' – in other words, *spiccato*.[76] Although he describes this stroke, he disapproves of it, restricting its use to 'those pieces which are written in a playful style, such as Rondos in 6/8 Time, or Solos for chamber-Music'. It is not appropriate for *forte*

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[74] Adrien-François Servais, ed. F. Grützmacher, Concerto in B minor op. 5 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1896?]).
[75] The opposite is the case with Davidoff, whose *Violoncelloschule* does not mention staccato or *spiccato*, even though many of his works, such as *Am Springbrunnen*, require it.
[76] Ibid., p. 109.

passages, or for 'music of a higher order', and indeed it is even old-fashioned:

> This bowing was formerly in great repute with all Artists, who introduced it in passages of every description. It is, however, quite incompatible with a fine broad style of playing, which fully accounts for the inferiority of their compositions. Now-a-days Musical compositions are expected to contain more solidity, both in signification and expression.[77]

In spite of his distaste, Romberg gives an entire variation movement as an exercise for this technique (figure 23).

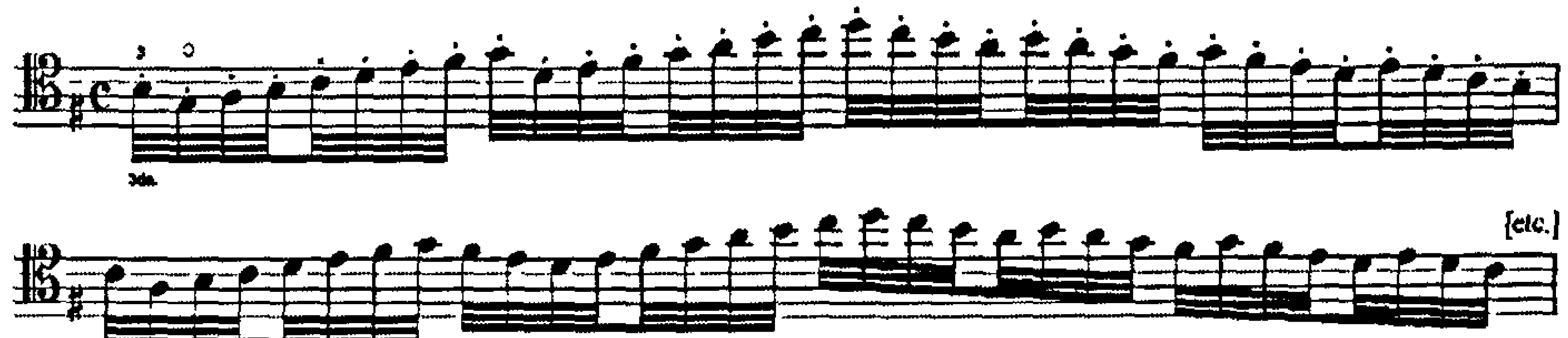

Figure 3/23: Romberg, *Violoncellschule, spiccato* exercise (opening bars), p. 120

Note that this exercise uses *spiccato* in neck and thumb positions, but is almost entirely played on the upper two strings.

The staccato dots and short slurs added to the *Judas Maccabaeus* variation are not unique to Grützmacher, for they are also added by Ferdinand David in his arrangement for violin.[78] In David's case, dots in general do not preclude an on-the-string bow-stroke. Nonetheless, David himself also describes a 'springing' ('*hüpfend*') bow-stroke which

> [...] must never entirely leave the strings; try to make the stick vibrate strongly [...] in playing forte use the middle of the bow, in piano the upper half'.[79]

His exercise for this stroke uses repeated semiquavers (figure 24).

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[77] Ibid.

[78] Beethoven, arr. F. David, *Sonaten und Variationen für Pianoforte und Violoncell* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1874]. This information supplied by the British Library.

[79] 'Der Bogen darf die saite nicht ganz verlassen; man suche die Stange in starke Vibration zu bringen [...] beim forte in der Mitte, beim piano etwas mehr nach der obern Hälfte des Bogens zu.' Ferdinand David, *Violin-schule* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [HM1863]), p. 38.

Figure 3/24: David, *Violinschule*, 'hüpfend' exercise

Carl Schroeder gives an almost identical exercise (figure 25).[80]

Figure 3/25: Schroeder, *Täglich Studien*, 'hüpfenden' exercise

This bow stroke was also described several decades earlier by Georg Kastner, who warned that it was not easy:

> The staccato is obtained on the cello by letting the bow fall in a manner such that it jumps bouncing from the strings, *without at the same time leaving them*; this type of expression is very difficult, and is only acquired through long work; the second type of staccato, more accurately called *martelé* [example of a note with a wedge accent], has still more liveliness and dryness [...][81]

On the other hand, a passage in triplet quavers from Servais's second concerto is marked 'martelé', with staccato dots (figure 26).

Figure 3/26: Servais, *Concerto no. 2, martelé*

Welleke's edition of Grützmacher's *Tägliche Ubungen* describes the springing bow stroke in an appendix:

> Springing Bow. In the middle of the bow (or, rather, a trifle nearer to the nut). To be played with easy and supple arm and wrist.[82]

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[80] Carl Schroeder, *Tägliche Studien* (Hamburg, [1877]), p. 26.

[81] 'Le Staccato s'obtient sur le Violoncelle en laissant tomber l'archet de manière a ce qu'il bondisse en sautillant sur les cordes, sans toutefois les quitter; ce genre d'expression est très difficile, et ne s'acquiert que par un long travail; la seconde espèce de staccato plus particulièrement appelée Martelé a encore plus de vigueur et de sècheresse; voiçi une leçon sur ces deux genres de Détaché.' Georg Kastner, *Méthode elementaire de violoncelle* (Paris: E. Froupenas & Cie, [1835]) p. 37. My emphasis.

[82] Grützmacher, ed. Welleke, *Daily Exercises*, p. 29.

His exercises suggest that this stroke is used as much in rapid passage-work as in passages of repeated notes (figure 27). This *hüpfenden* stroke, though probably a little longer than modern *spiccato,* clearly has the potential to overlap with it, and the distinction probably depends more on tempo than any other technical consideration.

Figure 3/27: Grützmacher, ed. Welleke, *Daily Exercises,* 'springing bow-stroke' exercises (note that the fourth exercise is based on Grützmacher's op. 38 no. 12, marked *spiccato,* quoted in figure 3/20)

If Wellcke appears to require something close a modern *spiccato* in staccato semiquaver passage-work, Alexanian attempts to clarify the point (in a typically elaborate way). He distinguishes two types of bounced, off-the-string, bowstrokes: '*spiccato*' and '*saltellato'*. His *spiccato* is

> [...] a fluttering of the bow, light, rapid and dainty [...] the result of the 'launching' of the bow with a continuous adherence of the hairs to the string [...]. In the '*spiccato*', the horizontal movement of the bow should not exceed about half an inch. As for its intermittent elevation above its points of contact with the strings, it could only be given in eighths of an inch. Any exaggeration of the rebound would destroy that aerial lightness that gives the charm to this manner of bowing.[83]

His '*saltellato'* is more consistently off the string, and

> [...] consists in a fairly heavy fall of [the bow hairs] that are at once thrown back to their original position, above the strings [...] it is a '*spiccato*' without any 'finesse' [...] the resulting rebounds are much more clearly defined than in the '*spiccato*', and the acoustic effect is therefore much coarser'.[84]

Alexanian's *spiccato* is therefore more akin to earlier players' springing or *hüpfend*

[83] Alexanian, *Traité théorique et pratique*, p. 203.
[84] Ibid.

stroke, in that the bow remains fairly close to the string.

It is likely that the bow-stroke implied by David and Grützmacher is the slightly lifted stroke of David (*hüpfend*) and Kastner (*staccato*), whereas the one used here by Baillot (*martelé*), Vaslin (*martelé* or *piqué*) and van der Straeten (*petit détaché*), also described by de Swert and Schroeder, and probably used in a similar passage by Servais (fig. 26), is the more firmly on-the-string, mid- to third-quarter bow-stroke.

UP-BOW STACCATO

The use of the term 'staccato' to denote a group of clearly articulated notes played in one bow, is widespread throughout the nineteenth century. There are two distinct types of up-bow staccato: the virtuosic type, often involving many notes in one bow played as fast as possible, and a less abruptly articulated stroke, played slower and with far fewer notes, closer to *portato*. Crome and Hardy describe the 'soft' technique. Crome's 'feather' stroke does not take the bow far from the string.

> We will now set an Example for slurring and Feathering the Bow; the Slur is known by this semicircle put over the number of Notes it contains, thus the same sign serves for the Feather, only dotted the difference is this, for the Slur; the Bow is to keep on the String, and for the Feather; it is just taken off the String, but with the same Bow. We will set an example which will explain both, in the manner following.[85]
>
> Minuet in C Key by the Second Table
>
> Da Capo, or begin & end with the first Part.

Hardy's use of the same term refers to something more like a modern up-bow staccato, with the bow apparently remaining on the string (compare Crome's 'just off the string'

[85] Ibid., pp.14-15. 'b' and 'f' mean 'back', i.e. down-bow, and 'forward', i.e. up-bow.

above) and stopping between notes:

> Feathering the Bow [example] this character is used to any number of notes, and signifies that they are to be played with one strike of the bow, and generally with an up bow, but not in that smooth stile like unto a slur; as in feathering, there should be a kind of stop, or small distinction between every note, so as each may be plainly articulated.[86]

Crome and Hardy are the only English cellists to use the term 'feathering', and relatively few cellists in general address this 'semi-soft' articulation. Gunn emphasises that a lifted stoke is needed, but not a short one.[87] Dotzauer also describes an undulating, *portato* bow technique (which he calls '*portamento*') applied over a group of notes rather than during one long note:

> The two crotchets [...] are played with *(Portamento)* that is to say, that the bow lightly presses each note, which is effected by the pressure of the index finger, without the hair leaving the string.[88]

Romberg does not specifically discuss the *portato* stroke, but comes close to it when he talks of a generally articulated slur:

> [...] when, in a slow movement, notes occur, which are marked to be played together in one Bow, and also marked with dots above, each note must be separated from the other by a short cessation of the bow. In order to give more force to the expression, a slight pressure is also frequently made upon each note. But when notes marked with the slur and dots occur in quick movements, each note will then require but a very little pressure. [...] Slurred notes which are marked with strokes above should be played shorter, and more detached than those marked with dots. This difference however is not marked with sufficient care by many Composers.[89]

However, his 'short cessation of the bow' implies something more clearly articulated than Crouch's *ondulé*, 'feathering', or Gunn's slurred staccato – if anything, it most resembles Hardy's 'plainly articulated' stroke.

The Paris Conservatoire method does not deal with up-bow staccato, but

[86] Henry Hardy, *The Violoncello Preceptor* (Oxford: the author, [c.1800]), p.11.
[87] Gunn, *Theory and Practice* [1789], pp. 69-74.
[88] Dotzauer, *Méthode*, p. 43.
[89] Romberg, ibid., p. 98.

includes it by implication in some of its bowing exercises, in both directions (figure 28).[90]

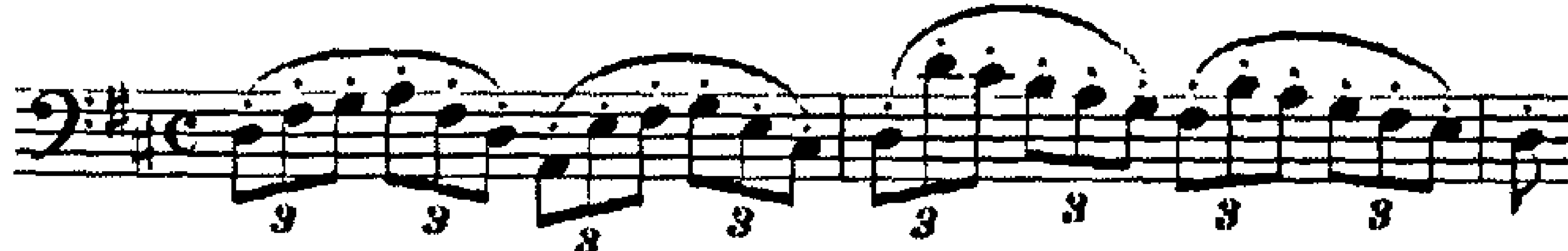

Figure 3/28: Baillot *et al.*, Paris method, up- and down-bow staccato

Duport describes this technique in more detail, which he calls staccato or *martelé.* He uses the same term for a short group of notes played in this way or a much longer one:

> Here again is an often-used bow-stroke of three and three. Play three with a down-bow and three with an up-bow, but the first three must be slurred, and the next three Staccato.[91]

He then offers an example of more extended up-bow staccato with a unique disclaimer:

> On the Martelé, or Staccato. Everyone knows this bowing; I do not think it necessary to show how it is performed. It is entirely a question of *tact* and *addresse*; one arrives at it with much exercise; there are those who grasp it immediately, others who never achieve it perfectly. I am of that number.*
> *Editor's note. All M. Duport's friends know the extent of his modesty.[92]

Duport was certainly not alone in suggesting that it could be a troublesome technique to learn. The Paris Conservatoire method scarcely deals with it at all, with only a few short exercises and a remark that the player should adjust the amount of bow

[90] Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode*, p. 25.
[91] 'Voiçi encore un coup d'archet de trois en trois très-usité. Tirez trois et poussez trois, mais il faut que les trois premieres soient coulées, et els trois dernières Staccato.' Duport, *Essai*, p. 169.
[92] Ibid, p. 171.

to the number of notes.[93] Crouch describes it as '[...] extremely difficult on the Violoncello, and but seldom used excepting by the most skilful performers.'[94] Lindley agrees:

> The Staccato style of bowing is very difficult to a beginner, who too often aims at some object beyond his reach, instead of mastering the easier point which should engage his attention. In Staccato bowing the note is produced by a very slight, short jerk of the wrist, and after practice an incredible number of notes may be struck without reversing the motion of the bow. Such notes have been aptly likened to a "String of Pearls". However, the Pupil must make a few notes at first, beginning at the point of the bow, and using as little of it as possible for each note. Some Masters maintain that Staccato passages should be entirely confined to the upper half of the bow, but this can only hold good in [p]hrases of moderate length.[95]

Romberg is as sceptical about the usefulness of an up-bow staccato technique as he is about *spiccato*:

> This mode of Bowing, when used for several notes or passages consecutively, is more peculiarly adapted to the Violin; since in playing this Instrument, the bow rests upon the strings, and requires but a slight motion of the hand to produce the staccato. [...] But this is not the case with the Violoncello, where the bow does not rest with its own weight on the strings, and where the staccato cannot be produced with merely a gentle pressure, so that, it must either be made with the arm held stiff, or the bow must be drawn up so tight as to spring off the strings by its own tension, and even then, the Player can never be sure of success. Indeed, as the Violoncellist is so seldom called upon to employ the staccato, it would be a great pity that he should spoil his Bow-hand by practicing it to any extent; and I would rather advise him to abstain from it wholly and entirely. In Quartetts and other compositions (which are not to be considered as solos) passages are marked to be played staccato. The notes of such passages may be played with a short, detached, Bow.[96]

Romberg gives several examples of these bowings. His quasi-*portato* staccato occurs without comment in some exercises in slow or moderate tempi (figures 29-31)

[93] 'Il faut en outre ménager plus au moins l'Archet suivant qu'on a plus ou moins notes àfaire [...].' Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode*, p. 16.
[94] Crouch, *Compleat Treatise*, p.34-43.
[95] Lindley, *Handbook*, p. 11.
[96] Romberg, *Complete School*, pp. 109-110.

before it is discussed in the text.[97]

Figure 3/29: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 94

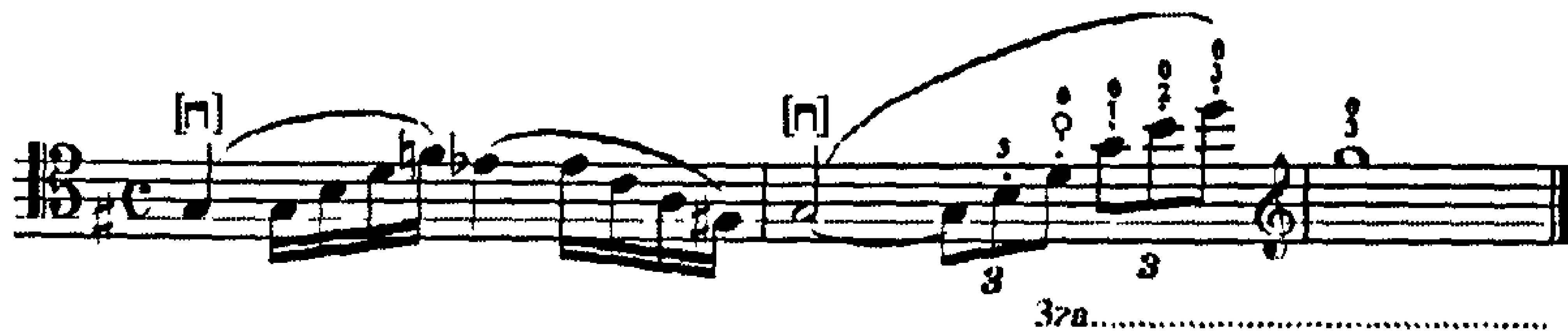

Figure 3/30: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 95

Figure 3/31: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 99

Romberg gives no extended examples of fast up-bow staccato – hardly surprising given his evident reluctance to use the technique – and it is not required for any of his compositions, even his most virtuosic concerti. He refers to his concerto no. 4 in E minor op. 7, only to advise against the printed bowing:

> This sort of arpeggio, however, can only be made in a quick movement because the bow itself must partly produce the spring. I do not recommend the young pupil to study this arpeggio, as it is apt to give him a stiff arm, which [...] is diametrically opposed to neat playing. It has a much better effect when played in detached notes with the up-bow, where each note occupies but a small portion of the bow, used at about a hand's breadth from the end of it. (This arpeggio occurs in the *rondo alla polacca* in my E minor concerto).[98]

The bowing in pairs of staccato semiquavers requires a somewhat different technique from the up-bow staccato as used for long scales, as the string-crossing requires in

[97] Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, pp. 94, 95 and 99 respectively.
[98] Ibid., p. 59. Carl Schroeder's edition of this concerto removes Romberg's bowing. Berhard Romberg, ed. C. Schroeder, *Concerto* no. 4 op. 7 (Brunswick: Litolff, [*HM*1879]).

effect a quasi-*jeté* stroke. An almost identical passage appears in Joseph Reinagle's (1762-1825) quartet in D, given here in its original notation (figure 32).[99] Here the context strongly suggests that Reinagle's semiquaver passage begins on a down-bow, unlike Romberg's example above, but the technique is fundamentally the same.

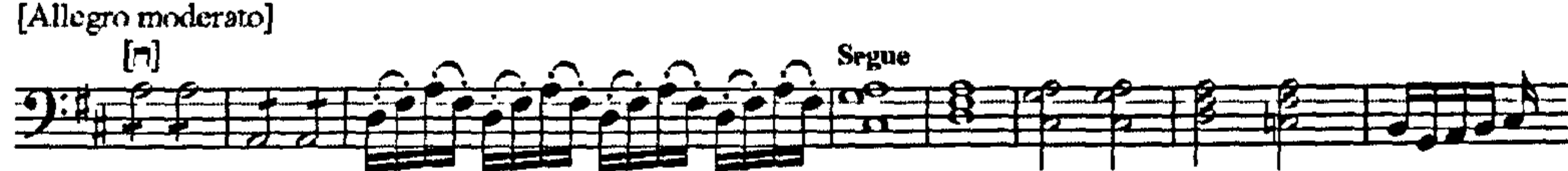

Figure 3/32: J. Reinagle, string quartet no. 2, 1st movt.

Romberg's remarks on this bowing imply that he would perform a passage like this Reinagle example with separate bows, beginning with an up-bow, near the tip of the bow. Seen in this light, a remarkable example from his second concerto, using high positions on the C string (figure 33), would therefore not have been played with a modern *spiccato*, but closer to the string, while still contrasting with the earlier appearance of the identical material played *alla gamba*, Romberg's term for *sul ponticello.*

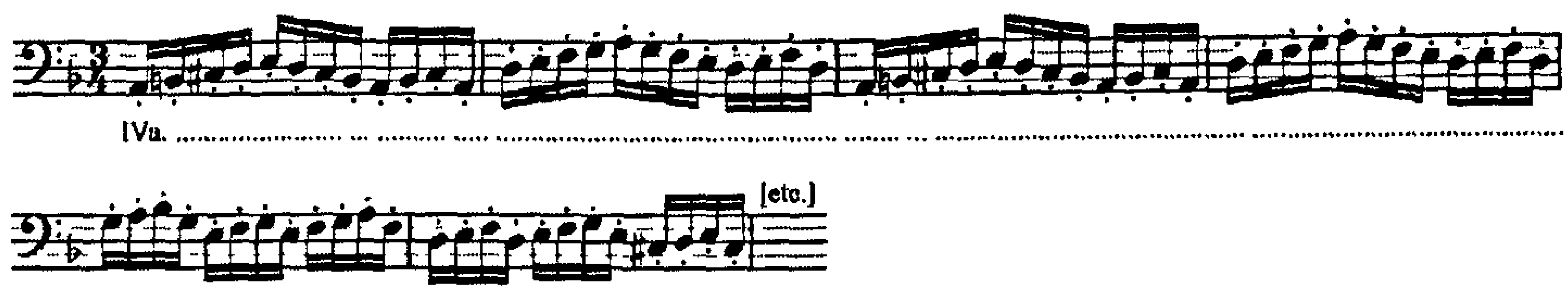

Figure 3/33: Romberg, *Concerto no. 2*, op. 3, 3rd movt.

It should also be noted that the bowing which Romberg sees as the hardest of all is so described because it feels least in control:

> [Variation 6] contains the most difficult of all Bowings because it often takes away from the player, all mastery over the Bow.[100]

This is not related to *spiccato*, but is the dotted-rhythm bowing sometimes called 'hooked' or 'tucked in' (figure 34).

[99] Joseph Reinagle, *Quartetto II* from *Three Quartetts* (London: the Author, [c. 1805]).
[100] Romberg, ibid., p. 112.

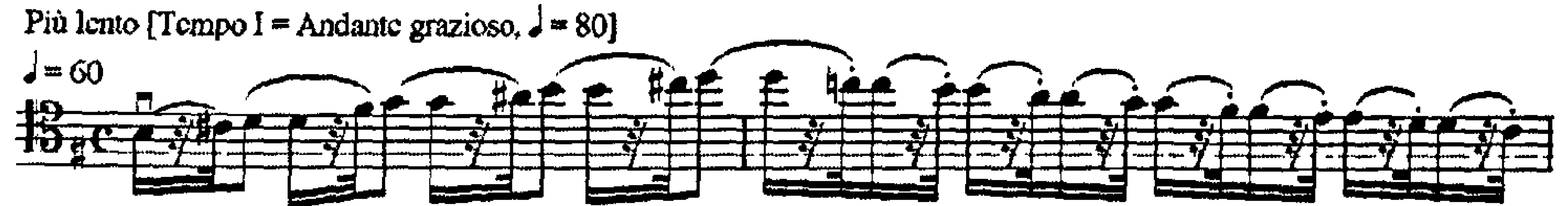

Figure 3/34: Romberg, *Violoncelloschule*, dotted-rhythm bowing

Taking all Romberg's bowing preferences in to account, it appears that the bowings he avoids, or towards which he has some antipathy, are all those which require the bow itself to do some of the work and over which the player has less control. Unlike his attitude to vibrato (see chapter 4), this would not seem to be a consequence of an unusual hand shape or bow hold (see chapter 1). However, it could partly have been influenced by the tightness of his bow. The illustrations included in his *Violoncelloschule* show a bow with the stick parallel to the hair. This is not an inaccurate drawing, for Romberg describes it explicitly:

> [...] it should be so tightened that the upper surface of the bow, (reckoning from the nut), may form a straight line with the undersurface of the head.[101]

Romberg also used a light bow, advising those who were 'fond of using much staccato' that it would be too light, 'as it will not possess sufficient spring'. Romberg owned two bows of the Tourte design, both stamped with his name, and very similar in length to modern cello bows, with hair lengths of 59.9 cm. and 59.7 cm.[102] A bow of this type, tightened to this degree, would tend to be difficult to control in complex staccato bowings.

In this context it is interesting to note that the middle section of Piatti's *Capriccio* no. 5 (figures 35-36) appears to have been performed by Piatti entirely on the string (modern cellists frequently use something like an up-bow *jeté*, rather like Eley's arpeggio exercises mentioned above).

[101] Ibid., p. 4.
[102] So described by Valerie Walden, *One Hundred Years of Violoncello A History of Technique and Performance Practice 1740-1840* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 90 n. 31.

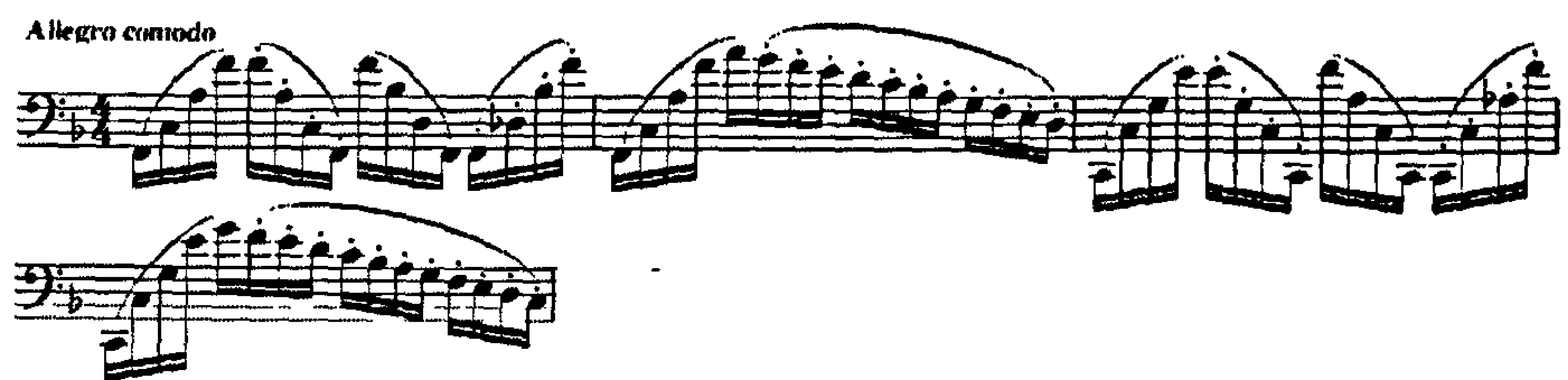

Figure 3/35: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 5, opening bars

Figure 3/36: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 5, middle section, beginning

His pupil William Whitehouse annotated it thus:

> No. 5 Allegro comodo – quite slow, rather heavy staccato arpeggio, (an "accommodating" time) to enable the pace of the arpeggios in the second part of the Caprice to be twice as fast as those in the first part, as written. – The second part to be pianissimo, the bow remaining on the strings except for the sixth note of each group, when it should be lifted momentarily. This bowing is best played about the middle of the bow. – The groups should on no account sound like triplets.[103]

However, according to Whitehouse, Piatti's own practice seems to have varied in *Capriccio* no. 12:

> ...the master performed the staccato notes [see figure 37] sometimes with a springing bow – (spiccato) and as an alternative – with the bow kept on the string (staccato), but in either case, at the eighth bar, he kept the bow well on the string – at the double bar in C major he somewhat slackened the pace of the movement, keeping the bow also on the string for the staccato [...][104]

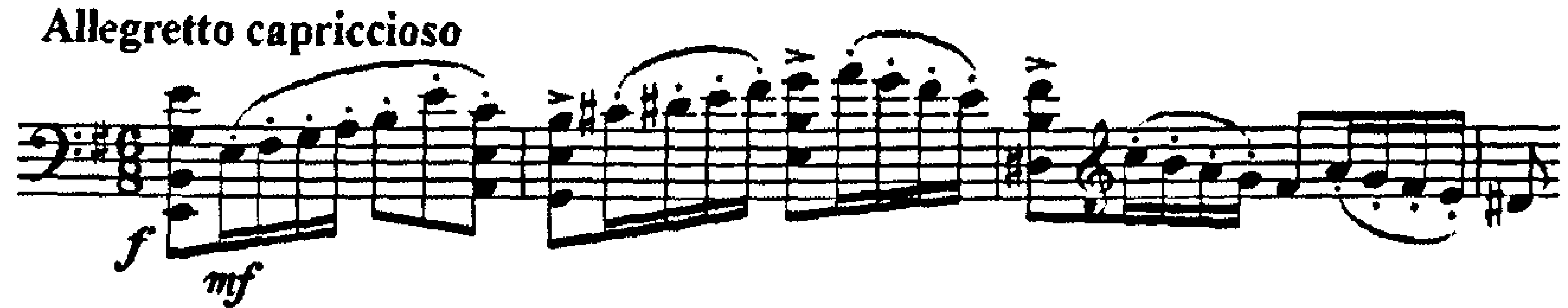

Figure 3/37: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 12, opening bars

Piatti's tempo alteration and decision to keep the bow on the string at the C major

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[103] Alfredo Piatti, ed. W. E. Whitehouse, *Dodici Capricci* op. 25 (Leipzig: N. Simrock [*hm*1874]), p. [2].
[104] Ibid.

section are both largely necessitated by the artificial harmonics later in the work (figure 38).

Figure 3/38: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 12, artificial harmonics, up-bow staccato

However, setting aside this practical consideration it seems clear that Piatti's general preference was to play on the string. Passages such as these from the concerto by Molique, written for Piatti and frequently performed by him, were clearly designed to be played with on-string up-bow staccato (figures 39-41).[105]

Figure 3/39: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 1st movt.

Figure 3/40: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 1st movt

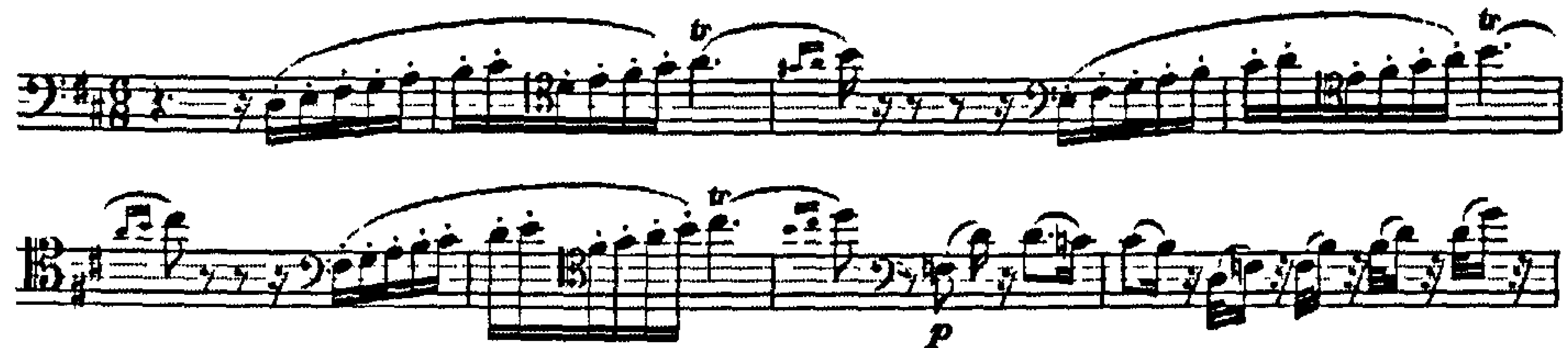

Figure 3/41: Molique, *Concerto in D*, 3rd movt

There are no passages of separately bowed semiquavers (or shorter notes) in this work, or in his *Capricci*, which necessitate *spiccato* rather than a degree of *détaché*.

[105] B. Molique, *Concerto* op. 45 (Leipzig : Kistner, [*HM*1854]).

The only nineteenth-century cellist who appears to have embraced a wide range of bowing techniques including *spiccato* and down- and up-bow staccato is Servais. There are many examples of extreme up-bow staccato in Servais such as in figure 42.[106]

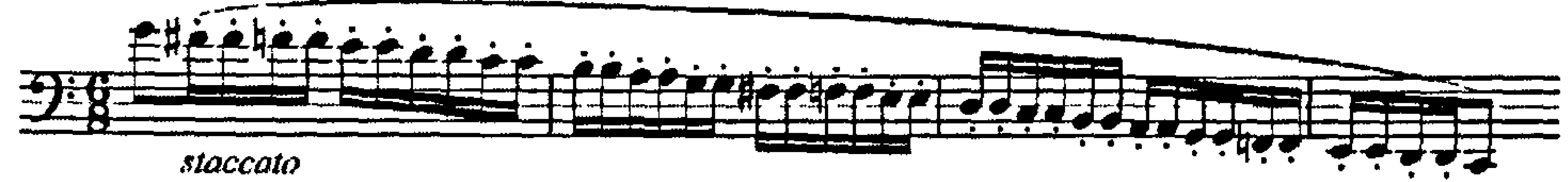

Figure 3/42: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*, up-bow staccato

Just as frequently, he uses what would appear to be a 'heavier' version of this technique in slow tempi (figure 43):

Figure 3/43: Servais, *Concerto militaire, Andante religioso*, up-bow accents

Just as Romberg thought the springing bow irrelevant to the requirements of modern music, apart from more or less frivolous pieces, so Jules de Swert uses similar criteria to justify the study of up-bow staccato as an essential for any player, adding these remarks on the topic to his edition of Romberg's treatise:

> The staccato is of great importance in relation to demands that are nowadays made of virtuosi. I know many artists both on the violin and on the cello, who have to avoid modern compositions because they cannot execute a staccato. I advise everyone to study the staccato in the way described above. Admittedly, one will develop it with greater skill than another (each according to his natural talents), but it will not be totally fruitless for anyone.[107]

Kummer, unlike Romberg, does give some attention to a fast up-bow staccato,

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[106] Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque sur le carnaval de Venise*, autograph MS, Brussels Royal Conservatoire MS. 45.106, p. 76. This version differs in many respects from the published version (Mainz: B. Schotts Söhne, [*HM*1849].

[107] 'Das Staccato ist in Bezug, auf die Antsprüche die man heutzutage an Virtuosen macht, von grosser Wichtigkeit. Ich kenne viele Künstler sowohl auf der Geige auf dem Violoncell, die auf manche moderne Composition verzichten müssen, weil sie kein Staccato machen können. Ich rathe also Jedem das Staccato nach der oben beschiebenen Weise zu studiren. Der Eine wird es freilich auf grösserer Fertigkeit bringen wie der Andere, (jedem seiner natürlichen Anlage gemäss) aber ganz fruchtlos wird er für Keinen sein.' Bernhard Romberg, rev. Jules de Swert and Heinrich Grünfeld, *Violoncelloschule* (Berlin: E. Bote & G. Bock [1888]), p. 115.

with a basic description of how to obtain it, and some exercises:

> By staccato, violinists and cellists understand the pushing of many notes in one bow, whereas the Italians simply call this 'pushed' [*gestossen*]. After the first note, in which the bow is extended in a down-bow to the tip, the right hand returns the bow (without lifting it from the string) in a short and firm up-bow continuously and uses of its length as little as possible for each note. The index finger of the right hand presses the bow-stick a little more than usual. The first and last notes must stay a little less marked.[108]

He gives two exercises, the first of which (figure 44) is very similar to Kreutzer's study no. 4 (figure 45), and second of which is a conventional up-bow staccato scale (figure 46).

Figure 3/44: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, up-bow staccato exercise[109]

Figure 3/45: Kreutzer, *40 Etudes*, Study no. 4, opening[110]

Figure 3/46: Kummer, *Violoncelloschule*, up-bow staccato exercise, p. 110

Later nineteenth-century advice on up-bow staccato elaborates Kummer's explanation.

[108] 'Unter Staccato verstehen Geiger und Cellisten das Abstoßen mehrerer Noten auf einen Bogenstrich, während das dem Italienischen entnommene Wort schlechthin "gestoßen" heißt. Nach dem ersten Tone, bei welchem der Bogen im Herunterstrich bis an die Spitze auszuziehen ist, rückt die rechte Hand den Bogen (ohne ihn von den Saiten zu heben) in hinaufstrich kurz und kräftig fort und verbraucht von seiner Länge so wenig als möglich bei jedem Ton. Der Zeigefinger de rechten Hand drückt dabei die Bogenstange etwas mehr als gewöhnlich. Die erste und letzte Note müssen stets ein wenig markiert werden.' F. A. Kummer, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1909), p. 25.

[109] Kummer, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig ; C. F. Peters, 1839), p. 109.

[110] Rudolphe Kreutzer, *40 Etudes ou Caprices* (Paris: Conservatoire de Musique, [1796]). Dehn's cello transcription of Kreutzer (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*HM*1831]) had already appeared.

Becker adds that, as described by Kummer, this technique can have physical problems:

> Steinhausen tends towards the view shared by the editor [Becker], that the staccato originates solely in the pronation and supination of the forearm. This would be a similar movement to that of the left forearm in vibrato [...]. In many players, very fast staccato passages are produced through a convulsive stiffening of the muscles, with a so-called stiff arm. However, this staccato production has the disadvantage, that it is usually only maintained at a particular tempo.[111]

Becker's additional advice on up-bow staccato clearly implies a much more active wrist than any earlier treatment of the subject by a cellist. Indeed, de Swert had explicitly rejected it in the context of an extreme up-bow staccato over four octaves, acquired, according to him, over a period of two years: 'One is not to study the above staccato with the wrist'.[112] Stiffening of the arm was a recognised problem with up-bow staccato. Junod uses 'staccato' to mean an up-bow staccato with many notes, and describes it thus:

> To execute the staccato well it must be commenced slowly at first, until equality of tone is acquired. Rigidity of execution must be avoided, the first finger only slightly pressing the stick of the bow, which is stopped at each note, as little of it as possible being used. The staccato is an affair of skill and touch [*tact*]. It is acquired after much labour combined with great care.[113]

Jules de Swert is also concerned about stiffness:

> By staccato is meant several detached notes which are played in one bow. In playing the first note draw the bow from the nut right down to the point and give a short strong pressure for each note in the up-bow, without lifting it from the strings. Hold the bow a little firmer than usual, but avoid stiffness. Play at first slowly, use as little of the length of the bow as possible, and stop after each note.[114]

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[111] 'Steinhausen ist der Ansicht, zu der auch Herausgeber neigt, daß das Staccato lediglich aus Pronation und Supination des Vorderarms entsteht. Dies wäre eine dem Vibrato des linken Vorderarms ähnliche Bewegung [...]. Sehr rache Staccatopassagen werden von vielen Spielern durch krampfhaftes feststellen der Armmuskeln, mit sogenannten steifem Arm, hervorgebracht. Diese Stacaatoproduktion hat aber den Nachteil, daß sie meistens nur auf ein bestimmtes Tempo eingestellt ist.' Kummer, rev. Becker, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 25.

[112] 'Man soll das Staccato oben nicht, mit dem Handgelenk studieren'. Romberg, ed. de Swert, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 115.

[113] L. Junod, trans. F. Clayton, *New and Concise Method*, p. 58.

[114] Romberg, rev. de Swert, *Violoncelloschule*, p. 86.

One work in particular constitutes a compendium of bowing effects (*jeté*, up- and down-bow staccato), unequalled by any other cellist-composer in this period – the *Fantaisie 'Le Desir'*, a set of variations on Schubert's 'Sehnsucht' waltz (figure 52).[115] However, Servais's evident interest in extreme bowing effects was not to become part of the cello's technical repertoire. Neither composers nor cellists pursued this kind of writing, which is not found in any of the modern cello canon. Servais is also unusual in his predilection for effects played at the heel of the bow (figures 47-51).

Figure 3/47: Servais, *Souvenir d'Anvers, au talon*[116]

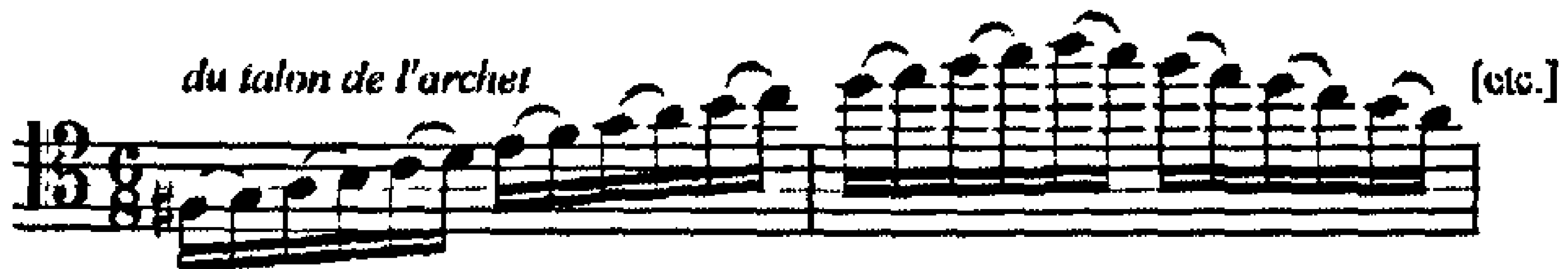

Figure 3/48: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque, au talon*[117]

Figure 3/49: Servais, Concerto no. 2, *au talon*[118]

Figure 3/50: Servais, *Duo sur une mélodie de Dalayrac*, var. 2[119]

[115] Servais, *Fantaisie et Variations brillantes sur la Valse de Schubert intitulée : le Désir (Sehnsuchts-Walzer)* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, [*HM*1844]). The contemporaneous MS copy by Ulysse Claes is entitled 'Hommage a Beethoven', as apparently Servais originally thought he was the composer of the theme. Brussels Royal Conservatoire MS. 45.106, p. 7. This work was recorded by Heinrich Kruse (1866-192?) in 1915 with numerous small changes, especially to the passage quoted. *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2.
[116] Servais, *Souvenir d'Anvers*, ibid., p. 29.
[117] Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*, ibid., p. 75.
[118] Servais, Concerto no. 2, autograph MS, Brussels Royal Conservatoire MS. 45.106, p. 95.
[119] Servais, *Duo sur une mélodie de Dalayrac pour deux violoncelles* op. posth. (Mainz: Schott's Söhne, [HM1876]).

Figure 3/51: **Servais, *Duo sur une mélodie de Dalayrac*, var. 2**

Even Popper (like Servais, frequently called the 'Paganini of the cello'), did not, in his own compositions, explore complex up-bow staccato, *spiccato* or mixtures of the two in anything like this way, although his studies do examine some of these techniques individually and at length. Indeed, Servais's sophisticated bowing technique does not merely emulate that of his contemporary, the violinist Vieuxtemps, it sometimes exceeds it. Vieuxtemps's violin concertos share a number of Servais's techniques, in particular where complex passages in double-stops are concerned Vieuxtemps frequently uses staccato and *spiccato* bowings, and marks many semiquaver passages to be played *au talon*, but his own cello concerto uses these techniques vary sparingly.[120] On the other hand, in the duos written by Servais and Vieuxtemps together, the solo parts are equally challenging, suggesting that Servais's tendency was to write violinistically for the cello.[121]

As Dotzauer observed, it is difficult to write about cello bowing because of the 'amount of small *nuances* which, essential in themselves, are denied a verbal explanation'.[122] However, the over-riding principles of bow hold as described in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would indicate that playing with a raised wrist, a lowered right elbow and an virtually inactive upper arm, should indicate to the player what 'little *nuances*' are possible. An analysis of the action of the bow arm in terms of its active and passive elements, and an awareness of how perceptions changed in this respect, also offers a way of deciding on which practice, or practices, the player wishes

[120] Henri Vieuxtemps, *Concerto* op. 46 (Mainz : B. Schott's Söhne, n.d. [*HM*1877]).
[121] See, for example, Henri Vieuxtemps and Adrien-François Servais, *Duo brillant* op. 39 (Mainz : B. Schott's Söhne, n.d. [*HM*1864]).
[122] '[...] la quantité de petits nuances qui, essentielles en leur mêmes, se refusent á une explication verbale'. Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule*, p. 6.

to emulate.

Figure 3/52: Servais, *Fantaisie 'Le desir'*, mixed bowings

CHAPTER 4: PLAYING WITH EXPRESSION – PORTAMENTO

Portamento and vibrato (dealt with in chapter 5) constitute the two most frequently discussed expressive techniques used by string players.[1] There are more generally applicable expressive techniques, such as embellishment, or the use of *tempo rubato*, but they do not have a specific manifestation unique to the cello or even to instruments of the violin family in general, and will not therefore be discussed here. Earlier in the nineteenth century, cello tutors included merely routine instructions in the realisation of ornaments that are of no intrinsic interest, and nineteenth-century cellists are completely silent on the topic of *rubato*.[2] It is of course entirely plausible that cellists would have followed the examples of violinists or pianists in the use of *rubato*, but that does not provide grounds for a study of *rubato* concentrating specifically on the cello.[3]

There is a particular, cello-specific problem here – neither topic is theorised by cellists to anything like the degree found in violin methods. The detailed explanations of both portamento and vibrato found in earlier nineteenth-century violin treatises, such as those by Spohr, Bériot or David, have no real equivalents in the cello repertoire until the second decade of the twentieth century. No cellist goes into as much taxonomic detail as Beriot does for the violin, identifying three gradations of *ports-de-voix*, '*vif*', '*doux*' and

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[1] Here, portamento will cover any audible connection between notes. Vibrato is taken to mean a regular oscillation of the left hand, used either occasionally or continuously, and will refer to any such embellishment however named elsewhere. In essence this follows David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 75-76 (portamento) and pp. 111-112 (vibrato). The different historical terminologies are fully elucidated in Brown, *CRPP*, pp. 517-521 (vibrato) and pp. 558-559 (portamento). The writer's father, the violinist William Kennaway (1913-1986), frequently used the term 'close shake' for vibrato.

[2] No concert review of a cellist uncovered to date mentions or even alludes to the term. Becker is the first cellist to discuss it; see Hugo Becker and Dago Rynar, 'Vom Rubato', in *Mechanik und Äesthetik de Violoncellspiels* (Vienna and Leipzig: Universal-Edition, 1929), pp. 169-73.

[3] The most recent detailed examination of *rubato* is Richard Hudson, *Stolen Time: the history of tempo rubato* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), which does not approach the subject from the point of view of individual instrumental techniques.

'*trainé*'.[4] While one could reasonably assume that, as with *rubato*, cellists imitated violinists in the technique and application of vibrato and portamento, this *a priori* assumption should not go unquestioned, if for no other reason than that there are significant technical differences between the two instruments. Vibrato on the violin is a fundamentally different physical technique; portamento is 'enforced' on the cello far more than on the violin.

PORTAMENTO: THEORY

Daniel Leech-Wilkinson's recent assertion, in the context of singing, that portamento 'can be suppressed at will', does not quite fit the physical realities of large string instruments.[5] Unlike the violin, playing the cello necessitates frequent shifting of the left hand. In its normal configuration, the fingers are a semitone apart, and even in extension the hand conventionally only covers a major third in the lower positions. There are many instances in the baroque period of passagework requiring a stretch of a fourth in order to play octaves in first position, and there are a few examples in Duport and Baudiot, as well as one passage in Beethoven's string trio op. 3, but this is the limit for normal-sized hands; only in the twentieth century is there an attempt to develop larger extensions. The discussion of scale fingerings in chapter 2 showed that cellists frequently overcame this fundamental physical obstacle by the simple expedient of shifting with the same finger, typically LH1 or LH4, or with almost any finger in a chromatic scale. Systematic fingerings emerged which gave greater clarity and avoided audible shifts. These eventually became standardised, but not without a period of overlap of 'old' and 'modern' fingerings, and some wide divergences between theory and practice. Clearly, if the passage in question uses intervals larger than a tone, then,

[4] Charles de Bériot, *Méthode de violon* (Mainz : B.Schott fils, 1858), p.237.
[5] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Portamento and Musical Meaning', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 25 (2006), p. 237 n. 9.

unless the piece is written wholly in first position, some shifting is inevitable. There are therefore, on the cello far more than on the violin, 'forced' as well as discretionary or 'unforced' shifts. This complicates the discussion of portamento, as some fingerings are unavoidably 'sliding' without considerable sophistication in the action of both left hand and bow. Some cellists may have shifted audibly as a matter of course, while others were concerned only to shift audibly when musically appropriate, sometimes suggesting ways to minimise the effect where inappropriate.

Cello methods of the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth centuries, even the most technically advanced treatises such as those by Azaïs, Raoul or Bréval, more or less ignore portamento. The material offered to the student generally has very little sustained *cantabile* and a great deal of *detaché* or mixed slurred/*detaché* bowing in fast tempi.[6] Baillot introduces the portamento in the context of an explanation of the *appoggiatura*:

> Composers sometimes employ the small note to indicate the *portamento*, or *porte-de-voix*. Ex:

> The appoggiatura should never be used on a note commencing a melody nor on any notes whatsoever preceded immediately by rests.[7]

Baillot includes portamento with the appoggiatura because both are indicated with additional small notes. However, his prohibition on the use of the appoggiatura at the start of a melody surely applies equally to the portamento – this topic will return in the context of Grützmacher's portamento, discussed later.

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[6] Pierre-Hyacinthe Azaïs, *Methode de basse* (Paris: Bignon, [c.1775]); Jean Marie Raoul, *Méthode de Violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, [c. 1797]); Jean Baptiste Bréval, *Traité du Violoncelle* (Paris: Imbault, [1804]).
[7] P. Baillot, J. H. Levasseur, C.-S. Catel and C.- N. Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1805), p. 20.

Duport's *Essai* offers a more detailed discussion of the topic, albeit a largely negative one:

> You may think it extraordinary that in scales I have avoided with great care making two notes with the same finger, as is found in all published methods until now. In my opinion this custom is a vice, in that it produces a bad effect. Everyone knows that it is the touch of the fingers that makes good articulation (*perlé*), and certainly, it is impossible to have this touch when one slides with one finger from one semitone to another, since if the bow does not seize the moment when the finger has slid to attack the string, one hears something very unpleasant. One can, it is true, play two notes with the same finger, quite slowly; one can shift over even an interval of a third, fourth, fifth, etc., sliding firmly with the same finger, and this produces a very good effect, called portamento (*porter le son*).
>
> Example
>
> Adagio
>
> These slides, if I may explain myself thus, are made more or less quickly, according to the expression required by the melody, but at speed (of which clarity constitutes a large part of merit), notes with the same finger are, in my opinion, insupportable, in that they oppose this clarity. Playing at sight, if one is taken by surprise, not having foreseen the best position, one would be better, without doubt, to play two notes with the same finger, rather than not to play them at all, but in a prepared solo it is well to avoid them.[8]

[8] 'On trouvera peut-être extraordinaire que j'aie évité avec le plus grand soin, dans les Gammes de faire deux notes du même doigt, comme on le trouve dans tous les livres de principes qui ont étés publies jusqu'ici. Mon opinion est que cette manière est vicieuse, en ce qu'elle produit un mauvais effet. Tout le monde sait que c'est le tact des doigts qui fait le perlé, et certes, il ne peut y avoir de tact, quand on glisse un doigt d'un demi-ton a l'autre, car si l'archet ne saisit pas bien l'instant ou le doigt a glissé, pour attaquer la corde, on entend quelque chose de très-désagréable. On peut faire, il est vrai, deux notes du même doigt, un peu lentement: on passe même d'un intervalle de tierce, de quarte, de quinte, &c en glissant fortement le même doigt, et ceci produit un très-bon effet, cela s'appelle porter le son. [*example*] Ces glissades, si j'ose m'exprimer ainsi, se font plus ou moins rapidement, suivant l'expression qu'exige la mélodie, mais dans la vitesse, dont la netteté fait une grande partie du mérite, les notes du même doigt sont, a mon avis, insoutenables, en ce qu'elles s'opposent a cette netteté. En jouant a livre ouvert, si l'on se trouve surprise, n'ayant pas prévu la meilleure position, on sera mieux, sans contredit, de faire deux notes du même doigt, que de ne pas les faire du tout; mais dans un SOLO étudié, on sera très-bien de les éviter.' Jean-Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté du violoncelle* (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), pp. 17-18.

Later, he shows where in fast passage-work, same-finger shifting is (exceptionally) necessary, in both *detaché* and slurred passages. Nonetheless, for him, same-finger shifting is generally a necessary evil for use in an emergency, or when there is simply no alternative. The single example included in the above quotation is Duport's only example of portamento.

Baudiot is scarcely more forthcoming.[9] In the short section of his *Méthode* devoted to the fingering of expressive melodies, he looks at two fingerings that make 'a good effect'. The first is used when the same note is repeated with different fingers within the same bow (figure 1):

Figure 4/1: Baudiot, *Méthode*, same-note shifting

These shifts are however clearly not intended to be 'scooped' – a new finger is substituted so that the note is only lightly articulated.[10] The second type of shift (figure 2) is simply described as 'made with a single finger between two different notes ascending or descending, sliding the hand'.

Figure 4/2: Baudiot, *Méthode*, same-finger shifts

[9] Charles Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel et fils ainé, 1826), pp. 17-18.
[10] Spohr describes the same technique, with an almost identical exercise. Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, [*HM*1833]), p. 175.

Baudiot gives no real indication as to how quickly, slowly, when, or how often, such portamenti should be applied, and gives no further examples.

Dotzauer's 1824 cello method gives more detailed shifting exercises, with same-finger and different-finger shifts (figure 3), both within one bow and combined with a change of bow. Note the similarity between Dotzauer's first example here and that given by Duport above.[11]

Figure 4/3: Dotzauer, *Violonzellschule*, portamento exercises

Overall, however, Dotzauer, though more enthusiastic than Duport, is still very restrained on the subject. For him, portamento is primarily a technical device, an aid to staying in tune when shifting to difficult notes:

> The *glissement* gives the artist the means to grasp and progress with more accuracy from one note to another, in awkward passages; but this means, unless applied with taste, rarely makes a good effect. It is obvious that one would not wish to use it in a tutti, since ornaments in general only have their place in a concerto or a solo, which allows the artist to give way to his feeling.[12]

[11] J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle. Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B.Schott fils, [1825]), pp. 38-39. Inconsistent key-signatures and accidentals have been silently corrected here.
[12] 'Le glissement facilite a l'artiste le moyen de saisir et faire succéder, avec plus de justesse, un ton a un autre ton, dans des passages embarrassans; mais ce moyen, quoiqu'appliquer avec goût,

Romberg is more positive:

> The expression *Portamento di voce* (the sustaining and combining of notes) is applicable in the same manner to Instrumental, as to Vocal Music, and signifies the gliding from one note to another, by which means, the most strongly accented notes of the air are blended together with those which precede them, and an agreeable effect produced.[13]

The demonstration exercise following this observation contains this passage (figure 4).[14] Romberg specifically points out the grace note in bar 21 (b. 7 of figure 4) as indicating portamento.[15] However, in practice, he does not restrict portamento to this particular notation, as it is strongly implied by his fingerings elsewhere (figure 4, bb. 1, 5, 10 and 12). Although Romberg does not provide specific exercises for shifting, there are many small examples throughout his *Violoncellschule*, particularly of multiple unforced same-finger shifts, such as these from his 'piece in the style of a concertino' (figure 5, bb. 1, 5, 7, 9, 13 and 15).[16]

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fait rarement un bel effet. Il est évident qu'on n'ose pas s'en servir dans le tutti, puisque les agremens, en général, ne sont a leur place que dans un concert ou dans un solo, qui permet a l'artiste de céder a son sentiment.' Ibid.

[13] 'Die Bennenung (das Tragen des Stimme), portamento di voce, wird bei der Instrumental-Musik eben so angewandt, als bei der Vocal-Musik, und bedeutet das Hinubersiehen eines Tones zu einem andern, durch welches die am starksten betonte Note de Gesanges mit der vorhergegangenen zusammen gezogen wird, und dadurch mehr Anmuth erhalt...' Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 87. *Violoncellschule*, p. 85.

[14] Ibid., pp. 88-89, bb. 15-27.

[15] "...wie in 21sten Takt des folgendes Lento Cantabile, wo dies Hinüberzeihen vermittelst einer kleinen Note angegeben ist". [This takes place in the 21st bar of the following "Lento Cantabile", where the blending is marked by a small note.] Ibid., p.87.

[16] Ibid., p. 100.

Figure 4/4: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, portamento exercise

Figure 4/5: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, same-finger shifts

Like Dotzauer, Romberg is fond of a particular combination of a turn followed by a shift up to the octave harmonic, a feature of another Romberg ornamentation

exercise (figure 6).[17] However, Romberg was exceptional in his relative enthusiasm for portamento. He may have simply liked its effect more than some other cellists, but his taste may also have been influenced by his idiosyncratic violinistic left hand shape (see chapter 1), which would have made it harder to avoid audible sliding.

Figure 4/6: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, turn plus shift

Friedrich Kummer was much more cautious about portamento:

> There is another bad habit against which the young player should be equally cautioned: – that is, frequently – in some cases continually – gliding the finger along the String from one note to another in intervals of thirds, or fourths; for both the ear and feeling run a great risk of being spoiled by this habit so that by degrees, even the most exaggerated expression of this sort will appear tasteful to the player; whilst to an unvitiated ear it will give no other effect than that of continual moaning and wailing.[18]

Techniques for concealing shifts, by means, say, of subtle manipulation of bow pressure, relaxation of the pressure of the shifting finger, or simply by shifting as quickly as possible, only appear later in the nineteenth century. Davidoff may be the first to examine the technique of minimising audible shifting. He begins with simple shifts from first to fourth position on the same string, where he demonstrates his fundamental principles:

> The shift from one position to another is made possible by the sliding of the thumb on the neck (i.e. of the instrument); the finger has its own role to undertake; it is very simple, if the first note of the new position is to be held by the same finger as the last of the foregoing position, e.g. (example). Here the thumb slides down the neck and the finger down the string quickly and easily from one position to another. It is a harder exercise if the first note of the following position is to be held by

[17] Ibid., p. 94.

[18] L. A. Kummer, trans. anon., *Violoncello School* op.60 (London: Ewer and Co., [1850?]), p. 27.

> another finger than the last note of the previous position. One can in this case (with few exceptions) establish a basic rule, that the finger already lying on the string slides into the new position without leaving it, and at its destination either stays still or is quickly lifted up (whether that following position begins with a higher or lower finger), and where the new position is reached the latter finger drops in place, in but a moment. – If two fingers are replaced in a change of position, one must also let one finger slide and the other drop – to be precise, following the above-established rule, drop the beginning finger of the new position. The opposite case is not absolutely to be rejected; now and then, the player can achieve a glissando in this way. The learner is nonetheless advised initially not to depart from this rule; he thus achieves precision in playing and avoids many needless unattractive-sounding glissandos.[19]

Davidoff is the first cellist clearly to describe what Flesch calls the 'B-shift', where the slide is made with the '*b*eginning' finger; the alternative is the 'L-shift', sliding on the arriving or '*l*ast' finger. Although Flesch used this terminology, the distinction originates in Spohr.[20] Cello methods that discuss portamento in the nineteenth century concentrate on the B-shift, although in practice the L-shift was often used (Davidoff himself acknowledges its occasional usefulness), as will be shown below. Davidoff's principles also apply in the case of a shift involving a string-crossing ('The established

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[19] 'Der Übergang von einer Position zur andern wird durch in Gleiten des Daumens am Halse ermöglicht; die Finger haben dabei ihre eigene Rolle durchzuführen; sie ist sehr einfach, wenn der erste Ton der neuen Position mit demselben Finger zu greifen ist wie der letzte der vorhergehenden Position, z. B. [*music example*]. Hier gleiten Daumen am Halse und Finger auf sen Saiten schnell und leicht von einer Position in die andere. Schwieriger wird die Aufgabe, wenn der der erste Ton der folgenden Position mit einem andern Finger zu greifen ist wie der letzte Ton der vorhergehenden Position. Man könnte für diese Falle (mit wenigen Ausnahmen) als Grundregel feststellen, daß der Finger, der schon auf der Saite liegt, ohne sie zu verlassen, in die neue Position gleitet, und auf dem erreichten Platze entweder liegen bleibt oder schnell aufgehoben wird, je nachdem die folgende Position mit einem höhern oder tiefern Finger beginnt, daß dieser letztere Finger aber in dem Augenblick, wo die neue Position erreicht ist, auf seinen Platz fällt. – Man hätte also, wenn sich zwei Finger beim Positionswechsel ablösen, den einen gleiten und den andernfallen zu lassen, und zwar müßte nach der oben aufgestellten Regel der neue Position beginnende Finger fallen. Der umgekehrte Fall ist nicht absolut zu verwerfen; zuweilen kann der Spieler dadurch ein ausdrucksvolles Glissando erzielen. Dem Schüler ist aber anzuraten, anfangs nicht von der gegebenen Regel abzuweichen; er erreicht dadurch Präzision im Spiel und vermeidet vile unnütze und unschön klingende Glissandos.' Carl Yu. Davidoff, *Violoncello-Schule* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1888]), p. 32.

[20] Carl Flesch, trans. Frederick Martens, *The Art of Violin Playing*, 2 vols. (New York: C. Fischer, 1930), vol. 1, p. 30. Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, [*HM*1833]), p. 120.

rules remain similar, whether the new position is on the same or on another string')[21] and to longer shifts going beyond fourth position:

> In crossing from lower to higher positions, the greatest exception to the rule concerning the sliding and the falling fingers is made; such an exception must be made with the fourth finger, since this finger is not allowed to arrive in higher positions at all. A sliding following finger is at times of even more beautiful effect, namely if it, as in the case of experienced players, begins not immediately, but if the finger be, so to say, replaced. [...] A shift like that from one position to another must occur so skilfully, that nothing is heard of the picking up or the replacing [...][22]

Davidoff goes on to warn beginners of a tendency to smudge the note immediately preceding a long shift (a sixth or more). He clearly sees portamento as something only to be used occasionally, and his emphasis is very much on the acquisition of a shifting technique that minimises the audibility of the shift, especially for less advanced players. The effect of his detailed attention to almost every permutation of fingerings means that, notwithstanding its appearance, his example study for shifts into higher positions can be read equally as an exercise in the avoidance of audible sliding (figure 7).[23] It may be significant that when both Davidoff and Grützmacher arranged various works of

[21] 'Die aufgestellten Regeln bleiben die gleichen, ob nun die neue Position auf derselben oder auf einer andern Saite sich befindet'. Davidoff, *Violoncell-schule*, p. 35.
[22] 'Bei den Übergängen von den tieferen in die höheren Positionen warden die meisten Abweichungen von der Regel bezüglich des gleitenden und fallenden Fingers gemacht; solche Abweichungen müssen beim vierten Finger sogar notwendig stattfinden, da dieser Finger gar nicht in die höheren Positionen gelangen darf. Ein gleitender folgender Finger ist hier sogar zuweilen von schöner Wirkung, namentlich wenn er, wie beim geübten Spieler, nicht unmittelbar beginnt, sondern wenn die Finger sich sozusagen ablösen. [...] Ein derartiger Übergang aus einer Position in die andere muß aber so gewandt geschehen, daß von dem Aufheben und dem Ablösen nichts gehört wird [...] Noch auf einen Umstand – der dem Anfänger so manche Schwierigkeit bietet – müß hier aufmerksam gemacht werden: auf das Verwischen der Töne, die den Ausgangspunkt eines Überganges bilden, namentlich, wen das Intervall der aufeinanderfolgenden Töne ein größeres (Sexte, Septime, Oktave etc.) ist. In folgenden Figur z. B.[music example] geraten die mit NB.versehenen Töne nur zu häufig verwischt oder undeutlich: der Anfänger hat dabei nur die folgenden Töne, das Treffen der weit gelegenen Intervalle im Auge; er beginnt mit dem Übergang zu zeitig, noch ehe die betreffenden To[e]ne deutlich gegriffen sind. – Es ist daher dem Anfänger sehr anzuraten, auf solche Töne mehr Gewicht zu legen, nicht eher an den Übergang zu denken, bis der betreffende Ton klar zur Geltung gekommen, ihm sogar eine etwas größere Dauer zu geben, als ihm zukommt.' Ibid., p. 70.
[23] Ibid., p. 72.

Chopin for the cello, Grützmacher's version used copious portamento markings, while Davidoff's gave no explicit indications for its use, with fewer fingerings that might imply it.[24]

Carl Schroeder had similar reservations to many of the cellists already quoted, and echoed Kummer in particular:

> Sliding from one position to another must be done with ease and certainty, much practice being necessary to attain this. Passing from the third or fourth position to the higher ones causes special difficulty [...] If the notes of the different positions are not bound together by means of legato signs, this sliding of the finger must take place so rapidly that no notes are noticed between. If the notes are bound together to be played in one bow, then the slide or portamento will be audible. The player must beware lest the portamento from one tone to the other becomes exaggerated, and that the entire enharmonic scale lying between is not heard. All "whining" must be avoided, and the note adjoining that to which the finger is sliding should not be heard.[25]

Schroeder returns to this theme, describing the widespread fault of 'whining' as 'a mawkish drawling from one note to another'.[26] This provides a context for such passages as the following, from Schroeder's edition of a sonata attributed to Grazioli (figure 8).[27] The D-string shifts in the slow movement (bars 9 and 17) are quite exceptional in terms of Schroeder's general approach to this repertoire, which is extremely restrained compared with, say, Grützmacher's way with baroque music. It may be significant that they both occur with an upward dotted-rhythm pattern, which is itself strongly suggestive of portamento.

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[24] F. Chopin, arr. C. Davidoff, *Mazurkas von F. Chopin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel [*HM*1874]); Chopin, arr. F. Grützmacher, *Ausgewählte Kompositionen von Fr. Chopin* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters [1880]).
[25] Carl Schroeder (trans. J. Matthews), *Catechism of Violoncello Playing* (London: Augener, 1893), pp. 37-39.
[26] Ibid., p. 73.
[27] G. B. Grazioli, ed. C. Schroeder, *Classical Violoncello Music Book XII. Sonate von G. B.Grazioli* (London: Augener Ltd., n.d.), vc. pt. p. 5.

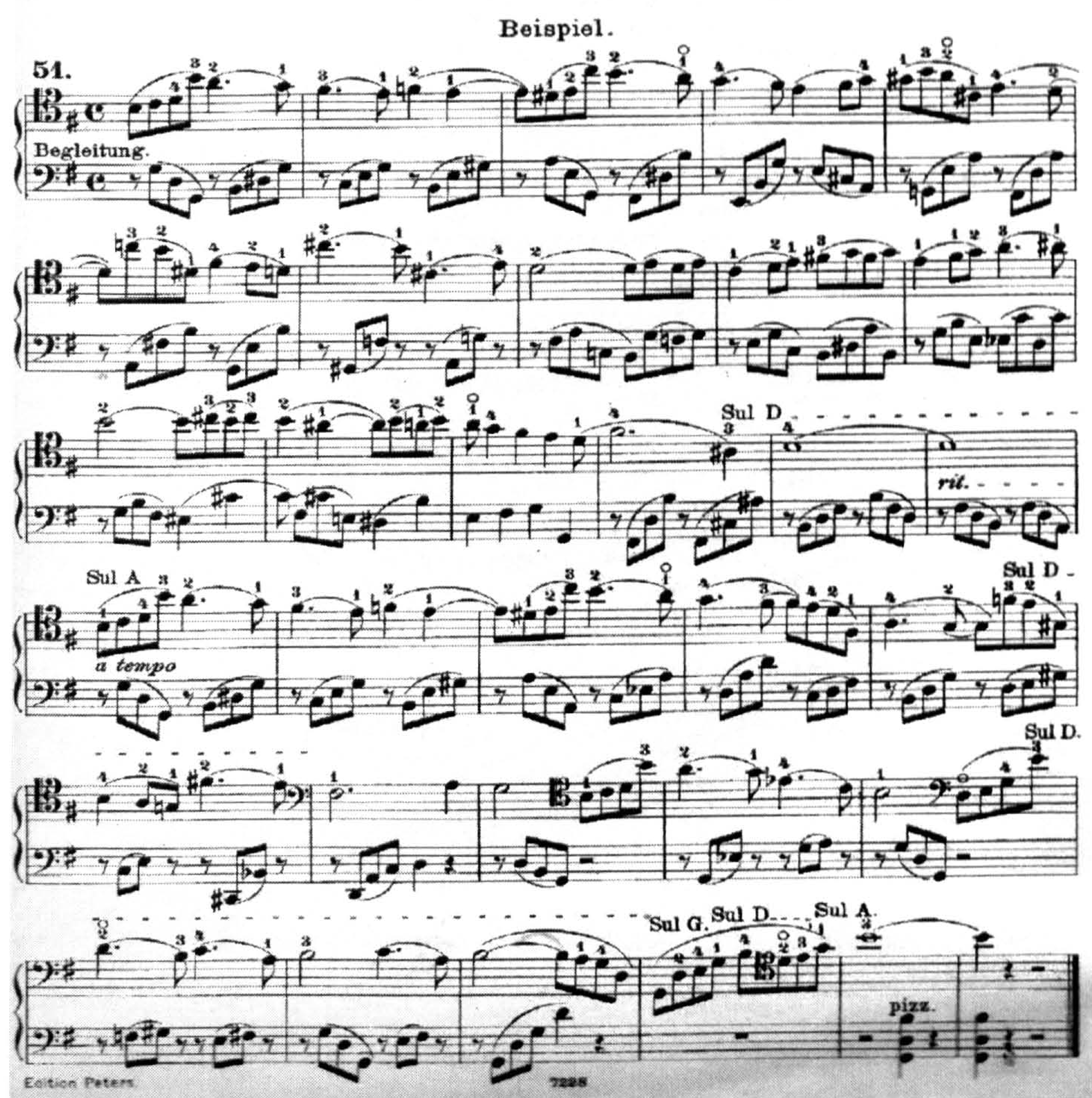

Figure 4/7: Davidoff, *Violoncell-schule*, shifting exercise

Figure 4/8: Grazioli, ed. Schroeder, *Sonata in Ab*, 1st movt.

Schroeder's version of Bach's G major suite (with piano accompaniment) almost entirely avoids even an implied portamento – the few same-finger shifts in the sarabande are so short as to be negligible.[28]

Josef Werner adopts a more systematic approach. A group of exercises on unisons begins with simple shifts from a note to the same note on the neighbouring string (figure 9). This idea is extended to playing four such notes (fig. 9, bars 21-24).[29] After this, Werner returns to the two-string version, but this time using the thumb and LH3 for double-stopped unisons (example, bars 25-31). The whole exercise is to produce 'perfect equality of tone', which must be achieved with each fingering. It therefore shows a way to practise shifting while avoiding audible sliding, and is certainly one of the earliest of its kind.[30] It should be noted that many of these fingerings are associated by Grützmacher with an expressive portamento, which does not seem to be Werner's intention at all – this point will be discussed below.

[28] C. Schroeder (ed.), *Classical Violoncello Music Book I. J. S. Bach, Sonate I* (London: Augener Ltd., n. d.).

[29] A very fast version of this technique on the violin is used in Bazzini's *La ronde des lutins*, played with no audible shift by Jan Kubelík in his 1903 recording. Bazzini, *La ronde des lutins*, Jan Kubelík (violin), un-named pianist (Gramophone & Typewriter Co., matrix 408c, catalogue no. 07901, 1903; reissued *The Great Violinists Volume 1*, EMI: HMV Treasury, EX 7 61062 1, 1988).

[30] Josef Werner, *Die Kunst der Bogenführung. The Art of Bowing. Op. 43. Supplement No. VII to the Author's Violoncello-Method* (Heilbronn: C.F. Schmidt, 1894 (4th ed.), p. 32.

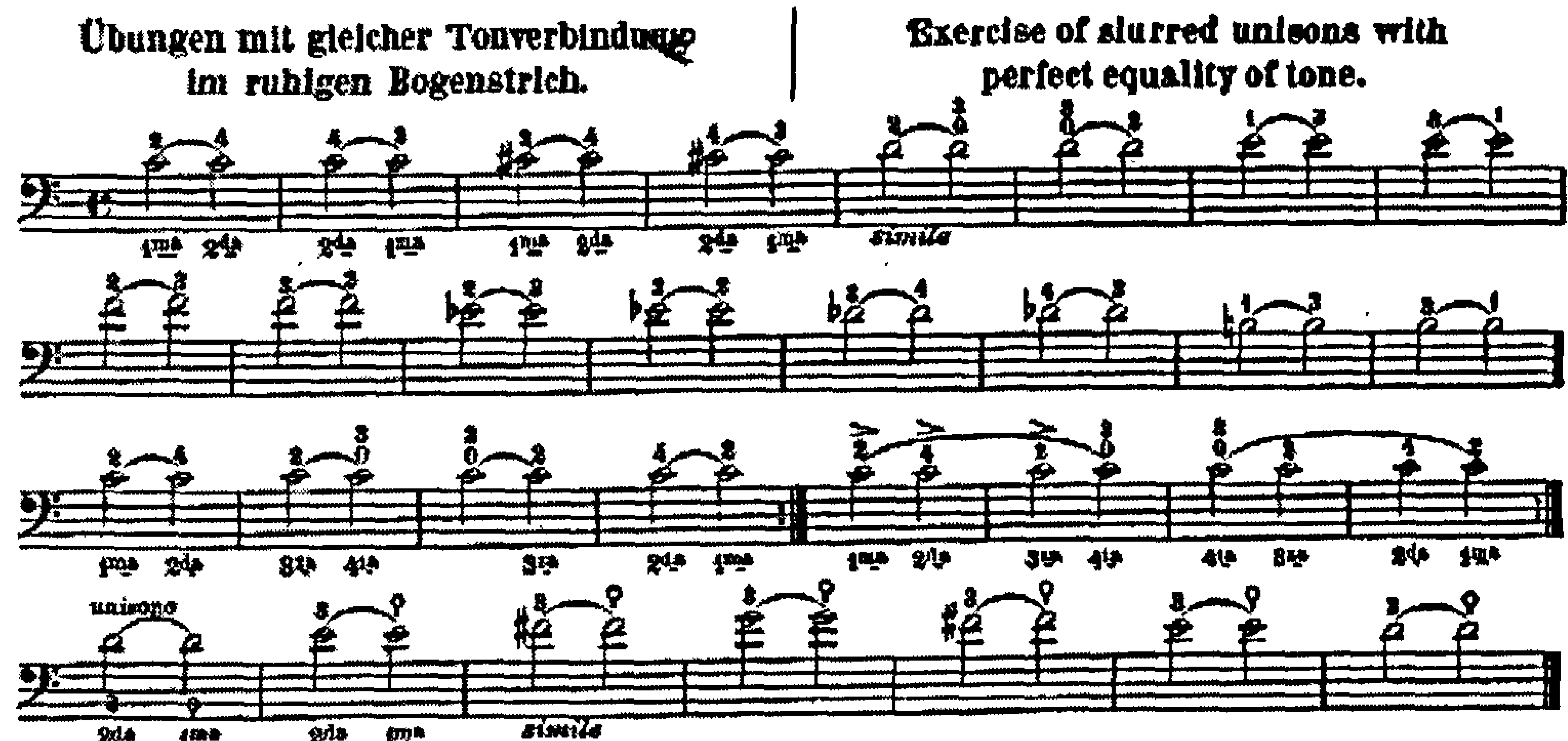

Figure 4/9: Werner, *Der Kunst der Bogenführung*, slurred unisons

Nonetheless, Werner is not above using dramatic downward portamento, as this example from his *10 Etuden* shows (figure 10).[31]

Figure 4/10: Werner, *10 Etuden*, extreme glissando

In Meinhard's *Konzertstück* Carl Fuchs advises an 'inaudible change of position during the change of bow' in long shifts.[32] This is one of the earliest examples of advice on how to conceal shifts within a change of bow, a point developed considerably by Alexanian (discussed below). Fuchs also repeats his teacher Davidoff's advice quoted above, concerning longer shifts, but more emphatically:

> In case it is impossible to employ an auxiliary note in changing position, Davidoff recommended this: Play the last note in the old position very clearly, giving it its full value and then change position very quickly so that the ugly sliding is heard as little as possible.[33]

[31] Josef Werner, *Zehn Etuden für Violoncell* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [*HM*1876]), study no. 9, p. 21.

[32] Adolphe Meinhard, *Konzertstück*, in Carl Fuchs (ed.), *Violoncello-Werke – Violoncello-Works – Oevres pour Violoncelle* (Mainz: B.Schott's Sohne, 1911), p. 2.

[33] 'Wenn man bei Lagenwechsel keine Hilfsnote anwenden kann, empfahl Davidoff, die letzte Note in der altere Lage möglichst deutlich und verkürzt zu spielen und dann die Lage sehr

One small passage from Fuchs's edition of Kummer's *Adagio* shows the kind of portamento Fuchs may have had in mind (figure 11).[34]

Figure 4/11: Kummer, ed. Fuchs, *Adagio*

Van der Straeten, typically, takes a similarly conservative view of portamento, frequently rejecting fingerings in the standard repertoire that encourage an unpleasant effect. Remarks such as the following pervade his treatment of 'well-known solos':

> At this point glide up with the first finger until the third can be dropped onto the B in the tenor clef, avoiding any whining effect in the gliding.[35]

> Never change your bow or commence a new stroke before the respective finger of the left hand is firmly placed on the note to be played, to avoid any gliding to it where it is not used intentionally, and for a particular effect.[36]

> In bar six you find the second finger gliding from [d' to f']. If you cannot do that with sufficient skill and delicacy to avoid a disagreeable whining effect, it will be better to set the fourth on F [...][37]

Van der Straeten shares Davidoff's emphasis on the finger being firmly in place before a change of bow, but his general concerns can be found over a century earlier in Duport. (Nonetheless, although he appears to be one of the most cautious writers on the subject, he also suggests an extreme use of same-finger portamento in Schumann, discussed below – see figure 38).

The most detailed modern account of portamento is Alexanian's. This is the first cello treatise that gives any detailed instruction on the avoidance of audible sliding other

schnell zu wechseln, sodass das hässliche Gleiten so wenig wie möglich zu hören ist.' Carl Fuchs, *Violoncello-Schule Violoncello Method Part II* (Mainz and Leipzig: B Schott's Söhne, 1909), p. 50. Underlining in German version only.

[34] Kummer, *Adagio*, in Fuchs (ed.), *Violoncello-Werke*.

[35] E. van der Straeten, *Well-Known Violoncello Solos How to Play Them with Understanding, Expression and Effect* (London: William Reeves, [1922]), p. 117.

[36] Ibid., p. 105.

[37] Ibid., p. 46.

than simply recommending fast shifting, and is also the first to make explicit the distinction between forced and unforced shifting.

> Certain musical effects require an absolute unity of the quality of sound. This unity can be obtained only by the use of the same string, and it often happens that the hand changes its position [...] several times during the execution of notes that could be played, by a change of strings, [in one position]. [...] These changes of [position] are, to a certain extent, subservient to the fingering; the inverse is also often the case. Here, the art of the performer consists in hiding the disadvantages of an awkward fingering, made necessary by a musical[ly] important change of [position], or else in causing to pass unobserved a change of [position] imposed by technical necessity [...] not coinciding either with an accent or a 'breath'.[38]

Alexanian normally uses the B-shift, but adds that this shift 'should always be preceded by an extension, tending to bring the finger that is to play nearer to its goal' and that the arriving finger should actually 'strike' (*percuter*) its note (figures 12-13).[39] Portamento with one finger across two strings involves a subtle transfer from one string to the other.

> In this case we must execute the 'portamento' on the string to which we are proceeding, but without allowing the initial note of the slide on this string to be heard. [...] the putting in motion of the hand should coincide with the change of string [figure 13].[40]
>
> [...] In the case of a change of [bow], the 'portamento' (rising or falling) should be made on the initial string and stroke [...] with an imperceptible interruption of the sound, towards the end of the slide [figure 14].[41]

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[38] Dinan Alexanian, trans. Frederick Fairbanks, *La technique du violoncelle The Technique of Violoncello Playing* (Paris: Mathot, 1922 [written 1910-1913]), p. 50. Alexanian's French, and Fairbanks's translation, are both highly idiosyncratic; bracketed emendations here are for clarity.
[39] Ibid., p. 52.
[40] Ibid., p. 55.
[41] Ibid.

Figure 4/12: Alexanian, *Traité*, same-finger shifts within bow

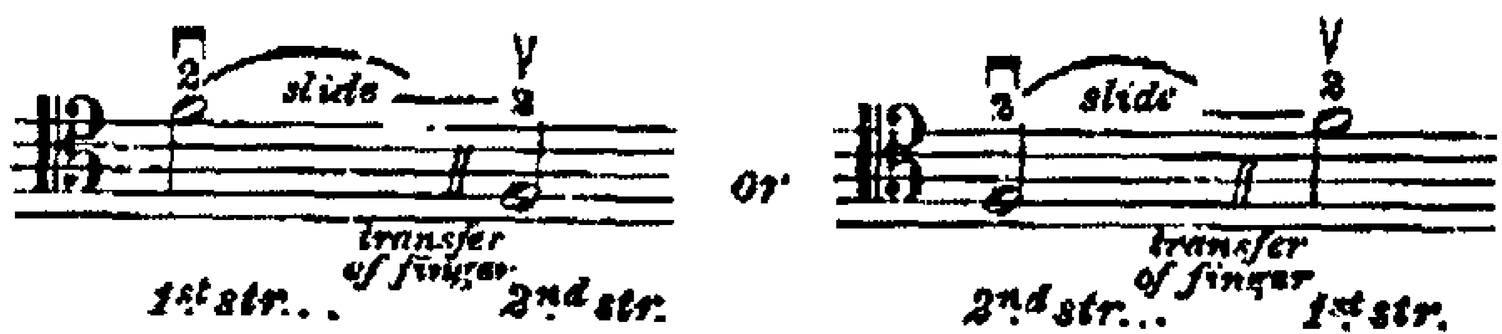

Figure 4/13: Alexanian, *Traité*, same-finger shifts with bow change

Cross-string portamento with different fingers is minimised by extending the hand, sliding on the initial finger and string, and striking the arrival note (figure 14).[42]

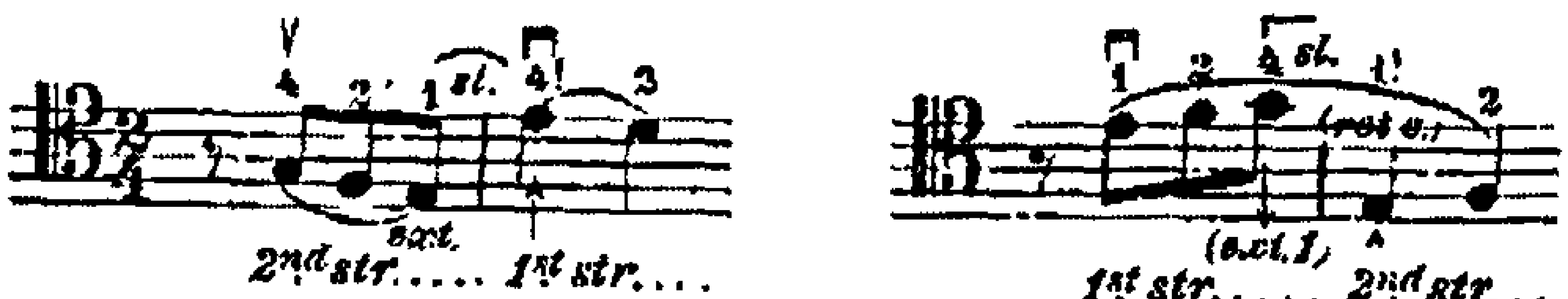

Figure 4/14: Alexanian, *Traité*, cross-string portamento with extension

Alexanian advocates the A-shift when shifting upwards across two strings, from a higher-numbered finger to a lower (figure 15).[43] This can be either within one bow or with a change of bow.

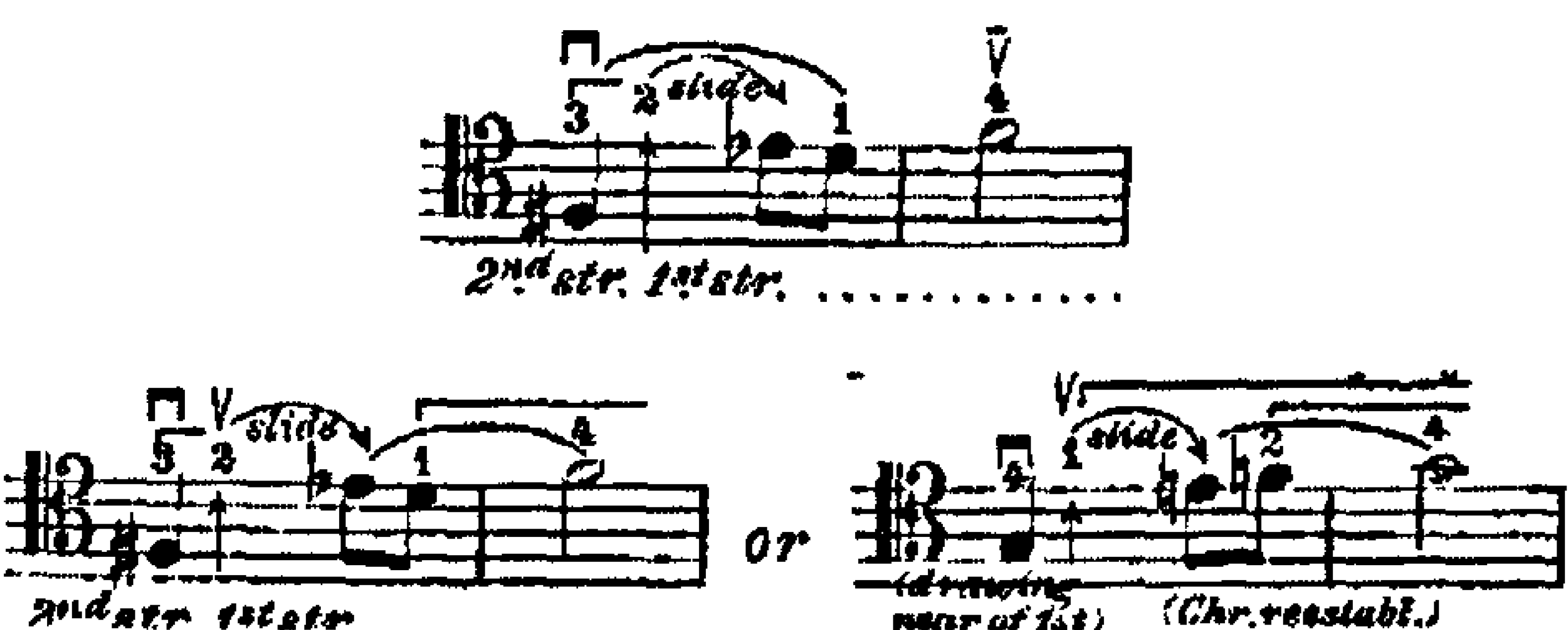

Figure 4/15: Alexanian, *Traité*, A-shifts

He also points out cases where portamento should not be heard at all, and gives an example very similar to that from Baudiot quoted above:

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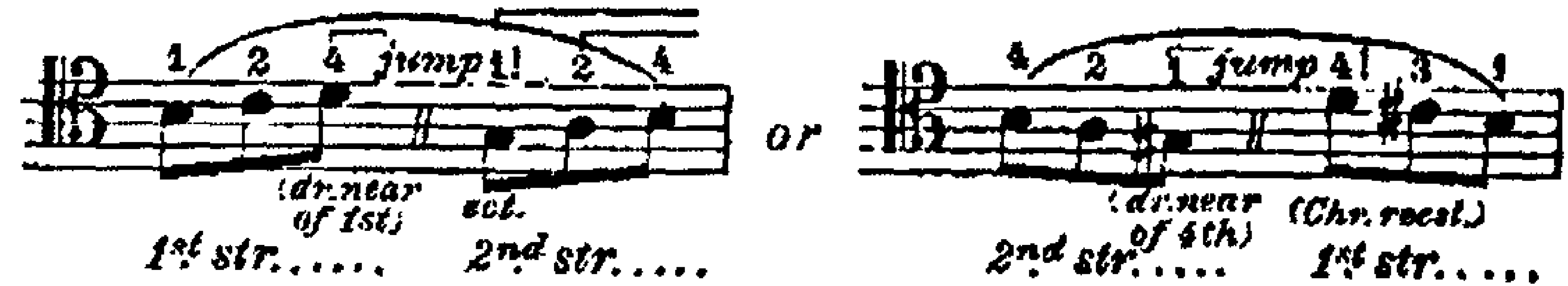
[42] Ibid. Alexanian also adds here that in scales the extension of the hand before the shift is to enable the smooth linking of positions and the complete avoidance of portamento.
[43] Ibid., p. 56.

In the following example the 'portamento' would make a deplorable effect unless executed so rapidly that it could not be heard.[44]



Where much larger intervals are concerned, sometimes across several strings, and with a change of bow, Alexanian shifts exactly at the moment when the bow is moving to the other string and the new finger is ready – in these examples the shift is from a lower-numbered finger to a higher. A portamento at such places is an exception, and 'should be used very parsimoniously, and only in case a musical necessity demands it'.[45] His examples clearly allude to the opening of Beethoven's cello sonata in A op. 69 (although in a different key) and to a passage near the end of the first movement of Brahms's sonata in E minor op. 38 (figure 16). The Beethoven example is on one string, the Brahms on two.

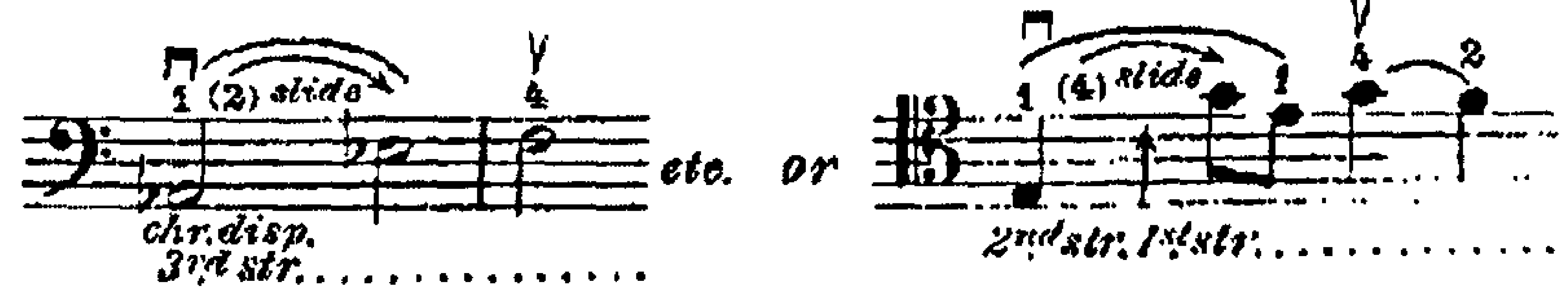


Figure 4/16: Alexanian, *Traité*, portamento in longer shifts

Compared with Grützmacher's generous portamenti across three or four strings and as many positions, Alexanian is clearly more restrained, although he was Grützmacher's pupil and praised 'this marvellous pedagogue['s] […] fine logic and gift of research'.[46] Indeed, he has much in common with Joachim, who himself is content to quote Spohr verbatim on portamento, and also uses an example very similar to Baudiot's (figure 1 above).

[44] Ibid., p. 56.
[45] Ibid., p. 57.
[46] Ibid., p174.

In pedagogical works for the cello, portamento is generally treated with caution if not actual suspicion throughout the nineteenth century. However, there are several accounts of the physical movements required to execute portamento – it is in fact taught, something to bear in mind later in the context of vibrato. Portamento, therefore, is offered as a valid expressive device, and differences of emphasis mainly reflect differing views as to how much should be used, and where.

PORTAMENTO: PRACTICE

However, the practice of portamento is at odds with the theory as explained in teaching material. Here this will be examined in printed sources, often edited by the same cellists; evidence from recordings will be considered in chapter 6. There is, unsurprisingly, considerable variation in the amount of portamento used by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cellists. For example, notwithstanding the numerous reservations outlined above, there are many examples of same-finger shifts in all types of nineteenth-century cello compositions. Dotzauer, cautious about portamento in theory, is somewhat more liberal in practice. There are two examples in his Bach edition (figures 17-18). Figure 17 shows his particularly fondness for the higher reaches of the D string, which he describes as 'honeyed' (*moelleux*) – he frequently uses portamento in this particular context.[47]

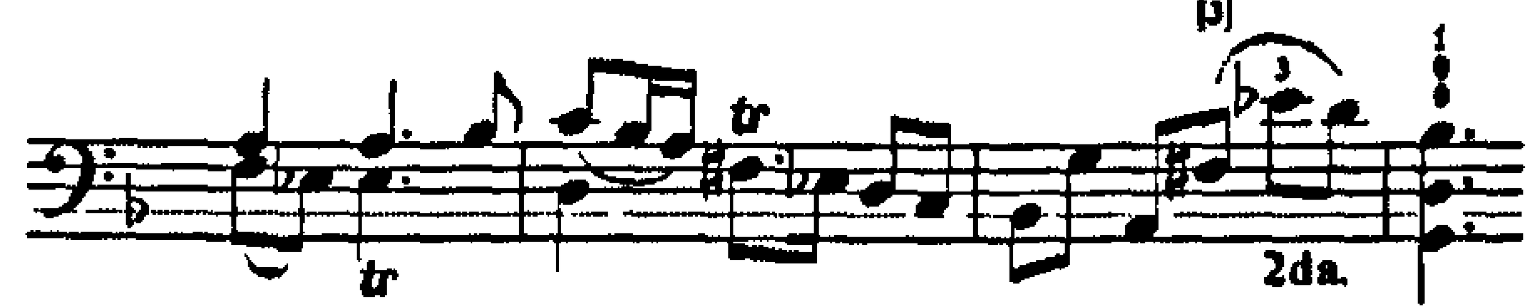


Figure 4/17: Bach, ed. Dotzauer, *Suite in G*, Menuet 2, bb. 5-8

[47] J. S. Bach, ed. J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Six Solos ou Etudes pour le Violoncelle* (Leipzig : Breitkopf & Härtel, [1826]).

Figure 4/18: Bach, ed. Dotzauer, *Suite in D minor*, Sarabande, bb. 13-16

It also occurs more prominently in his op. 70 exercises (figures 19-20).[48]

Figure 4/19: Dotzauer, op. 70 no. 1

Figure 4/20: Dotzauer, op. 70 no. 12

The cello part for Dotzauer's string trio op. 52 in E flat is fingered in some detail throughout, necessitated by its advanced technical standard. The fourth of six movements opens thus (figure 21 – note bar 7).[49]

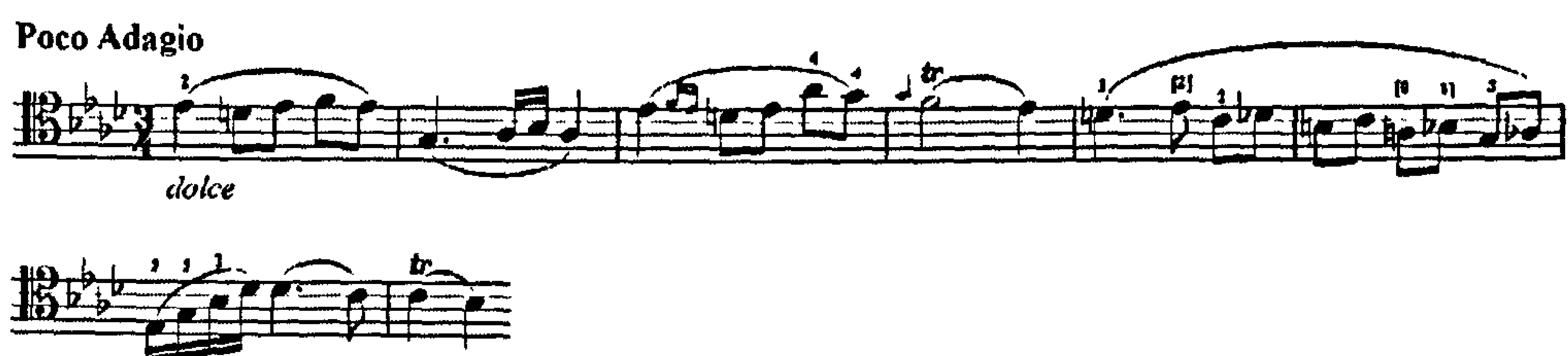


Figure 4/21: Dotzauer, string trio op. 52

The repeated LH1 markings in b.7 of figure 21 are not unusual. In a surprising number of cases, cellists indicate that more than two notes (sometimes many more) are

[48] J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Twelve Exercises Op. 70. Wessel & Co's Collection of Studies by I.I.F. Dotzauer. Book 4* (London: Ashdown & Parry (Successors to Wessel & Co.), n.d.), no. 1, p.1 and no. 12, p.19.
[49] J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Grand Trio pour Violon, Alto & Violoncelle* op. 52 (Hamburg: Jean Aug. Böhme, n.d.), vc. pt. p. 7.

to be played with the same finger successively. Stiastny's concerto has these passages in the second movement (the first is played up the D string, the second on the A string) which may well be the sort of thing which Kummer so disliked (figure 22).[50]

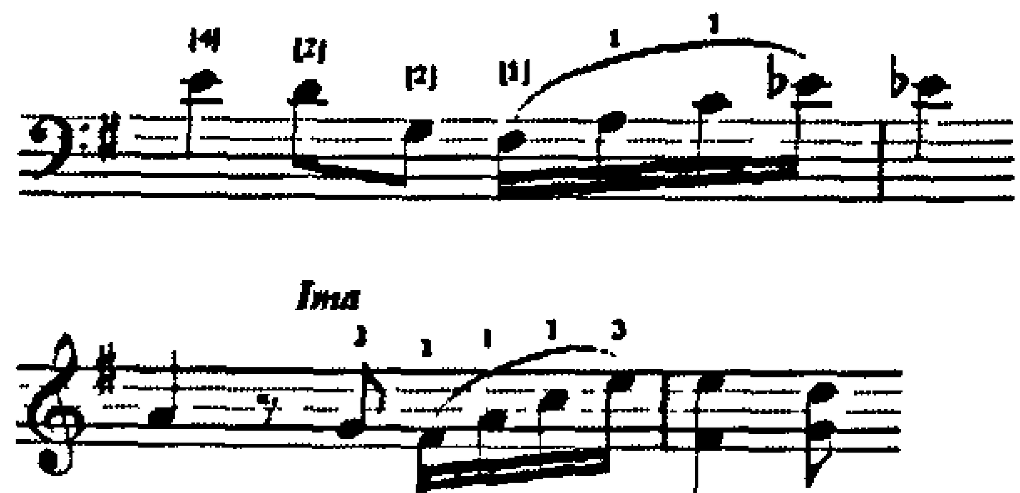


Figure 4/22: Stiastny, Concerto op. 7

The second of Wolff and Batta's *Duos Concertants* has a passage involving several unforced same-finger shifts (figure 23).[51]

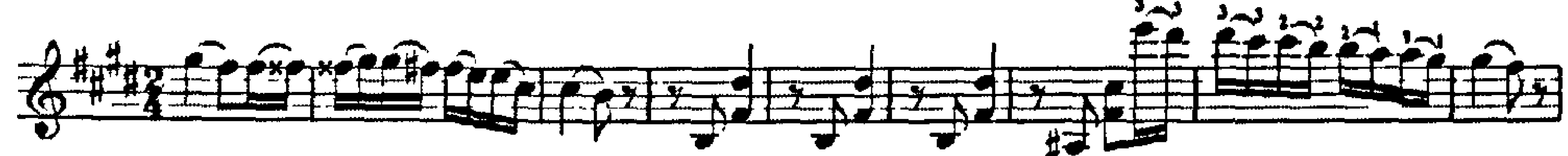


Figure 4/23: Wolff/Batta, *Duo concertant*

This work also contains one clearly implied portamento over an upward major seventh (figure 24, b. 6).[52]

Figure 4/24: Wolff/Batta, *Duo concertant*

Similarly, the *adagio* section from Joseph Merk's *Variations sur un air tirolien* contains multiple same-finger shifts and implied portamenti over a seventh and a minor ninth (figure 25, bb. 9, 13).[53]

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[50] J. Stiastny, *Concert pour Violoncelle*, op. 7 (Bonn : N. Simrock, [1817]).
[51] E. Wolff and A. Batta, *Les intimes Deux Duos Concertants. No. 2. Fantaisie dramatique* op. 49 (Mainz, Anvers and Brussels: chez les fils de B.Schott, [1844 ?]), vc. pt. p. 1.
[52] Ibid., vc. pt., p. 2.
[53] Joseph Merk, *Variations sur un air tirolien* op. 18 (Brunswick: G. M. Meyer jr., and London:

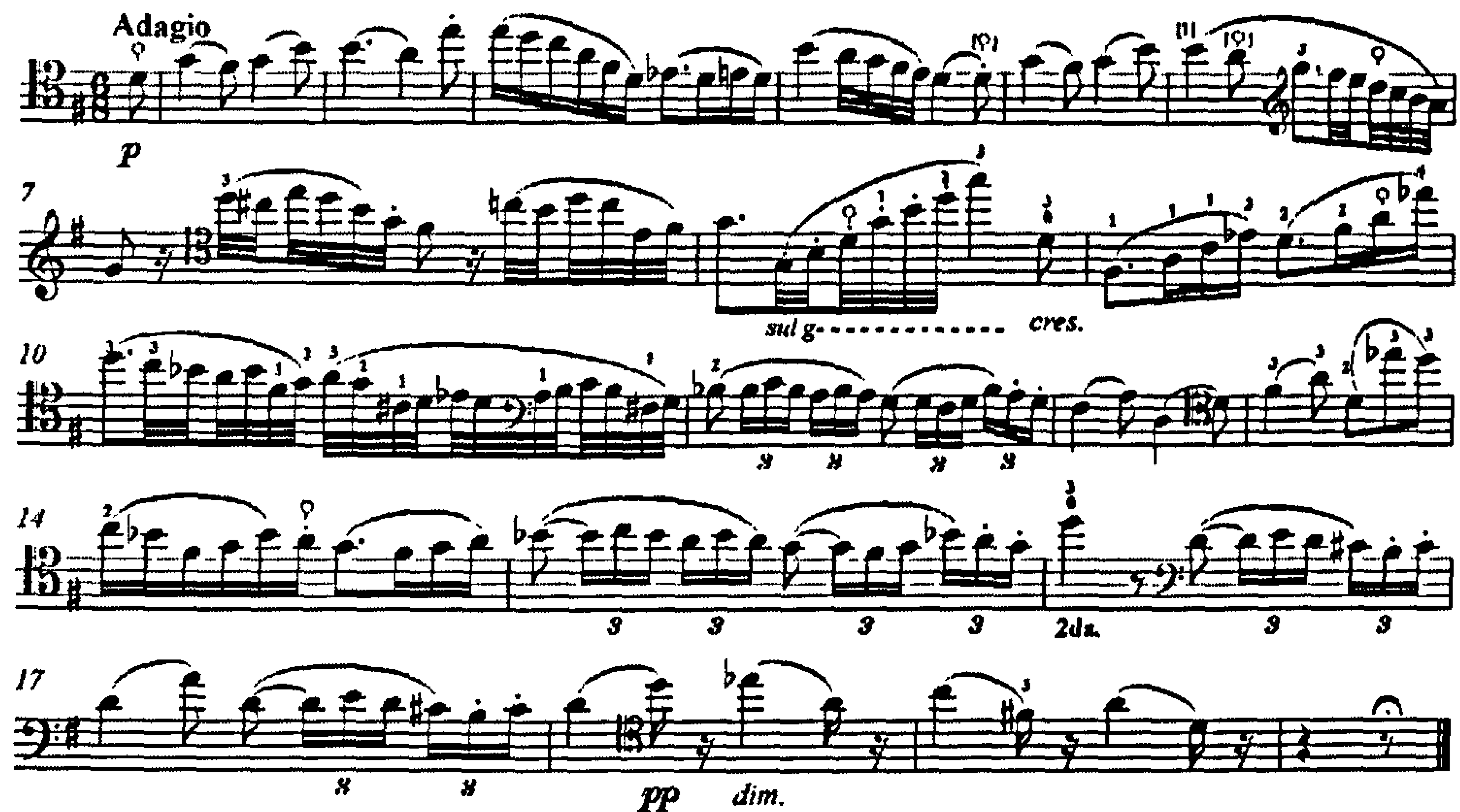

Figure 4/25: Merk, *Variations sur un air tirolien*

Munck's edition of Servais's *Concerto militaire* gives a multiple same-finger shift on LH1 in the 'adagio religioso', which is clearly solely for expressive purposes (figure 26).[54]

Figure 4/26: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, same-finger shifts

The opening of the first movement also has a few examples, in a moderate tempo (figure 27).

Figure 4/27: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, 1st movt.

J. J. Ewer & Co., [*HM*1836]), vc. pt. p. 6. Merk was the cellist in the Schuppanzigh quartet, closely associated with Beethoven.

[54] Adrien-François Servais, rev. E. de Munck, *Concerto militaire* Op. 18 (Mainz: B.Schott's Söhne, n. d.) p. 6.

The last movement, *allegro ma non troppo*, has one extravagant gesture up the D string solely for theatrical effect (figure 28).

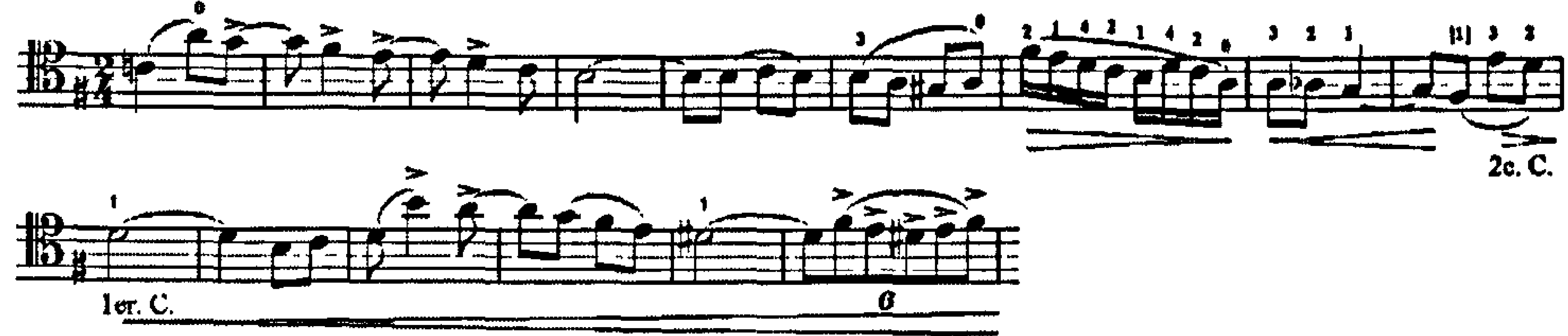

Figure 4/28: Servais, *Concerto militaire*, 3rd movt.

Servais's arrangement of Chopin's E flat major *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 (the earliest of many cello transcriptions of this work, by Alfred Moffat, David Popper and W. H. Squire among others) contains one of the most remarkable fingerings of this type from the period (figures 29-32). In figure 29, LH1 is used for 7 consecutive notes in bar 4 (and the equivalent passage in bar 8, which includes a downward portamento indication); the optional, more difficult version of bar 16 uses LH4 for seven consecutive chromatic notes; the last four semiquavers of bar 28 are played with LH3.[55] This fingering is also found in the manuscript copy of the work prepared by Ulysse Claes (a close friend of Servais) held at the Brussels Conservatoire.[56]

Figure 4/29: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, opening bars

[55] F. Chopin, arr. F. Servais, *Nocturne de Chopin* (Mainz: B.Schott's Söhne, [1863]).
[56] Brussels Royal Conservatoire, MS. 45.106(a).11, pp. 101-103.

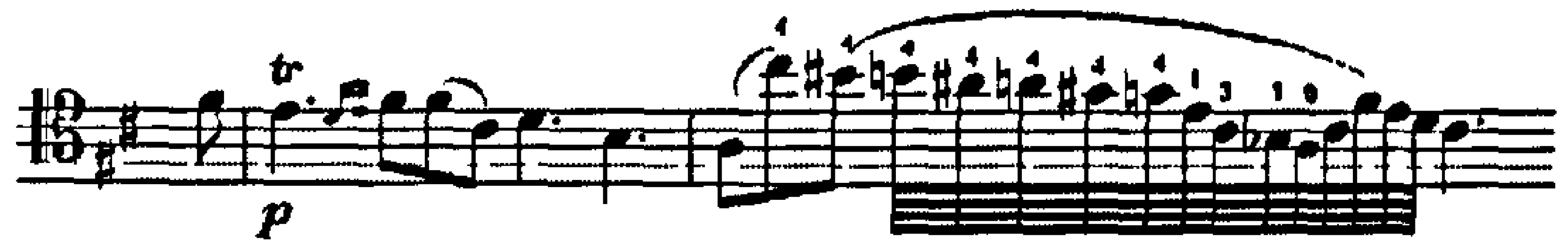

Figure 4/30: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, repeated LH4 shifts

Figure 4/31: Chopin, arr. Servais, *Nocturne*, repeated LH3 shifts

Figure 4/32: Chopin, ed. Servais, *Nocturne*, conclusion

Many other examples could be adduced to show that this technique of playing successive stepwise notes with one finger was something of a Servais speciality. Here, for example, are passages from the first edition of his *Concerto militaire* and his *Andante cantabile* on a theme by Balfe (figures 33-34).[57]

Figure 4/33: Servais, *Andante cantabile*

Figure 4/34: Servais, *Concerto militaire*

[57] Adrien-François Servais, *Concerto militaire* op. 18 (Mainz, Brussels and London: B.Schott fils, [*HM*1860]); *Andante cantabile et Mazurka sur un air de Balfe,* op. 7 (Mainz: B.Schott fils, [*HM*1849]).

Josef Werner's detailed fingerings for Beethoven's cello sonata in A major op. 69 include the unaccompanied opening bars, with a fourth-finger shift followed by three successive first-finger notes (figure 35).[58]

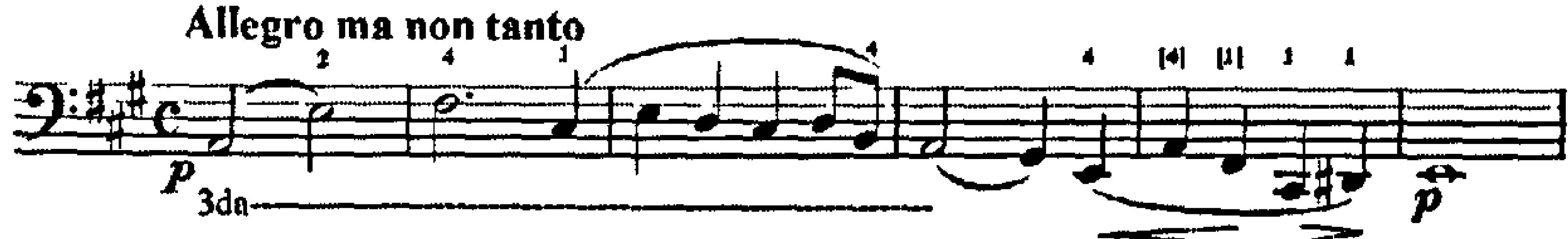

Figure 4/35: Beethoven, Sonata in A op. 69, Werner's fingering

Werner's *40 Studies* generally avoid portamento, as they are chiefly concerned with agility, but no. 37 contains several implied portamenti with LH4, and, in the second example below, a manufactured fingering of the Grützmacher type (discussed later), enabling a portamento to D flat from the open G string (figures 36-37).[59]

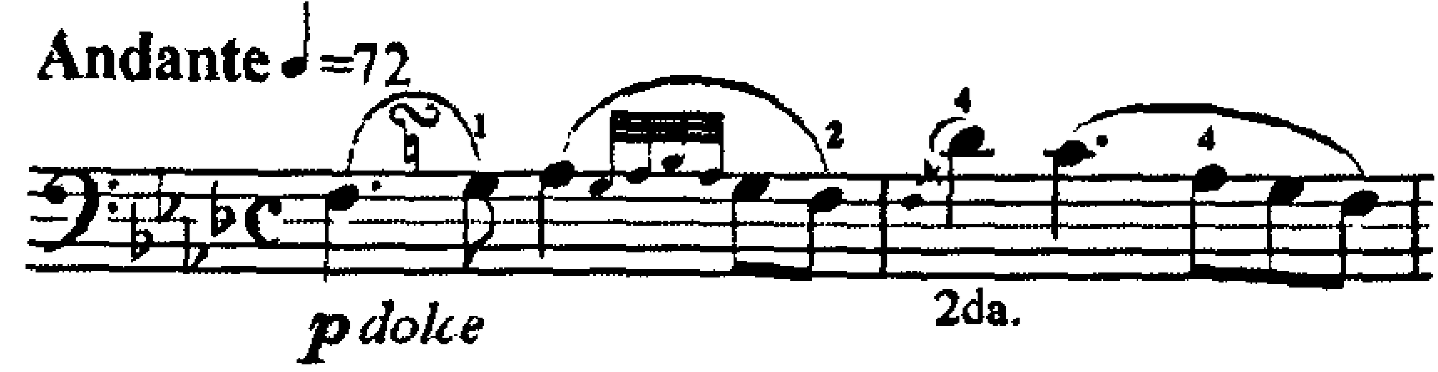

Figure 4/36: Werner, study no. 37, bars 1-2

Figure 4/37: Werner, study no. 37, 7 bars from end.

It was noted above that in spite of van der Straeten's frequent warnings about 'whining' shifts, he himself suggests an extreme example of successive same-finger shifts. In the opening bars of the second of Schumann's *Stücke im Volkston* (figure 38), Straeten indicates that the first five notes are all to be played with the second finger,

[58] Josef Werner, *Die Kunst der Bogenführung* (Heilbronn: Schmidt, [*HM*1894]), p. 43.
[59] Josef Werner, *40 Studies*, Op. 46, Book II (London: Augener, n.d.) p. 68-9.

something which even Grützmacher avoids (although the latter does remain on the D string for almost the whole of the first section of the piece).[60]

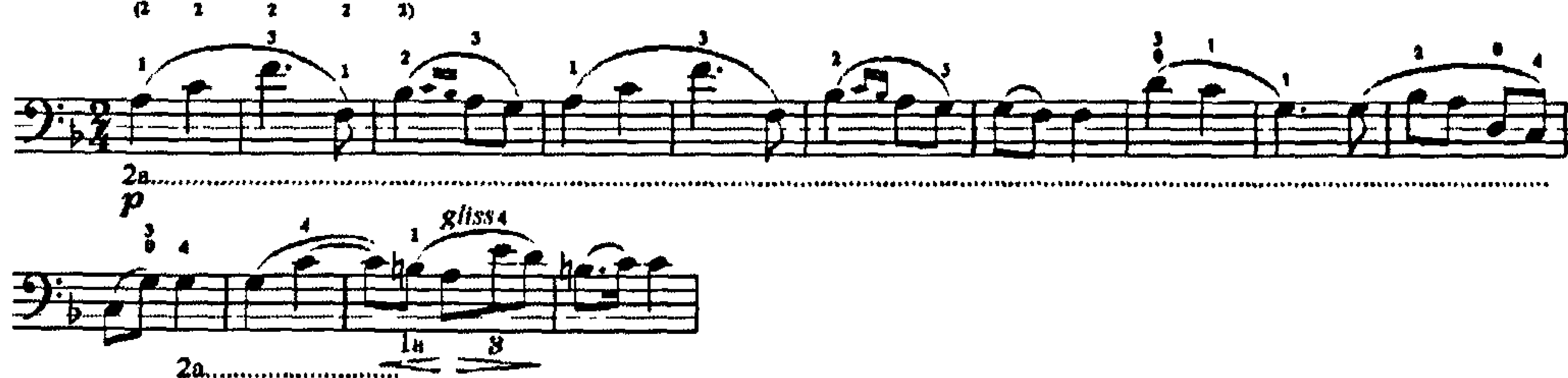

Figure 4/38: Schumann, *Stücke im Volkston* op. 102 no. 2, Grützmacher edition, with van der Straeten's fingering added in brackets, bb. 1-3.

Some portamenti occur in the context of a particularly extended passage indicated to be played on one string, normally the D or G strings. In such cases, the passage can cover more than an octave, going beyond the octave harmonic often used as a convenient upper limit for a phrase or ornamental gesture. However, there is a clear preference for portamento on the D string rather than the G, which is almost certainly due to the G string's metal windings – until the early twentieth century these were not flat-wound, but round- (or wire-) wound. This makes extended shifting up and down the G or C strings liable to produce string noise similar to that of a guitar. There are many exercises on the D and G strings, but the earlier examples are not presented as primarily expressive studies.[61] Raoul uses both the G and D strings, but the detailed fingering provided largely eliminates any opportunities for portamento. Kummer's G-string study op. 44 no. 7 (figure 40), with a mostly stepwise melodic line, has many fewer such opportunities, compared with his D string study (figure 39), which opens with a series of LH3 shifts.[62] The extended G-string passage in Louis Heygesi's (1853-1894)

[60] E. van der Straeten, *Well-Known Violoncello Solos*, p. 154; R. Schumann, ed. F. Grützmacher, *Stücke im Volkston* op. 102 no. 2 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1874]).
[61] J. M. Raoul, *Méthode de Violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, [c. 1797]), p. 79.
[62] F. Kummer, *8 Grandes Etudes* op. 44 (Dresden: Meser, [*HM*1838]).

'Liebesschmerz' almost discourages portamento, given its detailed articulation (figure 41).[63]

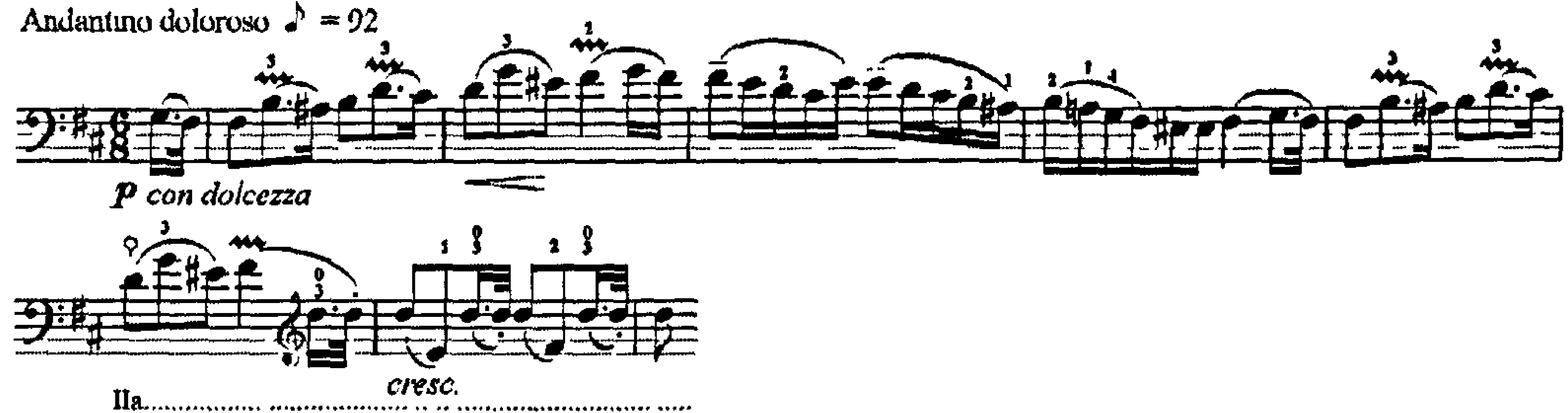

Figure 4/39: Kummer, D string study op. 44 no. 4, opening bars

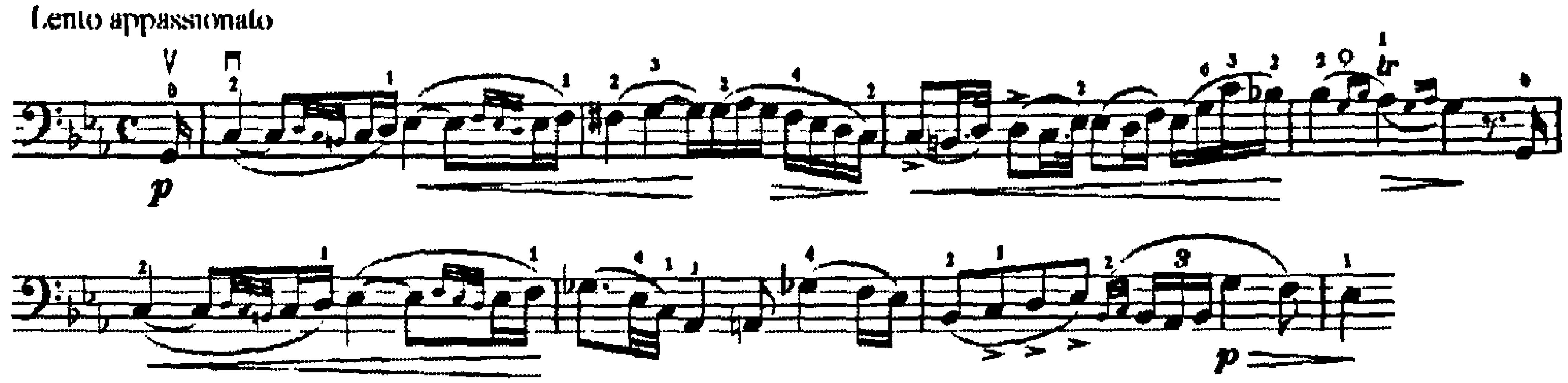

Figure 4/40: Kummer, study op. 44 no. 7, on the G string, opening

Kummer does, however, explore the expressive potential of the G string in his *Pièce fantastique* op. 36 (figure 42),[64] and Taubert uses some G- and C-string portamenti in his concerto op. 173 (figures 43-44).[65]

[63] Louis Hegyesi, *Romanze*, 'Liebesschmerz' op. 4 (Mainz: B.Schott fils, [1877]).
[64] F. Kummer, *Pièce fantastique* op. 36 (Leipzig: Fr. Hofmeister, [1840?]).
[65] Wilhelm Taubert, *Concert für das Violoncell* op. 173 (Berlin, [1871]).

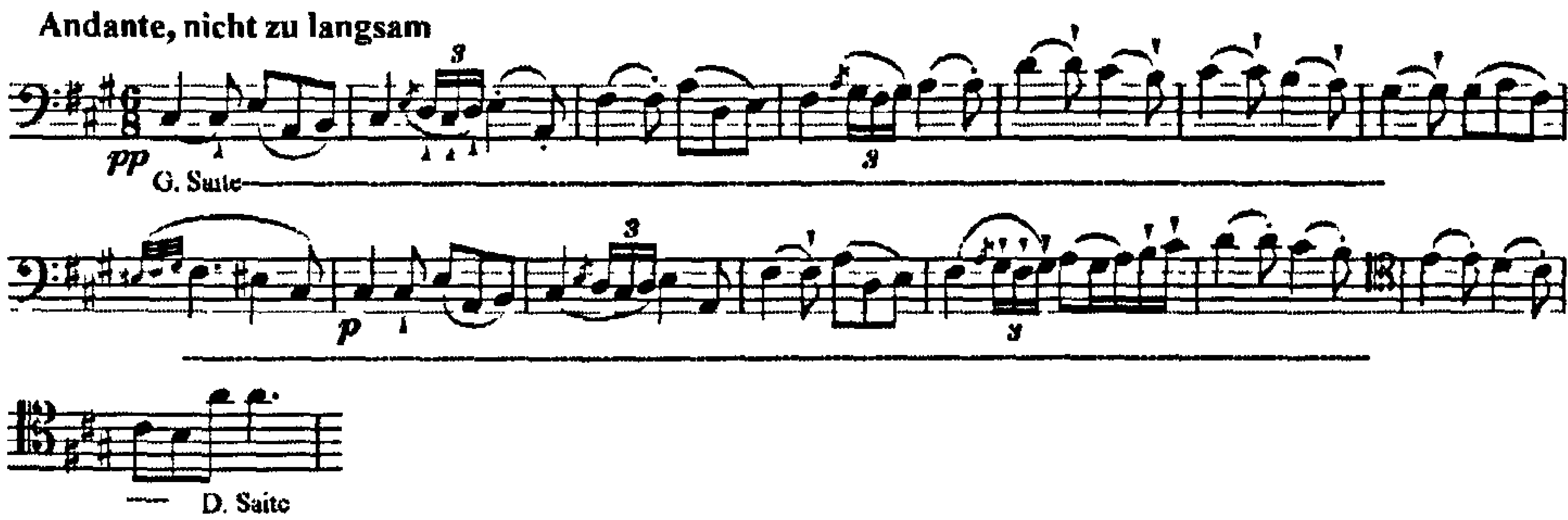

Figure 4/41: Heygesi, *Liebesschmerz*

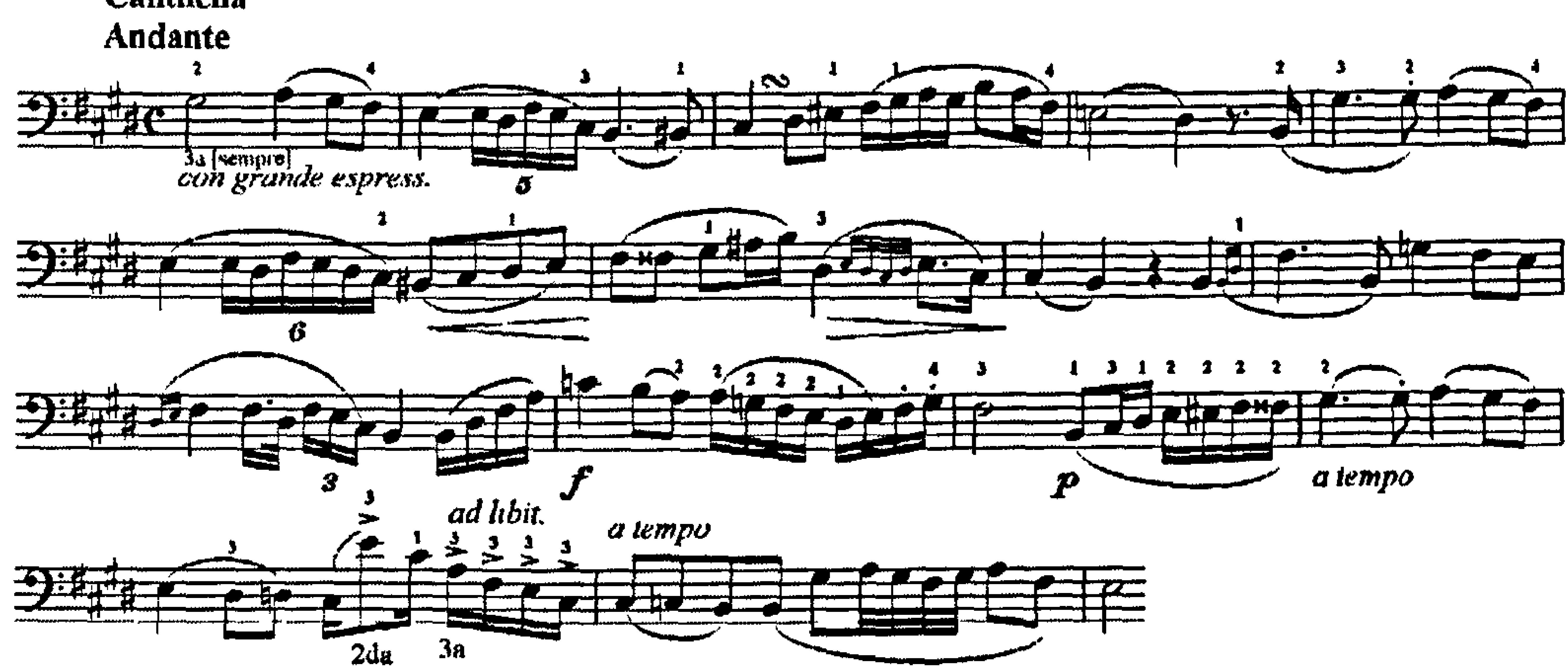

Figure 4/42: Kummer, *Pièce fantastique*

Figure 4/43: Taubert, Concerto op. 173, 1st movt.

Figure 4/44: Taubert, Concerto op. 173, 1st movt.

Grützmacher's Concerto op. 10 affords another example of extended expressive writing on the G string, at the transition to the second movement (figure 45).[66]

[66] F. Grützmacher, *Concerto en la mineur* op. 10 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [*HM*1854]).

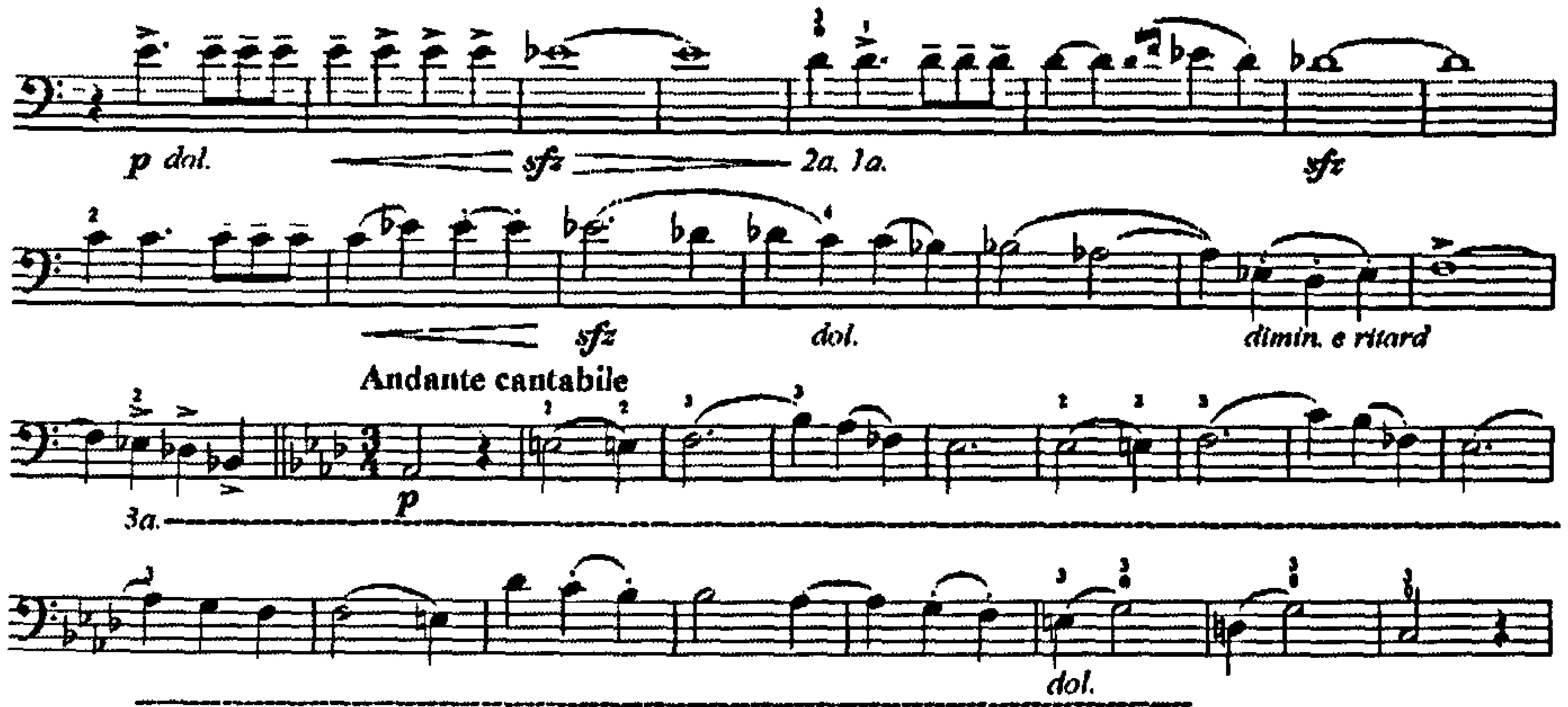

Figure 4/45: Grützmacher, Concerto op. 10, 1st movt. conclusion, leading into 2nd movt.

The implied G-string portamenti in Grützmacher's arrangement of Spohr's eighth violin concerto, 'in modo di scena cantante', are even more dramatic (figure 46).[67]

Figure 4/46: Spohr, arr. Grützmacher, Concerto no. 8

GRÜTZMACHER'S PORTAMENTO

It is indeed in Friedrich Grützmacher's editions of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century cello compositions that we find portamento on a scale unparalleled in any other cello repertoire. It pervades his work, whether in his performing edition of the Bach cello suites and viola da gamba sonatas, his editions of works by Romberg, or of Mendelssohn's cello sonatas. Particularly striking are his downward portamenti, rarely indicated or even implied elsewhere. Grützmacher can apply a portamento to a note preceded by a rest, by a staccato note, or by a note on another string (sometimes an open string) – in other words, even where there is no *legato* context, and on a far wider scale than Baillot, quoted at the beginning of this chapter. Portamento between double stops

[67] Louis Spohr, arr. F. Grützmacher, *Concerto in modo di scena cantante* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [1854]), vc pt. p. 4.

is extremely rare, but his arrangement of Chopin's C# minor waltz op. 64 no. 2 (in C minor) makes it feature of the opening motif (figure 47).

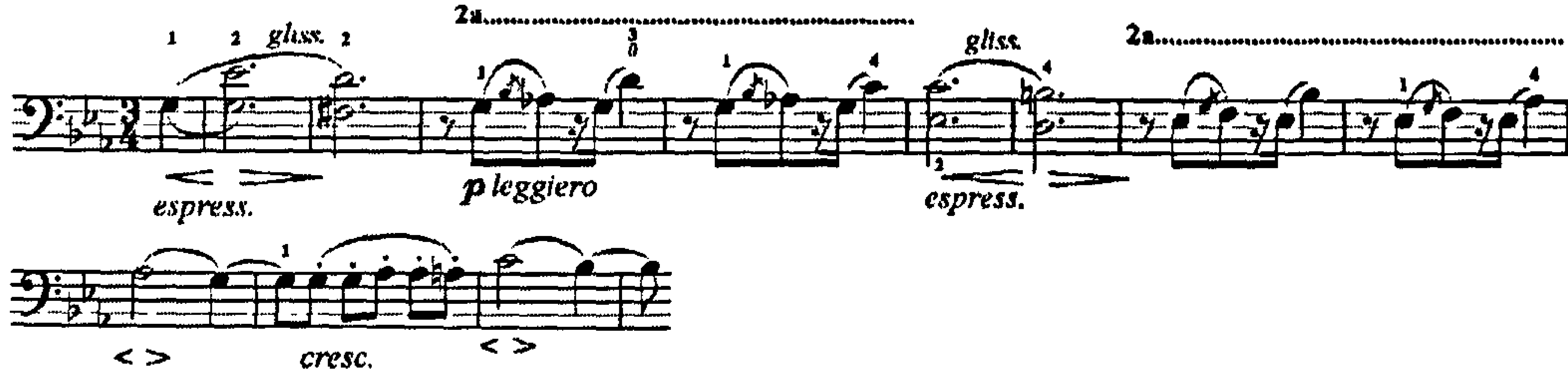

Figure 4/47: Chopin, *Waltz* op. 64 no. 2, arr. Grützmacher, portamento in sixths

His edition of Mendelssohn's cello sonatas, 'nach der Tradition des Componisten genau bezeichnet', offers many examples, some of which are quite startling to modern eyes and ears.[68]

The cello sonata no. 1 op. 45 offers a particularly large number of examples – the style of the sonata no. 2 op. 58 makes it generally less suitable for this technique, although there is one remarkable instance, discussed below. Sometimes, Grützmacher uses a one-string fingering with some implied portamento, as in the first movement (figures 48-49).

Figure 4/48: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

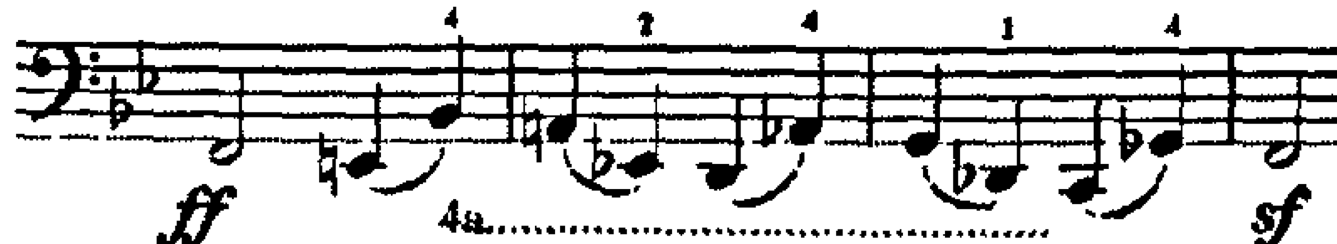

Figure 4/49: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

[68] Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, ed. Friedrich Grützmacher, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Sämmtliche Werke. Compositionen für Violoncell und Pianoforte* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1878]).

The expressive purpose of both these examples is clear. Note, however, that portamento is not indiscriminately applied – the second bar of figure 50 could be played on the C string but Grützmacher crosses to the open G string to avoid this.

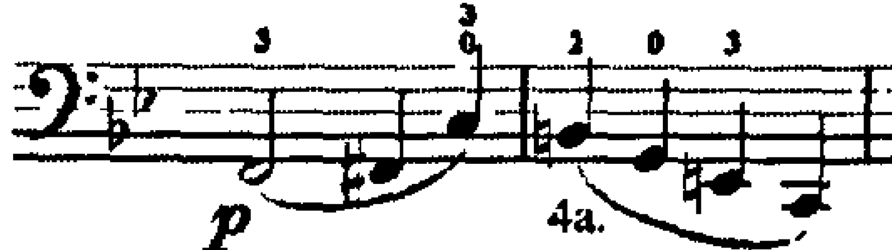

Figure 4/50: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

Similarly, elsewhere in the first movement an articulation separates two notes on the D string (figure 51). This enables a clear contrast between the repeated phrases, solely by virtue of the change of string, and within the same dynamic level.

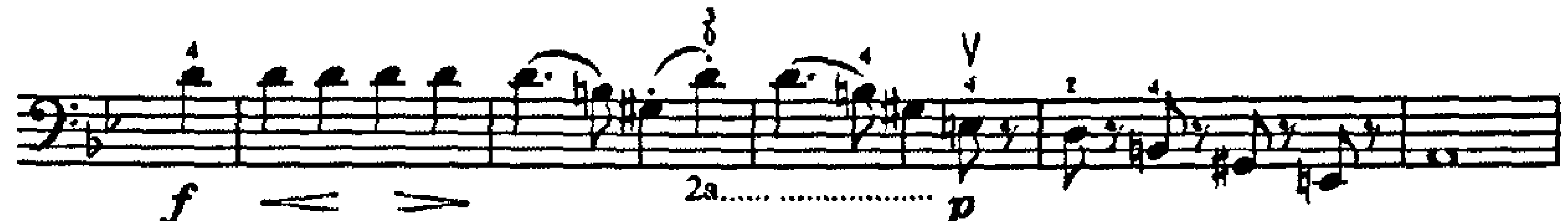

Figure 4/51: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

A similar effect is achieved without portamento (figure 52):

Figure 4/52: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

A similar effect is obtained in the third movement (figure 53), where a phrase played without portamento on the A string is then repeated on the D string with a short implied portamento, also within the same dynamic level. The first phrase has a dramatic *sf* on the first c' on the A string without portamento, enabled by using the open string Its repetition with a same-finger portamento shift creates an implicitly more vocal *sf* on c' on the D string (a longer extract including this passage is given in figure 58). Such fingerings create subtle nuances within a single overall dynamic level.

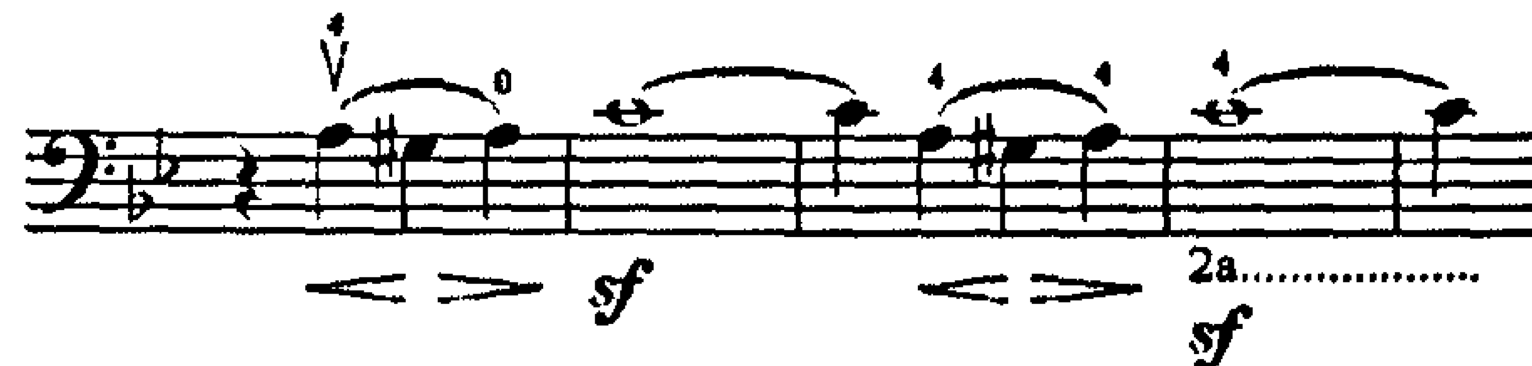

Figure 4/53: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 3rd movt.

On a larger scale, he applies this to the *piano* opening theme of the third movement; compare bars 1-4 with bars 9-12 (figure 54 – and see figure 69 for Popper's version of the same passage).

Figure 4/54: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 3rd movt.

Grützmacher often uses portamento to approach a harmonic, an expressive device already seen in Dotzauer and Romberg. Grützmacher can approach a harmonic at the start of a phrase in this way, or within a phrase, and can even do this across two strings, as these examples from the second movement show (figures 55-57).

Figure 4/55: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 2nd movt.

Figure 4/56: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 2nd movt.

Figure 4/57: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 2nd movt.

In this passage from the third movement, he combines several of the expressive devices described above within a few lines of music (figure 58).

Figure 4/58: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 3rd movt.

Portamento from an open string to the octave harmonic, requiring the sliding finger to be applied seamlessly to the open string (as in the last two bars of figure 58) is an unusual device which Grützmacher also uses in his arrangement of Schumann's second violin sonata (figure 59).[69]

Figure 4/59: Schumann, arr. Grützmacher, *Violin sonata no. 2* op. 121, 1st movt.

Downward portamento is more rarely indicated, but this example from the first movement shows that it could be used over relatively large intervals (figure 60).

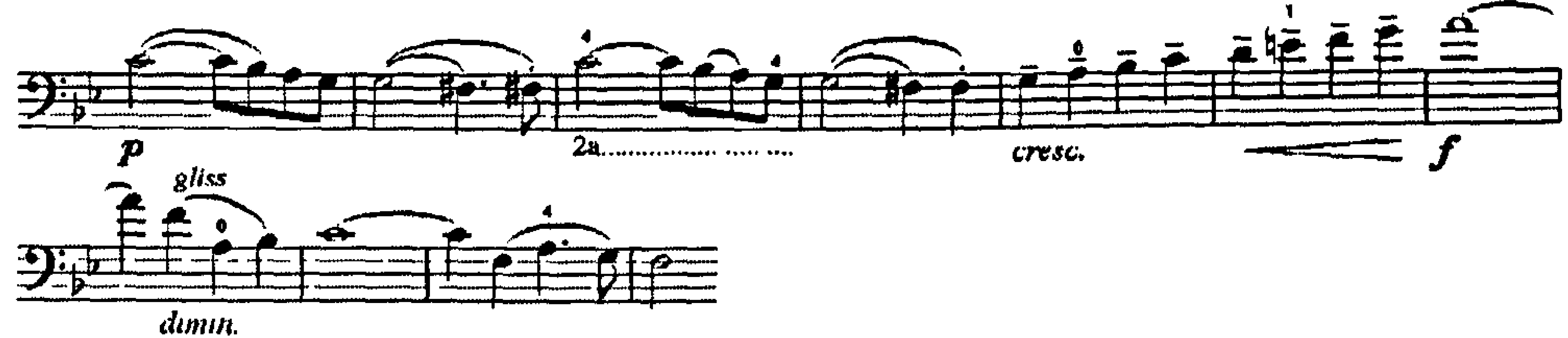

Figure 4/60: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in B♭*, 1st movt.

[69] R. Schumann, arr. F. Grützmacher, *Zweite grosse Sonate* op. 121 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*HM*1874]).

Portamento after a staccato note creates a dramatic effect near the end of the first movement (figure 61, bar 6).

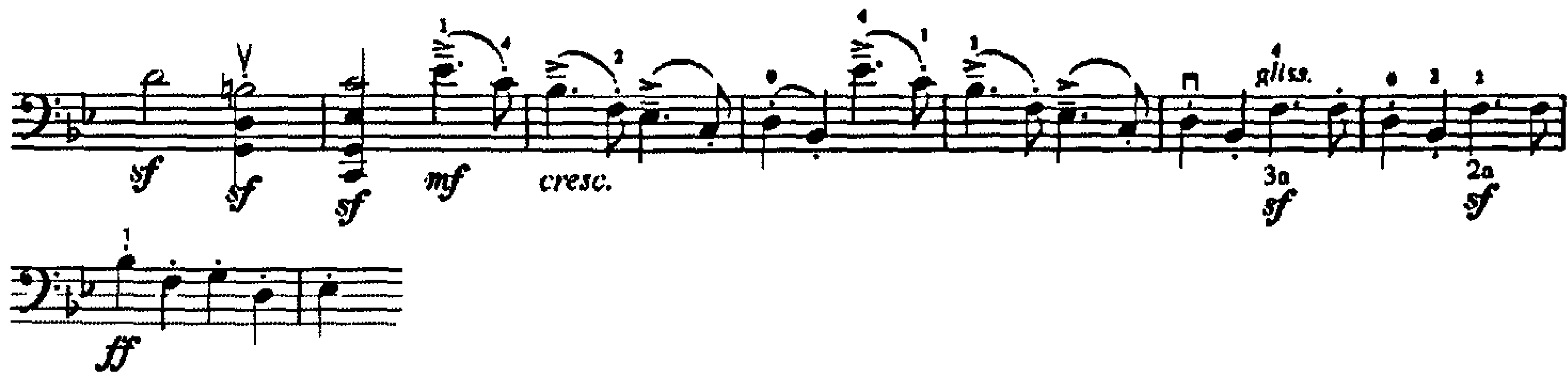

Figure 4/61: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in Bb*, 1st movt.

There are several examples of portamento applied to notes preceded by rests, or occurring between changes of bow, especially in this passage from the end of the third movement (figure 62).

Figure 4/62: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in Bb*, 3rd movt.

Grützmacher is also not afraid of tiring the listener's ear with many successive portamenti, as this passage from the third movement of the sonata in D major shows (figure 63).

Figure 4/63: Mendelssohn, ed. Grützmacher, *Sonata in D*, 3rd movt.

The Peters title-page claim, 'exactly marked in the tradition of the composer' (*nach der Tradition des Componisten genau bezeichnet*), ostensibly implies that this degree of portamento was authorised by the composer himself. Identical claims are made in some other Peters publications from the later nineteenth century such as David and Hermann's editions of Spohr.[70] While David could claim direct contact with Spohr, and could justifiably state in another edition that he strictly followed the composer's intentions, Grützmacher's connection with Mendelssohn is necessarily more indirect, through David and Rietz (who were instrumental in his moves to the Leipzig Gewandhaus and the Dresden Staatskapelle respectively). Furthermore, a claim to be in a tradition is not exactly the same thing as a claim to know the composer's intentions directly from the source. In the case of the Mendelssohn cello sonatas, it is hard to argue for the existence of a coherent performing tradition, as distinct from the mere fact of their frequent performance.[71] Yet again, Grützmacher himself claimed that when making his arrangements and editions,

> My main purpose has been to reflect and determine what these masters might have been thinking, and to set down all that they, themselves, could have indicated down to the smallest detail. [...] Relying on my long musical experience, I feel I have more right than all the others to do this work.[72]

Grützmacher clearly uses portamento expressively, and to a greater degree than the earlier Dresden cellists Romberg, Dotzauer or Kummer. Even allowing for the real possibility that he is at least in part notating a widespread practice (that is, what is exceptional is the degree of notation rather than of actual performance), it does seem

[70] L. Spohr, ed. F. Hermann, *Salonstücke*, op. 135 (Leipzig: C. F Peters, [1885]); Spohr, ed. F. David and F. Hermann, Concerto no. 11, op. 70 (Leipzig: C. F Peters, [1878]). David had prepared editions of Spohr 'strictement d'après les Intentions de l'Auteur' in the 1860s: L. Spohr, ed. F. David, Concertos nos. 2, 7 and 8 (Leipzig: Peters, [*HM*1861]).
[71] Even in 1902, J. Matthews (the translator of Schroeder's *Cellist's Handbook*) claimed they were superior to Beethoven's cello sonatas. J. Matthews, *The Violin Music of Beethoven* (London: The Strad Office, 1902), p. 93.
[72] F. Grützmacher, letter to C. F. Peters, 1884, quoted in Dmitry Markevitch, trans. Florence W. Seder, *Cello Story* (New Jersey: Alfred Publishing Company, 1984), p. 62.

that Grützmacher used portamento significantly more often, and in more different ways, than Dresden players of the previous generation.

In the case of Romberg's op. 46 *Divertimento über österreichische Lieder* we can compare his original with Grützmacher's version.[73] It is immediately obvious that Romberg's version has only minimal performance indications. There are few fingerings, directional bowings or even dynamic markings. Grützmacher's edition fills almost every bar with detailed technical and expressive instructions. While his fingerings and directional bowings sometimes simply clarify what is implied by Romberg, many go far beyond this, especially when he indicates the use of a harmonic. Grützmacher also specifies the part of the bow to be used, dynamics and additional expressive details. While Grützmacher does not actually recompose Romberg's notes, he does sometimes alter the rhythm (figures 64-65), possibly to make it more 'idiomatic' – however, this could just as well represent a change in 'folk' styles over the fifty years that separate the two versions, or even Grützmacher's view of Romberg's original intentions.

Figure 4/64: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46; original and Grützmacher's edition, rhythmic alteration (1). 'F[rosch]:' = heel, 'S[pitz]: = point, 'M[itte]: = middle

[73] B. Romberg, *Divertimento über österreichische Volkslieder* op. 46 (Vienna: Haslinger, [*HM*1829]). F. Grützmacher (ed.), *Ausgewählte Kompositionen von Bernard Romberg*, vol. 1, *Drei Divertimenti über Nationallieder* opp. 42, 46 and 65 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1880]).

Figure 4/65: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46; rhythmic alteration (2) [The line in b.2 indicates that the hand stays in position; the thumb signs in parentheses indicate that the thumb lies on the string]

Unlike his Mendelssohn edition, Grützmacher adds very few *gliss.* markings, even when some of Romberg's own fingerings might clearly imply it (figure 66).

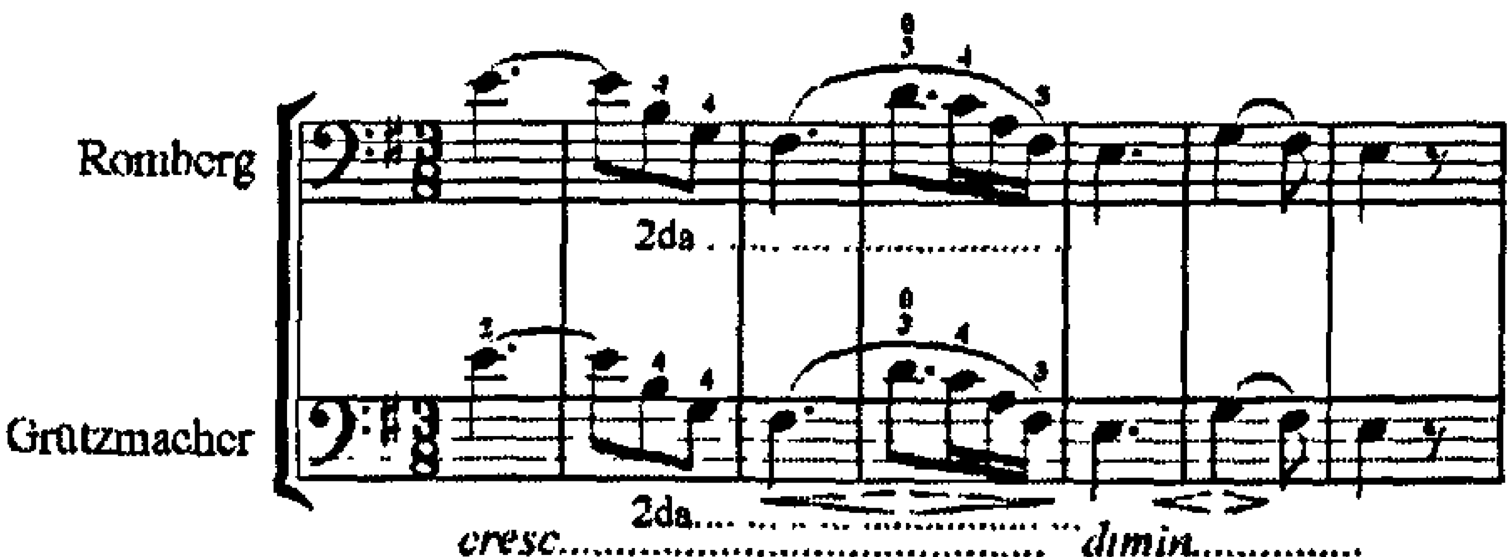

Figure 4/66: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46, without portamento

In fact, there is only one instance in this piece of Grütmacher adding a *gliss.* where Romberg gives no indication of his own (figure 67).

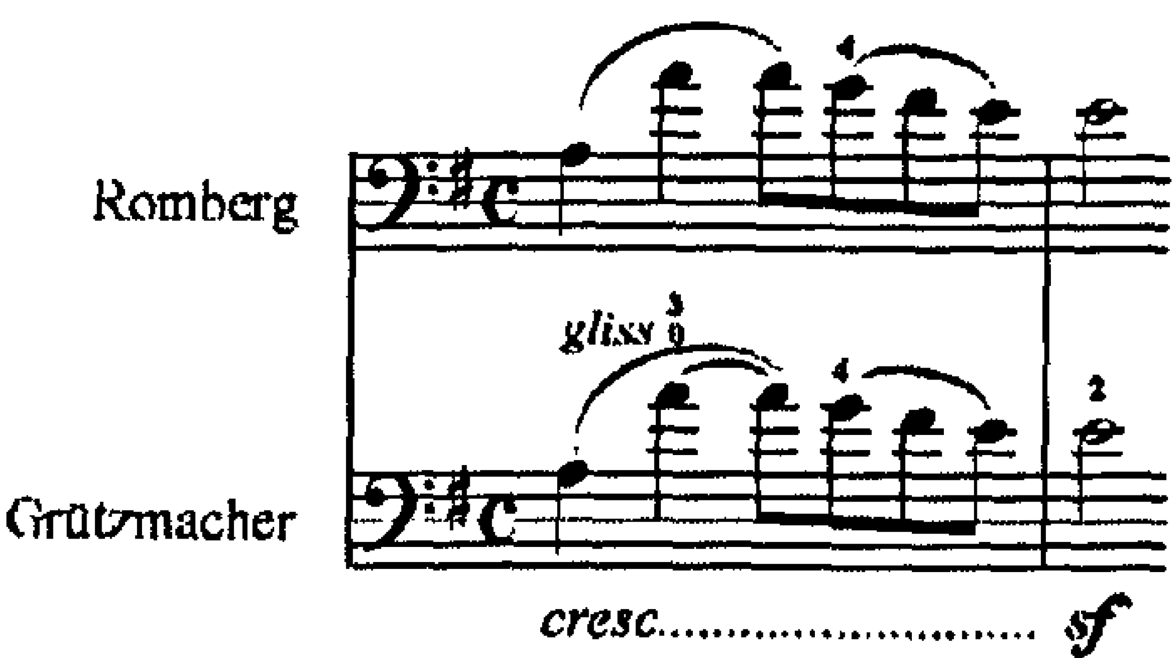

Figure 4/67: Romberg, *Divertimento* op. 46, added portamento

While recordings show that Grützmacher's range of portamenti was still exploited in the early twentieth century (discussed below), this was not unanimously the

case. Carl Schroeder's restrained attitude to portamento has already been mentioned. Comparison of Schroeder's and Grützmacher's editions of Romberg's sixth concerto shows the difference of approach (figure 68 – these examples are all from the first movement).[74] In the first of these examples, Grützmacher could simply be making explicit a portamento implied by Schroeder, the other examples which involve harmonics do not allow this interpretation; the downward shift can be accomplished without any audible slide in such circumstances, and this is also, if anything, easier. In the second example, the portamento occurs in a context of generally increased expressive emphasis, very characteristic of Grützmacher's approach in general.

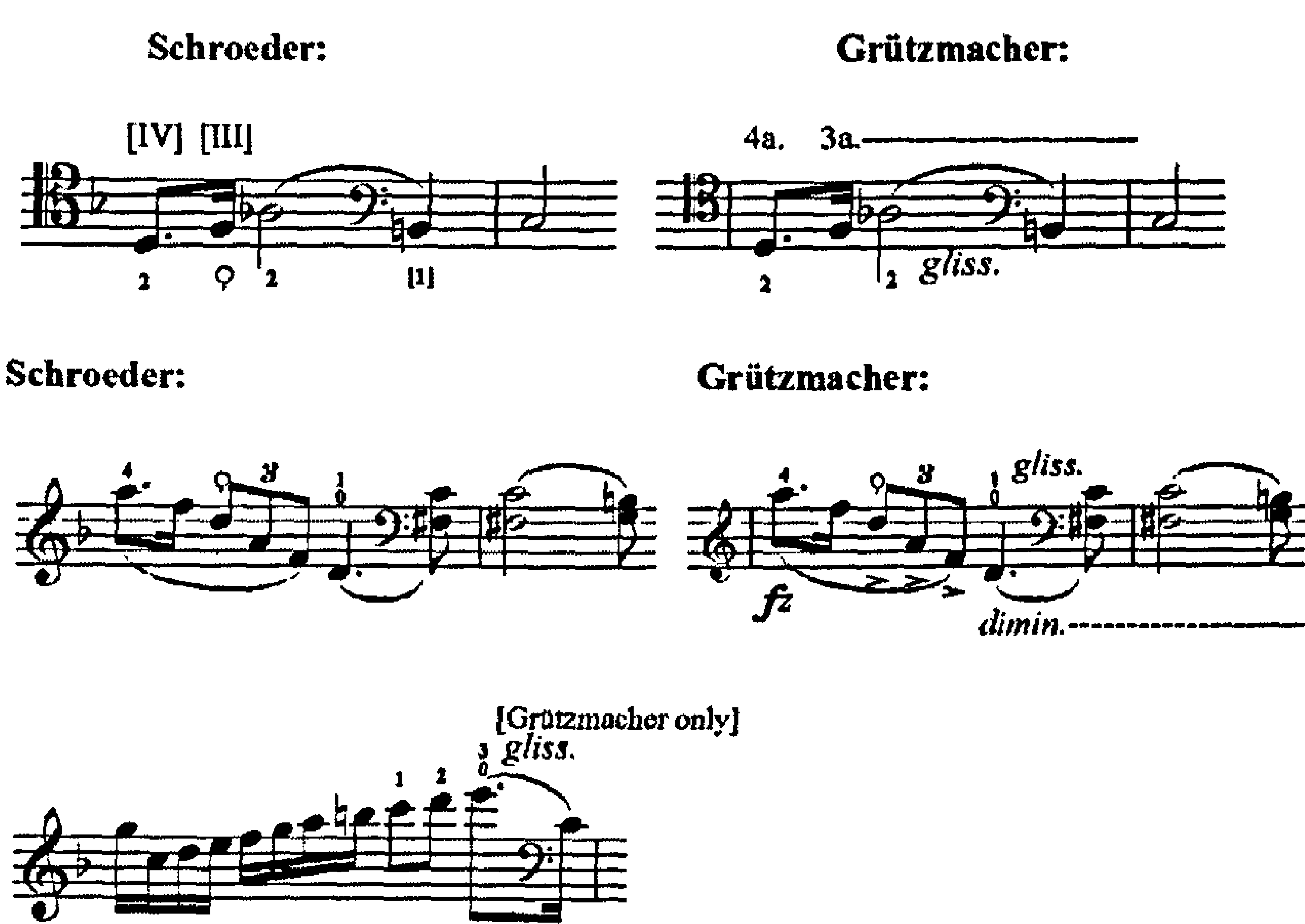

Figure 4/68: Romberg, *Concerto no. 6*, comparison of Schroeder and Grützmacher eds.

It is possible that in spite of the extremely detailed appearance of his editions, Grützmacher's execution may have been considerably more restrained in performance. Many of his editions begin with a table of markings for down and up bows, preparatory positioning of the thumb, keeping fingers down, and markings for using the whole bow

[74] B.Romberg, ed. Carl Schroeder, *Concerto no. 6* op. 48 (Brunswick: Litolff, [*HM*1879]); ibid., ed. F. Grützmacher (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1881]).

or parts thereof (heel, middle or tip).[75] He also normally gives extremely detailed fingerings. Pieces edited for learners clearly require this level of detail, but it was also provided in order to fulfil his aim, set out in his letter to Peters quoted above, of notating what he took to be the composer's intentions as clearly as possible. His own cello compositions are much less heavily marked up, and his chamber works have almost no fingerings or other such markings.[76]

Comparison with David Popper's edition of the Mendelssohn sonatas shows that in general Popper used fewer portamenti than did Grützmacher.[77] However, Popper does not avoid the more extreme or dramatic portamenti, but rather reduces their quantity in general, regardless of type. Popper opens the last movement of the Bb major sonata thus (figure 69):

Figure 4/69: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in B♭*, 3rd movt.

Note the alternative fingerings and bowings in bars 1-2. In general, where Grützmacher repeats a phrase on a different string (usually moving from the A string to the D string, and with the possibility of portamento on the latter), Popper prefers more consistency. There are several examples which can be compared with Grützmacher's versions above (figures 70-71).

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[75] Bernhard Romberg, ed. F. Grützmacher, *Nationallieder* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, n.d.), cello part p. 3.

[76] See, for example, his piano trio in C minor op. 6 (Brunswick: G. M. Meyer, [*HM*1853]), or his string quartet in E op. 15 (Leipzig: C. F Peters, [*HM*1855]). Grützmacher's *Concerto no. 1* was also published as op. 6 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [*HM*1868]).

[77] F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy ed. David Popper, *Compositionen für Violoncello und Pianoforte* (Vienna: Universal Edition, [c.1901-4?]).

Figure 4/70: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in Bb*, 1st movt.

Figure 4/71: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in Bb*, 3rd movt.

The passage in the D major sonata, where Grützmacher indicates repeated portamenti and string changes, is given by Popper with none of these effects (figure 72).

Figure 4/72: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in D*, 3rd movt.

On the other hand, much in Popper agrees exactly with Grützmacher, such as this passage, which is virtually the same in both editions (figure 73):

Figure 4/73: Mendelssohn, ed. Popper, *Sonata in Bb*, 1st movt.

Popper also keeps many of the portamenti in the second movement of the B flat sonata (such as those in figures 55-57). Although Popper indicates portamento very rarely in his own works, there is one striking example from his *Requiem* for three cellos and piano (figure 74).[78] Although he uses LH1 for all the notes in bars 3-5, the *glissando* marking covers a change of bow.

[78] David Popper, *Requiem. Adagio* [sic] *für 3 Celli*, op. 66 (Hamburg: Rahter, [*HM*1892]).

Figure 4/74: Popper, *Requiem*, 1st cello pt.

On the other hand, this example shows Popper asking for an audible portamento over quite a short interval – the notes involved are both in fourth position, so the portamento can only be executed by LH4 over an interval of less than a tone (figure 75).[79]

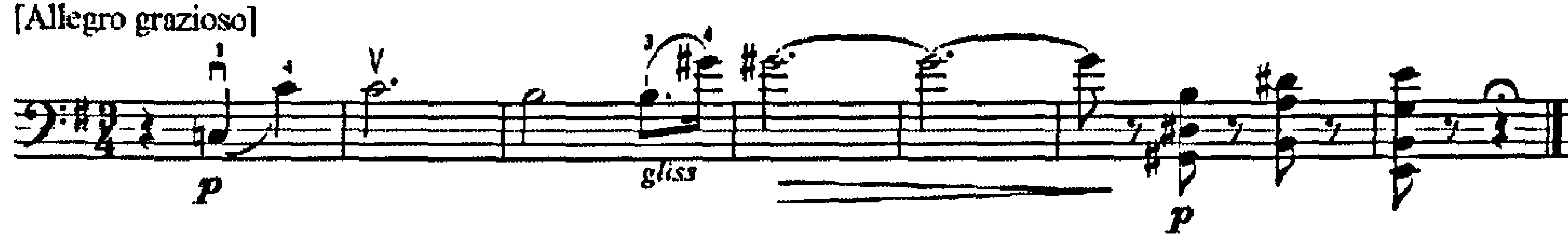

Figure 4/75: Popper, *Zur Guitarre*, conclusion.

In the context of the *allegro moderato* tempo, any portamento effect in this passage from Popper's 'Reigen' is quite subtle (figure 76).[80]

Figure 4/76: Popper, 'Reigen', quasi-portamento octaves.

This example (figure 77) shows Popper indicating a fingering whose sole object is to enable an A-string portamento to the repeated g'.[81]

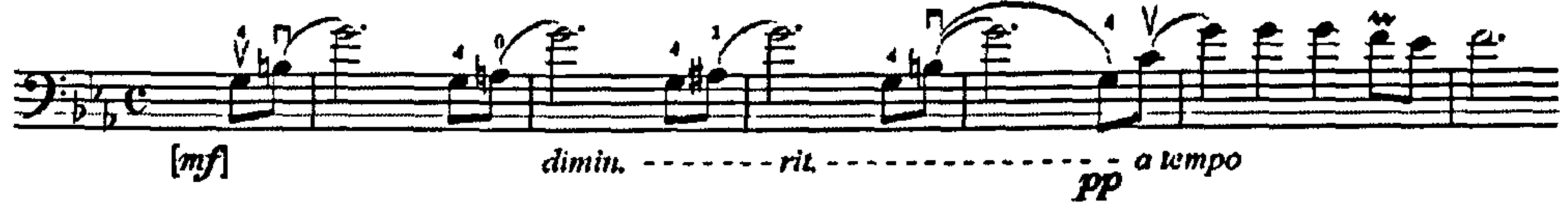

Figure 4/77: Popper, 'Wie einst in schöner'n Tagen', repeated A-string portamento

[79] David Popper, *Zur Guitarre*, op. 54 (Hamburg: Rahter, [*HM*1886]).
[80] David Popper, 'Reigen', *Im Walde*, op. 50 no. 4 (Hamburg: Rahter, [*HM*1882]).
[81] David Popper, 'Wie einst in schöner'n Tagen', *Drei Stücke*, op. 64 no. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*HM*1892]).

Evidence from Popper's own compositions and from his Mendelssohn edition shows, therefore, that he probably used portamento less frequently than Grützmacher, but used it in a more highly nuanced way.

Portamento, then, was a normal part of the cellist's expressive repertoire throughout the nineteenth century, and was probably used increasingly through the period. Cellists such as Grützmacher and Popper would contrive fingerings to create portamento opportunities. However, cellists appear to have differed markedly in their individual use of portamento, as far as can be ascertained from printed sources. Chapter 6 continues this discussion in the context of early twentieth-century recordings and printed sources.

CHAPTER 5: PLAYING WITH EXPRESSION – VIBRATO

Nineteenth-century cello methods treat vibrato far less, and less systematically, than do those for the violin. Spohr's study for the use of vibrato on accented tones or expressive notes distinguishes four types of vibrato: intense and fast, slower and less intense, increasing in intensity through the note, and decreasing in intensity.[1] These are included in his annotations to the solo parts of Rode's seventh concerto and Spohr's ninth concerto, in some of the extended practice pieces in his *Violinschule*, and in some of his late works. David uses Spohr's distinctions of speeds of vibrato and makes it clear that in quieter dynamics the vibrato is slower, becoming faster as the dynamic level rises.[2] Baudiot and Beriot discuss it, although their predominant concern is to warn against anything more than its most sparing use. Luis Alonso's classification of five types of vibrato (vibrato with the finger, the wrist, the arm, by sympathetic resonance and with the bow), most of which are disparaged, is based on different physical techniques, rather than on variations of speed or amplitude.[3] There is much evidence for a consensus view, expressed by Spohr ('This movement must not be too strong and the deviation from the purity of the note should scarcely be perceptible to the ear') and reinforced by most later violinists in the nineteenth century, that the width of vibrato should remain narrow, with the variable element being speed.[4]

However, no cello method mentions vibrato before Dotzauer, even Duport's *Essai*, which is mostly concerned with the technique of the left hand. It is also conspicuously absent from the vast majority of methods throughout the nineteenth century. (The cellist John Gunn's flute treatise does discuss vibrato, but only as an old-

[1] Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1833), pp. 175-76.
[2] Ferdinand David, *Violinschule* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*HM*1863]), p. 43.
[3] Luis Alonso, *Le virtuose moderne* (Paris: Ch. Nicosias et Cie, [c.1880]), p. iv, cited in Brown, *CRPP*, p. 536.
[4] 'Diese Bewegung darf aber nicht zu stark seyn und das Abweichen von der Reinheit des Tons dem Ohre kaum bemwerklich werden'. Spohr, ibid., p. 175, in Brown, *CRPP*, p. 550.

fashioned absurdity; a contemporary reviewer particularly praised Gunn's remarks on musical expression in general).[5] Dotzauer himself treats of the topic somewhat cursorily:

> In long sustained notes one sometimes (especially Italian professors) makes use of a type of vibration (*tremolo*) or trembling, which is effected by leaning the finger on the string from one side to the other, with little speed. Other artists try to produce the same effect by a movement of the wrist which is called *ondulé* and which is indicated by this sign ~~~~

> This is made up by several *sons filés*, of which one makes the *forte* felt at the beginning of each beat or half-beat.[6]

The German text omits the reference to Italian players – puzzling, as Dotzauer, a sometime teacher at the Naples Conservatoire, was well placed to make this comment – but it also makes it clear that the alternative type of vibrato is produced by the bow ('[...] many seek to bring this about through the bow').[7] There is also a difference in nuance between the French and German parallel texts here: in French, 'some other' (*d'autres*) players use a bow-vibrato, but in German 'some' or 'many' (*manche*) do so. The final sentence quoted concerning the *forte* at the start of the beat is only found in the French text.[8]

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[5] John Gunn, Chapter 6, 'Of Shakes, and other Graces', *The Art of Playing the German-Flute* (London: the Author, [1793]). Anon., *Monthly Review*, 12 (1793) 376-381 (p. 380).

[6] 'Dans des sons longtems soutenus on se sert quelquefois (surtout des professeurs italiens) d'une espèce de vibration (Tremolo) ou tremblement, qu'on effectue en inclinant le doigt posé sur la corde avec peu de vitesse d'un coté et de l'autre. D'autres artistes tâchent de produire le même effet par un mouvement du poignet qu'on appelle ondulé et qui s'indique par ce signe [music example]. Ce qui est un composé de plusieurs sons filés, dont on fait sentir le Forté au commencement de chaque tems ou demi-tems.' J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de violoncelle Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B.Schott fils, [1825]), p. 47.

[7] '[...] und manche suchen dieses durch den Bogen zu bewircken welches ungefähr so zu bezeichnen wäre [...].' Ibid.

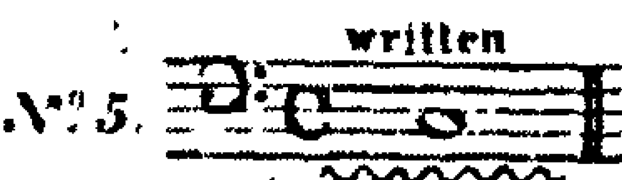
[8] A French-only edition of Dotzauer translated by Minche was published c.1830. The French text is identical with that in the earlier bilingual editions, was also presumably prepared by Minche, who therefore may well have been responsible for these and other variants. Dotzauer, trans. G. Minche, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Richault, [c. 1830]).

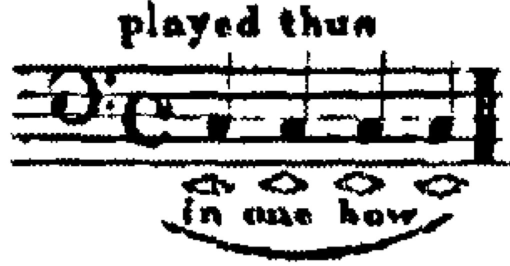
However, Dotzauer was evidently not representative. The generally extremely favourable review of Josef Merk (1795-1852) in 1825 (also referred to in chapter 7) drew attention to vibrato as a widespread practice:

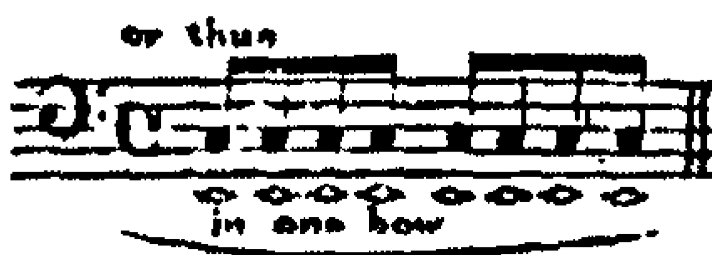
> Then followed an Adagio and Rondeau for cello, composed and played by Herr Prof. Merk, performed with execution and skill of the character suggested above. However, the too-frequent vibrating accentuation of the note is a habit of string players that is not wholly to be praised. One often longs for a pure sustained note, which makes an effect through calmness and fullness. Something as anomalous as the vibrating of notes must only be used rarely and with reason.[9]

It is not absolutely clear whether the reviewer means left-hand vibrato or bow-vibrato. Left-hand vibrato at this time was quite narrow, so much so that at times it was not perceived as a real fluctuation of pitch. The *BAMZ* reviewer sees 'bebende Accentuiren' as being opposed to a 'rein ausgehaltenen Ton', which could imply a bowed effect – accentuation is perhaps more easily associated with this technique. Merk, therefore, might have been among the 'some' or 'many' in Dotzauer's German text. On the other hand, few cellists describe bow-vibrato at this time. Apart from Dotzauer, it is briefly mentioned by Crouch, who is paraphrasing the Paris Conservatoire method:

> There is another species of bowing, called Undulating. It is a compound of several notes each being soft increased and diminished or to which may be given the forte, at the commencement of each beat, or half beat in the bar, for the explanation of which, see the following Example (No. 5.)[10]







[9] 'Dann folgte Adagio und Rondeau für Cello, komponirt und gespielt von Herrn. Prof. Merk, mit Vortrag und Fertigkeit in dem oben angedeuteten Karakter ausgeführt. Das zu häufige bebende Accentuiren der Töne ist indess eine Sitte der Streichinstrumentisten, die nicht ganz zu loben ist. Man sehnt sich oft nach einem rein ausgehaltenen Ton, der durch die Ruhe und Fülle seiner selbst wirkt. Etwas so anomalisches, als das Beben des Tones, muss nur selten und mit Grund angewandt werden.' *BAMZ*, 2 (1825), p. 170.

[10] Frederick Crouch, *Compleat Treatise* (London: Chappell & Co., 1826), p. 43. The equivalent passage, with the same music example, is in Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, [1804]), p. 28.

Dotzauer is the only cellist to describe another technique, which he calls the '*Pochen*' (Fr., *tintement*), which translates into English as beating, knocking or pounding. He includes this in a general discussion of resonant effects in general, such as the doubling of an open string for extra volume in orchestral playing. The *Pochen* is more refined than the orchestral effect. It is obtained when holding a stopped note an octave above an open string or in unison with it, but without actually playing it. The open string will naturally resonate sympathetically with the stopped note, but this can be interrupted by touching it with a free finger.

> In order to be better convinced of the truth of this phenomenon, one only has to strike the open string lightly with the index finger, while making the other note vibrate with the bow, and one hears a beating occasioned by the resonance of the string, which the finger, in striking it, prevents from freely vibrating.[11]

Earlier in the treatise, Dotzauer mentions this in the context of ornamentation (portamento and vibrato) as a topic for later explanation.

> Sometimes, in very sustained notes, one can use an ornament which results from the vibrations of sounds [*Pochen*] and which will be explained in an article below.[12]

However, he warns that:

> Although these experiments cannot be rejected absolutely, good taste dictates that they should only be used rarely; moreover, it is quite separate from the art of drawing a good, clear, round, sweet sound.

It is not quite clear whether Dotzauer is actually offering this as a form of embellishment (as did some violinists), or more simply as an acoustical proof that the

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[11] 'Will man sich noch besser von dieser Wahrheit überzeugen, so tupfe man während dem angeben eines Ton's mit dem ersten Finger auf die leere Saite, und man wird ein Pochen vernehmen welches von der Hemmung des Mitklang's durch den Finger entstehet. // Pour se persuader de la réalité de ce phénomene, on n'a qu'à frapper légèrementdu premier doigt sur la corde à vide, pendant que que l'on fait vibrer l'autre par l'archet, et on entrendra un tintement occasioné par la résonance de la corde, que le doigt en Frappant dessus empèche de vibrer librement'. Dotzauer, *Violonzell-Schule* (1824), p. 52.

[12] 'Viele bedienen sich bey langen Tönen, wo es möglich ist des Pchens, welches vom Mitklingen der Töne herrührt wie in 12ten Abschnitt zuerschen ist. // On peut quelques fois dans des sons très longtems soutenus employer un agrément qui resulte de la vibration des tons et qui sera expliqué plus bas à l'article'. Ibid., p. 47. Note that here there is no exact French equivalent for *Pochen*, given here simply as 'un agrément', or ornament.

open string does indeed vibrate sympathetically in this way.[13] At all events, it is not described by any other cellist.

Romberg, relatively enthusiastic about portamento, is somewhat more cautious about vibrato.

> The close shake, or Tremolo, is produced by a rapid lateral motion of the finger when pressed on the string. When used with moderation, and executed with great power of bow, it gives fire and animation to the Tone, but it should be made only at the beginning of the note, and ought not to be continued throughout its whole duration. Formerly the close shake was in such repute, that it was applied indiscriminately to every note of whatever duration. This produced a most disagreeable and whining effect, and we cannot be too thankful that an improved taste has at length exploded the abuse of this embellishment.[14]

The anonymous English translator somewhat weakens the pungency of Romberg's expression here, for 'Jammer-musik' could be rendered as 'misery-music'. More remarkably, the last-quoted sentence in the German text ('In früherer Zeit ... eine wahre Jammer-Musik daraus') is omitted entirely from the French translation, which could suggest a slightly greater tolerance for vibrato in France.[15]

In the annotations to his studies and exercises, Romberg goes into a little more detail.

> The 2nd finger will be found the best in making the close-shake, for which reason I have marked it to be used upon the first note of the following exercise, where the passing-shake [mordent] must be made with the third. The third finger [...] is not so well adapted to the close-shake. The close-shake should never be held on through the whole duration of the note, otherwise it will fail in its object, which is, to add

[13] Versions of this technique are described by Luis Alonso (c.1880) and Hermann Schröder (1887). Brown, *CRPP*, p. 537.
[14] 'Das Beben (tremolo) wird hervorgebracht, indem man den Finger, mit dem man einen Ton genommen hat, mehrere Male in sehr geschwindem Zeitmaass vor und rückwärts biegt. Selten angebracht, und mit vieler Kraft des Bogens ausgeführt, gibt es dem Tone Feuer und leben; es muss aber nur im Anfange der Note, und nicht durch die ganze Dauer derselben gemacht werden. In früherer Zeit konnte niemand einen Ton, wenn auch von noch so wenig Dauer, aushalten, ohne beständig mit dem Finger zu beben, und es wurde eine wahre Jammer-Musik daraus'. Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 85.
[15] Bernhard Romberg, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Henry Lemoine, [1840]), p. 84.

> power to the tone; and should never exceed in time the third part of the value of the note.[16]

In fact, the vibrato markings in bars 1 and 3 are the only ones in the sixty-five bars of the exercise (figure 1 – the markings in bars 2 and 4 indicate mordents, not vibrato).

Figure 5/1: Romberg, *Violoncellschule*, vibrato exercise

Elsewhere in his *Violoncellschule* Romberg only indicates vibrato in one passage (figure 2).[17]

Figure 5/2: Romberg, *Concertino* (1st movt.), vibrato markings (*Violoncellschule*, p. 101)

As figures 1 and 2 show, Romberg's few vibrato examples only use LH2. In figure 2, although the vibrated c' could be played with LH4 on the D string, it is most unlikely that Romberg would have wanted this, given his views about the weakness of LH3 (stronger than LH4). Romberg therefore has a limited view of vibrato. It is used only with the strongest finger, for the first third of the duration of long notes, and it is not combined with any other ornament – neither with an ornament beginning with a longer note with decorative notes at the end, such as a turn or *Doppelschlag*, nor with a short *messa di voce* double hairpin (this topic will be re-examined below). Romberg is much more concerned with the execution of ornaments such as the appoggiatura or trill. His lack of interest in vibrato is partly due to his view about the faults of its excessive application, but it may also result from his violinistic left hand. Although this may have

[16] Ibid., p. 90.
[17] Ibid., p. 101.

encouraged portamento, it would have made vibrato particularly difficult with any other finger than LH2. This is obviously a severe limitation in terms of later technique, but it would appear to be consistent with Romberg's general aesthetic position. Indeed, one could even argue that Romberg is trying to make a virtue out of necessity by defining the aesthetic limits of vibrato in terms that match his own idiosyncratic physical limitations.[18]

One of the earliest cello vibrato indications discovered to date in a composition as opposed to a study or exercise occurs in François Hainl's *Fantasia* on themes from *Guillaume Tell* (figure 3).[19]

Figure 5/3: Hainl, *Fantasia*, vibrato

It is clearly used here as an intensifying device, at the end of a highly operatic *adagio* section in the remote key of E major (the previous section is in two halves, in G major and Bmajor/G# minor respectively, and the following section is in C). Indeed, this entire section is unusual in that operatic transcriptions for the cello generally do not, paradoxical though this seems, strive after vocal effects. Hainl's use of a repeated accent sign for the vibrated notes recalls Hamilton's notation for the 'vibration or close shake', in which vibrato is represented by a wavy line or by repeated accents >>>>.[20] Brown cites two examples in Meyerbeer of 'accent' vibrato applied to a long note, one vocal (from *Il crociato in Egitto* – figure 4) and one in a solo viola part (*Les*

[18] David Watkins takes a slightly different view, that Romberg's vibrato would have been even more restricted than his own advice would suggest, because of his extremely slanted left hand. David Watkins, 'Beethoven's Sonatas for Cello and Piano' in Robin Stowell (ed.), *Performing Beethoven* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 89-116), p. 111.
[19] François Georges Hainl, *Fantaisie sur des motifs de Guillaume Tell* op. 8 (Mainz: B.Schott fils, [*HM*1842]), vc pt., p. 3.
[20] *CRPP*, p. 551, citing James Alexander Hamilton, *A Dictionary [...] of Musical Terms* (London, 1837), p. 88.

Huguenots), concluding that both indicate vibrato (bow-vibrato in the latter case).[21] However, they need not be mutually exclusive, and it is possible that in explicitly 'expressive' contexts such accent markings imply vibrato combined with a gesture with the bow. The case of *Il crociato* is particularly interesting, because as well as the particular case of repeated accents noted by Brown, there are numerous verbal instructions for vibrato throughout the opera, sometimes intensified (figures 5-6).[22]

Figure 5/4: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato in Egitto*, no. 8

Figure 5/5: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato*, chorus, no. 13

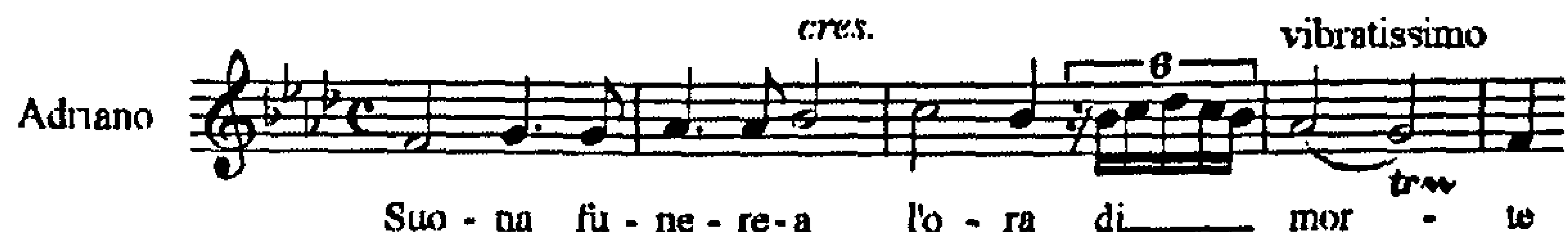

Figure 5/6: Meyerbeer, *Il crociato*, no. 15.

There are many other examples in this score, which makes it unlikely that the

[21] Brown, *CRPP*, p. 551, citing Meyerbeer, *Il crociato in Egitto* and *Les Huguenots*.
[22] Meyerbeer, *Il crociato in Egitto* (Paris: Pacini, [c.1865], vocal score. Reprint of 1830 edition, itself a reprint of the 1826 edition with same plate numbers, with an additional aria for Pasta inserted at the end.

example in figure 4 means vibrato as conventionally understood (even given that the vocal vibrato at this time is more of a rapid reiteration of the note than an actual change in pitch); the six repeated accents and staccato dots suggest rather that the note should be reinforced by the singer in time with the quaver pulse, synchronised with the other vocal parts.

While this particular case in Meyerbeer may not, then, fully support the interpretation of repeated accents as signifying vibrato (though it does not exclude it either), Hainl's and Hamilton's notation may still relate to the vibrato practice of Adrien-François Servais (1807-1866). Servais was one the earliest cellists to be criticised for his vibrato, but the evidence is nonetheless somewhat patchy. The sole written source for Servais's use of vibrato is a review by Pavel Makarov in 1866, the year of Servais's death.

> Servais's [...] lilt is so full of the unending sugary vibrato that one would, no doubt, like to cleanse one's ears with full and clear sounds, as one would like to have some plain water after eating candies.[23]

Other evidence for this is less explicit. However, while Servais does not explicitly notate vibrato (the word does not appear in any of his music, either printed or in manuscript, and he never uses a wavy line to mean vibrato), many pieces include passages of notes marked with repeated accents, sometimes with separate bows, sometimes under a slur. He also frequently adds markings such as '*avec abandon*', a particular favourite, which implies some vivid form of heightened expression (figures 8, 11 and 12 below).

[23] Quoted in Lev Ginsburg, *History of the Violoncello* (Neptune City, NJ: Paganiniana Publications, 1983), citing P. Makarov, *St. Petersburg Concerts – Muzikalny tsvet,* 1866, no. 6.

Figure 5/7: Servais, *Fra Diavolo 2me. Grand Duo Brillant*[24]

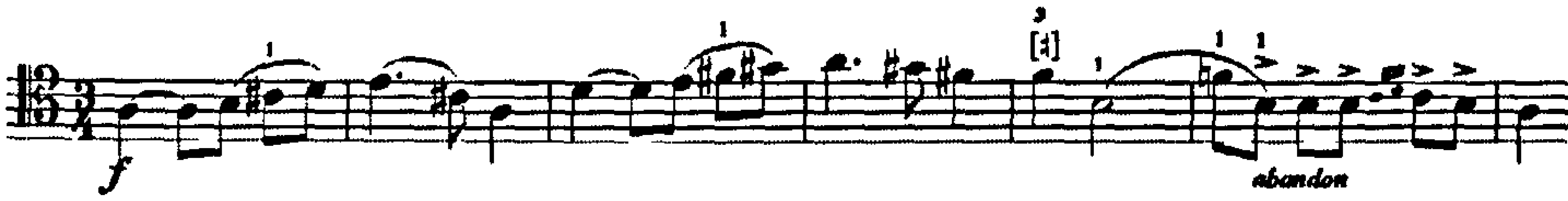

Figure 5/8: Servais, *Fantaisie la Romantique*[25]

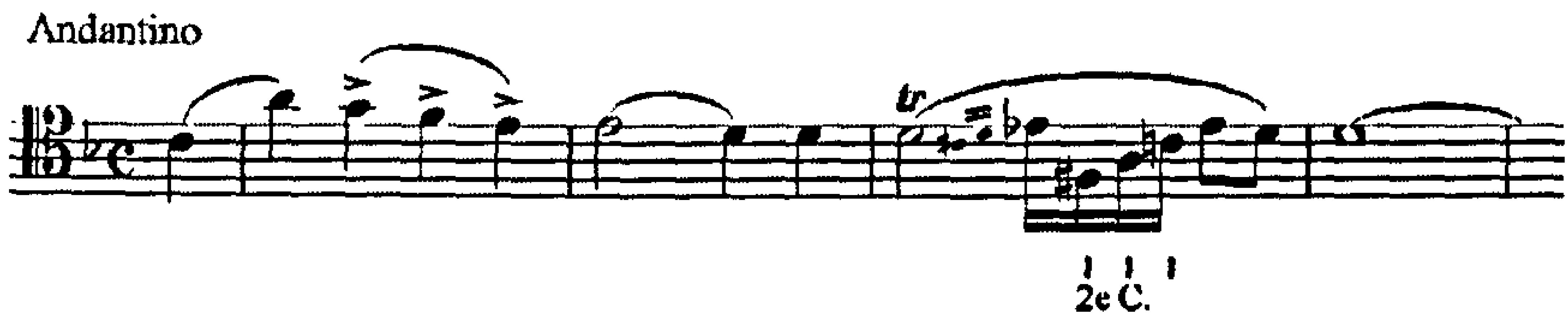

Figure 5/9: Servais, *Souvenir de Spa*[26]

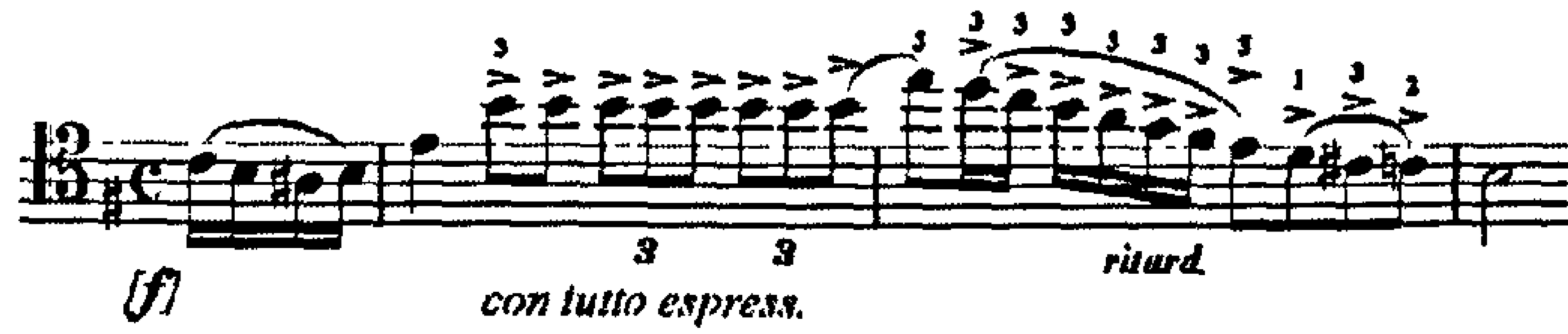

Figure 5/10: Servais, *Grande fantaisie sur [...] Lestocq*[27]

Figure 5/11: Servais, *Concerto no. 2,* 1st movt.[28]

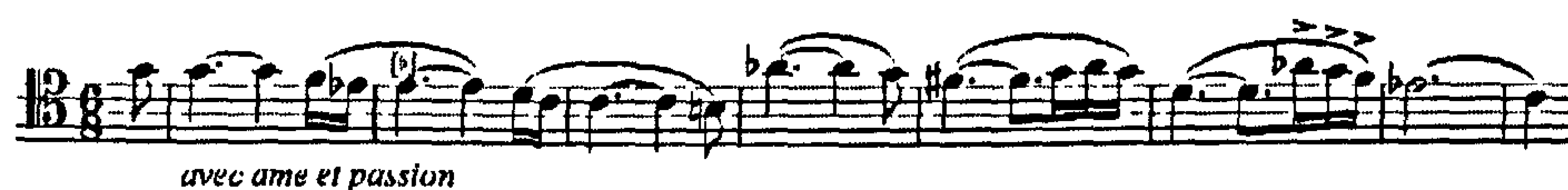

Figure 5/12: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*[29]

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[24] Adrien Servais, *Fra Diavolo 2me. Grand Duo Brillant* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [*HM*1853].
[25] Ibid., *Fantaisie la Romantique*, Brussels Royal Conservatoire MS 45.106, p. 2.
[26] Ibid., *Souvenir de Spa*, Brussels Royal Conservatoire MS 45.119, p. 4.
[27] Ibid., *Grande fantaisie sur des motifs de l'opéra Lestocq* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [*HM*1852]).
[28] Ibid., Concerto no. 2 in E minor, Brussels Royal conservatoire MS 45.106, p. 90.
[29] Ibid., *Fantaisie burlesque*, Brussels Royal conservatoire MS 45.106, p. 74. Published as

It is possible that Servais himself even parodied this apparent expressive excess. In the autograph MS of his *Fantaisie burlesque* (variations on the *Carnaval de Venise*) Servais included the marking '*dol. et fausse expression*' ('*dolce* and false expression') (figures 13-14). This marking does not appear in the published version.

Figure 5/13: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*: MS

Figure 5/14: Servais, *Fantaisie burlesque*: transcription[30]

Servais does use a series of repeated accents in other contexts which need not imply vibrato. In particular there are several instances where it seems closer to a heavy *portato* effect, made with the bow and not the left hand. Examples of the accent-mark notation combined with a slur could certainly imply the former at least as strongly as the latter. While the position is clearly ambiguous, it seems possible that in certain circumstances repeated accentuation can be combined with vibrato for additional expressive effect.

Dotzauer and Romberg locate vibrato in Italy and in the past respectively. The first cellist to write positively about vibrato is Friedrich Kummer (1797-1879). Kummer treats both portamento and vibrato under the heading of 'Ton und Vortrag', tone and expression, rather than 'Verzierungen', or ornaments.

Fantaisie burlesque (ou le Carnaval deVenise) (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [*HM*1852]).
[30] Ibid., p. 77. Servais tended to add puns (in Flemish) and jokes to his MSS.

> One can also occasionally give a note more expression and gloss by a certain trembling, which is produced if one puts the finger firmly on the string and lets the hand make a trembling movement, whereby, in order to be able to perform the same more freely, the thumb lies very loosely on the neck of the instrument.[31]

His example (figure 15) shows that Kummer could play with vibrato on any finger, especially the LH3 that Romberg thought was too weak.

Figure 5/15: Kummer, vibrato example

He gives further examples in his exercises and studies, in which, for the first time, one can see some basic principles governing the use of vibrato on the cello (figures 16-19). In his study no. 70, although there would seem to be several opportunities for vibrato, he only identifies three (figure 16, bars 4, 15 and 24), all using LH3. The shorter exercise no. 77 uses vibrato much more (figure 17, bars 3, 4, 5, 10 and 12), on LH2, 3 and 4. His study on the D string op. 44 no. 4 marks vibrato at several points, including f#' and b', high on the D string, played with consecutive LH3s (figures 18-19). Kummer uses vibrato on metrically 'strong' beats, on 'weak' beats when combined with agogic lengthening. Most of his vibrato indications are on diatonic notes; notes which are already chromatically expressive do not have vibrato as well (the d'♭ in bar 10 of figure 17 is an exception – compare the un-vibrated chromatic first notes in figure 16, bars 18, 20 and 22).

[31] 'Man kann auch zuweilen einem Tone mehr Ausdruck und Glanz durch eine gewisse Bebung geben, die hervorgebracht wird, wenn man den Finger fest auf die saite setzt und die Hand eine zitternde Bewegung machen läßt, wobei man, um dieselbe freier ausführen zu können, den Daumen ganz locker an den Hals des Instruments legt. Ausgedrückt wird diese Bebung durch das Zeichen [...]'. F. Kummer, *Violoncello-schule* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [*HM*1839]), p. 45.

Figure 5/16: Kummer, *Violoncellschule*, study no. 70

Figure 5/17: Kummer, *Violoncellschule*, study no. 77

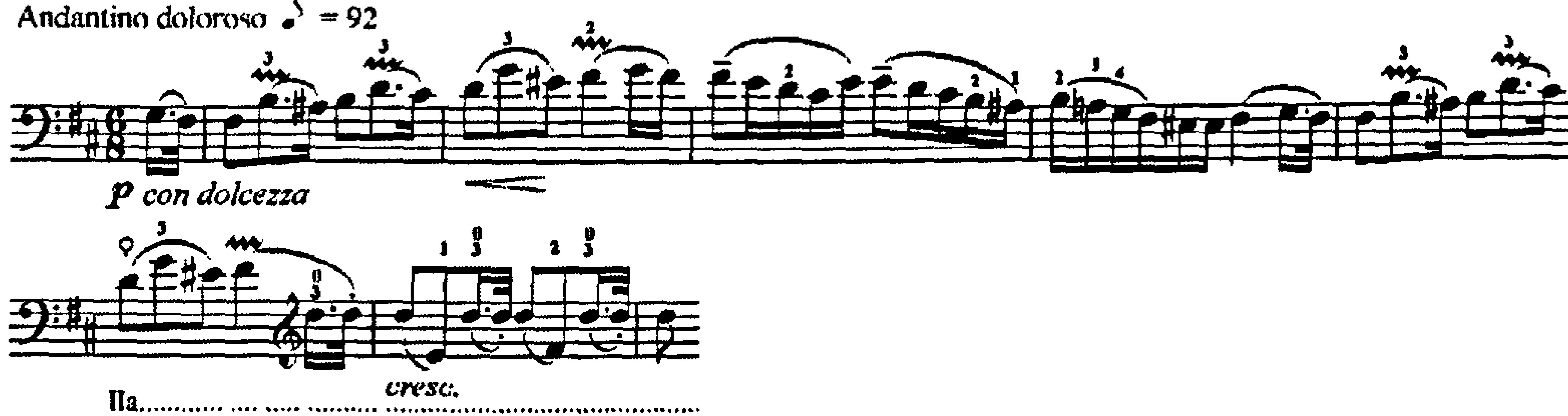

Figure 5/18: Kummer, study op. 44 no. 4, bb.1-9 (D string throughout)

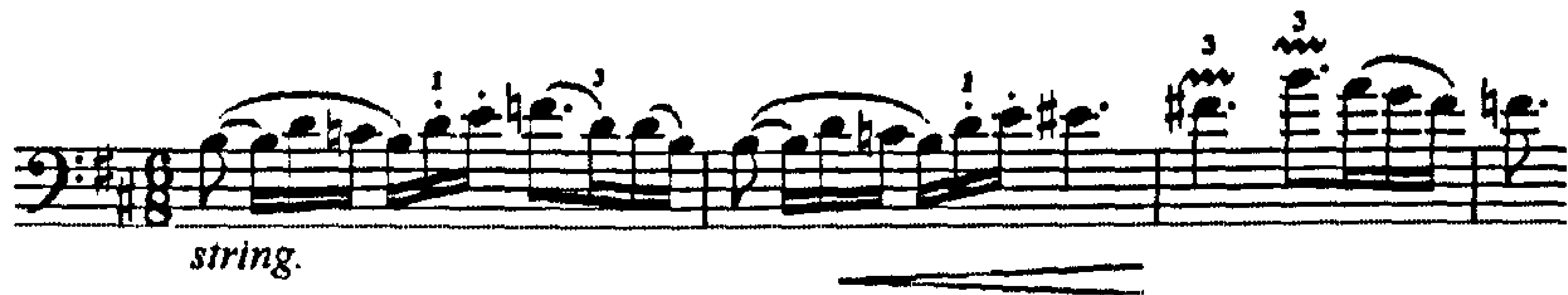

Figure 5/19: Kummer, study op. 44 no.4, bb. 25-28

Reviews of some of Kummer's compositions sometimes appear to see them as potential sites for tasteless vibrato, although his own performances are not criticised in these terms. His *Variations brillantes* on *La sonnambula* op. 16 provoked this reaction:

> ... Elvin's Arioso [...], depicting his pangs of love and unpleasant convulsions of the heart, which follows, gives the player the most beautiful opportunities for producing sufficient whimpering and dreadful sobbing by means of the now so popular *vibrando* (tremolando), and thus makes it so much easier for him to move his audience.[32]

Once again, it is not entirely clear whether a left-hand or a bow vibrato is implied. However, given that Kummer never describes the bow-vibrato, it is more likely that the left-hand vibrato is the emotionally affecting device. Kummer's *Elegie* was seen as opposed in itself to the popular taste for emotional extravagance:

> ... Herr Kummer [...] has avoided that whining note of insipid salon-sentimentality; [...] the predominant expression of mourning and pain remains almost consistently a manly composure, healthy, noble, in complete contrast to certain fashionable compositions of this genre, whose sickly affectation and revolting effeminate coquettishness of feeling often cause positive physical discomfort, leaving [anyone with] a strong, pure temperament the most disagreeable feelings.[33]

This piece's 'essentially' masculine character presumably ruled out the use of vibrato. Kummer's *Air et Danse suédois nationaux* contains a rare verbal indication of vibrato (figure 20).[34]

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[32] '... folgt Elvin's, seinen Liebesjammer und widrigen Herzenszwang aushauchendes Arioso [...] das dem Spieler die schönste Gelegenheit zu hinlänglichem, mittelst des jetzt so beliebten Vibrando (Tremolando) zu bewerkstelligenden Wimmern und erkschlecklichen Schluchzen an die Hand gibt, und ihm so die allgemeine Ruhrung seines Auditoriums wesentlich erleichtert'. *AMZ*, 47 (1845), p. 536.

[33] 'Was uns besonders darin angesprochen, ist, dass Herr Kummer, mit Ausnahme einiger wenigen Stellen, jenen weinerlichen Ton fader Salonsentimentalität vermieden hat, dass der in der Elegie vorherrschende Ausdruck der Trauer und des Schmerzes fast durchgehends ein männlich gefasster, edler und gesunder bleibt, ganz im Widerspruche mit gewissen dieser Galtung angehörigen Modecomposition, deren krankhafte Affectation und widerlich weibische Gefühlscoquetterie oft förmliches physisches Unwohlsein verinsachen, und wovon eine kräftige, unverdorbene Natur sich nur auf's Unerquicklichtest berührt fühlen kann.' Anon., 'Recensionen', *AMZ*, 47 (1845), p. 536.

[34] Friedrich Kummer, *Air et Danse suédois nationaux* (Hanover: Bachmann, [*HM*1851]).

Figure 5/20: Kummer, *Swedish Air and Dance*, vc. pt. p. 5: vibrato markings, parallel instances

Another vibrato marking occurs in the third of Auguste Lübeck's (1838-1904) preludes based on Chopin's op. 28 (figure 21).[35]

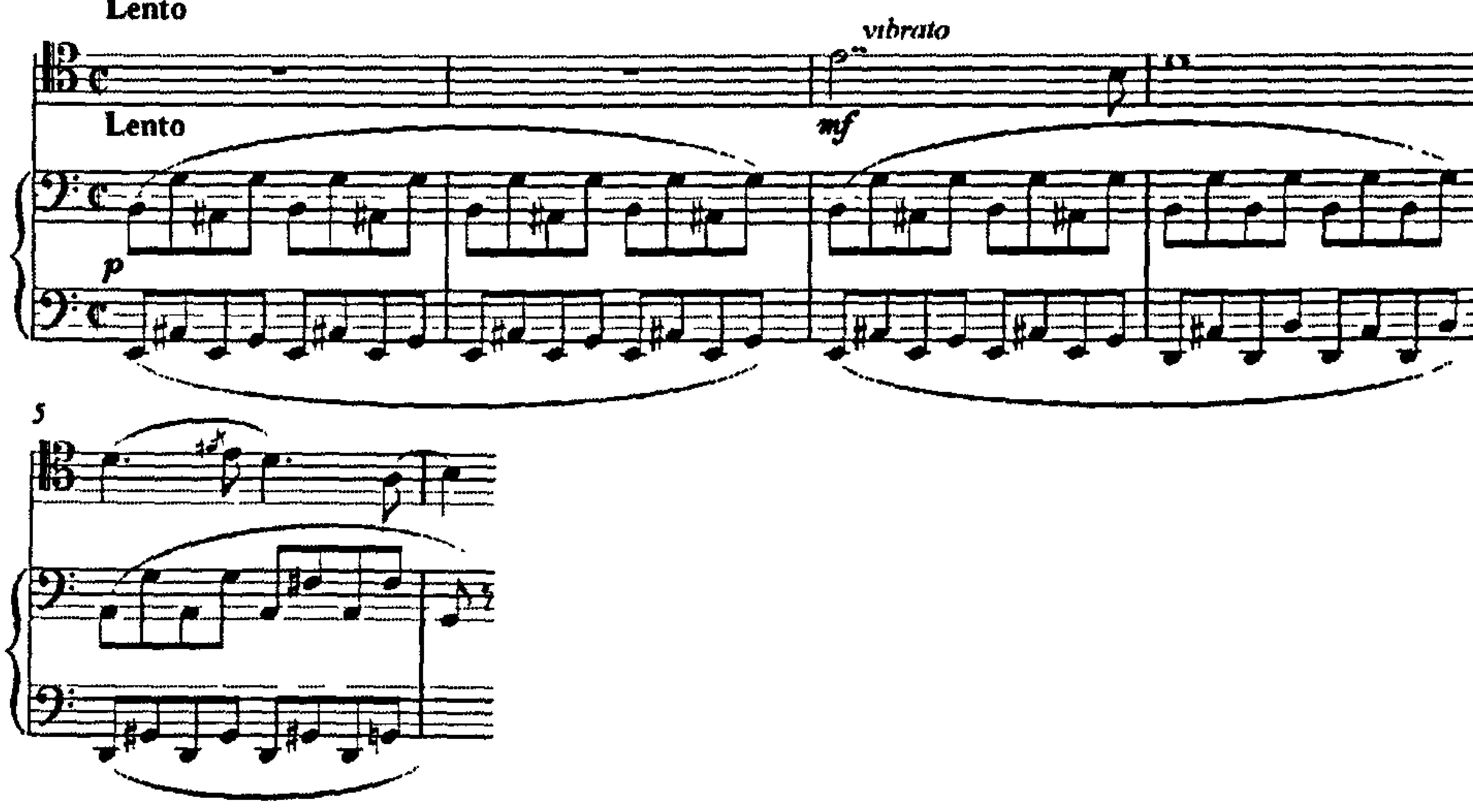

Figure 5/21: Auguste Lübeck, *4 Preludes from Chopin*, no. 3

VIBRATO AND THE SHORT *MESSA DI VOCE*

Grützmacher, so assiduous in marking portamento (see chapter 4), indicates vibrato only once, in his edition of Romberg's *Duos* op. 9, in a passage also featuring a succession of small-scale *messa di voce* pairs of hairpins (figure 22).[36] In the light of Romberg's own views on vibrato discussed above it seems that this marking almost certainly reflects Grützmacher's own performance practice. Almost all Grützmacher's editions of Romberg were marked up for teaching purposes. The title page of his edition

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[35] Auguste Louis Lübeck, *Vier Praeludien aus Op. 28 von Fr. Chopin* (Berlin: C. A. Challier & Co., [1885]), no. 3 (Chopin's op. 28 no. 2).
[36] Bernhard Romberg, ed. Friedrich Grützmacher, *Duo no. 1* from *Drei Duos* op. 9 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [*HM*1890]).

of it is typical, in what claims to be a 'new, exactly marked edition for use in teaching'.[37] Similar claims were made, both in more technically advanced works such as Romberg's concerti, and in Grützmacher's own studies, especially the more basic collections.[38] However, as far as has been ascertained to date, the vibrato marking in figure 22 is the only such example in Grützmacher. The Romberg *Duos* are particularly heavily annotated, so it may be that his edition includes some material that might otherwise have been omitted as obvious. This is apparent even in this example, where the f#' in b.1 in the second cello part carries a fingering, an articulation mark, a down-bow marking, a dynamic level, hairpins *and* the vibrato marking.

Figure 5/22: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Duo* no. 1, 3rd movt.

Grützmacher uses this hairpin marking quite frequently, and it may imply an effect of vibrato as well as of dynamic. Just as he can use portamento repeatedly within a few bars, so he can use the *messa di voce* equally frequently, as his version of Chopin's waltz op. 64 no. 1 in D♭, transposed to A flat, shows (figure 23). Within the given tempo, it is likely that this marking implies a vibrato more than a dynamic effect.

[37] 'Neue, zum Gebrauch beim Unterrichte genau bezeichnete Ausgabe'. Ibid.
[38] See, for example, F. Grützmacher, *12 Violoncell-Etuden für den ersten Unterricht* op. 72 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1896]).

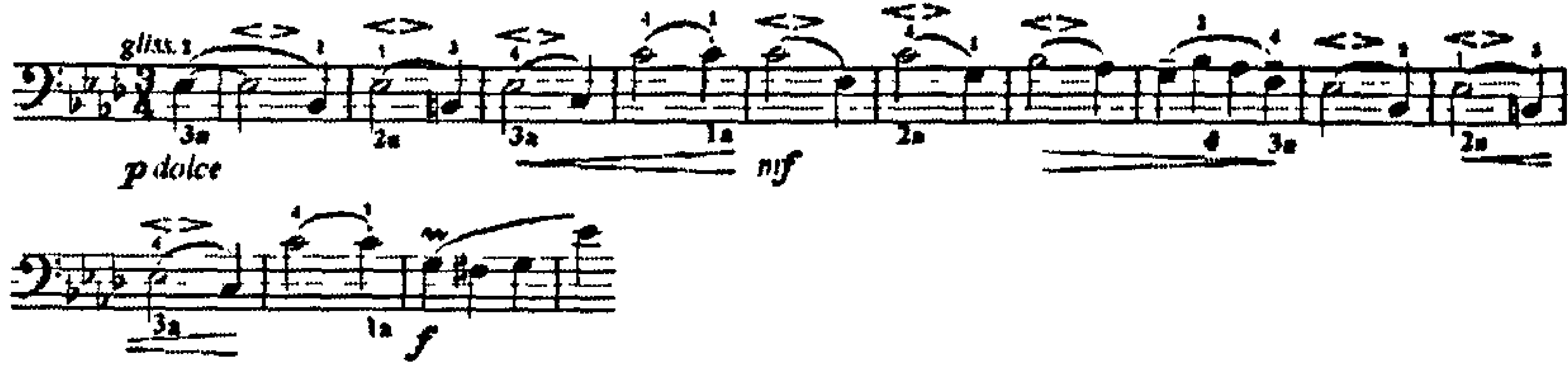


Figure 5/23: Chopin, arr. Grützmacher, *Waltz* in op. 64 no. 1 ('Minute'), B section

The connection between the *messa di voce* and vibrato seems to apply in the violin literature. Brown provides examples from Baudiot, Campagnoli, Rode, and Joachim, and finds that:

> [...] in the music of [Zelter, Mendelssohn, Schumann and Brahms] it seems probable that, whatever else it might be intended to convey, the sign generally implied a vibrato [...] there are certainly instances where [...] it could hardly mean anything but vibrato combined with a gentle accent (possibly with an agogic element).[39]

However, when the *messa* is on a note where vibrato is unrealistic, such as an open string or a natural harmonic, there is some ambiguity, as several instances in Grützmacher show. He frequently adds this marking to natural harmonics (figure 24).

Figure 5/24: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Divertimento über schwedische Lieder* op. 42.

In isolation, such passages are unproblematic, because vibrato on a natural harmonic, though not impossible, does not seem to have been an option at this time. Only in 1923 did the cellist Hans Kindler (1892-1949) even suggest using vibrato on artificial harmonics, which is if anything more practical:

[39] Brown *CRPP*, p. 552. Zelter's use of the *messa di voce* in his lieder has been examined the context of a lyric subjectivity associated with the Goethe circle by Jennifer Ronyak (University of Rochester): 'Carl Friedrich Zelter's Lieder and the Short "Messa di Voce": Expressive Subjectivity through Musical Declamation', unpublished conference paper at 'Performing Romantic Music' conference, University of Durham, July 2008.

> [...] why should artificial harmonics on the 'cello mostly sound glassy? Why not give them the benefit of a slight *vibrato* to keep the tone 'alive'?'[40]

Similarly, this marking from Taubert's concerto (figure 25) almost certainly does not imply vibrato on a natural harmonic:

Figure 5/25: Taubert, *Concerto* op. 173, 2nd movt.

On the other hand, these quasi-vocal *dolcissimo* swells (figure 26) could quite reasonably be played with vibrato:[41]

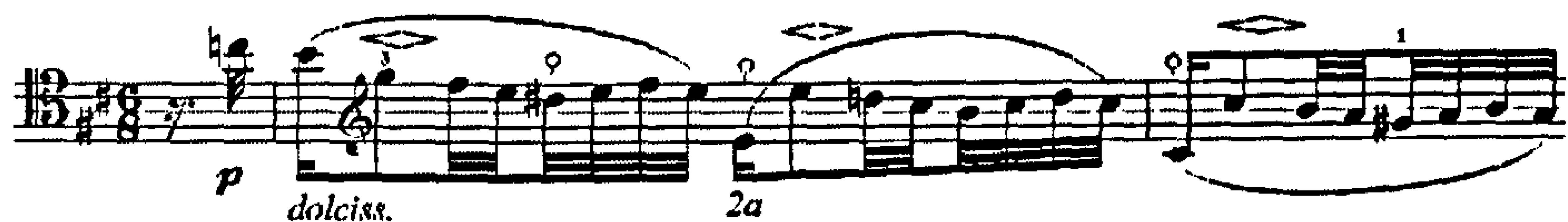


Figure 5/26: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Concerto* no. 9 op. 56, 2nd movt.

In another example, Grützmacher could plausibly intend a contrast between a stopped note with a *messa di voce* vibrato, and a harmonic with none (figure 27).

Figure 5/27: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Divertimento über westfälische Lieder*, op. 65

However, if a consistent approach were to be adopted, other passages imply either that vibrato is used on harmonics, or that none is used even on stopped notes marked with a local *messa di voce* (figure 28):[42]

[40] Hans Kindler, quoted in Frederick H. Martens, *String Mastery Talks with Master Violinists, Viola Players and Violoncellists* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 2nd ed. 1923), p. 260.
[41] Bernhard Romberg, ed. Friedrich Grützmacher, *Concerto no. 9* op 56 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, [*HM*1883]), 2nd movt.
[42] Ibid.

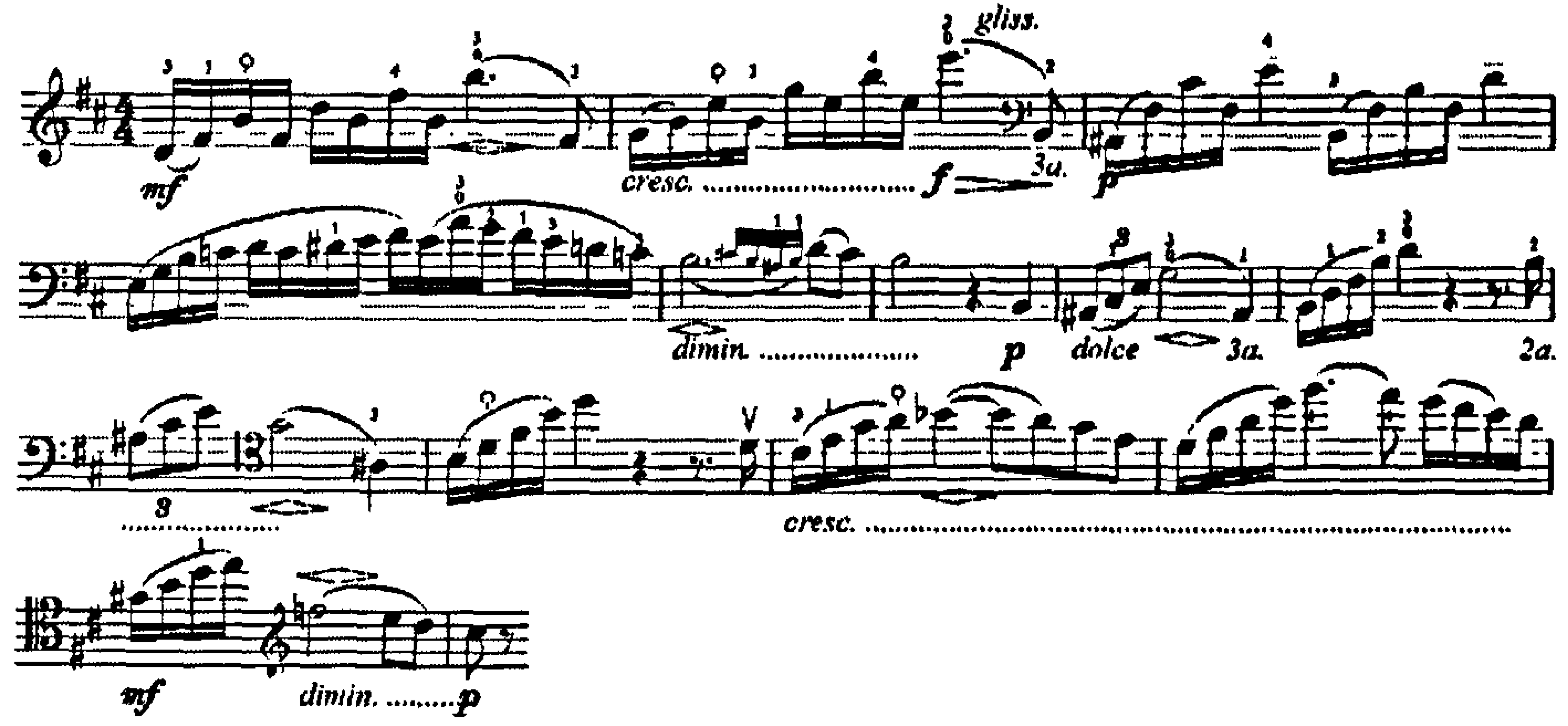


Figure 5/28: Romberg, ed. Grützmacher, *Concerto no. 9* op. 56, 1st movt.

In particular, in the example above, the swells indicated on g (bar 7) and g' (bar 9) suggest consistency. Given the gradually intensifying expression over bars 7 to 13, playing the g in bar 7 *senza* vibrato is musically justifiable, with a possible vibrato on the b♭' flat and f'' in bars 11 and 13.

A similar issue arises in Joachim and Moser's *Violinschule*, where in a *Musette* by Leclair Joachim indicates a *messa di voce* on both harmonics and stopped notes (figures 29-30).[43] In spite of a lengthy treatment of vibrato elsewhere in the *Violinschule* (almost entirely based on Spohr), Joachim does not address this specific point, although it is most likely that in this particular case no vibrato is intended.

Figure 5/29: Leclair, *Musette*, bb.1-8, from Joachim *Violinschule*, ex. no. 105

[43] J. Joachim and A. Moser, trans. Alfred Moffat, *Violinschule* (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1905), pp. 97-98.

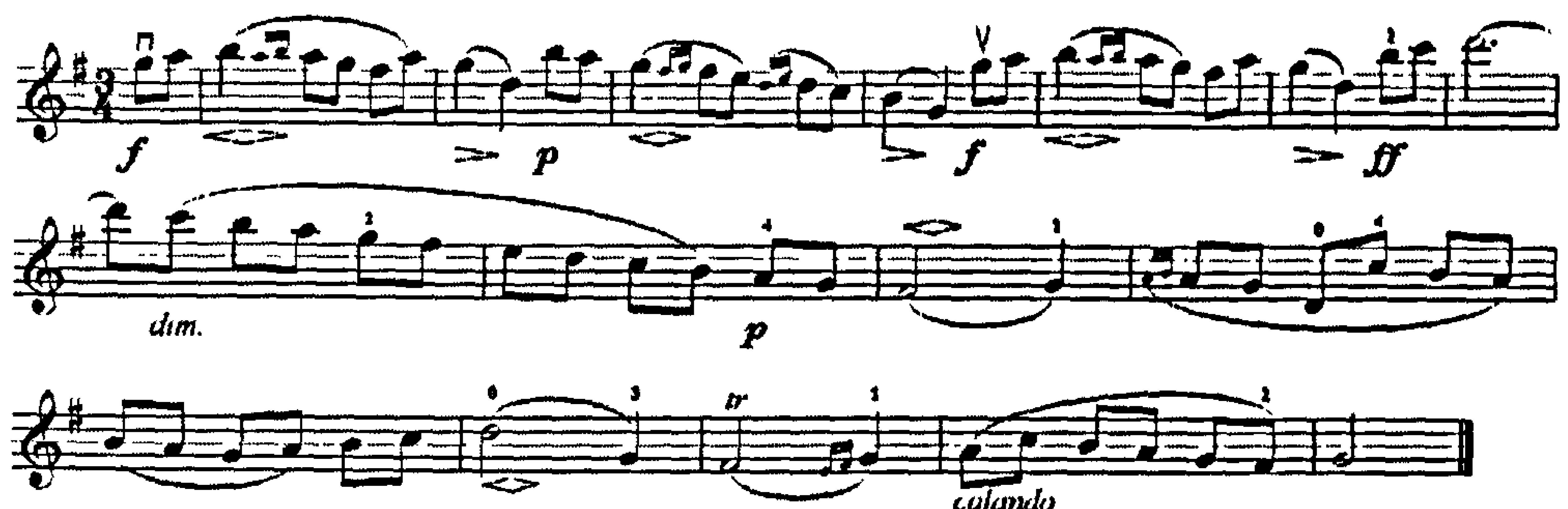


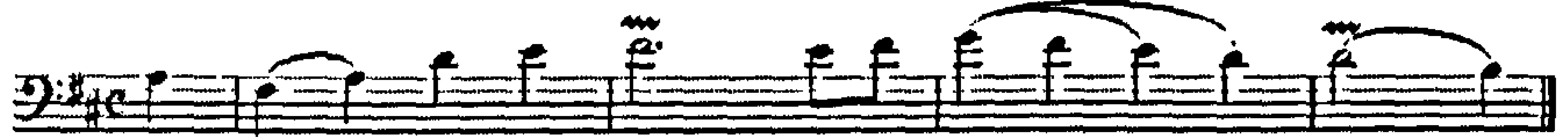
Figure 5/30: Leclair, *Musette*, concluding bars

As far as the cello is concerned, it is hard to make a clear case for any fixed relationship between the *messa di voce* marking and vibrato. Combining the two is clearly historically admissible, but passages which use the *messa di voce* with harmonics are unlikely to imply vibrato. However, in sequentially based passages which use the *messa* sometimes with and sometimes without a harmonic, consistency would exclude vibrato. In the nineteenth century such consistency may well be anachronistic, but only a large-scale study of nineteenth-century performing editions in general would clarify this point.

VIBRATO: LATER TEACHING

Actual instruction in the means of producing vibrato is even rarer than indications for its use, and only begins to appear in pedagogical works later in the century. The next cellist to offer this after Kummer is Carl Schroeder:

> The close shake is a trembling of a note arising from the unequal intonation of the string played upon. It is produced by setting a finger upon a string, and then giving it and the wrist also a trembling motion, so that the pitch slightly rises and falls. The unemployed fingers must be lifted. A special sign for the close shake is not in general use, its employment being left to the player's taste. Sometimes the indication "vibrato" is met with. In the following example the introduction of the close shake is indicated by this sign, ~~~~~:[44]



[44] Carl Schroeder, trans. J. Matthews, *Catechism of Violoncello Playing* (London: Augener & Co., 1893), p. 67.

William Whitehouse, who added this topic among others to his edition of Piatti's cello method, describes a rather different version of vibrato:

> This term, though rarely written in music, is essentially a feature of artistic interpretation. The use of it vitalizes the tone and increases the power of expression. It consists of a wide movement of the left hand (not a trembling motion) and should be acquired by practicing (preferably with the 2nd finger) a slow semi-circular movement coming from the wrist. By this means the finger will alternately sharpen and flatten the note, thereby creating "vibrato". Joachim termed it pulsation.[45]

Whitehouse's wide, non-trembling vibrato, was almost certainly on the slow side (not just practised slowly). Whitehouse's edition of his teacher Piatti's *Capricci* op. 25, 'with notes on the Master's Rendering of each Capriccio', includes this for *Capriccio* no. 2:

> Observe the little accents > by slightly swelling on the notes thus marked – with perhaps a little vibrato.[46]

This is the beginning of the passage in question, which consists of twenty-three bars in all (figure 31).

Figure 5/31: Piatti, *Capriccio* no. 2, accents with vibrato

Evidence for Piatti's occasional use of vibrato comes from several sources. He touches on vibrato in his own edition of Kummer's method, which retains Kummer's examples and notation.[47] At several points, Kummer had recommended the learner to follow the example of good singers in the *messa di voce* and vibrato. Piatti disagreed in a footnote, which referred to both topics:

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[45] A. Piatti, ed. W. Whitehouse and R. V. Tabb, *Violoncello Method Bk. II* (London: Augener, 1911), p. 48..

[46] Alfredo Piatti, ed. William Whitehouse, *Capricci* op. 25 (Leipzig: N. Simrock, n.d.), p. 2.

[47] F. A. Kummer, rev. A. Piatti, *Violoncello School for Preliminary Instruction* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1877).

> Since this method was composed, things have changed, and I think the student would do better to imitate the phrasing of a good instrument-player.[48]

Piatti's restrained vibrato was praised by Hanslick:

> His performance of Schubert's *Litanei*, for example, has a real depth of tender feeling without any of that sickly sweetness which is so generally heard on the cello. [...] We found it just as invigorating in the *adagio* not to encounter that ongoing *vibrato* which so many cellists take as being the same as 'feeling'.[49]

Hanslick's praise is not simply the consequence of his general rejection of the emotional effect of music as having anything to do with its aesthetic value (a position he advocates throughout *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen*, and with increasing emphasis in its later editions – see chapter 7), for three other witnesses confirm it.[50] His pupil Harold Gorst (1868-1950) relates this anecdote, which shows that Piatti favoured temperance rather than total abstinence:

> After a period of nearly four years' study [with Julius Klengel], I left Leipzig and settled in London. One day I bethought myself of applying to Signor Piatti, whose kindness to young players was notorious, for advice and guidance. [...] He was then a very old man [...] but it was marvellous to witness the strength and agility of his fingers, and the almost cast-iron precision of his still faultless intonation. When I first played something to him, at his request, with all the fervent *vibrato* of youth, he laid a kindly hand on my shoulder, and remarked gently: 'My dear friend, we cannot *always* be in a passion'.[51]

Horace Fellowes also remembered Piatti's performance of the opening of Beethoven's

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[48] Kummer, ed. Piatti, *Violoncell-schule*, p. 30n.

[49] 'Innig und tief empfunden, wie z. B.sein Vortrag der Schubert'schen "Litanei" war, hatte er doch nichts von jener anwiderdem Süüsslichkeit, welche gerade auf dem Violoncell so allgemein vertreten ist. [...] Ebensosehr hat uns erquidt, im adagio nicht jenem fortwährenden Vibriren zu begegnen, das bei zahllosen Cellisten mit "Gefühl" identisch ist.' Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1870), p. 162. English translation from: Annalisa Barzanò and Christian Bellisario, trans. Clarice Zdanski, *Signor Piatti – Cellist, Composer, Avantgardist* (Kronberg im Taunus: Kronberg Academy Verlag, 2001), p. 240. This passage is frequently quoted in the English version given by van der Straeten, who however does not give its source.

[50] 'Music may, undoubtedly, awaken feelings of great joy or intense sorrow; but might not the same or a still greater effect be produced by the news that we have won first prize in the lottery, or by the dangerous illness of a friend?' Eduard Hanslick, trans. Gustav Cohen, *On the Beautiful in Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974; repr. of 7th ed, 1885, English version 1891), p.11.

[51] Harold Gorst, 'Masters of the Cello', *The Cremona*, 1 (1904), p. 32. Since he began his studies with Klengel in 1877-8, this anecdote probably dates c. 1892-3.

first 'Razumovsky' quartet, op. 59 no. 1:

> Piatti was a very fine artist of the traditional classical school, an ideal player of chamber music. As was the custom until after his time, he used to hold his instrument between his knees without any peg to support it. Nor had it then become the custom to use the left arm and wrist in the manner of modern 'cellists to produce a tremolo or vibrato effect. The opening phrase of the first Razoumowsky quartet, as played by Piatti with a splendid dignity of style, is a thing to remember.[52]

In 1954 Stanley Rigby recalled his teenage years in Manchester in the 1870s and 1880s:

> Piatti was a regular visitor. A young cellist once asked me what Piatti played with the orchestra. I remember that in the second half he would play a Locatelli or Sammartini sonata with Hallé, but what he played in the first I couldn't for my life recall. There was not much for him. The Haydn had not been unearthed, Dvorak had not written his concerto, and Tchaikovsky's [Rococo] variations had not reached the West. No one since has played like Piatti. It was beautiful playing but, like Hallé's piano playing, cold. He used "vibrato" very sparingly. He disdained the use of a peg, and all his long life he nursed his cello between his knees.[53]

Piatti's austere classicism (an impression reinforced by his appearance in photographs), did include an element of vibrato, but used with great restraint. His warning about imitating singers may well reflect an increasing tendency for singers to use what was seen at the time as excessive vibrato, something criticised in the pages of almost every musical journal in the later nineteenth century. This may lie behind the comments made by the leader of the Royal Opera House orchestra, G. H. Betjemann, when judging a music competition in 1896:

[52] E. H. Fellowes, *Memoirs of an Amateur Musician* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1946), pp. 18-19.

[53] Stanley Rigby, 'Memories', *Music & Letters*, 35 (1954), p. 140. F. A. Gevaert's edition of Haydn's D major concerto (Hob.VIIb/2) was not published until 1890; Klengel gave its UK première in 1887. However, de Munck had performed it in Leipzig in the 1870s, according a biography of de Munck; anon., 'M. Ernest de Munck', *The Lute*, 123 (1893), n.p. Servais's son Joseph performed it with the Brussels Conservatoire orchestra in 1878 and 1881. Gevaert's edition was in fact derived from Servais, who in turn worked from a so far unidentified cut version. It is highly probable that this is the version de Munck played, as he was Servais's pupil and edited almost all of Servais's compositions. A copy of Servais's original version is held at the Zuidwestbrabants Museum, Halle, Belgium. See Jerome Carrington, 'A Tale of Bibliographic Sleuthing', *Juilliard Journal Online*, XIX no. 4 (December 2003), <http://www.juilliard.edu/update/journal/j_articles136.html> [last accessed June 2008].

> Mr. G. H. Betjemann spoke of the pernicious excessive use of the vibrato in the violoncello competition; it was a burlesque of the human voice. Some of the competitors' hands while playing were shaking as though with the palsy. All good players used the vibrato, and there was a judicious use of it, but he objected to the use of it on every note.[54]

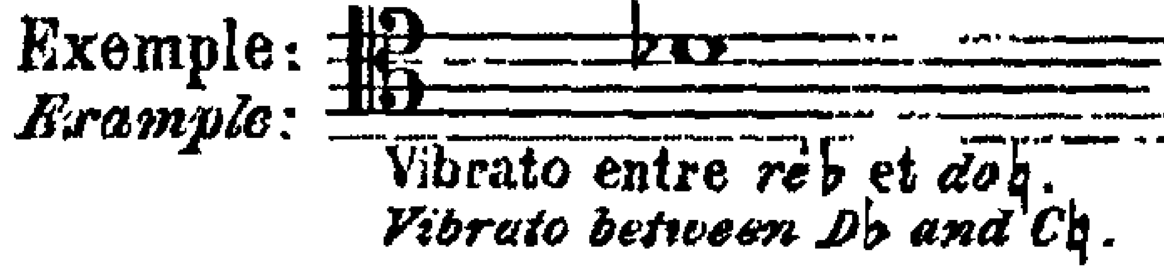
In the twentieth century, a new scientific approach appears in the work of Alexanian and Becker. Alexanian's attitude to vibrato is an interesting combination of older and newer ideas. On the one hand, his vibrato is still narrow. He states that 'the vibrato should not fill up the interval between two enharmonic notes' and could be compared to a trill 'an eighth of a tone, at the maximum, apart'.[55] This is considerably narrower than the vibrato widths found by later investigators such as Seashore (discussed in chapter 6), and appears very restricted even compared with the narrow vibrato recommended by Spohr and Leopold Mozart. On the other hand, Alexanian's vibrato is continuous, although subtly modified with regard to pitch, dynamic and tone quality. He suggests that vibrato was discouraged in the past because it led to poor intonation. Normally, it appears that Alexanian's vibrato normally went from the note to a point slightly below it, and was intensified in louder dynamics, including the reinforcement of a small *messa di voce* (the third example in figure 32).[56]

Figure 5/32: Alexanian, *Traité*, vibrato variation with dynamic, below the note

In some circumstances, however, it could go above the note:

[54] *Musical Herald*, 1st May 1896, p.140.
[55] Dinan Alexanian, trans. Frederick Fairbanks, *Traité théoretique et pratique* (Paris: Mathot, 1922), p. 97.
[56] Ibid.

Every note attracted by another note, should be played vibrato in the interval that separates it from the note by which it is attracted.[57]



This 'attraction' is analogous to Casals's 'expressive intonation', in which, for example, leading notes and major thirds are sharpened and minor sevenths and perfect fourths flattened, adjusting them in the direction in which they conventionally resolved.[58] The direction of Alexanian's vibrato seems to depend less on the harmonic function of the note than on its enharmonic spelling, though for all practical purposes he and Casals would agree on the notes given above. Alexanian's vibrato is also modified before and after an open string, so as not to 'destroy the continuity of sound color'.[59] Disentangling what is new in Alexanian's theory of vibrato is not easy. Its narrowness is consistent with general nineteenth-century practice. Used to reinforce a small-scale *messa di voce* (see above), it fits with mid-nineteenth-century practice. However, in that it is continuous, it is more 'modern', as recordings show (discussed in chapter 6), and, in 1915, it is actually ahead of its time in its constant subtle modification in relation to pitch-context, the presence of open strings, and changes in dynamics. Such a subtly varied vibrato is not particularly evident in general in early recordings, apart from those of Casals himself.

The last treatment of vibrato considered here is that by Hugo Becker.[60] Becker is the most forthright of cellists about the distinction between the vibrato of high art and

[57] Ibid.
[58] See J. Ma. Corredor, *Conversations with Casals* (London: Hutchinson, 1956), pp. 196-98; Lillian Littlehales, *Pablo Casals* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1929; 2nd. ed. 1948), pp. 132-40; David Blum, *Casals and the Art of Interpretation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), *passim*. For a scientific analysis see Peter Johnson, '"Expressive Intonation" in String Performance: Problems of Analysis and Interpretation', in Jane W. Davidson and Hubert Eiholzer (eds.), *The String Practitioner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 79-90.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Hugo Becker and Dago Rynar, 'Das Wesen des Vibrato', *Mechanik und Aesthetik des Violoncellspiels* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1929), pp. 199-202.

the debased 'popular' version so widely heard, and for the first time makes explicit the hidden sexual dimension which appears in the metaphors of diseased excess so frequently employed by critics from the later nineteenth century onwards. Unlike Alexanian, Becker is most concerned to make the point that vibrato should above all be flexible, sometimes faster, sometimes slower, and sometimes quite absent.

> The intensity and speed of vibrato should be determined and used only in agreement with the respective *Affekt*. Every person of finer feeling will probably have to admit on closer consideration that, for the portrayal of profound, noble feelings, the rapid, lascivious, so-called "coffee-house vibrato" is inappropriate, although, in a more refined [art] form, it is indispensable in the expression of eroticism! Just as in dynamics, forte and piano alone are insufficient, so just as little can we be content with only one style of vibrato.[61]

The cellist's addiction to vibrato is even seen as analogous to alcohol addiction:

> The inclination to play each cantilena with overflowing feeling is widespread. Because of this, Hanslick called the cello the instrument of melancholy and sentimentality. However, unmotivated, exaggerated sentiment has a ridiculous effect, because it creates an excess of expression. Just as the drinker cannot see a full glass without emptying it, so no cantilena can appear before the cellist without him becoming sentimental.[62]

This sentimentality is seen by Becker as an expression of hypersensitivity and also of exhaustion:

> Also in the performance of Bach's music vibrato should only be used discreetly. But how is it ordered nowadays? The whining, effeminate Bach playing of many over-sensitive cellists often has an intolerable effect. Serious classical music cannot bear any erotic vibrato; it needs a feeling for style, nobility and dignity, without any loss of warmth. It

[61] 'Intensität und Schnelligkeitsgrad des Vibrato sollten daher nur in Übereinstimmung mit dem jeweiligen Affekt bestimmt und angewendet werden. Jeder feiner empfindende mensch wird wohl bei näherer Überlegung zugeben müssen, daß zur schilderung tiefer, edler Gefühle das rasche, lüsterne, sogenannte "Cafehaus-Vibrato" nicht das geeignete Mittel sein kann, wenn wir auch auf dieses, jedoch in veredelter Form, nicht verzichten können, sobald es sich darum handelt, Eros zu Worte kommen zu lassen! So wenig wir in der Dynamik mit Forte und Piano allein ausreichen, sondern jegliche verfügbare Kraftschattierung anwenden, ebensowenig können wir uns mit einer einzigen Vibratoart begnügen'. Ibid., p. 199.

[62] 'Die Neigung, jede Kantilene mit überfließendem gefühl zu spielen, ist allgemein verbreitet. Hanslick nannte daher das Cello das Instrument der Schwermut und Sentimentalität. Unmotiviertes, übertreibenes Sentiment wirkt aber lächerlich, weil es ein Zuviel an Ausdruck schafft. Wie der Trinker kein volles Glas sehen kann,ohne es zu leeren, so scheint der Cellist keine Kantilene vortragen zu können, ohne sentimental zu werden'. Ibid.

> is a sign of the weakness of a performing artist if his means of expression in vibrato are exhausted.[63]

Becker is uncertain as to why vibrato is so abused, but partly puts it down to the influence of 'coffee-house' playing on performers, a topic which pervades his entire treatment of the subject. He cannot see a historical context for it, but, points out that that not only Piatti, but also Sivori, was restrained in his use of vibrato.

> It would be difficult to determine when vibrato became naturalised [normalised?]. It is certain that the old classical schools of Italy and Germany abhorred [?] the plentiful use of vibrato. The only pupil of Paganini, Sivori (1815-1894), who had a wonderful tone, tended not to use vibrato at all. Alfredo Piatti, the greatest cellist of Italian blood, used vibrato seldom, and only in a very discreet manner.[64]

Becker's language on the evils of excessive vibrato is the most extreme of any cellist cited here. His only surviving recording, of his own *Minuet*, is, unfortunately not especially suitable for examining his vibrato in practice, being predominantly lively in character with few opportunities for emotional expression.[65] The slower central section does use a narrow vibrato, but with considerable subtle variation, increasing in intensity with the shape of a phrase and also virtually disappearing when not required.

There is an important distinction to observe when considering the diametrically opposed status of the evidence for the use of portamento as opposed to vibrato. In the

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[63] 'Auch beim Vortrag Bachser Musik sollte das Vibrato nur diskret angewandt werden. Wie ist es heutzutage aber damit bestellt? Das winselnde, effeminierte Bachspiel manches überempfinlichen Cellisten wirkt oft unerträglich. Ernste, klaßiche Musik verträgt kein erotisches Vibrato; sie verlangt Stilgefühl, Vornehmheit und Würde, ohne dadurch etwa an Wärme einzubüßen. Es ist ein Zeichen der Schwäche des vortragenden Künstlers, wenn sich seine Ausdrucksmittel im Vibrato erschöpfen. Vielleicht lohnt es sich, eine Betrachtung darüber anzustellen, wie dieses übertriebene Vibratospiel entstand'. Ibid., p. 201.

[64] 'Wann das Vibrato sich einbürgerte, wird sich wohl schwer feststellen lassen. Sicher ist, daß die alten klassischen Schulen in Italien und Frankreich einem reichlich angewandten Vibrato abhold waren. Der einzige Paganini-Schüler: Sivori (1815 bis 1894), der einem wundervollenTon hatte, pflegte überhaupt nicht zu vibrieren. Alfredo Piatti, der großte Violoncellist italienischen Geblüts, wandte das Vibrato selten und nur in sehr dezenter Weise an...'. Ibid., p.202. Becker adds in a footnote that his long-term quartet colleague Hugo Heermann remarked that Sivori's tone was the finest he ever heard. '[...] mein langjähriger Quartett-Genosse Hugo Heermann bezeichnete sivoris Ton sogar als den schönsten, den er je gehört habe'. Ibid., n.24. A very different account of Sivori's style is discussed in chapter 8.

[65] Hugo Becker (vc), un-named pianist, *Minuet* op. 3 no. 3 (*The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2, CD 2 track 5; orig. recording c.1908).

case of portamento, its techniques and instructions on its use in the nineteenth century are amply demonstrated throughout the pedagogical literature, in fingerings provided for performing editions, and in early twentieth-century recordings. However, in the case of vibrato, were one to confine one's attention solely to cello-related evidence from pedagogical material or printed music, as has been done so far, then one could argue, on this strictly limited basis, that it was seldom used by solo cellists in the nineteenth century other than as a very occasional ornament, and never continuously. It is rarely mentioned in cello methods, even more rarely indicated in printed music (even in otherwise highly-detailed performing editions), and almost never referred to by concert reviewers – and if so, unfavourably. If it were not for early recordings, which provide much evidence for the use of vibrato, it would be hard to argue for more than its very occasional use on the cello. However, the evidence of these recordings suggests a very different practice from that inferred from written sources, and some of these will be considered in chapter 6.

CHAPTER 6:

VIBRATO AND PORTAMENTO IN EARLY CELLO RECORDINGS

The previous chapters on portamento and vibrato stopped short of considering the evidence of early recordings. This evidence will be considered here, and will be assessed in largely qualitative terms.

> [V]ibrato is, to the listener, the most striking development in string-playing during the early twentieth century, and it is also *the element which is most clearly audible* even in recordings from the earliest years of the century.[1]

Pace Robert Philip, the perception of vibrato in old recordings is not quite so straightforward. While the simple presence or absence of vibrato is generally not in question in a given recording (although there are cases where it is so narrow that it is barely noticeable), even modern comparisons of the same recordings can produce different assessments.

> [...] the dim sound-world of the early acoustic recording, and the often distracting quantity of surface noise, make it hard to detect the sought-after traits. Accordingly, the comments made relate, inevitably, to the analyst's own powers of observation [...] the results are subjective [...][2]

In recent years there have been several empirical studies relevant to the use of sound recordings as source material for the study of early twentieth-century performance practice. They suggest that some caution needs to be employed, but also indicate possible future directions for research.

Some of this research can be misrepresented. For instance, relying on a conference paper by Dorottya Fabian and Emery Schubert, it has been suggested that

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[1] Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style Changing Tastes Instrumental Performance 1900-1950* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992), p. 99. Emphasis added.
[2] David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Playing* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), p. 9.

older recording technology in itself obscures the amount of vibrato used.[3] In the course of a lengthy polemic opposing the use of less vibrato in 'historically informed' performance, David Hurwitz interprets this study as showing that expert listeners perceive much less vibrato in modern recordings which are acoustically altered to appear much older.

> In a 2002 study carried out at The University of New South Wales, Australia, two recordings of Bach's solo violin music were auditioned by a group of 32 listeners, 20 second year Bachelor of Music students, and 12 period performance specialists. The first recording was Menuhin's, dating from ca.1934, the second was Sergio Luca's "authentic" 1977 version. The purpose of the study, ostensibly, was to determine if Baroque performance practice would be found equally (or more) expressive in Baroque music. [...] In order to equalize sonic considerations, a second, filtered version of Luca's performance was also auditioned by the panel, with its sound characteristics altered to match those of the 1934 Menuhin recording. The process measurably impaired the listeners' ability to detect vibrato, to a degree that Luca's rendition, initially perceived as using a moderate amount of vibrato, was now perceived as "lacking" vibrato.[4]

In fact, although the filtered Luca recording was indeed perceived as using less vibrato, Fabian and Schubert themselves qualified this finding by pointing out that 'if the vibrato is prominent its perception is not hindered by early sound recording technology'.[5] The measurement scale used for comparisons between performances in this study graded responses to various aspects of performance such as 'legato' or 'vibrato' on a scale from -2 ('completely lacking') to +2 ('very'). The unfiltered Luca performance scored +0.4 for vibrato, and the filtered version -0.4, so the difference is not quite as dramatic as Hurwitz thinks. In fact, many other perceptions of the two Luca recordings varied

[3] Dorottya Fabian and Emery Schubert, 'Is There Only One Way of Being Expressive in Musical Performance? – Lessons From Listeners' Reactions to Performances of J. S. Bach's Music', in C. Stevens, D. Burnham, G. McPherson, E. Schubert, J. Renwick (eds.), *Proceedings of the 7th International Conference on Music Perception and Cognition, Sydney, 2002* (Adelaide: Causal Productions, 2002), p. 112-115 [CD-ROM only].
[4] David Hurwitz, 'Orchestral Vibrato', <http://www.classicstoday.com/features/ClassicsToday-Vibrato-part1.pdf>, and <http://www.classicstoday.com/features/ClassicsToday-Vibrato-part2.pdf> (commenced 2007, continually revised), part 2, p. 62 [last accessed August 2008]. Sergio Luca's recording was the first made using a baroque violin.
[5] Fabian and Schubert, ibid., p 115.

considerably as well. Almost every expressive category was heard as much less present in the filtered recording, with the exception of 'legato', 'measured', and 'straightness', which all scored slightly higher.[6] This suggests that the responses to the artificially aged recording were in fact much more complex. It is possible that, given the level of musical knowledge of the experimental subjects, they may have brought prior assumptions to bear – in other words, they were strongly influenced by their existing knowledge, so that they could theoretically have been predisposed to expect less vibrato in an 'old' recording. This does not invalidate the Fabian and Schubert study, which itself makes carefully circumscribed claims, but it certainly does not bear out Hurwitz's extreme interpretation of it.[7]

Another paper suggests that the visual effect of vibrato in a live, as opposed to a recorded, performance, contributes significantly to its perception. In Robert Gillespie's 1997 study of the evaluation of vibrato in violinists and violists (beginners and advanced players), it was found that teachers may have to

> [...] occasionally listen to their students' vibrato without watching them since visual clues may inadvertently influence their evaluation of student achievement.[8]

The vibrato of inexperienced players, and the pitch stability of experienced players, were both rated 'significantly higher' when they could be seen as well as heard.[9] While this study mainly concerned the teaching process, it clearly has implications for the study of recordings as an indicator of practice in the pre-recording era. It could be, for instance, that when vibrato was always seen as well as heard, it was experienced as a proportionately more obvious nuance, and its effect on the listener/viewer was more

[6] Ibid, p. 112.
[7] Fabian does not address questions of vibrato at all in her study of post-war Bach performance. Dorrotya Fabian, *Bach Performance Practice, 1945-1975* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).
[8] Robert Gillespie, 'Ratings of Violin and Viola Vibrato performance in Audio-Only and Audiovisual Presentations', *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 45 (1997), p. 212.
[9] Ibid., p. 218.

vivid. The visual aspect of vibrato played no part in Carl Seashore's early work on the subject, which was entirely confined to sound:

> [...] we find that everything in the way of musical expression that the singer conveys to the listener is conveyed in terms of the sound wave: when we eliminate sight and other senses which are merely accessory, there is only one avenue that can convey the musical message and that is the sound wave... For this purpose phonograph records are of inestimable value because they produce the vibrato faithfully...[10]

Scott Reger implicitly agreed:

> In a musical situation the auditor *hears* the vibrato as a whole. His attention may not be centered on the vibrato at all unless he is attracted by an especially beautiful or unpleasant effect [...][11]

Seashore himself, while writing frequently of the 'gross normal illusions' which affected the aural perception even of expert listeners ('the vibrato is not heard even by the best musician as it really is'), did not apparently ever consider the effect of being able to see as well as hear vibrato.[12] However, his 'illusions' are relevant. According to Seashore, listeners generally:

- underestimate the width of vibrato by up to 75%
- confuse or equate vibrato with fluctuating sound intensity
- hear successive periodicities as a single tone
- tend to identify a specific pitch even when the vibrato is as wide as a semitone

According to Seashore, if the hearer heard the vibrato without the benefit of these illusions, it would be 'utterly intolerable'.[13] Seashore's experiments were conducted entirely with recordings and with no attempt to recreate the conditions of live performance. His conclusions could be interpreted more narrowly as showing how people listened to recordings rather than live performances, and in this sense could point

[10] Carl Seashore, 'Measurements on the expression of Emotion in Music', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 9 (1923), pp. 323-4.
[11] Scott Reger, 'The String Instrument Vibrato', in Carl Seashore (ed.), *The Vibrato* (Iowa: University of Iowa, 1932), p. 340. My emphasis.
[12] Carl Seashore, 'Introduction', in Seashore (ed.), *Vibrato.*, p. 10 (reprinted from Seashore, 'The Natural History of the Vibrato', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 17 (1931), p. 626.
[13] Seashore, *Vibrato*, p. 10.

in the same direction as Gillespie's study cited above (note 8). Baldly put, listeners are aware of (and criticise) vibrato more when they have nothing to look at. However, it also resonates with an implication of the Fabian/Schubert study, that listeners may hear less vibrato when the sound quality is degraded. Another study suggests that the perception of vibrato in opera singers is not clearly related to its empirical acoustic measurement, and agrees with Seashore that listeners do not make fine distinctions about vibrato unless it is obtrusive.[14] While there is clearly little visible physical movement in a singer's vibrato, the 'wobble' of a bad technique can often involve a visible jaw movement.

These studies point in suggestive directions, such as reversing the Fabian technique of artificially ageing a modern recording, so as to compare perceptions of vibrato in old recordings with that in the same recordings digitally restored to remove surface noise and improve audio quality. It seems at least plausible that, in the pre-recording era, what would now appear to be a narrow vibrato on a string instrument could then have been perceived as having a rather more vivid overall effect, if its visual aspect were included. Mark Katz has recently argued that the recording process in itself encouraged a more easily heard, wider, continuous vibrato, possibly to compensate for the lack of a visual cue.[15] However, this is unlikely to be the sole explanation for the overall increase of vibrato during the first decades of the twentieth century. In any case, the chronology of early recording is against him. Many cellists were using continuous vibrato well before the recording process could have significantly influenced

[14] Patricia Howes, Jean Callaghan, Pamela Davis, *et al.*, 'The Relationship Between Measured Vibrato Characteristics and Perception in Western Operatic Singing', *Journal of Voice*, 18 (2004), p. 216-230.

[15] Mark Katz, 'Aesthetics out of Exigency: Violin Vibrato and the Phonograph', in *Capturing Sound: How Technology has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 85- 98. Some of Katz's other views are considered later.

performance; some examples are given below.[16]

In the period 1900-1930, recordings show a general overall trend towards the wider, ubiquitous vibrato that has been seen as a characteristic of modern string playing since the 1930s: 'At present nearly all *string instrumental* players use the vibrato [...]'.[17] However, this transition is not at all clear.[18] With two exceptions, all the pre-1930 cello recordings in the Pearl anthology, in repertoire which would allow it (not, for instance, Popper's *Elfentanz* or similar *moto perpetuo* showpieces), use constant vibrato. The two exceptions are William Whitehouse's *obbligato* in 'Sing me to sleep' (c. 1907) and Heinrich Grünfeld's recording of Boccherini's *Minuet* (c. 1927).[19] Whitehouse uses very little vibrato in general, other than at moments of particular expressive intensity. Grünfeld uses almost no vibrato, but the piece offers fewer opportunities for it. Two of Servais's pupils made recordings – Auguste van Biene and Josef Hollmann. Van Biene's vibrato is unexceptional (unlike his portamento) – quite narrow, almost continuous, perhaps a little slower than that of his contemporaries.[20] Contributing factors could include van Biene's age and the particular requirements of his theatrical career, but it is quite similar to that of Hollmann, whose recording of

[16] Daniel Leech-Wilkinson pursues the weaknesses in Katz's thesis at greater length in his forthcoming *The Changing Sound of Music Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performances*, to be published online only (London: Royal Holloway University, [2009]), <http://www.rhul.ac.uk>, pp. 108-9.
[17] Joseph Tiffin and Harold Seashore, 'Summary of Established Facts in Experimental Studies on the Vibrato up to 1932', in Carl Seashore (ed.), *The Vibrato*, p. 351.
[18] A more empirical study of these topics will require the use of only recently-developed software made available by the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM) at Royal Holloway University of London. The reservations implied by the previously cited studies should be borne in mind throughout the following discussion.
[19] Edwin Greene, 'Sing me to sleep', William Whitehouse (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone Company cat. no. 02090, matrix no. 1861f, 1907; *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 1). Luigi Boccherini, *Minuet*, Heinrich Grünfeld (vc), un-named pianist (Electrola, cat. EG 724, c. 1927; reissued *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2).
[20] Auguste van Biene, 'The Broken Melody' and 'Kol Nidri', van Biene (vc), un-named pianist (Zonophone, mat. Z-047851, cat. A60, c. 1908?).

Schumann's 'Träumerei' will be discussed later.[21]

The cellists recorded in the 1920s represented in the *Pearl* anthology who use a narrower vibrato include Beatrice Harrison (1892-1965), Peter Muscant (1900-198-?), Julius Klengel (1859-1933), Paul Grümmer (1879-1965) and Friedrich Buxbaum (1869-1948). As these dates suggest, a narrower vibrato is used by cellists whether in their twenties or in their sixties. It is not especially associated with older players. By contrast, Hermann Sandby's (1881-1965) vibrato is particularly wide in his recording of Sibelius's *Valse triste*.[22] This undated recording cannot have been made before 1903, when Sandby was in his early twenties, and probably not after his forties, since after 1930 he concentrated on composition.[23] His recording of the 'Berceuse' from *Jocelyn* shows a narrower, faster vibrato than is used in the Sibelius.[24] Victor Sorlin's (1878-1912) recordings of the popular favourites *Evening Star* and selections from *Madame Butterfly* also use vibrato differently. It is continuous in both cases, but in the Wagner the vibrato is slower and wider than in the Puccini.[25] Younger cellists such as Boris Hambourg (1885-1984), Maurice Maréchal (1892-1964) and Lauri Kennedy (1898-1985), recorded in the 1910s and 1920s, tend towards a constant, wider vibrato, but this is not by any means exclusive to younger players. This simple qualitative comparison

[21] See the writer's 'The Phenomenon of the Cellist Auguste van Biene: from the Charing Cross Road to Brighton via Broadway', in M. Hewitt and R. Cowgill (eds), *Victorian Soundscapes Revisited, Leeds Working Papers in Victorian Studies vol. 9* (Leeds: LCVS and LUCEM, 2007), pp. 67-82.
[22] Sibelius, 'Valse triste' op. 44, Herman sandby (vc), un-named pianist (Columbia, matrix WC 34, no. J20, n.d.; *The Recorded Cello*, vol 1, CD 1)
[23] The piece itself dates from 1903-4; this is possibly Sandby's own arrangement. See Claus Røllum-Larsen, *Impulser i Københavns koncertrepertoire 1900-1935* (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), vol. 1, p. 201.
[24] Godard, 'Berceuse' (*Jocelyn*), Herman Sandby (vc), un-named pianist (Edison Blue Amberol no. 28220, [1915]). Online, URL: <http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu>, cylinder no. 0544 [last accessed September 2008].
[25] Wagner, 'Evening Star' ['O du mein holder Abendstern'] (*Tannhäuser*), Victor Sorlin (vc), un-named orchestra (Columbia Phonograph Company no. 1049 [1909]); <http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu>, cylinder no. 6624. Puccini, *Madama Butterfly* (selections) (Edison Amberol no. 818 [1911]); <http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu>, cylinder no. 2084 [last accessed September 2008].

shows that there is very little correlation between a player's age or 'school' and the type of vibrato they use – constant/occasional, fast/slow, wide/narrow. If by the 1930s a more uniform picture emerges, it is therefore unlikely to be the result either of age or of the influence of a 'school'.

Concerning portamento, differences between individual players are primarily a question of degree. Heinrich Grünfeld's (1855-1931) 1905 recording of Handel's *Largo* is interesting in that many of the portamenti he employs are similar to Grützmacher's – sliding to the first note of a phrase (sometimes across phrase boundaries), sliding to a high position on the D string, sliding both up and down.[26] Alexander Wierzbilowicz (1850-1911), in a recording (1904) of his teacher Davidoff's *Chanson sans paroles*, uses a lot of upward portamento, and somewhat less downward. His sliding is normally quite fast on wider intervals, and much slower and sometimes quite exaggerated on smaller ones, especially in the final bar of the piece.[27] William Whitehouse (1859-1935) uses frequent 'scooping' D string portamenti, and some downward portamenti, in his 1907 recording of the cello obbligato to 'Sing me to sleep' with the tenor Edward Lloyd.[28] Hugo Becker (1864-1941), in his own *Gavotte*, uses portamento, but this is a special, almost flirtatious, effect written into the piece and cannot be used as the basis for a generalisation about his performing style.[29] The recordings by Hans Kronold (1871-1922), made in the period 1905-1913, of popular favourites such as *The Swan*,

[26] Handel, 'Largo' (*Serse*), Heinrich Grünfeld (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone Concert Record G.C., matrix no. 19h, catalogue no. 47875x, Berlin, 1905).
[27] Carl Davidoff, *Chanson sans paroles*, Alexander Wierzbilowicz (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone & Typewriter Co., matrix no. 201z, cat. no. 27886, 1904; *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 1).
[28] Edwin Greene, 'Sing me to sleep', William Whitehouse (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone Company cat. no. 02090, matrix no. 1861f, 1907; *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2.).
[29] Hugo Becker, *Gavotte*, Hugo Becker (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone Company, cat. no. 048013, c. 1908; *The Recorded Cello* vol. 2). This is also true of Casals's 1925 recording of Hillemacher's *Gavotte tendre* (*Casals Encores and Transcriptions vol. 1*, Naxos 8.110972, track 2).

Handel's *Largo* and many others, all use considerable portamento within the phrase.[30] Indeed, Kronold uses so much portamento that its occasional absence over such tempting intervals as upward sixths comes as something of a surprise. His version of Chopin's *Nocturne* appears to use some of Servais's fingerings (see chapter 4), although the recording quality is particularly poor. What is clear, however, is that Kronold, like van Biene but unlike Wierzbilowicz, is quite prepared to slow down in order to accommodate the portamento when it covers a wide interval.

'THE BROKEN MELODY'

The portamento of Auguste van Biene (1849-1913) is probably the most extreme of any cellist of the period, and the popularity of his *Broken Melody* means that several recordings can be compared – his own, and those by W. H. Squire (1871-1963), John Barbirolli (1899-1970), Beatrice Harrison (1892-1965) and Cedric Sharpe (1891-1978).[31] Van Biene's own recordings feature an almost continuous slow portamento, even across intervals of a tenth played on one string, where, like Kronold, he will slow down in order to incorporate a particularly long slide. W. H. Squire uses nearly as much, and more than his own published edition indicates. John Barbirolli's 1911 recording has less portamento than does van Biene's, though it is still prominent – in particular, he omits the downward glissando between the first two notes. In 1929 Beatrice Harrison uses much less portamento, and tends to release bow pressure at the same time. The opening downward portamento is treated lightly, and her upward

[30] Handel, *Largo*, Hans Kronold (vc), un-named pianist (Edison Gold Moulded Record: 9987, 1908).

[31] Auguste van Biene, 'The Broken Melody':
Auguste van Biene (vc), un-named pianist (Zonophone, mat. Z-047851, cat. A60, c. 1908); Auguste van Biene (vc), un-named pianist (Edison Bell, mat. 3443, cat. 3355, 1912; *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2); John Barbirolli (vc), Rose Barbirolli (pf) (Edison Bell, mat. 298k, cat. 2148, 1911; *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2); W. H. Squire (vc), un-named pianist (Edison Bell, mat. 3353); Cedric Sharpe (vc) (HMV, mat. 07884), Beatrice Harrison (vc), Margaret Harrison (pf) (*The Harrison Sisters: An English Music Heritage*, Harrison Sisters' Trust, Claremont GSE78/50/47).

portamento in this piece is often combined with a *diminuendo*. Compared with some other cellists, she is quite restrained, but not enough, in 1928, for the *Times*:

> Miss Beatrice Harrison [...] showed in all that the good opinions she has won abroad in recent tours are merited, for her playing, which was always highly finished, has now a greater breadth and power, The control of her bow, for instance, is ample to meet every demand of tone and dynamics with perfect evenness. But there is one mannerism which wants watching - excessive *portamento*.[32]

At around the same time, Joseph Hollman's portamento was seen as old-fashioned and excessive:

> [...] his intonation is sometimes a bit sketchy, and he has a greater fondness for the portamento than is nowadays generally admired.[33]

(Hollman did indeed tend towards a higher than average degree of portamento, and a noticeable amount of vibrato, as his recording of Saint-Saëns' *Le cygne* shows).[34] In the 1920s, Cedric Sharpe tends to use portamento mainly on shorter intervals, and though he uses W. H. Squire's edition (significantly different in many respects from van Biene's own) he does not adopt Squire's notated portamenti. There is a sense in the 1920s that portamento is less in demand (similar criticisms of W. H. Squire are cited below). Nonetheless it is still very much present, and the bigger movement away from portamento was not to take place until the 1930s or even after the second world war.[35] In this historical context, Piatigorsky's complete avoidance of portamento in the opening bars of his recording of the Schumann cello concerto becomes striking – Casals's 1926 recording of his own transcription of Fauré's *Après un rêve*, opening with

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[32] *Times*, 3rd February 1928. Several other reviews from the 1920s refer to her performance mannerisms.

[33] Richard Aldrich, 'The Philharmonic Society', *New York Times*, 10th November 1922.

[34] Joseph Hollmann (vc), un-named pianist, Saint-Saens, *Le cygne* (Victor Record, Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden NJ, matrix no. 64046, 1906).

[35] For a novel interpretation of the steep decline in the use of portamento from the mid-1940s onwards, in terms of its associations with motherhood and nostalgia, see Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'Portamento and musical meaning', *Journal of Musicological Research* 25 (2006), pp. 233-61.

a similar rising fourth, uses considerable portamento.[36]

In the context of these recordings, one could suggest that the types of portamento documented by Grützmacher were still in use in at least the first decade of the twentieth century. However, a range of practice is demonstrated which probably indicates a comparable range in the pre-recording period. Recordings also suggest that a more pervasive and intense portamento is associated more with 'lighter' repertoire, but given a general lack of recordings of 'serious' cello works, this point is hard to establish. The question of the influence of 'high art' performance on the 'popular' – or *vice versa* – is not at all clear. Piatti's restrained style clearly did not influence a cellist like Auguste van Biene, even though they were colleagues. In this respect, W. H. Squire's performances are particularly interesting.

W. H. SQUIRE

Before considering Squire's practice in recordings, and his recording of the Elgar cello concerto in particular, it will be useful to contextualise this in the light of his own performing editions; there are few cellists from this period who provide for study. His *Fourth Violoncello Album* (1913) includes short pieces by Haydn, Bach, Chopin and Schumann (*Abendlied*).[37] All the slower pieces are liberally marked with portamento (figures 1 and 2).

Figure 6/1: Haydn, Concerto in D, 2nd movt., ed. Squire

[36] Gregor Piatigorsky (vc), John Barbirolli (cond), Schumann, *Cello Concerto* op. 129, London Philharmonic Orchestra (His Master's Voice, mat. B 6931-1, 6933-1, 6934-2, 6935-1, 6935-2, cat. DB 2244, 1934; Naxos Historical, 8.111069, 2005); Pablo Casals (vc), Nikolai Mednikoff (pf), Fauré, *Après un rêve* (Victor, mat. BE-31972-12, cat. 1083; Naxos Historical, *Casals Encores and Transcriptions* vol. 1, 8.110972, 2003).
[37] W. H. Squire (ed.), *Fourth Violoncello Album* (London: Joseph Williams Limited, 1913).

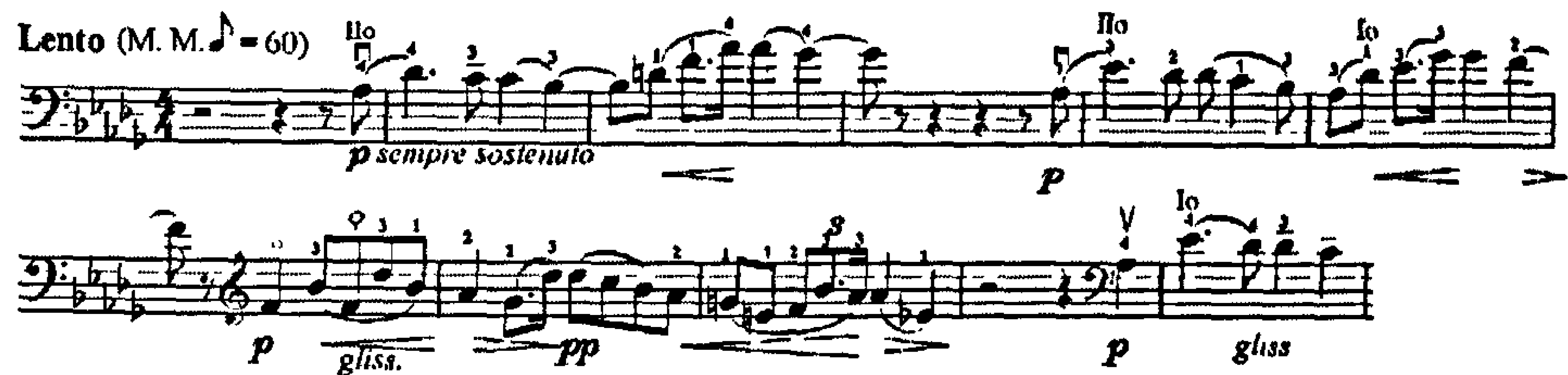

Figure 6/2: Schumann, 'Abendlied', arr. Squire

By way of comparison, both Davidoff and Popper also arranged *Abendlied.* Davidoff's portamenti (figure 3) are quite similar to Squire's (figure 2), but Squire's tempo indication is significantly slower, suggesting that his portamento would have been more pronounced.[38]

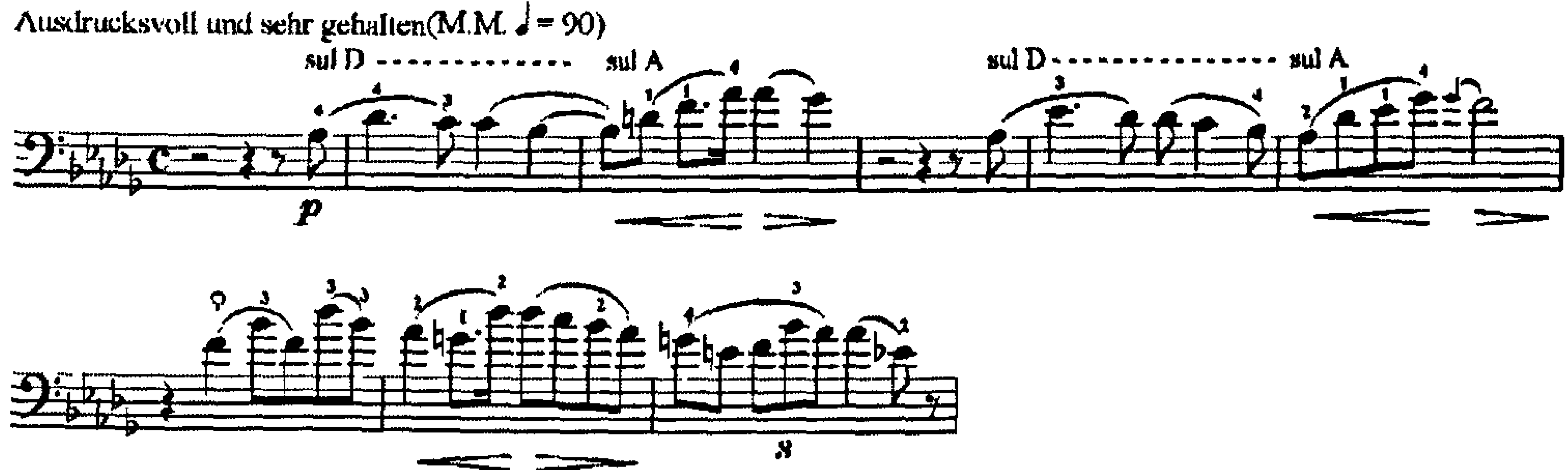

Figure 6/3: 'Abendlied', arr. Davidoff

Popper, on the other hand, is closer to Squire (figure 4).[39]

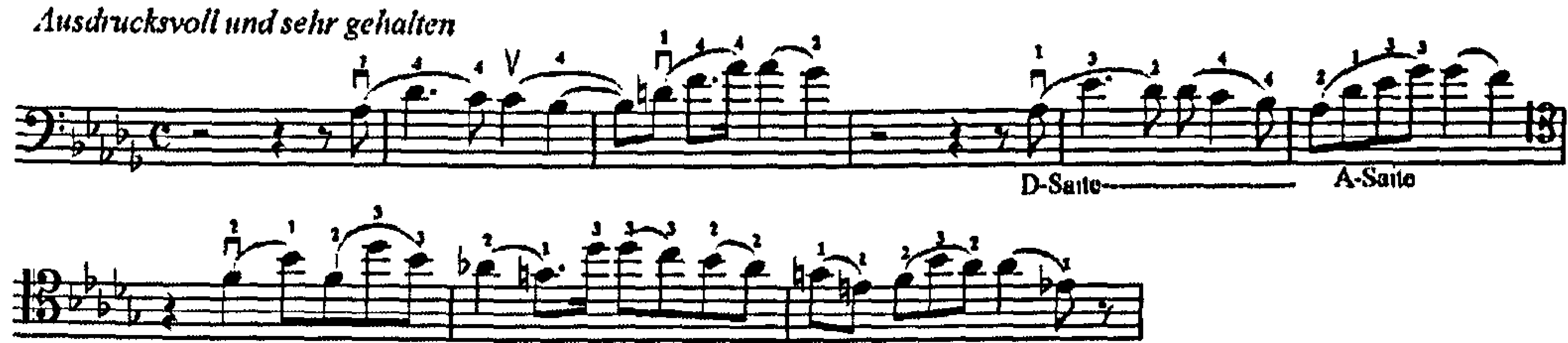

Figure 6/4: Schumann, 'Abendlied', arr. Popper

Like Becker and Casals, Squire sees a gavotte (in this case from Bach's D major Suite) as an occasion for an amusing portamento effect, which is applied to the opening phrase

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[38] R. Schumann, arr. Carl Davidoff, 'Abendlied', op. 85 no. 12 (Leipzig: Rahter, [*HM*1887]).
[39] R. Schumann, arr. David Popper, 'Abendlied', op. 85 no. 12 (Offenbach: Johann André, 1896).

throughout the piece (figure 5).[40]

Figure 6/5: Bach, arr. Squire, Suite no. 6 in D, gavotte

A similar effect occurs in Squire's recording of Dunkler's comical *Humoreske (Chanson à boire)*, with much use of extravagant upward portamento over an octave or more to a high harmonic.[41] His recording of Handel's *Largo* uses portamento as a 'scoop' to a note on a lower string (whether of the same pitch or not), as an approach to a harmonic, and in both directions. This recording was criticised specifically on these grounds when it was re-issued in 1928:

> A re-recording is of W. H. Squire playing Handel's 'Largo' and his own arrangement of Dunkler's Humoresque. It is late in the day to complain, but I cannot resist a grouse over some very un-Handelian harmonic weaknesses in the accompaniment. Moreover, Mr. Squire is over-fond of *portamento*. The humour in the Dunkler piece is of a very obvious type, and the musical interest is of the slightest.[42]

In Popper's *Entrance to the Forest* Squire uses downward portamento liberally, often following it immediately with an upward slide.[43] However, it appears from a 1925 review that Squire may have altered his portamento style according to repertoire. Comparing his Brahms piano trio in E flat op. 40 (with Arthur Catterall (vn) and William Murdoch (pf)) with two sentimental cello pieces, 'Discus' observed:

> Mr. Squire is apparently a kind of musical Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde. We heard Dr. Jekyll in the Brahms; here is Mr. Hyde in a couple of

[40] J. S. Bach, *Gavotte in D*, in W. H. Squire (ed.), *Second Violoncello Album* (London: Joseph Williams Limited, 1902), pp. 6-10.
[41] Handel, *Largo*, and Dunkler, *Humoreske (Chanson à boire)*, W. H. Squire (vc), Hamilton Harty (pf) (Columbia matrices 75851 and 75499, cat. no. L1201, 1928).
[42] 'Discus', 'Gramophone Notes', *MT*, 69 (1928), p. 813. The re-recording was on Columbia L2128.
[43] David Popper, *Im Walde* op. 50 no. 1, 'Entrance to the Forest', W. H. Squire (vc), un-named pianist (Columbia, matrix no. AX 85, cat. no. L1497).

> solos – a 'Hebridean Cattle Croon' and 'Home, sweet home'. The latter is about as sickly an affair as can be. I thought I knew all that the cello can do in the way of expressing nostalgia, but Mr. Squire manages to squeeze out a bit more, aided by lots of *portamento* and a very slow *tempo.* I hope next time there is solo recording to be done the player will be Dr. Jekyll.[44]

Like Grützmacher, Squire seems to have had no inhibitions about repeated 'scooping' portamenti, as his arrangement of Bach's so-called 'Slumber Song' shows (figure 6).[45]

Figure 6/6: Bach, arr. Squire, 'Slumber Song', conclusion

His version of Schubert's 'Weigenlied' uses the same downward portamento each of the three times this phrase appears (figure 7).[46]

Figure 6/7: Schubert, ed. Squire, 'Weigenlied'

SQUIRE AND HARRISON: ELGAR, CELLO CONCERTO

Squire's recording of the Elgar concerto uses portamento frequently, especially in the slow movement, and the slow section of the last movement. This was seen in 1931 as a regrettable lapse of taste.

> We regret that work in popular spheres paid its toll on Mr. Squire's playing, and he makes too free a use of *portamento*, due, maybe, to the enormous leaps required of the soloist [...] One wishes that Albert

[44] 'Discus', *MT*, 66 (1925), p. 135.

[45] J. S. Bach, 'Schlafe, mein Liebster' (*Weihnacht-Oratorium,* pt. 2, no. 19), arr. W. H. Squire as 'Slumber Song', in *Transcriptions of Standard Vocal Works* (misc. eds.), 2nd Series, no. 30 (London: Augener, 1906).

[46] F. Schubert, 'Weigenlied', arr. W. H. Squire, in *Transcriptions of Standard Vocal Works* (misc. eds.), 2nd Series, no. 31 (London: Augener, 1906).

Sammons was a 'cellist as well as a violinist.[47]

As with *The Broken Melody*, it is possible to compare his practice with Beatrice Harrison's (figures 8-9).[48]

Beatrice Harrison's Elgar is demonstrably more restrained than Squire, as her portamenti in the slow movement show (those placed in brackets are noticeably lighter). Squire and Harrison's portamenti differ considerably in terms of nuance and quantity, but this is in turn a consequence of the much slower tempo adopted by Squire. Elgar's metronome mark here is ♪ = 50, equivalent to an overall timing of around 3'36". Harrison, with Elgar conducting, takes 4'1" (♪ = 45), but Squire takes 4'43" (♪ = 38), considerably slower than Elgar's tempo.[49]

[47] Anon., 'On the Records', *Musical Mirror and Fanfare*, 11 (1931), p. 25.
[48] Edward Elgar, *Cello concerto in E minor* op. 85: W. H. Squire (vc), Sir Hamilton Harty (cond), Hallé Orchestra (Columbia DX117-120, 1930; LP transfer, Imprimatur IMP1, 1981); Beatrice Harrison (vc), Edward Elgar (cond), New Symphony Orchestra (His Master's Voice, D1507-1509, 1928; CD transfer, Naxos 8.111260, 2007).
[49] Their overall timings for the whole work are Harrison – 25'11" and Squire – 27'36". The differences are almost all due to Squire's tempi in the slower music.

Figure 6/8: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 3rd movt, Squire's portamenti

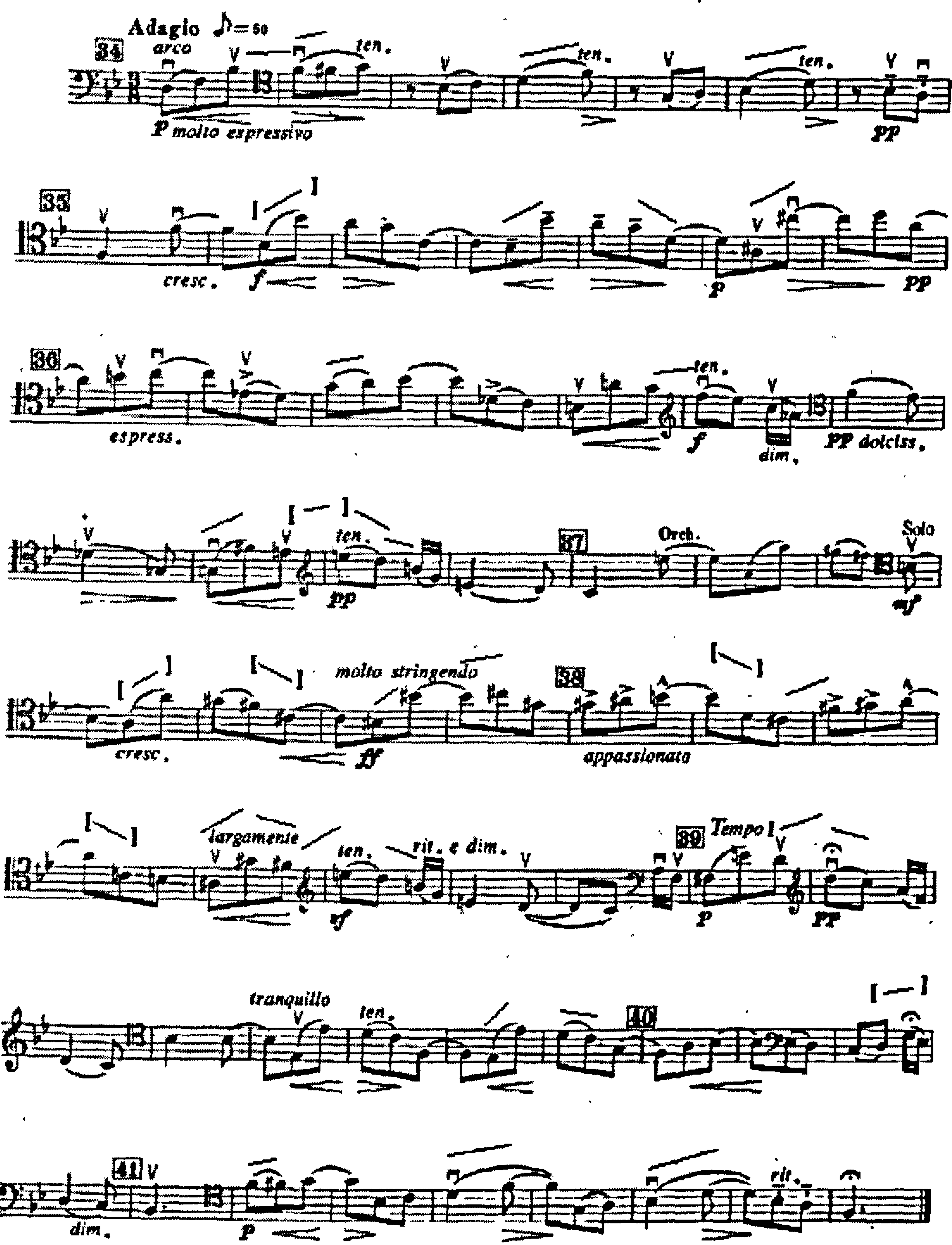

Figure 6/9: Elgar, *Cello concerto* 3rd movt., Harrison's portamenti

In the last movement, from three bars before rehearsal figure 67 to the end (figures 10-11), Squire takes 4'08", while Harrison takes 3'33". Even more than in the slow movement, Harrison's portamento is more nuanced than Squire's, and sometimes so subtle that a simple qualitative transcription is difficult. It may be that she links notes

without shifting the hand, producing a 'pseudo-portamento' effect by releasing or placing a finger slightly 'off-centre'. Whereas Squire's portamento technique is traditional, in that similar examples can be found in Grützmacher, Harrison's 'non-shifting' portamento may represent a more modern approach. This passage in Harrison's recording attracted special praise in one review:

> Beatrice Harrison's solo work might well prove to be the greatest cello playing yet brought into the gramophone. [...] one of the great moments in modern music is that final 20- or 30-bar *pianissimo* which comes near the end of the last movement, with the cello fading into silence upon a note of medium elevation; the present performance arrives there at its climax of beauty, as in the same place Elgar's genius arrives at its ultimate power of expression.[50]

Squire is quite different in this passage, but less obviously so than in the slow movement. A simple count of the number of portamenti, including the more marginal cases in Harrison and allowing for a margin of error, shows that they use a very similar number (around thirty-eight). However, contrary to expectation, Harrison uses slightly more consecutive portamenti. She also uses more portamenti overall than Squire in the highly praised *pp* section, especially between rehearsal figures 71-72, although the slides in the final bars of this section are particularly subtle. Where Elgar finds 'the ultimate power of expression', it is Squire who is the more restrained here. On the other hand the final *allegro molto* has Harrison with no portamenti and Squire using the two portamenti which have since become standard practice. These two performances resist simple categorisation; the following comparison of recordings of Schumann's 'Träumerei' shows an even greater diversity of practice.

[50] Anon., 'Elgar's Cello Concerto', *British Musician and Musical News*, 5 (1929), p. 37.

Figure 6/10: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 4th movt conclusion, Harrison's portamenti

Figure 6/11: Elgar, *Cello concerto*, 4th movt conclusion, Squire's portamenti

SCHUMANN, 'TRÄUMEREI'

Cello arrangements of Schumann's 'Träumerei' (*Kinderszenen*, op. 15 no. 7) were popular from the late nineteenth century onwards. Editions and recordings proliferated.[51] In the period 1904-1930 at least ten recordings were made, by seven cellists: Heinrich Grünfeld, Hans Kronold, Rosario Bourdon, Josef Hollman, Victor Sorlin, Boris Hambourg and Pablo Casals (four times).[52] There were at least seven published arrangements in the period 1874-1913, some by cellists such as Grützmacher, Goltermann and Davidoff, others by less familiar figures. It is not possible to identify the transcription used in any particular recording, apart from Hollman's, who is the only cellist to use Grützmacher's arrangement (transposed up a fourth to B♭ with five bars completely rewritten; Hollman also changes one note).[53] In any case, the piece is easy to adapt (no transposition is required), and it is quite possible that some or all the cellists who recorded it made their own versions. Apart from Hollman's, all these recordings

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[51] Another study of the same piece has compared 28 recordings by 24 pianists, but in the period 1929-1990. Bruno Repp, 'Diversity and commonality in music performance: an analysis of timing microstructure in Schumann's "Träumerei"', *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 92 (1992), pp. 2546-68.

[52] Heinrich Grünfeld (vc), un-named pianist (The Gramophone Company Ltd, matrix G.C.-47876x, 1903); Hans Kronold (vc), un-named pianist (Edison, no. 9149, 1905; http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu> [accessed October 2008]); Victor Sorlin (vc), Victor Orchestra (Victor Talking Machine Co. Camden NJ, matrix 4845, 1906); Rosario Bourdon (vc), un-named orchestra (Victor Talking Machine Co, Camden NJ, issue no. 4845, matrix B3485, 1906; <http://amicus.collectionscanada.ca> [accessed October 2008]); Josef Hollman (vc), un-named pianist (Victor talking Machine Co., matrix C-3026-1, 1906); Boris Hambourg (vc), Grace Smith (pf) (Victor Talking Machine Co., Camden NJ, issue no. 60065, 1911; <http://amicus.collectionscanada.ca> [accessed October 2008]); Pablo Casals (vc), un-named orchestra (Columbia, matrix 37252, issue no. A5679, 1915; *The Recorded Cello* vol. 1); Casals, Walter Golde (pf), Naxos Historical, *Great Cellists – Casals Encores and Transcriptions* vol. 4, 8.110986, 2005; Casals, Nicolai Mednikoff (pf) (Victor, matrix no. BE-34075-1, no. 1178, 1926; Naxos Historical, *Great Cellists – Casals Encores and Transcriptions* vol. 1, 8.110972, 2003); Casals, Otto Schulhof (pf) (HMV, matrix Bb 19018-1, no. DA833, 1930; Naxos Historical, *Great Cellists – Casals Encores and Transcriptions* vol. 2, 8.110976, 2004).

[53] G. Goltermann (arr.), *Morceaux Célèbres* (Leipzig, London, etc.: Bosworth & Co., n.d.); F. Grützmacher (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1874]); David Popper (Hamburg: Rahter, [*HM*1884]); C. E. Lowe (London: Weekes & Co, [1884]); Carl Davidoff (Offenbach: André, [*HM*1887]); Henry Farmer (London, J. Williams, 1892); H. Samuel (London: Augener, [1907]); G. J. Trinkaus (New York: M. Witwark & Sons, 1913).

are in the original key. The parallel text (figure 12) shows differences of portamento and phrasing, and the table summarises some general statistics. Asterisks mark portamenti unique to one recording. The following recordings are compared:

1903 Heinrich Grünfeld (1855-1931)
1905 Hans Kronold (1872-1922)
1906 Rosario Bourdon (1885-1961)
1906 Josef Hollmann (1852-1927)
1908 Victor Sorlin (1878-1912)
1911 Boris Hambourg (1885-1954)
1915 Pablo Casals (1876-1973)
1916 Pablo Casals
1926 Pablo Casals
1930 Pablo Casals

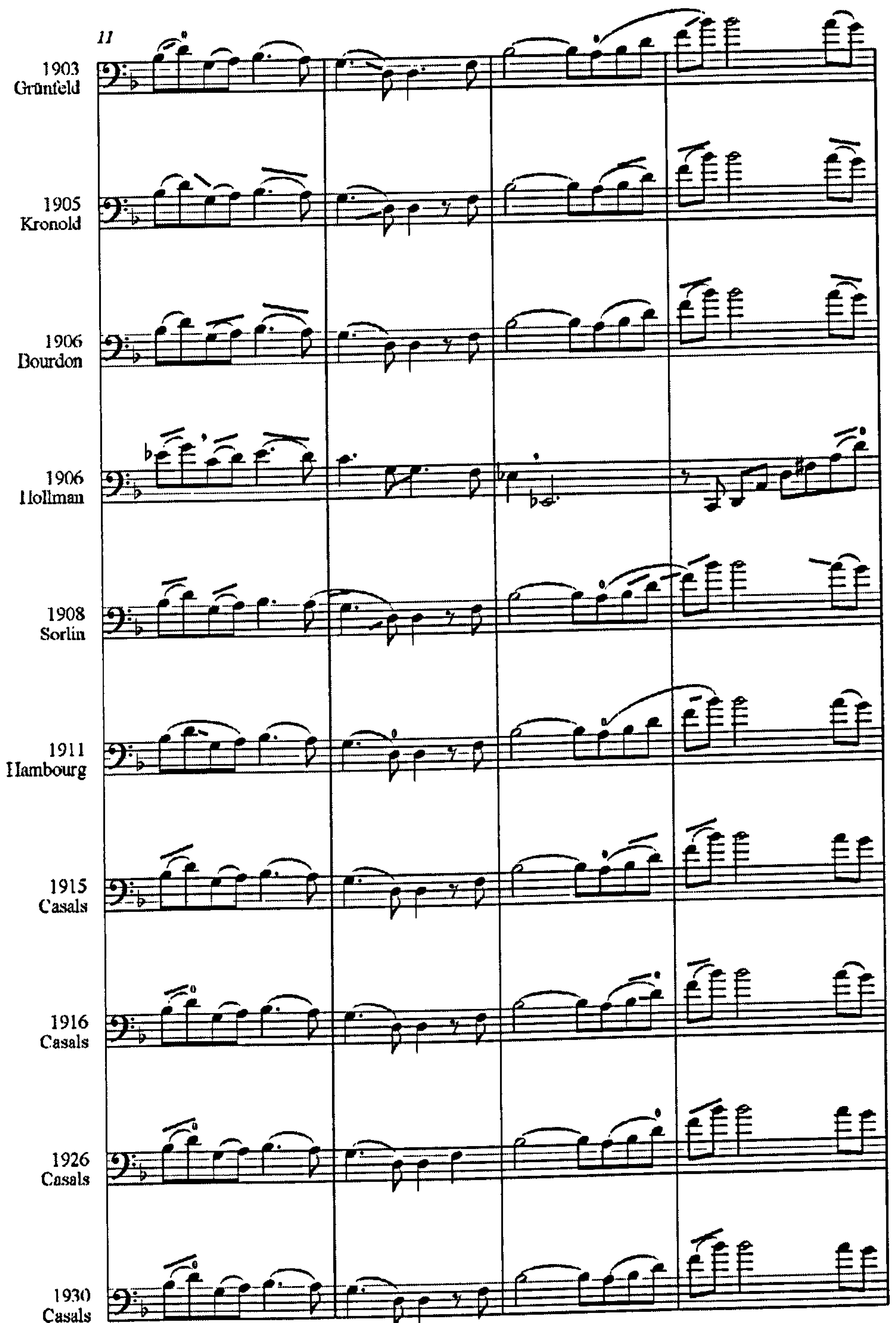
Year, Performer (age)	Total duration	Av. MM (♩)	Total portamenti	Average portamenti/bar	Vibrato (general type)
1903 Grünfeld (48)	2'50"	45.5	39	1.2	only on some longer notes; after portamento
1905 Kronold (33)	1'56" *	50.2	38	1.6	narrow; often none
1906 Bourdon (21)	2'53"	44.4	35	1.1	narrow; often none; used at highlights
1906 Hollmann (54)	3'47"	34.1	58	1.8	continuous
1908 Sorlin (30)	3'07" *	31.1	51	2.1	nearly continuous; wide; slow
1911 Hambourg (26)	2'50"	45.5	38	1.2	often wide; much less on quavers
1915 Casals (39)	2'59"	43.2	27	0.8	sometimes none; narrow; moderate speed
1916 Casals (40)	3'16"	38.3	32	1	constant; medium-wide; constant speed
1926 Casals (50)	3'14"	39.9	30	0.9	continuous; narrow; moderate speed
1930 Casals (54)	3'16"	39.9	31	1.0	continuous; narrow; medium-fast

* Kronold and Sorlin omit the repeat of bars 1-8

Table 2: 'Träumerei', comparisons of tempo, portamento and vibrato.

Figure 6/12: Schumann, 'Träumerei', parallel comparison of recordings

6
1903 Grünfeld
(Kronold omits repeat)
1905 Kronold
1906 Bourdon
1906 Hollman
(Sorlin omits repeat)
1908 Sorlin
1911 Hambourg
(x1 only)
1915 Casals
1916 Casals
1926 Casals
(small)
1930 Casals


11
1903
Grünfeld
1905
Kronold
1906
Bourdon
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Hollman
1908
Sorlin
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Hambourg
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Casals
1916
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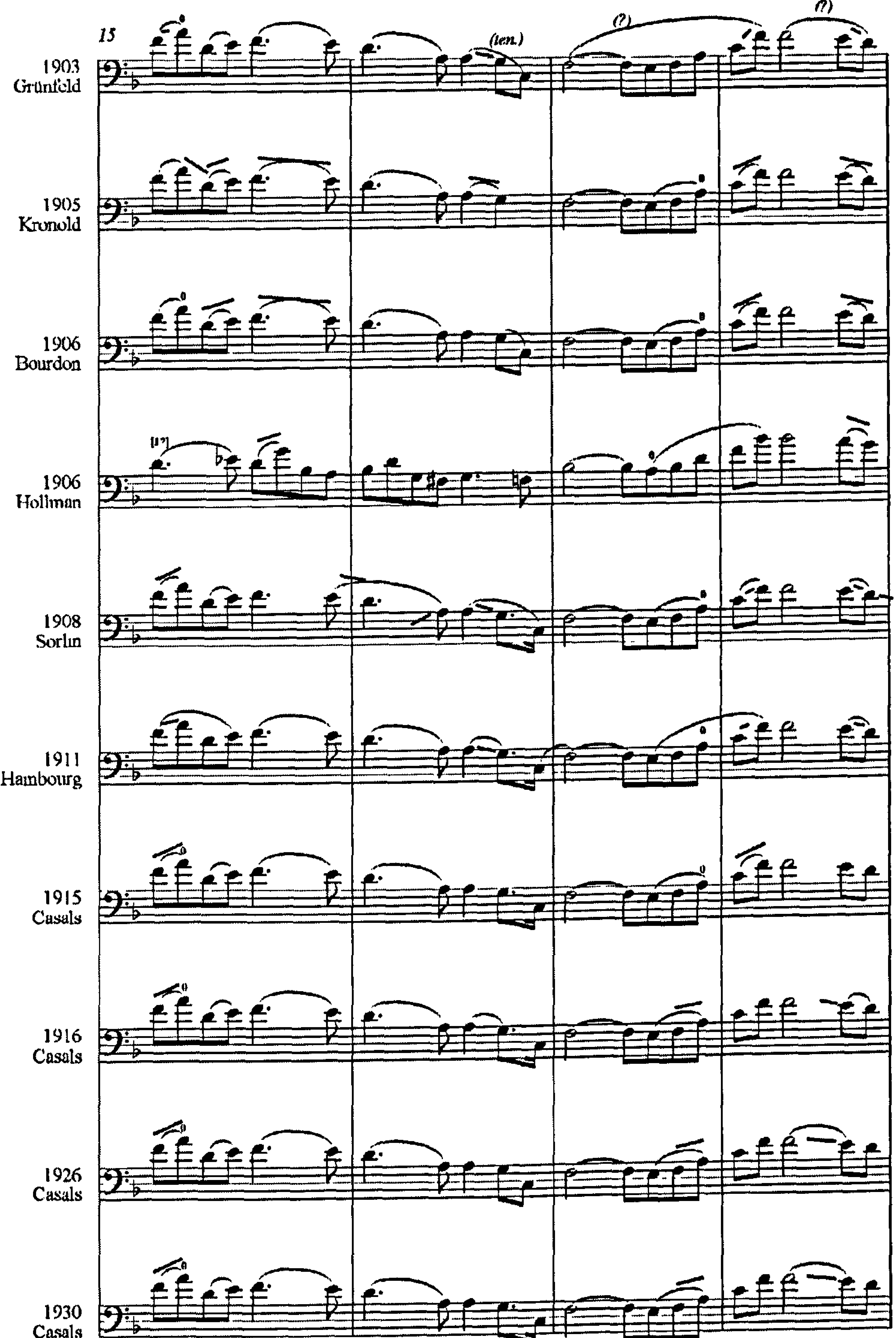
1926
Casals
1930
Casals


15
(ten.)
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Grünfeld
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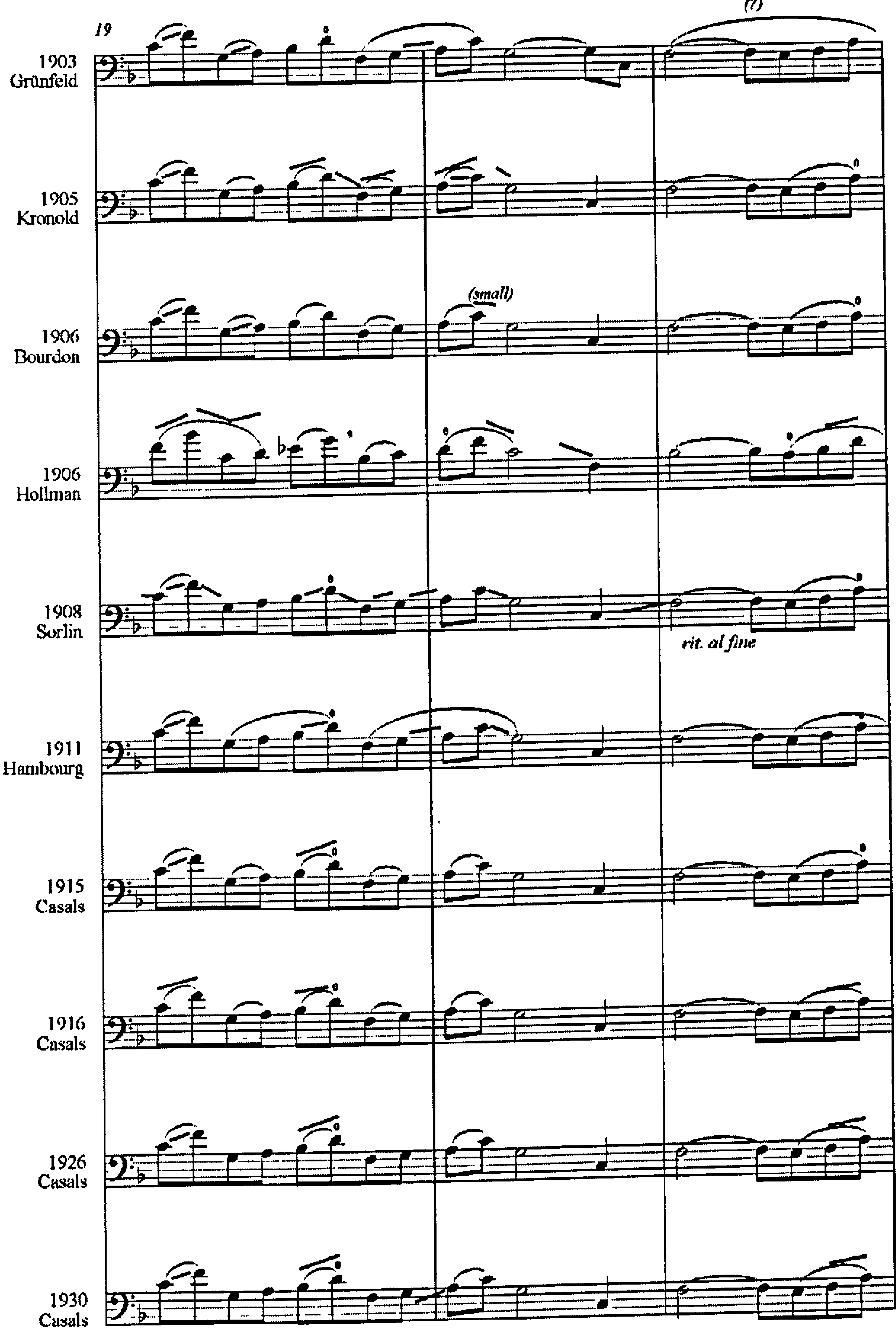
19
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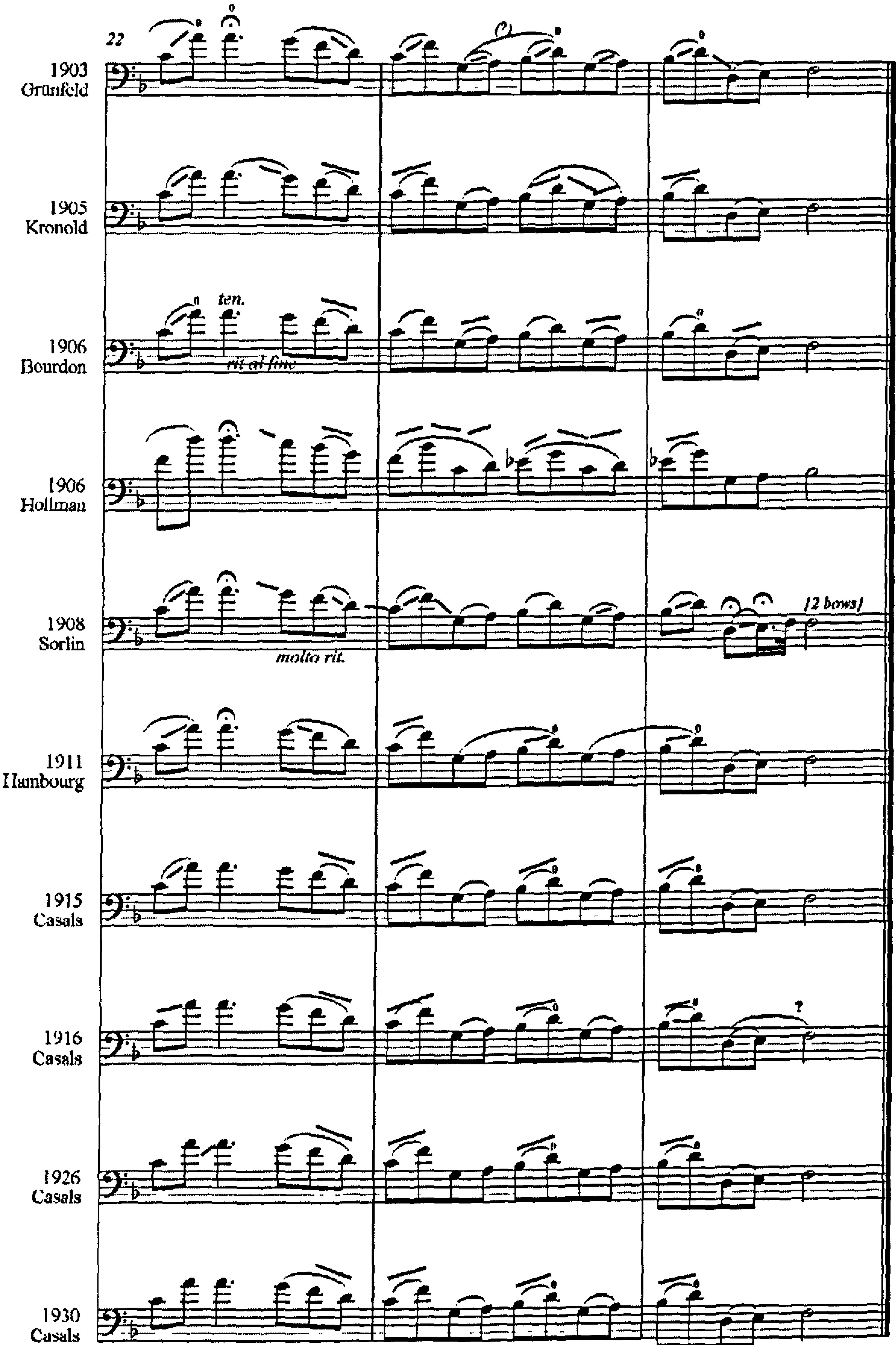
Casals



These performances are all, internally, highly consistent, even regarding phrasing and *rubato*; each cellist nearly always plays the same material in the same way each time it recurs. However, they differ from each other quite considerably. The

principal features will be discussed under sub-headings.

***Träumerei* – portamento**

Victor Sorlin's portamento is the most extreme of the nine. Even though he omits the first repeat of bars 1-8, he still manages to include fifty-one portamenti in twenty-four bars, and therefore it follows that most of the unique portamenti are his. He also combines longer strings of successive portamenti than any other cellist here. These two statistics mean that when he stops using portamento (bar 23) its very absence attracts attention, becoming an expressive device in itself. Sorlin also uses portamento combined with a change of bow much more than any of the others.

Between them, the earlier recordings cover almost every portamento possibility, which explains why Casals adds only one new portamento, in one recording, namely the small 'scoop' to the second a' in bar 22 (1926). Otherwise, Casals's portamento is significantly less than in the earlier recordings, even though it appears very noticeable to modern ears. In this context, it is not only more restrained, but more imaginative. The contrast is especially clear at the end of bar 3, where Hambourg's in particular is very prominent and Casals only adds a small scoop (1915 and 1930). 'Scooping', either to a repeated note, or from below to a lower note, is generally the least used type of portamento here, with only a few examples from Sorlin and Casals. Casals generally uses fewer portamenti, though they are a little more frequent in his later recordings. However, his three versions also explore different possibilities. The two expressive highlights of the piece (the dissonant e♭' in bar 10 and the melodic peak on a'' in bar 22) are treated quite differently. In 1915 he uses a portamento in bar 10, but not in 1926, and in 1930 he reinstates it but in a much more subtle way. He experiments even more at bar 22, with a full portamento with a slur (1915), separate bows and a scoop to the second a' (1926), and separate bows with no portamento (1930). This is the only place

where the three Casals versions all differ from each other, although in many places two will agree against the third.

It should not be assumed that portamento in itself leads to slower tempi. Sorlin's extremely slow timing is not primarily a consequence of his portamento, as in general he does not additionally slow down at such places. Rather, it results from his extreme interpretation of the *ritardando* marked in most arrangements in bar 22, and the additional pauses and *molto rit.* added to the final two bars. The relatively portamento-rich versions by Kronold and Hambourg do not result in overall slow tempi, even when time is taken over a slow portamento. Kronold prolongs high notes, and adds a heavy *ritardando* in bar 16. He also applies an almost destabilising *tenuto* to the *e* in bar 1 (and all equivalent places), shortening the preceding note (almost a crotchet in bar 9, which becomes in effect a 3/4 bar) and delaying and speeding up the following two quavers (figure 13).

Figure 6/13: Kronold, approximate notation of rubato

Nonetheless, Kronold is positively brisk overall. Hambourg's *rubato* balances faster phrases with *tenuto*. He accelerates strongly through the rising quaver phrase in bars 1-2, but prolongs the minim every time. However, he also uses longer phrases; typically, where Casals plays with two or three quavers per bow, Hambourg plays with four or more, sometimes playing the equivalent of a bar in one bow (bars 3-4).

***Träumerei* – vibrato**

The three earliest recordings are extremely restrained in their use of vibrato, with virtually none in the case of Grünfeld. When it is used, it is invariably narrow. Kronold's vibrato is only noticeable at a few points, such as in bars 6 (a'), 7 (c♭'), or 14

(b♭'). Sometimes his vibrato appears random, such as at the d' in the final bar, but this may be consistent with his tendency to introduce extreme agogic *rubato* (discussed above) combined with vibrato. In the recordings before 1910, two cellists use a continuous vibrato, Hollman and Sorlin. At the age of fifty-four, Hollman is much older than the other pre-war cellists from this period, and was a pupil of Servais, whose vibrato gave such offence to Pavel Makarov (see chapter 5). However, Hollman was fourteen when Servais died in 1866, so it is hard to say for how long Servais's influence persisted. Sorlin's pronounced and continuous vibrato is exceptional in this group of recordings, but it is quite similar to that of the Danish cellist Herman Sandby, recorded only a few years later. Hambourg uses a prominent vibrato on longer notes in general (dotted crotchets or minims), particularly at melodic peaks, and little or none on quavers or less melodically significant longer notes – there is almost no vibrato in the two final bars.

The issue of consistency of tone colour when a phrase includes open strings or harmonics arises far less in Kronold's case because he uses little vibrato and no harmonics, and avoids open strings. Hambourg might appear to be using Alexanian's method and minimising the vibrato on the neighbouring notes.

Casals's vibrato is generally quite narrow, but it becomes a little more prominent at melodic peaks, especially those that are prolonged, such as bars 2, 6, or 14. After a harmonic he generally uses much less vibrato for the next few notes, and the open A string used in the first phrase in his 1915 recording is normally played throughout in a context of less vibrato.[54] At times in 1915 Casals enhances an expressive note with

[54] Kathleen Parlow's recording of the slow movement of the Mendelssohn violin concerto makes no such modification, so that the a'' harmonic and the open A string in the opening bars stand out very clearly as non-vibrated notes. Mendelssohn, *Violin Concerto* (slow movement), Kathleen Parlow (vn), un-named orchestra (Columbia Graphophone Co., matrix 48665, no. A5843, 1916); <http://amicus.collectionscanada.ca> [last accessed October 2008].

portamento but not vibrato, unlike Grünfeld, whose few vibrated notes often occur after a portamento. Vibrato in the 1926 and 1930 recordings is more consistent. However, the 1926 version avoids the local expression on prominent notes found in 1915, generally intensifying the vibrato for passages of harmonic interest such as in bars 9-12, but not, for example making a special vibrato effect for the dissonant e♭' minim in bar 10. Casals in 1930 uses a somewhat more intensified vibrato, especially in bars 13-15, where the extra expression even risks distorting the tone on the high b♭'. He also uses more vibrato in the final two bars even though there are several d' harmonics, and here there is no attempt to conceal the change in timbre. In these respects, then, Alexanian's description of vibrato being moderated around an open string to avoid a change in timbre corresponds quite closely with Casals's practice in 1915, but less so in 1930.

***Träumerei* – bowing/phrasing**

Although this chapter is chiefly concerned with vibrato and portamento, the topic of bowing and phrasing is not irrelevant, as there are noticeable differences between these recordings concerning the use of portamento across changes of bow or phrase-boundaries.

Given that this piece is played entirely *legato*, some recordings can present difficulties when trying to determine the bowing used. Apart from some cellists' technical superiority in concealing bow changes, surface noise can also obscure an otherwise audible change of bow. The latter is certainly the case in Grünfeld's version, where it is hard to tell whether he is varying the phrasing on the repeat of bars 1-8. The bowing slurs indicated in the parallel text above are based solely on the aural evidence, and no attempt has been made to normalise them in order, for example, to place down-bows on the most likely notes, or to ensure enough bow space for longer phrases.

Nonetheless, some aspects are generally clear. Whereas Schumann's original

version (figure 15), and nearly all the published cello arrangements such as Davidoff's (figure 14 – Goltermann's is almost identical), use long phrase-marks or bowing slurs, most of the recordings use quite short slurs. Typically, quavers are grouped in pairs, apart from the three upbeat quavers in bar 1 or bar 6 (*et sim.*). Hambourg sometimes groups in fours, as in the second and third beats of bar 3 and bar 19. Sorlin is the only cellist to use clearly asymmetrical phrasing (bars 3, 13/14). Grünfeld, Sorlin and Hambourg all use the much longer slur in bars 1/2. However, Sorlin is less consistent here, whereas Grünfeld and Hambourg generally agree.

Figure 6/14: Schumann, arr. Davidoff, 'Träumerei', cello pt.

Figure 6/15: Schumann, 'Träumerei', original version

From this point of view, Casals's 1926 recording is particularly interesting. His first and last recordings of 'Träumerei' generally agree in phrasing, but in 1926 he experiments with a very clear articulation when playing with separate bows, something none of the other cellists considered here employ – Casals is the only cellist to use separate bows in bar 3. Given the recording quality, it is hard to be certain, but this may well be combined with a more active, quasi-percussive, left hand action. There is a clear

marking of the bow changes in bars 3 and 10, combined with what sounds like a more energetic LH action, which together may constitute what Casals termed 'syllabic diminuendo'. He himself never described this technique, and while something related to it appears in Alexanian in the context of louder dynamics ('attacks should be reinforced by finger-accents [...] by the withdrawal or striking of the fingers of the left hand'), it may well be a concept that Casals developed in the 1920s.[55]

The range of practices documented in these recordings is striking. While there is an overall change in performing style over this period, it is hard to specify exactly where it occurs. (From this point of view it would be fascinating were it possible to compare Grünfeld's 1903 recording with his (so far, untraceable) filmed performance from 1928).[56] Just as, for example, the gradual adoption of the tail-pin in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries meant that for much of that period both postures were in use, so, even though there is an overall change in performing style, it is hard to pinpoint where this occurs. Even defining the rough limits of the watershed is not easy. In the period under discussion, for example, it is tempting to describe recorded performances in terms of 'old' and 'modern' styles. 'Modern' might be taken to connote constant, wide vibrato and very little portamento, with 'old' connoting occasional, narrow vibrato and a considerable amount of portamento. This is very much the approach taken by Mark Katz. In the course of his argument that the 'modern' vibrato was mainly a product of the emerging recording industry, he frequently talks of the old

[55] Dinan Alexanian, trans. Frederick Fairbanks, *Traité théorique et pratique* (Paris: Mathot, 1922), p. 95. Several of Casals's pupils describe it, principally Christopher Bunting, 'The Syllabic Diminuendo', in *Essay on the Craft of Cello Playing*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), vol. 1, pp. 90-95. It is also noted by M. Clynes, 'Expressive microstructure in music, linked to living qualities', in J. Sundberg (ed.), *Studies in Music Performance* (Stockholm: Royal Swedish Academy of Music, 1983), p. 79.
[56] A 3-minute documentary film entitled *Professor Heinrich Grünfeld spielt Träumerei von Schumann*, made by Tobis-Industrie Gmbh (Berlin), was passed by the censor in January 1929. See <http://www.filmportal.de> [last accessed November 2008]. No German film archive has a print.

and the new:

> Early twentieth-century recordings of solo violinists corroborate the shift from the old to the new vibrato. [...] After 1920 the new vibrato is apparent in the recordings of most violinists.[57]

While in overall terms it is true that the vibrato of the 1930s is generally a very different thing from that of the 1900s, Katz's claim that the principal force behind this change was the requirements of the recording industry is somewhat one-sided. He cites several examples of continued criticism of the 'new' vibrato as evidence that its adoption was not due to changed aesthetic priorities, but understates the prevalence of vibrato among singers in the later nineteenth century (often the subject of criticism), and there is a general lack of a broad historical context for his study. The few later voices cited by Katz, who continued to dissent from 'modern' vibrato, such as Hans Keller, were in fact marginal. Katz also suggests that recording made players and listeners more aware of imperfect intonation which was concealed with a heavier vibrato. While this could be ascertained scientifically, vibrato does not in fact work in this way – an out-of-tune note with vibrato is still perceptibly out of tune.

Recordings which manifest differences in performing styles do not necessarily represent a clash of the 'old' and the 'new'. Timothy Day describes the performance of Bach's concerto for two violins by Arnold Rosé and his daughter Alma in precisely these terms.[58] The former uses frequent portamenti and very restrained vibrato, the latter uses fewer, and lighter, portamenti and more vibrato, so in general terms the 'old'/'modern' distinction appears plausible. However, the clash is as much one of levels of ability as of different performing styles. Alma's intonation is occasionally

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[57] Mark Katz, *Capturing Sound: How Technology has Changed Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 87.

[58] Timothy Day, *A Century of Recorded Music Listening to Musical History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 144. Bach, *Double concerto in D minor*, Arnold and Alma Rosé (vns), Czech HMV mat. CA 43/47 (1928), *Arnold Rosé and the Rosé String Quartet*, Biddulph Recordings LAB 056-57 (1992).

suspect, and there are rhythm and tempo fluctuations, as distinct from *rubato*, which could explain Arnold Rosé's insistent clarifying accentuation. If Alma's vibrato is rather more apparent that Arnold's, it still could not be called extreme, and there are many cases, especially in the second movement, where the two have clearly agreed to be consistent with portamento. Similarly, the Kreisler-Zimbalist recording of the same work, while clearly performed by two individual soloists of different generations, does not present problematic stylistic incompatibilities.[59] When Kreisler and Ysaÿe played the same work in New York in 1905, the *New York Times* reviewer noted the differences between their playing styles in music that would seem to require complete unanimity of approach, but acknowledged that this did not seriously spoil his enjoyment.

> [...] both Mr. Ysaÿe and Mr. Kreisler have shown sympathy with Bach's music and have interpreted it with authority and amplitude of style, but with a different personal equation. [...] the difference of their artistic individualities was always considerably in evidence. It was nevertheless a performance that gave great pleasure through the many superb qualities it showed.[60]

In the 'Träumerei' recordings, it is the youngest player, Rosario Bourdon, who uses a narrow vibrato at expressive highlights in a way entirely consistent with nineteenth-century practice. In the same year, Joseph Hollman, at more than twice Bourdon's age, is using a warm continuous vibrato which we now recognise as modern. Distinct playing styles, with many individual nuances, co-existed for some time in the early recording period, and almost certainly before this. Some cellists used vibrato and portamento in ways that had their roots earlier in the nineteenth century – a light, narrow, fast vibrato applied ornamentally to longer notes, and a range of portamenti as

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[59] Bach, *Concerto in D minor for two violins*, Fritz Kreisler and Efrem Zimbalist (vns), HMV DB 587, matrix 2-07918 (1915); *Great Violinists – Kreisler*, Naxos Historical 8.110922 (n.d.). In 1915 Kreisler was forty, Zimbalist twenty-five.

[60] 'Ysaye and Kreisler Play', *New York Times*, 14th March 1905, p. 6.

notated in Grützmacher's performing editions from the 1860s onwards. Others did things differently.

A more synchronic, less diachronic, view, could suggest a slightly different conclusion from that reached by David Milsom in his study of early violin recordings:

> The main contrast, then, is between the slight vibrato of the older generation, and the slower and possibly wider vibrato of players such as Hubay. Indeed, Hubay and Drdla seem to represent an important gestational phase in vibrato development, providing a link with the sound-world familiar to modern ears.[61]

For Milsom, there is enough contrast between generations of violinists to justify this diachronic view, and he is able to speak confidently of the 'clear delineation of players in the 'Franco-Belgian' and the 'German' schools.[62]

However, in the case of the cello, it appears that a diachronic analysis in terms of 'schools' of playing, through which influences are transmitted, has a more limited application. The Russian cellist Wierzbilowicz (aged fifty-four), recorded in 1904 playing his teacher Davidoff's *Chanson sans paroles*, was a product of the 'Russian school', and he was strongly associated with the violinist Auer both as a pupil and later as a chamber music colleague.[63] Yet neither Wierzbilowicz's near continuous vibrato nor his frequent portamenti accord with Auer's stern warnings about the over-use of both.

> In any case, remember that only the most sparing use of the *vibrato* is desirable; the too generous employment of the device defeats the purpose for which you use it. The excessive *vibrato* is a habit for which I have no tolerance [...] the *portamento* should be employed only when the melody is descending, save for certain very exceptional cases of ascending melody. [...] it is the easiest thing in the world to turn this simplest of expressive means into caricature merely by

[61] Milsom, *Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance*, p. 141.
[62] Milsom, ibid., p. 143.
[63] Carl Davidoff, 'Romance sans paroles', A. V. Wierzbilowicz (vc), un-named pianist (Gramophone & Typewriter Co., matrix 201z, cat. 27886, 1904: *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 1, CD 2).

dragging the finger slowly from one tone to the other [...][64]

Another of Davidoff's pupils, Carl Fuchs (who acknowledged his debt to his teacher nearly as often as did Whitehouse with Piatti), uses a rather less obvious vibrato than Wierzbilowicz and considerably less portamento in the movements by Tricklir in Fuchs's only surviving recording.[65] Even allowing for the contrasting character of these pieces, and the fact that he had been living in England almost continually since 1888, Fuchs has more in common with Whitehouse, and probably Piatti, than with Wierzbilowicz, even though they shared the same teacher. The fact that Fuchs lived in England almost continually from 1888 is more significant than his pedagogical descent from Cossmann and Davidoff. In fact, it is hard to generalise about an Auer or indeed a Ševčík 'school', given the wide range of practice evident in their pupils:

> Auer's pupils included not only Zimbalist and Dushkin, who adhered to the traditional, selective use of vibrato as described by Auer, but also players with a more modern view of vibrato, including Elman and, especially, Heifetz [...]. Similar inconsistency is found in Ševčík's pupils. These included Jan Kubelík and Marie Hall, who used vibrato sparingly, and Rudolf Kolisch and Wolfgang Schneiderhan, who used continuous vibrato in the modern way. According to Flesch, Hubay's pupils tended to have 'too slow and broad a vibrato'. But Lener's vibrato was much broader and slower than that of Szigeti or d'Aranyi, and they all studied with Hubay. To make matters even more confusing, Hubay had studied under Joachim.[66]

If a synchronic view preserves the diversity of practice at any one time (or relatively narrow time-period) at the expense of a narrative, it does at least enable simple similarities of style to be seen synchronically without the pre-suppositions inherent in terms such as 'the Russian school' or the 'German school', 'old' or 'modern'. Exactly how this diversity was replaced by an increasing international

[64] Leopold Auer, *Violin Playing as I Teach It* (New York: Frederick Stokes, [1921]; repr. New York: Dover Publications, 1980), p. 22-23.
[65] J. B.Tricklir, *Adagio and Rondo*, Carl Fuchs (vc), un-named pianist (HMV private recording, matrix 2B4795-1, c. 1930, *The Recorded Cello*, vol. 2, CD 2).
[66] Robert Philip, *Early Recordings*, p. 104.

standardisation in succeeding decades lies beyond the scope of this study, but at least in the first decade of the twentieth century, no style can be clearly privileged above any other – both Whitehouse's very restrained vibrato and Wierzbilowicz's quite extreme rubato were eventually to disappear. What is characteristic of the early recording period as a whole is the diversity of practice, a diversity that, it can reasonably be inferred, was present in earlier decades as well.

EXPRESSION – PERFORMERS AND CRITICS

The whole discussion of the use and abuse of expressive devices such as portamento and vibrato takes place within what John Potter has called 'the historical ideology of disciplined restraint'.[67] This might be differently expressed in terms of a 'discourse of expressivity', a 'discourse' which delimits the scope of a topic and controls what is said within these limits, and which in this case is closely allied to the wider discourse of sexuality and the body in the nineteenth century. This may provide a theoretical context for the increasingly *ex cathedra* character of warnings against excess, such as Joachim's:

> This explanation is very important because a clear understanding of the meaning and origin of portamento will be the best means of preventing the pupil from misusing the effect.[68]
>
> But even when such places are marked glissando or something similar, the use of the portamento must never overstep the limits of the beautiful and degenerate into a whine, as if the intention were to caricature the peculiarities of certain wandering street musicians.[69]
>
> The main point is that the pupil should assimilate the counsel given above, and that he should endeavour to train his taste and judgment by frequent comparison of right with wrong, of what is natural with what

[67] John Potter, 'Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing', *Music & Letters*, 87 (2006), p. 528.
[68] Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, trans. Alfred Moffat, *Violinschule*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Simrock, 1905), vol. 2, p. 92.
[69] Ibid., pp. 93-4.

is affected.[70]

> But the pupil cannot be sufficiently warned against the habitual use of the tremolo, especially in the wrong place. A violinist whose taste is refined and healthy will always recognise the steady tone as the ruling one, and will use the vibrato only where the expression seems to demand it.[71]

One might further argue that those musicians and critics who so frequently warn about the dangers of excessive expressivity in performance constitute members of a discourse community, entry to which requires the conventional use of certain terms and concepts as well as a basic grasp of appropriate language. Thus, in the case of British music criticism of this period, there are several examples where 'outsiders' – foreigners or journalists for lower-class newspapers – are roundly mocked for their excessive language, ignorance or bad taste. There are many examples like the *Harmonicon*'s disdainful treatment of the *Herald*'s enthusiasm for Max Bohrer (quoted in chapter 3), but perhaps the most striking is the *Musical World*'s fit of hysterics at an 1847 American review of Paganini's pupil Camillo Sivori (1815-1894), a very long article much abbreviated here.[72]

> As a pendent [sic] to the specimens of American criticism on musical matters which we have already cited, and as a contrast to the really sensible article on Verdi [...] we insert the following, *apropos* of our excellent little friend, Camillo Sivori, whose success in the new world appears to be prodigious. It is from the *Daily Picayne* [Picayune] a paper printed at New Orleans, and is signed, "An Amateur".
>
> "To criticise with an unprejudiced mind the sterling worth of an artist [...] *the critic must know something of the art*" – (No! surely?) – "both as regards its theory and practice [...] The musical world of New Orleans has been recently roused from its comparative state of lethargy by the soul-stirring strains of the LION OF INSTRUMENTS in the hands of the IMMORTAL PAGANINI'S SIVORI [...] When grasped by the Herculean arm of its 'Sivori', who by the ARTIST-FINISHED SWEEP (!) of his bow, produces such a

[70] Ibid., p. 95.
[71] Ibid., p. 96.
[72] Anon., 'Yankee Criticism Again', *MW*, 22 (1847), pp. 455-56. All emphases are as the original.

> SIMULTANEOUS CRASH OF HARMONY (!!!) variegated with a BRILLIANT LIGHTNING DESCENT OF STACCATOED SOUNDS (!!!!) we fairly become bewildered [...] we can almost imagine TEARS OOZE FROM EACH SOFTLY *VIBRATO'D* NOTE (!!!) and our *tender* heart-strings reverberate from their sympathetic effect. [...] when he has played you all his pieces once and recommences THE DYNAMIC, THE RHYTHM OF EVERY NOTE IS INVARIABLY THE SAME, proving that he has depended more upon the contracted rules laid down to him by his masters, than on his genius."[73]

The *Musical World* highlights in capitals and italics all the most 'excessive' expressions, adding exclamations in parentheses, and concludes:

> What this verbose "bosh" signifies, we leave it to our American readers to explain. We confess our inability to comprehend a word of it. Nevertheless, it is a good advertisement for our friend Sivori.[74]

As quoted, the article makes several reasonable points, such as Sivori's lack of innate genius, and the dangers of excessive fame for virtuosi such as Ole Bull. The *Musical World,* however, prefers to draw attention to the idiosyncratic language of a naïve American amateur who cannot see the absurdity of tears oozing from notes played with vibrato. More surprisingly, however, the article quoted in the *Musical World* appears to have been substantially, if not wholly, invented. A search of the *Daily Picayune* in the period January-July 1847 (the month of the *Musical World* article) shows that the New Orleans newspaper published programme details for seven concerts by Sivori between 10th February and 12th April, but only one review.

> We had the pleasure of hearing Sivori for the first time, last evening at the Orleans Theatre, and were delighted with his playing. We are scarcely versed enough in music to pronounce in his favour, with the recollection of other noted artists who have visited this country, and cannot say whether he excels them or not. Certain are we, however, that he is a splendid player [...] there is an inspiration about his manner of playing, combined with the greatest modesty, that enhances the pleasure one experiences in the delicious music he produces. His whole soul seems wrapped in his instrument, and he brings forth from it the softest and most melodious sounds, as if they were indeed the

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[73] Ibid., p. 456.
[74] Ibid.

> harmonious language of the soul. His bowing is easy and graceful, and there is firmness about it, even in the most delicate touches, that creates a confidence in his ability.[75]

It is therefore possible that, not content with mocking an apparently over-written review, the contributor to the *Musical World* actually invented the article for humorous effect. If true, this pastiche could be seen as an attempt to protect a discourse from outside influence, in the context of a post-colonial need to reassert the superiority of the British over the upstart Americans.

However, in Foucault's terms, discourse does not simply mean a one-sided exercise of power. A 'discourse of expressivity' need not work solely as a setting of a restriction or even of a taboo, dictated by critics or teachers of particularly high status. It contains within itself the possibility of resistance, or critique. In the case of musical performance, one might argue that performance itself constitutes a competing discourse with different, opposed, boundaries and permissions, although this could lead to an over-simplified view of expressivity in the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, the tension between practice and prescription does at least represent a trope of control and resistance which is equally manifested in, for example, attitudes towards the relation of music and words in opera, and ultimately in tensions between conflicting gender identities which will be discussed in the last two chapters.

[75] Anon., 'Concert of Sivori', *Daily Picayune*, 11th February 1847, p. 2.

CHAPTER 7:

THE GENDERED CELLO

In the following discussion of historical gender issues as they concern the cello, it should be noted that there are potential pitfalls when using such terms as an easy shorthand within the prevailing conventions of the period, which read now as an unexamined essentialism. During this period, in the particular area of the cello and some other instruments such as the violin or the piano, there are (more or less) explicitly assigned gender identities and roles which are taken for granted. If such statements are found much less often in later periods, that is not to say that gender preconceptions about musical instruments have themselves disappeared, as many modern studies show.[1] While gender stereotypes as tools of musical analysis have been repudiated, 'genderedness' cannot be ignored insofar as it is expressed through 'the semiotics of "masculinity" and "femininity"', as McClary puts it.[2] When scholars such as Lawrence Kramer discuss gender as signified in nineteenth-century music, it is the working of these signifiers at a particular historical period which is being examined, without any additional claim that they are in any wider sense 'true'.

In the nineteenth century, music itself partook of both the 'masculine' and the 'feminine'. On one hand, it was 'masculine'. According to Lessing, poetry was masculine and painting feminine. For Lessing (partly influenced by Burke), the 'masculine' is associated with the sublime, eloquence, an arbitrary sign system which

[1] See Susan O'Neill, 'Gender and Music', in David Hargreaves and Adrian North, *The Social Psychology of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 46-66. This chapter cites in particular H. F. Abeles and S. Y. Porter, 'The Sex-stereotyping of musical instruments', *Journal of Research in Music Education* 26 (1978) 65-75, R. Bruce and A. Kemp, 'Sex-stereotyping in Children's Preferences for Musical Instruments, *British Journal of Music Education*, 10 (1993) 123-34, and J. K. Delzell and D. A. Leppla, 'Gender Association of Musical Instruments and Preferences of Fourth-grade Students for Selected Instruments, *Journal of Research in Music Education*, 40 (1992) 93-103.

[2] Susan McClary, 'Narrative Agendas in "Absolute Music"', in Ruth Solie (ed.), *Musicology and Difference* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 332.

feeds the imagination, and temporal extension. 'Feminine' connotes silence, beauty, an appeal to the eye and spatial extension.[3] While Lessing does not discuss music, it is clearly masculine within these terms, and the unpublished second edition of *Laokoön* suggests that he did indeed see music as similar to poetry.[4] Hanslick also describes music as more 'masculine' than 'feminine'. He is at great pains to assert the irrelevance of music's emotional effect to its aesthetic value, and becomes even more polemical in later editions of *On the Beautiful in Music*, in the light of the increased prominence of Wagner and Liszt. While he acknowledges that music does have such effects, he gives a strong impression that they make him uncomfortable, in spite of his frequent assertions to the contrary.

> I am quite at one with those who hold that the ultimate worth of the beautiful must ever depend upon the immediate verdict of the feelings. But at the same time I firmly adhere to the conviction, that all the customary appeals to our emotional faculty can never show the way to a single musical law.[5]
>
> Music may, undoubtedly, awaken feelings of great joy or intense sorrow; but might not the same or a still greater effect be produced by the news that we have won first prize in the lottery, or by the dangerous illness of a friend?[6]

Hanslick frequently evokes the emotional power of music while simultaneously denying its relevance. In his attempt to exercise control over music through an act of intellectual will, Hanslick may be enacting a familiar trope. Lessing goes to some lengths to

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[3] G. E. Lessing, ed. and trans. Edward Bell., 'Laokoön, or On the Limits of Painting and Poetry', in *Selected Prose Works* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1879). These binary distinctions are tabulated at greater length in W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology Image Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp.109-111. For Burke, see Linda M. G. Zerilli, 'No Thrust, No Swell, No Subject?: A Critical Response to Stephen K. White', *Political Theory*, 22/2 (1994), pp. 323-328.

[4] Simon Shaw-Miller, *Visible Deeds of Music Art and Music from Wagner to Cage* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002), p.8, citing J. Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 136. Shaw-Miller also points out that Moses Mendelssohn, the composer's grandfather, a close friend of Lessing, took the opposite view of music (ibid.).

[5] Eduard Hanslick, trans. Gustav Cohen, *On the Beautiful in Music* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974; repr. of 7th ed, 1885, English version 1891), p.11.

[6] Ibid., p. 26.

establish a concept of beauty in classical Greek sculpture to which emotion is subjugated and refined.

> [...] all I want to establish is, that among the ancients beauty was the highest law of the plastic arts. And this, once proved, it is a necessary consequence that everything else [...] gave way entirely to it; if incompatible, was at least subordinate. [...] From all such emotions the ancient masters either abstained entirely, or reduced them to that lower degree in which they are capable of a certain measure of beauty.[7]

In marginalising the expressive power of art, both Hanslick and Lessing are exercising a masculine control, a control which has been shown to be exercised in many other musical fields.[8] Suzanne Cusick has shown how the masculine control of the female eroticism of music extended to the institutional practice of musicology itself, in that while women could pursue music as an art, its scientific study was an activity reserved for men.[9] Giving this essentially abstract art a status above other arts and then subjecting it to male control was tantamount to privileging the masculine.

On the other hand:

> [...] from as far back as the time of Plato and Aristotle, the entire category of 'music', gauged against such domains as science and the military, has commonly been viewed as a feminine realm of human activity.[10]

Though masculine in the sense of using an abstract, arbitrary language, music was also seen as feminine by Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche and Wagner.[11] This feminine

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[7] Lessing, ibid., p. 15.
[8] There are several examples in Suzanne Cusick, *Feminine Endings Music Gender and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), pp. 3-31.
[9] Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Gender, Musicology, and Feminism' in Mark Everist and Nicholas Cook, *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, rev. 2001), pp. 471-498.
[10] Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Gender', *Grove Music Online.*
[11] See, among others, Herman Parret, 'Kant on Music and the Hierarchy of the Arts', *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, 56 (1998), pp. 251-264; Julian Johnson, 'Music in Hegel's Aesthetics: a Re-evaluation', *British Journal of Aesthetics* 31 (1991), pp. 152-62; Susan Bernstein, 'Fear of Music? Nietzche's Double Vision of the "Musical-Feminine", in Peter J. Burgard (ed.), *Nietzsche and the Feminine* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 1994), pp. 104-134; Thomas Grey, 'Engendering Music Drama', in *Wagner's Musical Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 130-137.

music was not a concept limited to German idealist philosophers. A female writer in the *Musical Times,* considering who is happiest, 'the worshipped or the worshipper', described music as a willing slave to the dominant (male) composer:

> [...] we may consider it a moot question whether [women], to whom music speaks in accents which we have cultivated our ears all our lifetime to understand, and which now thrill us to our hearts' core [...] are not equally blest with [men] to whom she shows herself a willing slave, and who bend her to their will.[12]

As Beth Macleod shows,

> In the words of one late nineteenth-century author and critic, music was the 'interpreter and the language of the emotions. [. . .] It inspires [. . .] saddens, cheers, and soothes the soul [. . .] and performs its loftiest homage as the handmaid of religion.'(6) In much the same vein, the nineteenth-century woman was expected to be gentle and refined, 'guardian of religion, inspiration to man, bestower of care and love.'(7) The medical orthodoxy of the time enhanced this notion, asserting that in females, the nervous system and emotions prevailed over rational faculties, and that it was 'inherent in their very being' to 'display more affect than men.'(8)[13]

In summary, music itself is an art dedicated to the representation and recreation of inchoate emotion, but also an abstract, formal discipline of which emotion is essentially a by-product, with the presumption that the latter rightly predominates. The gender identity of the cello shows a similar ambivalence. This chapter will look at nineteenth-century conceptions of the character of the cello in terms of some further aspects of posture, reception, some aspects of its repertoire and some of its literary depictions.

GRACEFUL POSTURE

Cello methods generally assume a male player; advice on posture for female

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[12] Anon., 'Women as Composers', *Musical Times*, 1st February 1887, p. 82.
[13] Beth Abelson Macleod, '"Whence comes the lady tympanist?" Gender and instrumental musicians in America, 1853-1990', in *Women Performing Music: The Emergence of American Women as Classical Instrumentalists and Conductors* (North Carolina: Macfarland & Co., 2001), p. 9. (First published, *Journal of Social History* (1993), <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2005/is_n2_v27/ai_14903043/pg_1> [accessed 21st January 2008]). Her citations: (6) George P. Upton, *Woman in Music: An Essay* (Boston, 1880), p. 18; (7) T. L. Krebs, "Women as Musicians", *Sewanee Review*, vol. 2 (November 1893), p. 76; (8) Charles E. Rosenberg, *No Other Gods: On Science and American Social Thought* (Baltimore, MD, 1976), p. 55.

cellists only starts to appear towards the end of the century. The advice given often resonates with wider social concerns, such as the importance of elegance and grace, and in some cases this advice is connected with assumptions about gender roles. Many cellists observe the importance of the visual aspect of the player's posture. This can be as important as the actual playing, so that an unattractive posture can actually detract from the enjoyment of the performance. John Gunn touches on this in the first edition of his *Treatise*, in the context of his recommendation to raise the right arm when playing on the A string. As well as enabling more 'natural power' and making string crossing with the wrist easier,

> [...] this position of the arm looks much better than a lower one; and I think it will always hold true, from some general principle in nature, connecting pleasure with utility, that whatever movement is best adapted to attain its end, will also be the most graceful. In this view, practicing before a glass will be an excellent lesson to acquire good habits, and prevent bad ones.[14]

Cello tutors certainly discouraged excessive physical effort in performance, albeit to varying degrees. Dominique Bideau refers to this aspect of the cellist's craft almost laconically:

> Grace and ease (*aisance*) in the manner of holding an instrument contribute much to success in playing it well.[15]

Duport agrees with Gunn that the most effective movement will also be the most graceful, when he discusses the importance of a flexible wrist in ensuring a straight bow:

> There are some people who do this to excess, and all useless movement is ridiculous; others think by this to acquire grace [of movement], but I think that there is nothing more graceful than

[14] John Gunn, *The Theory and Practice of Fingering the Violoncello* (London: the Author, [1789]), p. 63.

[15] 'Les grâces et l'aisance dans la manière de tenir un instrument contribuent beaucoup au succès de le bien jouer.' Dominique Bideau, *Grande et nouvelle méthode raisonnée* (Paris: Naderman, [1802]), p. 3.

> facility, and all useless movement destroys this.[16]

Dotzauer warns of the awkward use of the feet:

> One must carefully avoid stretching out the feet too far or folding them under the seat, these positions are ungraceful.[17]

However, the Paris Conservatoire method is particularly emphatic on the importance of graceful deportment:

> ... the head and body must be held erect, avoiding every thing that might have the air of negligence or affectation. We cannot too strongly recommend pupils to endeavour to acquire a noble and easy attitude. A secret relation exists between the sense of sight and hearing. If the former be offended, if anything constrained or negligent be observed in the position of the player, seeming to contradict whatever he may do with expression and grace, he will give pain to his hearers in proportion as the contrast is more striking between his playing and his attitude. We will go farther, and say, it is extremely rare and almost impossible, to see a virtuoso at the same time delight the ear and offend the sight. Real talent unfolds every expedient of art, and this development cannot have place without a natural easiness of position which is always attended with grace, and which augments the pleasure of the auditors by leading them to forget the vanquished difficulty, and allowing them to be more affected by the music performed.[18]

This method also mentions an alternative posture, apparently used by orchestral players, where the cello actually rests on the player's left foot. It identifies two problems, physical and aesthetic:

> This position, made use of by skilful masters, may be convenient in the orchestra, because the instrument held in this manner occupies less room; but it is attended by the two-fold disadvantage of *being ungraceful*, and fatiguing the performers' chest by the necessity of stooping and bringing his head low [...][19]

Remarkably, a version of this posture can be seen in a photograph c. 1890 of a folk

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[16] 'Il y a quelques personnes qui le font a outrance, or tout mouvement inutile est ridicule; d'autres croyent par-là se donner de la grace, mais je pense qu'il n'y a rien de plus gracieux que la facilité, et tout mouvement inutile la detruit'. Jean Louis Duport, *Essai sur le doigté* (Paris: Imbault, [1806]), p. 159. This passage is omitted in Lindner's trilingual edition.

[17] 'Il faut éviter avec soin de trop allonger les pieds ou de les plier sous la chaise, ces positions ont mauvaise grâce'. J. J. F. Dotzauer, *Méthode de Violoncelle. Violonzell-Schule* (Mainz: B. Schott fils, [1825]), p. 5.

[18] Baillot, P., J. H. Levasseur, C.-S. Catel and C.- N. Baudiot, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Janet et Cotelle, [1804]), p. 8; trans. A. Merrick, *Method for the Violoncello*, p. 17.

[19] Ibid., p. 6 (Merrick, p.14).

musician from north-east Scotland, although the player is not in fact stooping over the instrument (figure 1).[20] Indeed, he is sitting quite far back in the seat with both legs stretched well forward in a manner that was probably comfortable, but would not have been seen as elegant.

Figure 7/1: Francie "Markis" Jameson, c. 1890.

Crouch, like Dotzauer, is equally concerned with elegance, in a passage which closely follows the Paris method quoted above (but Crouch omits the 'orchestral' posture altogether):

> ... the pupil should endeavour to keep the head and body in a graceful position, and to avoid every thing like negligence or affectation in his posture. It cannot be too strongly impressed upon him that he ought to apply his utmost attention to obtain a noble and easy attitude. The senses of hearing and of sight are continually either aiding or disturbing each other. If the position of the performer be carelessly awkward or constrained, it will of necessity detract from whatever of grace and expression he can infuse into his performance; the delight of the hearer will be constantly distracted by beholding the contrast between his playing and his deportment. Talent avails itself of all the accessories of art, and augments our gratification by the very ease and grace with which difficulties are overcome, and which leave the hearer

[20] Mary Anne Alburger, *Scottish Fiddlers and Their Music* (London: Gollancz, 1983), plate facing p. 160.

> at the fullest liberty to enjoy the merits of the composition and the execution.[21]

Aspects of the cellist's recommended posture have parallels in prevailing notions of correct deportment in general. Turning the feet out (see chapter 1) was recommended not only by cellists, but by eighteenth-century dancing masters, who also taught rules of general deportment:

> All masters impressed upon their pupils that in order that 'in order to attain a graceful Manner of Moving, it is first necessary to know how to stand still'. Hence they turn their attention to the placing of the feet. The feet and legs should always be turned out to a moderate degree. 'Always turn out your feet, because that makes you stand firm, easy and graceful', is the instruction given in a little book of polite behaviour for 'Masters and Misses'.[22]

Even in walking, the feet could be somewhat turned out:

> ...neither must he swing his Arms backward and forward, nor must he carry his Knees too close, nor must he go wagging his Breech, nor with his feet in a straight line, but with the in-side of his Feet a little out ...[23]

Petrie's book was reprinted frequently throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and according to Wildblood, in the nineteenth century it was still thought elegant to turn the legs and feet out a little.[24] However, excess in this was discouraged as it might make the person look like a professional dancer.[25] Later in the period, Eliza Cheadle remarked that:

> Horace Walpole is described as always entering a room with knees bent and feet on tiptoe, as if afraid of a wet floor; but we are told that this affected style was quite *a la mode* in his day.[26]

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[21] Frederick Crouch, *Compleat Treatise on the Violoncello* (London: Chappell & Co., [1826]), p. 9.
[22] Joan Wildblood, *The Polite World a Guide to the Deportment of the English in Former Times* (London: David-Poynter, 2nd. ed. 1973) p. 128.
[23] Adam Petrie, *Rules of Good Deportment, or of Good Breeding. For the use of youth.* (Edinburgh: [no publisher], 1720), p. 7.
[24] Ibid., p. 155.
[25] Ibid., p. 160.
[26] Eliza Cheadle, *Manners of Modern Society* (London: Cassell Petter & Galpin, [c.1875]), p. 44. Horace Walpole, 4th Earl of Orford (1717-1797), author of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), architect of Strawberry Hill (1749-1776).

Although Walpole was in some ways quite eccentric (Macaulay called him 'the most eccentric, the most artificial, the most fastidious, the most capricious, of men'),[27] this 'affected' demeanour is repeated in Zoffany's depiction of Charles Gore playing the cello at a family gathering to celebrate his daughter's marriage, which shows this posture very clearly – the feet turned out, the heels off the floor (figures 2-3).

Placing the left foot forward, specifically, would have been familiar advice for a man who had had dancing lessons:

> In order to follow his master's detailed instructions, the pupil should place his weight upon the right foot, the left foot slightly advanced, with the knee relaxed and the foot turned a little outwards.[28]

Figure 7/2: Johann Zoffany, *The Gore Family with George, 3rd Earl Cowper*, c. 1775 (Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection).

[27] T. B Macaulay, *Edinburgh Review* 58 (1833), pp. 227-258, quoted in Peter Sabor, ed., *Horace Walpole: The Critical Heritage* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), pp. 18-19.

[28] Wildblood, *The Polite World*, p. 128.

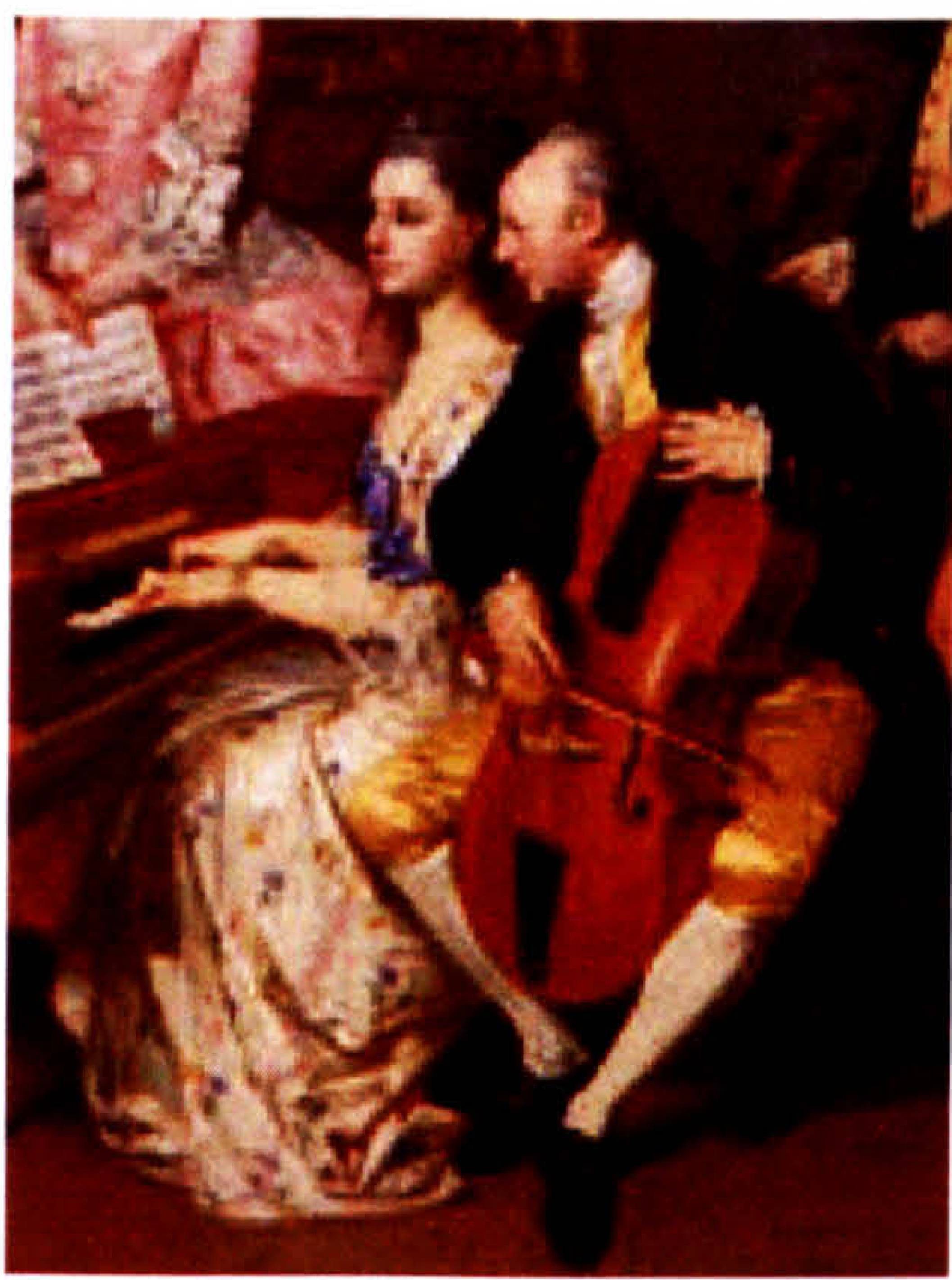

Figure 7/3: Zoffany, *Gore Family*, detail of Charles Gore.

Similarly, a popular guide to a young man's education from the mid-nineteenth century offers advice on physical deportment which has much in common with the cellist's posture. As well as general advice ('The carriage of a gentleman should be genteel, and his motions graceful', 'Awkwardness of carriage is very alienating'),[29] Edward Turner notes that

> In dancing, the motion of the arms should be particularly attended to, as these decide a man's being genteel or otherwise [...] A twist or stiffness in the wrist will make any man look awkward. [...] Those who present themselves well, have a certain dignity in their air, which, without the least mixture of pride, at once engages, and is respected.[30]

The advice to sit forward on the edge of the chair would also have had connections with polite behaviour.

> 'It is painful to see the want of ease with which some men sit on the edge of a chair'. These are the words of Lord Chesterfield quoted in the nineteenth century. In his day, deportment commended in the sixteenth century would be considered absurdly stiff. In the nineteenth century, however, the complaint was not against too much rigidity, but against too much lounging. 'The manner in which others throw themselves back and stretch forward their legs savours too much of

[29] Edward Turner, *The Young Man's Companion* (Halifax: Milner and Sowerby, 1861), p. 274, 278.
[30] Ibid., p. 278-9.

familiarity'.[31]

An 1825 review of Josef Merk (1795-1852) stressed the importance of the appearance of ease in performance (*aisance*, used earlier by Bideau, above), and compared him with Romberg:

> Prof. Merk performs the most difficult passages with the greatest clarity and certainty, without it appearing difficult for him. This *aisance* (had we a word for it, but we only have the thing) in performance is the most attractive quality of great virtuosi, and nobody had this to a higher degree, and with good reason, than our Bernhard Romberg, whom we admittedly only *in imperfectio* can call our own. Yet Herr Merk approaches him in that respect, as in his entire playing style, and I could not give a greater compliment in praise of this splendid virtuoso.[32]

The unpublished memoirs of Anton Gräffer (1786-1852), written c. 1850, describe the effect of Romberg's deportment:

> I heard Bernhard Romberg perform. [...] Rather than looking at his cello, he used to direct his eyes either upwards or out at the audience, using a friendly, smiling expression, and not like certain cellists who perform so deeply bent over their instruments that one is afraid they will fall off their chairs in order to embrace their instruments on the floor.[33]

Romberg's portrait on the frontispiece of his tutor (figure 4), with his benign expression directed out of the frame, bears out this description.

Romberg himself was concerned equally with a healthy posture and with a graceful attitude:

> The best [posture] to be adopted for sitting is that which is most conducive to bodily health. [...] that posture [must] be adopted, in which the Instrument can be played freely and with ease. During play,

[31] Wildblood, *The Polite World*, p. 156, quoting Anon., *Habits of Good Society* (London: J. Hogg & Sons, [1859]).
[32] 'Herr Prof. Merk [...] mit grössester Reinheit und Sicherheit die schwierigsten Passagen ausführt, ohne dass es ihm schwer zu werden scheint. Diese *aisance* (hätten wir nur ein Wort dafür, aber wir haben nur das Ding) der Ausführung ist die bestechendste Eigenschaft grosser Virtuosen, und niemand hatte sie, und mit begrundetem Recht, in einem höhern Maasse, als unser Bernhard Romberg, den wir freilich nur im Imperfekto den unsern nennen können. Doch Herr Merk nähert sich ihm darin, wie überhaupt in seiner ganzen Spielart sehr, und kaum wuste ich etwas ehrenvolleres zum Lobe des trefflichen virtuosen zu sagen'. *BAMZ*, 2 (1825), p. 170.
[33] This material kindly supplied and translated by Dr. Rita Steblin.

> no change of posture should take place; least of all, any thing like an affected attitude, which may betray the trouble employed in playing.[34]

Georg Kastner makes a similar point:

> ...it is necessary, as far as possible, to keep the body in an upright and relaxed position, because a cramped posture is both ungraceful and tiring.[35]

Figure 7/4: Romberg, frontispiece illustration (*Violoncellschule*, 1840)

However, most cellists stress the aesthetics of appearance. Kummer is particularly emphatic on the use of deportment to conceal difficulty from the audience.

> Expression can only originate in the correct use of subtle nuances of tone, not through affected bodily movement, because the composer will work on the listeners' feeling through the ears and not the eyes. Also with passage-work and difficult positions, the greatest possible composure of the body is an advantage, which the learner should emulate, and although the multitude may imagine that the player only

[34] Bernhard Romberg, trans. anon., *Complete Theoretical and Practical School for the Violoncello* (London: T. Boosey & Co., [1840]), p. 7.
[35] '... il faut, autant que possible, maintenir le corps dans une position droit et aisée, car une position courbée est aussi disgracieuse et fatigante.' Georges Kastner, *Méthode Élémentaire pour le Violoncelle* (Paris: E. Froupenas & Cie, [1835]), p. 2.

> executes something extraordinary when he makes visibly violent efforts, nonetheless the artist and connoisseur know very well, that an essential requirement of virtuosity is: difficulties must not appear as such to the listener.[36]

Such remarks provide a context for occasional criticisms of Robert Lindley's concert demeanour. Twice within a fortnight in 1828 the *Harmonicon* drew attention to an implied lack of *aisance* (perhaps with an additional histrionic element):

> The trio [Corelli, played by cellists Lindley (father and son) and contrabass Dragonetti] was as well executed as *such* an adaptation of it would admit; but could old Corelli have heard it, how he would have stared! Poor Lindley's uniform features of placidity were *bewrinkled* into all manner of comical distortions during his exertions, and well they might be.[37]

> The difficult arpeggio accompaniment in the trio [of Beethoven's 8th symphony], for the violoncello, made even Lindley something more than warm upon its repetition. He should be allowed two or three cambric handkerchiefs at the expense of the Society, on such occasions.[38]

Lindley's histrionic playing to the audience even took place apparently at Dragonetti's expense:

> Lindley and Dragonetti played their old sonata in A in a manner that would have astonished Corelli; the former indulging in all those licenses of roulade and ornament, against which both good taste and all the genius of the old Italian school have long pleaded in vain; the latter articulating the divisions of the running bass with an *aplomb* and distinctness that are the admiration of all hearers in every succeeding repetition. The encore produced as usual the pleasing pantomime of these genial old comrades. Dragonetti having his arduous work to do over again, was rather coy in his compliance. Lindley having nothing to do was of course quite the reverse, and when the whole was over, the violoncellist handed the contrabassist out of the orchestra, with all

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[36] 'Der Ausdruck kann nur durch richtige Nüancierung der Töne, nie durch affektierte Körperbewegungen hervorgebracht werden, da der Tonkünstler auf das Gefühl des Zuhörers vermittelst des Ohres und nicht des Auges wirken soll. Auch bei Passagen und schwierigen Stellen ist möglichste ruhe des Körpers ein Vorzug, dem er nachstreben soll, und wenn auch die Menge zuweilen glaubt, er sich dabei sichtbar abmüht, so weiß doch der Künstler und Kenner recht gut, daß eine wesentliche Bedingung der Virtuosität die ist: dem Zuhörer Schwierigkeiten nicht als solche erscheinen zu lassen'. F. A. Kummer, rev. Hugo Becker, *Violoncelloschule* op. 60 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1909), p. 46. Translation adapted from the revision by Piatti, *Violoncello School for Preliminary Instruction* (Leipzig: Hofmeister, 1877).

[37] Anon. review, Ancient Concert 28th May 1828, *Harmonicon*, 6 (1828), p. 165.

[38] Anon. review, Philharmonic Society, 9th June 1828, *Harmonicon* 6 (1828), p. 167.

> the attention and deference that one would bestow on some very remarkable old lady, laughing immoderately, but with great good humour, as though the *encore* of a difficulty were one of the best jokes in the world against Dragonetti. The public feel a benevolence towards these veteran musicians, correspondent to the sentiments which they entertain towards one another.[39]

In fact, Lindley's deportment is praised more frequently when he is *not* actually playing, but simply appearing as a benign presence on the concert platform:

> Instead of a concertante by Messrs. Lindley, Miss Cann, a highly-talented girl, [...] played Drouet's variations to "God save the king," on the flute; and her performance excited astonishment and admiration, both in the room and in the orchestra. We were pleased to see the leader, Cramer, nodding mute approbation; and Lindley, leaning upon his silent violoncello, smiling as the rapidly-executed notes struck on his ear.[40]

> [T]he sight of the comely old man winding his way into the orchestra was, in nine cases out of ten, signal for a hearty round of English applause and welcome.[41]

> Endowed with a even temperament and simple manners, Lindley always dressed very modestly. The benevolence of his nature will for a long time make his memory mourned for a long time by artists and lovers of art.[42]

Just over a decade after Lindley's death, Henry Chorley suggested that Servais's performing style contradicted principles of grace and *aisance* rather more fundamentally than suggested by the *Harmonicon*'s reviews of Lindley.

> [...] this brilliant mastery [...] was impaired by a certain violence and eccentricity of manner which disturbed the pleasure of the hearer. The deepest expression, the most vehement passion, is still consistent with grace and composure.[43]

Chorley's point of view is clarified by his review of Lamoury:

> M. Lamoury, a new violoncellist from Paris, made a favourable

[39] *Musical World*, 9 (new ser. 4) (1839), p. 166.
[40] *Harmonicon*, 3 (1823), p. 204: review, Hereford Music Meeting, 18th September 1823.
[41] Anon. [Henry Chorley], Lindley's obituary: *Athenaeum*, no. 1443, 23rd June 1855, p. 739.
[42] 'Doué d'un caractère égal et de manières simples, Lindley portait toujours un costume fort modeste. La bienveillance de sa nature rendra sa mémoire longtemps regrettable aux artistes et aux amis de l'art'. Anon., Lindley's obituary: *RGM*, 22 (1855), p. 207.
[43] [Henry Chorley], Servais's obituary, *Athenaeum*, no. 2041, 8th December 1866, p. 759.

> impression. His command of the instrument was shown in a troublesome, patchy, and ineffective *solo*, composed by M. Servais; but there seems to us in his playing that elegance which, in *solo* playing, may attract more than marvellous execution.[44]

Elegance can actually supplant technical virtuosity, not merely enhance it. Not only that – Chorley praised Piatti's performance of Beethoven's cello sonata op. 102 no. 2 as a demonstration of how gracefulness could conceal the technical difficulty of the piece, but also its compositional complexity:

> In few other hands than those of M. Halle and Signor Piatti would such a feat have been prudent: because, in the last movement, *fugato*, after the enormous manual difficulties have been conquered, an amount of shrewd yet liberal perception is required for the disentanglement on the licentious intricacies of the composition, and by such partial disentanglement, in some degree to conceal them.[45]

Junod is one of the last teachers to touch on this particular topic (as opposed to the simple details of posture):

> [The player's] body should be maintained in a good, easy, natural, and above all, erect position.[46]

When van der Straeten, dealing the holding the bow, describes the smooth curve of the forearm through the wrist to the fingers, he repeats the trope of functionality and aesthetics:

> This being the most perfect and pleasing pleasing line from an artistic point of view, is also the most natural and unconstrained. In fact all thoroughly natural attitudes are always the most pleasing to the eye, and those best adapted to ensure elasticity and agility in movements of all kinds.[47]

He also hints at the associations of certain posture faults with notions of physical labour:

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[44] [Henry Chorley], *Athenaeum*, no. 1785, 11th January 1863, p. 56.
[45] [Henry Chorley], *Athenaeum*, no. 1844, 28th February 1863, p. 302.
[46] Laurent Junod, trans. anon., *New and Concise Method* (London: J. R. Lafleur & Son, 1878), p. 3.
[47] E. van der Straeten, *Technics of Violoncello Playing* (London: 'The Strad' Office, 1898), pp. 28-29.

> It is necessary to guard against anything which will bring out the elbow too much, and thereby raise the shoulder. It should never remind one of the position of a tailor sewing up a coat.[48]

However, later writers largely ignore the issue of the aesthetic appearance of the player. In Emil Krall's *Art of Tone-Production* (1913) there is scarcely any such word as 'grace' or 'elegance', so frequent in earlier discussions of the topic. Alexanian's even more scientific treatise actually rejects it in the course of his discussion of bow hold:

> [...] we learn to place the fingers of our right hand on the stick of the bow in the way that is deemed by our teacher, by experience, to be "natural" and "simple". [...] We have a general idea of the exterior aspect that convention has imposed on our right hand while we are playing. As for the [pressure of the fingers on the bow, and the exact place of each finger [...] the teacher usually decides according to the conformation of the hand. This appears to me to be a faulty procedure. [...] nothing concerning the "grip" can be absolute, and that if all the artists formed by the same teacher have a slightly personal "manner" this has originated in the dissemblance of their physical aptitudes. These small differences in the synthesis of appearance can, by a strict observance of its "analysis" be reduced to an inoffensive relative elegance in the "aestheticism" of the holding of the bow. As far as technique is concerned it is, if not negligible, at least of secondary importance.[49]

Hugo Becker, like Krall, does not discuss the aesthetics of posture, focussing instead on the importance of posture being individually adjusted to the requirements of each player – 'each individual cellist possess his own unique bowing height', which dictates all such matters as the length of the tail-pin or the height of the chair.[50] Those who cannot find an effective posture that will let them play difficult passages such as those in Romberg's concertos are advised to give up the instrument as unsuitable.[51] Practicality is Becker's only concern.

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[48] Ibid., p. 36.
[49] Alexanian, *Traité* (1922), p. 10.
[50] '... jedes cellospielende Individuum seine ihm eigentümliche Strichhöhe besitzt'. Hugo Becker and Dago Rynar, *Mechanik und Aesthetik des Violoncellospiels* (Vienna: Universal Edition, 1929), p. 28.
[51] 'Individuen, welche bei dieser Haltungsart infolge ihres anormalen Körperbaues eine schwierigere technische Aufgabe (z. B. Ein Romberg-Konzert) nicht lösen können, eignen sich eben weniger zum Berufs-Violoncellisten.' Ibid., p. 29.

A posture based (by modern standards) on excessively low elbows, putting more strain on the fingers of both hands, deliberately privileges an aesthetically more 'pleasing' posture at the expense of 'good' (i.e. more resonant, projected) tone production. This in turn makes playing the cello look less like hard work, which might be associated with a more physically efficient use of the weight of the arms. David Gramit has shown how in the earlier nineteenth century excessively energetic performance implied that music became a product of working-class labour rather than of the cultivated classes:

> For the advocates of serious music, the too-obvious physicality of virtuoso performance could only distract from the real significance of music and lead to a neglect of those genres that truly had such significance.[52]

A graceful deportment is at least partly, perhaps even largely, used to conceal the difficulty of playing the piece. This attitude seems more prevalent in the first half of the nineteenth century, with Piatti a prominent later example. Conversely, an artificial deportment is associated with the appearance of 'hard work', and also with exaggerated histrionics (as opposed to, for instance, Romberg's more natural communication with the audience). Complaints about histrionic demeanour generally seems to occur later in the century, in particular with cellists of the Servais school such as Auguste van Biene, but also with those French cellists criticised in the pages of the *Athenaeum*.

FEMALE VIOLINISTS AND CELLISTS

During the earlier nineteenth century, public performances by women (other than singers, or, to a lesser extent, pianists) were rare. The piano was considered a suitable instrument for a woman as it could be played at home, was musically self-sufficient, increasingly inexpensive, could be played at a wide range of levels of ability, and was

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[52] David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: the Aspirations, Interests and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 141.

played with a suitably demure posture. In fact, there were those who even thought the piano less than ideal. An anonymous etiquette manual from 1811 advised that ladies should:

> Let their attitude at the piano, or the harp, be easy and graceful [...] they must observe an elegant flow of figure at both. The latter certainly admits of most grace, as the shape of the instrument is calculated, in every respect, to show a fine figure to advantage. [...] The attitude at a piano-forte, or at a harpsichord, is not so happily adapted to grace. From the shape of the instrument, the performer must sit directly in front of a straight line of keys; and her own posture being correspondingly erect and square, it is hardly possible that it should not appear rather inelegant. But [...] at least she may prevent an air of stiffness.[53]

The violin, on the other hand, was a site of more complex gender conflict, at least in England. Wilma Neruda (later Lady Hallé) was surprised to find it thought highly unusual for a woman to play the violin in public in England, having been used to a less restrictive climate on the continent. Paula Gillett argues that there was 'an informal ban' on women violinists in England in operation until 1872, when the first woman violinist was enrolled at the Royal Academy of Music. By contrast, Camilla Urso, the first woman violinist to enter the Paris Conservatoire, did so in 1850 at the age of eight. Gillett cites many examples of extreme male English antagonism to the female violinist, often expressed with a disproportionate vehemence. The principal concrete objection was that the woman's posture became in some way inelegant and distorted (only permissible in a man). However, in practice this was often seen to be not merely unattractive or distasteful, but as actually disgusting, except, significantly, in the case of female child virtuosi. Gillett interprets this reaction in the context of the violin's physical associations, by analogy, with the female body, and also with its connotations of death, sin and Satan. By contrast, excessively critical reviews in German-speaking

[53] Anon., *Regency Etiquette: The Mirror of Graces (1811), by a Lady of Distinction* (R. L. Shep Publications, Mendoncino CA, 1997. Facsimile of 1st ed.), p. 194.

countries appear to concentrate on the mere trickery of the French school of violin playing, rather than any sexual impropriety. Zellner's abusive review of the Ferni sisters in 1859 suggests that what provoked the writer, if anything, was the masculinisation and repression of emotion in their playing:

> Whatever the so-called French school has collected in the way of affectation, piquancy, over-sharpness, and glimmering dust to throw in people's eyes, and by which it has succeeded in thoroughly banishing all truth and nature from art, is exhibited, with exhausting completeness, in these two young ladies' playing. [...] [They] have been subjected to the most refined system of false education, which has [...] robbed them of freedom of individual development, as well as independence of feeling and sentiment [...] their artistic taskmaster have [...] pitilessly nipped off every blossom [...] changing into a smooth-shorn wall of leaves the fresh free forest, with all the variety of its naturally sturdy trees [...] as pupils of Beriot and Alard, they have been educated merely to hawk about the tin-pot concert wares of these gentlemen.[54]

The sisters have been 'shorn' and in Caroline's case turned into a machine:

> [S]he is the prototype of a carefully regulated piece of mechanism [...] which hits the same point a thousand times running.[55]

Female cellists were even rarer than violinists, but seem to have aroused mild astonishment rather than disgust.

> When the young ladies of Madison Female College gave a concert in 1853, John Dwight of Dwight's Journal of Music was there to document the novel event. He took pianists, guitarists and harpists in stride, but expressed shock at '13 young lady violinists(!), 1 young lady violist(!!), 4 violoncellists(!!!) and 1 young lady contrabassist(!!!!).'(5) As the rising chorus of exclamation marks shows, Dwight's tolerance was in inverse proportion to the size of the instrument.[56]

Dwight's triple exclamation marks had already been used by an astonished *AWMZ*, in a brief notice of Lisa Christiani's Paris début:

> It is said that a female cellist (!!!) is appearing in a Paris salon, with

[54] L. A. Zellner, 'The Sisters Ferni', *MT* 37 (1859), p. 54.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Beth Abelson Macleod, '"Whence comes the lady tympanist?" Gender and instrumental musicians in America, 1853-1990', p. 9 (see note 13).

> the name Christiani-Berbier, admittedly to great applause. – These are the fruits of female emancipation![57]

Reviewing the graduation competition at the Paris Conservatoire, the *Musical World* expressed its own distaste, but coupled with resignation rather than nausea:

> [...] among the competitors for the violin and violoncello prizes, figured four young ladies, three violinists and one violoncellist. Lady-fiddlers we are tolerably well accustomed to, but the attitude of a lady grasping with all her limbs a violoncello is one to the grotesqueness of which usage has not yet reconciled us. In time, no doubt, we shall think nothing of it.[58]

At almost the same time, the romantic novelist Anne Brewster suggested that playing the cello was actually physically damaging for a woman:

> [...] one girl with a violoncello and the other with a violin took their position near the music stands. They were very young; the eldest, the violoncellist, being apparently about fourteen, the violinist a year or two younger. [...] The figure of the eldest showed the effect produced by close practice on her heavy instrument; already one shoulder was partially elevated and her chin was thrown forward, giving a pained expression to her countenance.[59]

The idea that playing the cello was physically harmful was still current at the turn of the century. The writer Beatrice Harraden was described 1897 as suffering 'much inconvenience from paralysis of the right forearm brought on by playing the violoncello', and in 1904 it was reported of an 'untiring student' of the cello that 'constant pressure of the instrument on his leg led to osteo-sarcoma', which in turn led to amputation and death 'from shock'.[60]

On the other hand, Dickens was not at all disturbed by Elisa de Try, to whom he paid one of the highest possible accolades:

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[57] '(Eine Violoncellistinn !!!) soll sich in einem Pariser Salon produciren mit Namen Christiani-Barbier und zwar mit grossem Beifall. – Das sind die Früchte der Frauen-Emancipation!' *AWMZ*, 4 (1844), p. 276.
[58] Anon., 'Music and Theatres in Paris', *MW*, 35 (1860), p. 487.
[59] Anne M. H. Brewster, *Compensation, Or, Always a Future* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1860), p. 94.
[60] 'Notes about Women', *New York Times*, 28th October 1894; 'Gave his Life for Music', *New York Times*, 28th August 1904.

> M. de Try [...] is a masterly performer on the violoncello himself, and, more than that, has made a mistressly violoncellist of his daughter, Mademoiselle Elisa de Try. It is not often that a young lady, scarcely seventeen years of age, reminds us of the tone and expression of Lindley.[61]

Elisa de Try used a tail-pin, as taught by Servais, so it appears that the newer posture was indeed less offensive. By 1877, the presence of female cellists in the Vienna Ladies' Orchestra was noted without any comment at all. A *pot-pourri* by Kummer, given an 'extremely clever' performance by Elise Weinlich (sister of the orchestra's director Amann Weinlich), was reviewed quite straightforwardly by the *New York Times*.[62] No special mention was made of the four cellists in the Dundee Ladies' Orchestra at their debut in 1882.[63] On the other hand, female cellists still posed a problem for the BBC Symphony Orchestra in the 1930s according to Ethel Smyth:

> But here's a strange thing; in that orchestra [BBCSO] women 'cellists are banned! Why, I cannot conceive! [...] perhaps the attitude of the 'cello player is considered an unseemly one for women? The BBC is nothing if not proper, and once men's vicarious sense of modesty gets to work you never know where it will break out next. In my youth they strained at that harmless gnat, a girl on a bicycle; since then they have had to swallow something far worse than camels – horses with girls riding them cross-legged! Today, engulfed by the rising flood of women's independence, perhaps they are clinging to the violoncello as the drowning cling to a spar.[64]

In the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, a greater number of female violinists appeared in England, for a variety of reasons within the general context of the increasing popularity of domestic chamber music, reform in women's education and the arrival of the 'new woman'. The piano was commonplace, 'distressingly over-popular'

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[61] Charles Dickens (ed.), *All the Year Round*, 20th December 1862, p. 353. Robert Lindley had died in 1855.

[62] Anon., 'A German Fancy Fair', *Times*, 23rd September 1873, p. 10; Anon., 'The Viennese Ladies Orchestra', *New York Times*, 27th July 1874.

[63] Anon., 'The Dundee Ladies' Orchestra', *Musical Times*, 23 (1882) p. 82.

[64] Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden* (London: Peter Davies, 1933), quoted in Carol Neuls-Bates, *Women in Music* (Boston: N.E. University Press, 1996), p. 285.

according to Frank Villiers, the bad amateur cellist in Marie Corelli's *Ardath.*[65] Looking back on the later nineteenth century, James Huncker observed that 'Every girl played the piano. Not to play was a stigma of poverty.'[66] Thus, the ability to play the violin replaced the piano as a marker of upper-class social standing. In 1890, an anonymous poem appeared in *Punch* entitled 'Verses for a Violinist', prefaced by a quotation from the *Daily News*: "The violin has now fairly taken its place as an instrument for girls". Its evidently male writer concludes by wishing he could take the place of the instrument:

> All can feel the passion throbbing through the music fraught with pain:
> Then, with feminine mutation, comes a soft and tender strain.
> Gracious curve of neck, and fiddle tucked 'neath that entrancing chin—
> Fain with you would I change places, O thrice happy violin![67]

This increase in the number of female violinists eventually led to a gender re-alignment of the violin. In 1883, Marie Corelli had described Sarasate as treating the violin like a new bride:

> Sarasate weds the violin each time he plays, and it behoves him to see that his marriage offerings are appropriate.[68]

Elsewhere in the same article she describes Sarasate's violin as 'his dainty companion, his obedient, docile friend and *confidante* [...] which in his hands becomes a pleading angel, a repentant fairy [...]'.[69] However, a decade later, the Reverend Haweis was advising a prospective female violinist to choose a new violin as she would choose a husband.[70] Camilla Urso, in a lecture given at the 1893 Women's Musical Congress in

[65] Marie Corelli, *Ardath: the Story of a Dead Self* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, 9th ed. 1895), ch. 31, p. 376. First pub. 1889.
[66] James Huncker, 'Girls at Play', *New York Times*, 15th June 1919.
[67] Anon., 'Verses for a Violinist', *Punch*, 11th October 1890, p. 169. Gillett quotes a similar poem from *The Magazine of Music* (May, 1896); see *Musical Women in England*, p. 118.
[68] Marie Corelli, 'Joachim and Sarasate', *The Theatre*, 1st May 1883, p. 285.
[69] Ibid., p. 284.
[70] Quoted in Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p. 86. There is also a lengthy description of Sarasate's performance in Corelli's *Ardath*, ch. 38, 'The Wizard of the Bow'. Haweis, 'The

Chicago, seems like Corelli's Sarasate to have seen the instrument as a sympathetic female confidant, but this time in female hands:

> To look at it, to watch its wonderful contours, its perfection of form is a pleasure always renewed, never tiresome.[...] it is easily handled and carried [...] no other instrument is so truly melodious; a simple ballad played on the violin will charm and give intense pleasure. Like the voice it responds to one's emotion and mood. [...] as a solace, no better, no more responsive friend one finds than this delightful instrument and one gets so attached to it, that any slight accident, a crack, a jar, makes one feel grieved as if a dear companion gets injured. [...] as an 'art d'agrément' the violin is perfectly within the ability of women and 'en rapport' to their tastes.[71]

Gillett cites a considerable literature from the later nineteenth century describing the union of female player and instrument in such suggestive terms, with clear auto- or homoerotic overtones.[72]

THE MASCULINE CELLO

Whereas the small, curvaceous, high-pitched violin was seen as an inherently female instrument, and the piano acquired a female gender through social practice, the cello was seen as masculine, at least in the eighteenth and earlier nineteenth century.

> I shall [...] place [Mr. Mossop, a actor] on the Stage nearly in the same Rank that the Violoncello holds in the Orchestra. His elocution to the vulgar part of the Audience may sound harsh and somewhat grating: but there is a noble dignity in it; and like the Instrument just mentioned, at the same time it is Strong, Loud, and Full, is Delectable, Just, and Melodious.[73]

In 1823 the *Harmonicon* reviewer called the cello 'a rich, manly instrument', and repeated this observation the following year:

> We are glad to observe how much progress this manly instrument, the violoncello, is making.[74]

Musical Girl', in *The Young Woman*, 5 (1896-97), quoted in Gillett, ibid., p. 117.
[71] Susan Kagan, 'Camilla Urso: a Nineteenth-Century Violinist's View', *Signs*, 2/3 (1977), pp. 731-34. Quoted in Beth Abelson Macleod, *Women Performing Music*, p. 160.
[72] Gillett, 'The New Woman and her Violin', ibid., pp. 109-140.
[73] Anon. ['B. Thornton, Esq.' ?], 'An Inspector', in *Miscellaneous and Fugitive Pieces*, 3 vols. (London: T. Davies, 1774), vol. 3 p. 79.
[74] *Harmonicon* 1 (1823), p. 2, and 2 (1824), p. 96.

The Paris Conservatoire's cello method describes a serious, expressive, manly instrument at some length:

> The Violoncello possesses by the nature of its tone, the length of its strings, and the extent of its sounds, a grave, earnest and expressive character. In the execution of melody it loses nothing of its majesty, and when it serves as a regulator in accompaniment we perceive, in the midst of that commanding influence by which it keeps the whole in order, that it will finally yield to expression by taking part in the dialogue. [...] When the Violoncello performs a solo, its tone becomes touching and sublime, not such as points and excites the passions, but moderates them, by raising the mind to a higher region. [...] But there are limits which must not be exceeded: the grave character of the Violoncello will not allow it to execute the wild and violent movements of the Violin...[75]

Not only is the cello masculine in the simple sense that it is low-pitched and serious; it also maintains order in the instrumental ensemble, counterbalancing the violin's more unpredictable flights of fancy, and controlling the emotions so that the listener can rise above them. This parallels Lessing's gendered distinction between art forms, in which poetry was superior to painting because it did not require external control to restrain its irrational, unconscious power. Moreover, since it was not bound by limitations of time or space, poetry ultimately subsumed all other arts, or at least could theoretically take their place if they were to disappear. The trope of the superior 'masculine' art compared with which other 'feminine' arts need careful regulation is re-enacted in the cellist who manages the unruly instrumental ensemble or soloist. Two sources show this at work. Josef Merk's deportment as a soloist, among other characteristics, enabled him to control the orchestra:

> Herr M[erk] does not play, like Romberg usually does, without having the notes before him, yet one sees that he does not anxiously follow them, that he keeps the orchestra in view, and now and then reins in its turbulence; in short, that he moves with complete freedom and certainty, like a man of the world, not fearfully observing the tradition,

[75] Baillot *et al.*, *Méthode* (1804), pp. 2-3; trans. Merrick (1830), p. 10.

> but establishing it.[76]

For the writer in the *AMZ*, the cellists were the most reliable members of the orchestra, itself a highly regulated group:

> Aside from a necessary general human development, whereby each artist should distinguish himself, and particularly aside from that oft-neglected humanity, which permits neither unkind nor biased comments about the artistic output of others, where superiors are respected but not fawned to, where colleagues are treated with neither common familiarity nor aloofness, punctuality above all is required of cellists, as with every other orchestra member, whereby each shows respect not only for himself, but also for his colleagues. In the orchestra, where order rules, each member should arrive a quarter of an hour before the appointed time, partly to prepare and tune his own instrument, partly too to familiarize himself with the other parts.[77]

The necessities of having everything in order and of knowing the other parts arise from the deplorable tendencies in solo performance:

> In our current time, it is essential to have one's instrument [the cello] under control in such a way that one is in a position to deal with every eventuality without trouble and effort; because we, as is well known, unfortunately live in a time where ad libitum, a piacere, col canto etc. so predominate that one can not be sure of any beat. Through this, everything is mutilated.—How shamefully misused become the great masters, who cannot themselves deplore this mischief any more! And—what does art profit thereby? [78]

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[76] 'Herr M. spielt war nicht, wie Romberg gewöhnlich thut, ohne Noten vor sich zu haben, allein man sieht, dass er sie nicht ängstlich verfolgt, dass er das Orchester im Auge behält und seinen Ungestüm bisweilen zügelt, kurz, dass er sich mit vollständiger Freiheit und Sicherheit bewegt, wie ein Weltmann die feinere Sitte nicht ängstlich beobachtet, sondern sie von selbst übt'. *BAMZ*, 2 (1825), p. 170.

[77] 'Ausser einer notwendigen allgemein Menschenbildung, wodurch sich jeder Künstler auszeichnen sollte, und namentlich ausser jener oft vernachlässigten Humanität, die sich keine lieblosen und parteiischen Aeusserungen über Kunstleistungen Anderer erlaubt, gegen Vorgesetzte sich nicht kriechend, sondern ergeben, und gegen seine Kollegen weder zu familiär noch zu stolz erweist, ist vom zuvördest Pünktlichkeit in seinem Berufe zu erlangen, wodurch sich Jeder nicht nur selbst ehrt, sondern auch seine Kollegen. Bei dem Orchester, wo Ordnung herrscht, soll eigentlich jedes glied desselben eine viertelstunde vor der anberaumten Zeit da sein, theils um sein Instrument gestimmt und in Ordnung gebracht, theils auch, um sich durch einen Ueberblick mit seinen vorliegenden Stimmen vertraut gemacht zu haben.' Anon. [Dehn?], 'Einiges über die Pflichten des Violoncellisten als Orchesterspielers und Accompgnateurs' [On the duties of cellists as orchestral players and accompanists], *AMZ*, 43 (1841), p. 130.

[78] 'In unserer jetzigen Zeit ist es daher unerlässlich, sein Instrument so in der gewalt zu haben, dass man alles Vorkommende ohne Mühe und Anstrengung auszuführen im Stande ist; denn wir leben bekanntlich leider in einer Zeit wo ad libitum, a piacere, col canto u. d. m. so herrschen dass man auch keinen Takt davor sicher sein kann. Alles wird dadurch verstümmelt.__ Wie schändlich werden die grossen Meister, die sich nicht mehr über diesen Unfug beklagen können,

Later in the nineteenth century, women were playing the violin so much at home that the cello was seen by one reviewer as a useful instrument for the husband to play:

> The demand for [...] popular Instruction-books for stringed instruments has so increased within the last few years that we may confidently predict for this latest addition to "Novello's Primers" an extensive sale. The violoncello is rapidly becoming a favourite amongst those cultivated amateurs who devote themselves more to the performance of classical chamber music than to that of orchestral works; and the use of this instrument in the domestic circle is likely to be still further increased when the first and second violins in quartets become more entrusted to the ladies of a family.[79]

Indeed, in England music itself was now seen in some circles as more acceptable for a young man's education, compared with Chesterfield's familiar dismissal of it a century earlier:

> There are liberal and illiberal pleasures as well as liberal and illiberal arts [...]. As you are now in a musical country, where singing, fiddling, and piping, are [...] almost the principal objects of attention, I cannot help cautioning you against giving in to those (I will call them illiberal) pleasures [...] to the degree that most of your countrymen do, when they travel in Italy. If you love music, hear it; go to operas, concerts, and pay fiddlers to play to you; but I insist upon your neither piping nor fiddling yourself. It puts a gentleman in a very frivolous, contemptible light; brings him into a great deal of bad company; and takes up a great deal of time, which might be much better employed. Few things would mortify me more, than to see you bearing a part in a concert, with a fiddle under your chin, or a pipe in your mouth.[80]

The *Athenaeum* was pleased to note in 1866, reviewing concerts at Wellington College and Marlborough College, that

> It is a significant proof of the changes which have passed over society since the century began, that Music is beginning to make its way, and to hold its own, in the very places where, thirty years ago, it was tolerated at best – ordinarily mocked as an effeminate waste of time – our resorts of collegiate education.[81]

gemissbraucht! und – was gewinnt die Kunst dabei?' Ibid., p. 132-3.

[79] Anon. review of Jules de Swert's cello method, *MT*, 23 (1882), p. 680.

[80] Earl of Chesterfield, Letters written by the late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to his son, Philip Stanhope, Esq . (Edinburgh: C. MacFarquhar, 1775), 4 vols., Letter 68 (April 19th, 1749).

[81] *Athenaeum*, 6th January 1866, p. 23.

The domestic chamber music described by the romantic novelist Grace Richmond (1866-1959) in *The Twenty-Fourth of June* (1914) partly adheres to the more traditional allocation of instruments, in that the son plays the violin and one sister plays the harp. However, the other sister plays the cello, and somewhat provocatively:

> As [Richard Kendrick] greeted his hosts, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Gray, Judge Calvin Gray, Mr. and Mrs. Stephen Gray, wondering a little where the rest of the family could be, his eye fell upon the musicians, and the problem was solved. Ruth, the sixteen-year-old, sat before a harp; Louis, the elder son, cherished a violin under his chin; Roberta – ah, there she was! Wearing a dull-blue evening frock above which gleamed her white neck, her half-uncovered arms showing exquisite curves as she handled the bow which was drawing long, rich notes from the violoncello at her knee.[82]

Richmond here avoids the obvious parallel between Roberta's exquisite curves and those of the cello itself, concentrating instead on her ability to make the instrument sound 'rich' through the coaxing ('drawing') of the bow. However, later in the novel, this is re-stated with more pronounced sexual overtones, when Roberta plays once more:

> She lifted her arms, her head up. "Mother, let's play the Bach Air," she said. "That always takes the fever out of me, and makes me feel calm and rational. Is it very late? – are you too tired? Nobody will be disturbed at this distance." "I should love to play it," said Mrs. Gray, and together the two went down the room to the great piano which stood there in the darkness. Roberta switched on one hooded light, produced the music for her mother, and tuned her 'cello, sitting at one side away from the light, with no notes before her. Presently the slow, deep, and majestic notes of the "Air for the G String" were vibrating through the quiet room, the 'cello player drawing her bow across and across the one string with affection for each rich note in her very touch. The other string tones followed her with exquisite sympathy [...][83]

Not only does her playing (in the dark, from memory) cure her fevered condition

[82] Grace L. S. Richmond, *The Twenty-Fourth of June* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1914), ch. 4, pp. 46-47. The cello 'at her knee' may imply the side-saddle posture, discussed below.
[83] Ibid., ch. 10, pp.168-69,

through her affectionate bow strokes which draw out a manly ('deep', 'majestic') sound, but, as if by sympathetic magic, her performance conjures up a real man who appreciates her slow, comfortable and comforting performance:

> But a few bars had sounded when a tall figure came noiselessly into the room, and Mr. Robert Gray dropped into the seat before the fire [...]. With head thrown back he listened, and when silence fell [...] his deep voice was the first to break it. "To me," he said, "that is the slow flowing and receding of waves upon a smooth and rocky shore. The sky is gray, but the atmosphere is warm and friendly. It is all very restful, after a day of perturbation."[84]

This use of the cello as an outlet for female sexual desire represents an extreme which would have found no sympathy in Wasielewski (1888), who still eulogises the masculine cello as the counterpart of the female violin in terms very similar to those of the Paris method. While it could not match the violin's 'brilliance and agility', and suffered from muffled tone in the lower registers, it had the advantage

> [...] that it lends itself far less to virtuoso exaggerations and confusions, than does the easily portable violin, so favourably disposed for every variety of unworthy trifling. The masculine character of the Violoncello, better adapted for subjects of a serious nature, precludes this. [...] If the violin, with melting soprano and tenor-like voice, speaks to us now with maidenly tenderness, now in clear jubilant tones, the Violoncello, grandly moving for the most part in the tenor and bass positions, stirs the soul by its fascinating sonority and its imposing power of intonation, not less than by the pathos of its expression, which by virtue of its peculiar quality of tone more especially belongs to it than to the Violin. There is no rivalry between the two instruments, but rather do they mutually enhance each other's power.[85]

It is clear from Wasielewski's pejorative language ('unworthy trifling') that this 'mutual enhancement' is ultimately the male domination of the female. This is a trope familiar from Marx's distinction of masculine and feminine subjects in sonata forms, whereby the 'masculine' first subject is the one which controls and shapes the 'feminine' second

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[84] Ibid.

[85] W. J. D. Wasielewski, trans. Isobella S. E. Stigand, *The Violoncello and its History* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1894), pp. 212-3. First German ed. 1888.

subject, even though there is the semblance of an equal partnership.[86] More concisely, but to the same end, Edmund van der Straeten (1914) agrees with Hubert le Blanc's distinction between the male cello and the female viol (in his *Defense de la basse de viole*, 1740), and goes on to assert that

> [...] in 1800 the violoncello as a solo instrument had passed through the first century of its existence, and arrived at the age of manhood.[87]

A review of a performance by Servais confirms this gender association but also suggests that it was widely contradicted in practice:

> The [...] welcome [...] given the artist by Viennese audiences in the winter season of 1847/48 [...] was commented on by a foreign correspondent of a Russian periodical. "Servais is one of the most notable violoncellists of our time," he wrote, "his playing is both graceful and bravura. Whereas other cellists absolutely neglect the virile character of the instrument, Servais keeps himself to the middle way: he sings on the violoncello, approaching the highest notes of its range, but he also reminds his listeners that – the cello has its strong bass strings as well".[88]

Similar concerns, but over repertoire rather than performance, were voiced by the reviewer of Kummer's *Elegie* op. 79:

> What we find most appealing is that Herr Kummer, with very few exceptions, has avoided that whining note of insipid salon-sentimentality; that in the *Elegie* the predominant expression of mourning and pain remains almost consistently a manly composure, healthy, noble, in complete contrast to certain fashionable compositions of this genre, whose sickly affectation and revolting effeminate coquettishness of feeling often cause positive physical discomfort, leaving [anyone with] a strong, pure temperament the most disagreeable feelings.[89]

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[86] Kramer presents a more refined version of this view which takes into account varied recapitulations which can represent the transformation of the masculine self by the feminine other. Lawrence Kramer, *Classical Music and Postmodern Knowledge* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), p. 45.

[87] E. van der Straeten, *History of the Violoncello, the Viol da Gamba, their Precursors and Collateral Instruments* (London: William Reeves, 1914, repr. 1971), p 383.

[88] Lev Ginsburg, *History of the Violoncello* (Neptune City, NJ: Paganiniana Publications, 1983), pp. 34-35, quoting *Literary Supplement to Nuvellist*, March 1848.

[89] 'Was uns besonders darin angesprochen, ist, dass Herr Kummer, mit Ausnahme einiger wenigen Stellen, jenen weinerlichen Ton fader Salonsentimentalität vermieden hat, dass der in der Elegie vorherrschende Ausdruck der Trauer und des Schmerzes fast durchgehends ein männlich gefasster, edler und gesunder bleibt, ganz im Widerspruche mit gewissen dieser

A less outspoken, but rather condescending attitude was adopted in relation to another salon composition, Josef Stransky's *Morceaux* op. 18. The pieces are in general 'accommodated to the taste of the Viennese salons' ('sind der Geschmack der Wiener Salons zu accomodieren'). The fifth piece

> [...] gives all ladies who gladly hear the cello, a 'Souvenir de Bal', which will delight them; because such a thing is naturally not written for men. However, if from politeness we lower ourselves to the 'ladylike', then we cannot deny that the Waltz is quite pretty.[90]

The cellists who neglected the cello's manly nature could well have included the French musicians so regularly criticised by Henry Chorley in the *Athenaeum* for their affected style:

> [...] M. Lebouc, the principal violoncellist of the Conservatoire orchestra, in Paris, – a sound and excellent solo player; sound, we repeat, because free from that tremulousness of tone and finical falseness of expression, which too largely characterizes the stringed-instrument players of the French school.[91]
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> [Servais] has power, tone, execution, every requisite for a first-rate player, but carries them all to an extremity which makes both his expression and his brilliancy *troppo caricato* for our tastes, or, we suspect, for him to be given the name of an artist, in its highest sense. [...] In these days, when there is so much danger of music being corrupted, if not utterly destroyed, by extravagance and whimsicality, it cannot be too decidedly laid down, that no forced effects – no passion pushed to its extreme, or delicacy refined into super-delicacy – deserve to be admired, although they may be excused in

Galtung angehörigen Modecomposition, deren krankhafte Affectation und widerlich weibische Gefühlscoquetterie oft förmliches physisches Unwohlsein verinsachen, und wovon eine kräftige, unverdorbene Natur sich nur auf's Unerquicklichtest berührt fühlen kann.' 'Recensionen', *AMZ*, 47 (1845), p. 536. It is possible that this 'weibische Gefühlscoquetterie' is a manifestation of a deeper connection in Germany between sexuality and the civic good. See Jeffrey Kallberg, 'Sex, Sexuality and Schubert's Piano Music', in Steven Crist and Roberta M. Marvin, eds., *Historical Musicology Sources Methods, Interpretations* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004), pp. 219-33, citing amongst others Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700-1815* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 229-56.

[90] 'Nummer 5 gibt allen Damen, welche das Violoncell gern hören, ein "Souvenir de Bal", das sie entzücken wird; denn für Männer ist so etwas natürlich nicht geschrieben. Stimmen wir uns aber aus Galanterie zum "Dämlichen" herab, so könnten wir nicht leugnen, dass der Walzer recht hübschen ist.' *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung, Literaturblatt* no. 6, 14th October 1854, p. 21.

[91] *Athenaeum*, 11th July 1863, p. 57.

consideration of the talent of the performer.[92]

> [...] [Servais's] playing was impaired by a certain violence and eccentricity of manner which disturbed the pleasure of the hearer. The deepest expression, the most vehement passion, are still consistent with grace and composure. It should be added, however, that we heard him at a time when the noxious influences of Paganini's personality had not yet become extinct, and when freaks and gesticulations were in fashion, being thought to attest originality and sincerity; and since years have elapsed since this impression was made, it is possible that with Time these extravagancies may have been, in some degree, toned down.[93]

THE 'FEMINISED' CELLO

The implication that the cello's 'masculine' character was becoming at least diluted if not actually feminised later in the nineteenth century finds some literary support. A century after the cello's 'ascent to manhood', some gender re-alignment has taken place – it sobs, throbs, gasps and groans, in a manner far removed from the deep, manly, restrained and restraining eloquence evoked by earlier writers. Examples can be found in a variety of sources: an article by Alfred Guichon for the *Chronique musicale*, the fiction of Alexandre Dumas *fils,* Charles Dickens, William Thackeray, Marie Corelli, Arsène Houssaye and Joris-Karl Huysmans, the dramatist Octave Feuillet, the poet Emile Goudot and the critic Henry Krehbiel.

Alfred Guichon begins his 1875 article about the cello with a list of instruments and their principal characteristics.

> Man sings. – The clarinet declaims. – The bassoon growls. [...] The violin dreams. – The cello prays. [...] In effect, the cello has a grave and restrained character; it is moving, majestic, it raises the soul towards the celestial regions. Sublime singer, it knows especially how to descend to the role of accompanist; one has even seen it on frequent occasions lose its voice in the middle of the hundred-voiced orchestra, efface its personality, lose itself in the crowd, humble itself, but still remain useful.[94]

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[92] *Athenaeum*, 30th May 1835, p. 418.
[93] Obituary for Servais, *Athenaeum*, 8th December 1866, p. 759
[94] ' L'Homme chante. La Clarinette déclame. Le Basson gronde. [...] Le Violon rêve. Le

Guichon quotes Denne Baron on how attractive the cello is when played by a woman, 'so noble, so flattering to a white arm, and in the hand of a virgin or a woman'.[95] He also quotes Emil de Bret in a series of remarks which include these:

> The cello palpitates continually [...] What instrument can sigh like the cello? [...] What instrument is capable of expressing sadness, serenity, despair, hope, blessing? [...] Only the cello is the only one of the instruments that can sob. [...] The accents of the singing cello seem scarcely born of this world, and float in foreign realms in order to speak directly to God. [...] The cello does not, it never, charms, because it never addresses the senses, as the other instruments do. It raises the soul, enlarges it and puts it under the Creator's gaze.[96]

The rambling sequence of stories which comprises Dumas's *Les mohicans de Paris* (1854-59, but set in the 1820s) includes the story of a cellist. The philosopher Salvator and his poet companion Jean Robert encounter him by chance:

> [...] their astonishment was great: they heard, all at once, at the moment when the door of the pharmacist's kitchen was opened, in the middle of the silence and calm of the serene night, vibrating, as if by magic, the most melodious chords. Whence came these sweet sounds? From what place? From what heavenly instrument? [...] Had St. Cecilia herself descended from the heavens in that pious house to celebrate Ash Wednesday? In fact, the tune which our two young people heard was, for certain, neither an opera aria, not the joyous solo of a musician returning home after a masked ball. It was perhaps a psalm, a canticle, a page torn from some old liturgical book. [...] in hearing that melody, one thought one saw go past, like sad shadows, all the sacred hymns of childhood, all the melancholy religiosities of

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Violoncelle prie. [...] Le Violoncelle, en effet, a un caractère grave et recueilli; il est émouvant, il est majestueux, il élève l'âme vers les régions célestes. Chanteur sublime, il sait pourtant descendre au rôle plus modeste d'accompagnateur; on l'a vu même, dans les fréquents occasions, perdre sa voix au milieu des cent voix de l'orchestre, effacer sa personnalité, s'égarer dans la foule, se faire humble alors, mais utile encore.' Alfred Guichon, 'Le violoncelle', *Chronique musicale* 3 (1875), p. 73.

[95] '[...] si noble, si avantageuse au bras blanc et à la main d'une vièrge ou d'une femme'.Ibid., p. 74.

[96] 'Le violoncelle palpite continuellement [...] Quel est l'instrument qui puisse soupirer comme le violoncelle? [...] Quel instrument est capable comme lui d'exprimer la douleur, la sérénité, le désespoir, l'espérance, la béatitude? La violoncelle seul est celui de tous les instruments qui puisse sangloter. [...] Les accents du violoncelle qui chante semblent n'être point nés sur cette terre, et planer dans les régions étranges pour s'adresser à Dieu directement. [...] Le violoncelle ne charme pas, ne charme jamais, parce qu'il ne s'adresse jamais aux sens, comme le peuvent faire tous les autres instruments. Il élève l'âme, l'agrandit et la place sous le regard du Créateur.' Ibid., p. 76-7.

> Sebastian Bach and Palestrina. If one had been obliged to give a name to this touching fantasy, one would have called it: Resignation. No more expressive name would have been more appropriate.
> Then, by the opening of a curtain, they perceived a young man around thirty years old, sitting on a quite high stool, and playing the cello. [...] They read in him the signs of some terrible struggle! Doubtless the conflict of will against sadness; for, from time to time, his face clouded over, and, all the time continuing to draw the saddest sounds from his instrument, he shut his eyes, as if, no longer seeing external things, he had lost with them his deep sadness. Finally, the cello appeared, like a man in agony, to utter a tearing cry, and the bow fell from the musician's hand. Was his soul overcome? The man was weeping! Two large tears flowed silently down his cheeks. The musician took his handkerchief, dried his eyes slowly, put it back in his pocket, bent over, picked up his bow, and began the song again exactly at the point where he had broken off. The soul had won: the soul soared above the sadness with strong wings![97]

The story behind this lachrymose scene occupies the following chapters, as Salvator perceives:

> There is the story you would seek, my dear poet; it is there, in this poor house, in this man who suffers, in this cello that weeps.[98]

[97] '...leur étonnement était grand : ils entendaient tout à coup, du moment que la porte de la cuisine du pharmacien s'était ouverte, au milieu du silence et du calme de cette nuit sereine, vibrer, comme par enchantement, les accords les plus mélodieux. D'où venaient ces sons suaves ? de quel endroit ? de quel instrument céleste ? [...] Sainte Cécile elle-même était-elle descendue du ciel dans cette pieuse maison pour célébrer le mercredi des cendres? En effet, l'air que nos deux jeunes gens entendaient n'était, certainement, ni un chant d'opéra, ni le solo joyeux d'un musicien, au retour du bal masqué. C'était peut-être un psaume, un cantique, une page déchirée de quelque vieille musique biblique. [...] C'était cela; car, en écoutant cette mélodie, on croyait voir passer, comme des ombres plaintives, toutes les hymnes sacrées de l'enfance, toutes les mélancolies religieuses de Sébastien Bach et de Palestrina. Si l'on eût été obligé de donner un nom à cette touchante fantaisie, on l'eût appelée: Résignation. Nul nom plus ou moins expressif ne lui eût mieux convenu. [...] Alors, par une ouverture du rideau, ils aperçurent un jeune homme de trente ans environ, assis sur un tabouret assez élevé, et jouant du violoncelle. [...] Il se livrait évidemment en lui quelque combat terrible ! Sans doute la lutte de la volonté contre la douleur ; car, de temps en temps, son front se rembrunissait, et, tout en continuant de tirer les plus tristes accords de son instrument, il fermait les yeux, comme si, ne voyant plus les choses extérieures, il eût perdu avec elles le sentiment de sa douleur intime. Enfin, le violoncelle sembla, comme un homme à l'agonie, pousser un cri déchirant, et l'archet tomba des mains du musicien. L'âme était-elle vaincue? L'homme pleurait! Deux grosses larmes silencieuses coulèrent le long de ses joues. Le musicien prit son mouchoir, s'essuya lentement les yeux, remit le mouchoir dans sa poche, se pencha, ramassa l'archet, le ramena sur les cordes du violoncelle, et reprit son chant juste à l'endroit où il l'avait interrompu. Le cœur était vaincu : l'âme planait au-dessus de la douleur avec les ailes de la force!' Alexandre Dumas, *Les Mohicans de Paris* (Montréal: Le joyeux Roger, 2007; 1st pub. Paris, 1854-5), vol. 1, p. 93-6.

[98] 'Voilà le roman que vous cherchiez, mon cher poète ; il est là, dans cette pauvre maison, dans cet homme qui souffre, dans ce violoncelle qui pleure.' Ibid., p. 96.

Another weeping cellist and cello appear in Octave Feuillet's play *Dalila* (first performed in 1857). The *savant* Sertorius, a composer and cellist, has promised to play his *Calvaire*, or 'song of Calvary', at his daughter's wedding, but in the end he has to play it in the last act as she is dying. The scene is reported:

> [...] ah! Should I live for a thousand years, I would not forget a single detail of that scene!... During this time, the old man's fingers, placed on the strings, producing by jerks sounds, moans which entered my soul... The young woman awoke. .. My father, she said smiling, I have a favour to ask of you... play me the song of Calvary! ...No, no, he said, also trying to smile, it... your wedding day, little one!... The child looked fixedly at him without replying... He lowered his eyes, he gathered up his hair on his forehead paler than marble, and took his bow... (With lively emotion.) Then I heard the song of Calvary.. Ah! The song of Calvary, yes!... While he played I saw large tears fall one by one on his poor thin shaking hands... He cried! The wood and the brass wept!... And I!... Only the child did not weep!...[99]

Sertorius is transformed from a serious, thoughtful musician into a sobbing, broken man. This is far removed from Dickens's Harold Skimpole in *Bleak House*, an amateur cellist and composer (based on Leigh Hunt) who 'had composed half an opera once'.[100] Skimpole has not one but three daughters, each as frivolous as he. He plays the cello at those times when he is also being particularly irresponsible, and eventually he is the cause of the downfall of Richard Carstone. His effeminacy (linked with narcissism) is clearly signalled in Dickens's description:

> There was an easy negligence in his manner and even in his dress (his hair carelessly disposed, and his neckerchief loose and flowing, as I have

[99] '...ah! Je vivrai dix mille ans, je n'oublierai pas un seul détail de cette scène! ... pendant ce temps, les doigts du vieillard, posés sur les cordes, en tiraient par saccades des sons, des plaintes qui m'entraient dans l'âme... La jeune fille se réveilla... Mon père, dit-elle en souriant, j'ai une grâce à vous demander... jouez-moi le chant du Calvaire!...Non, non, dit-il en essayant de sourire aussi, lui... le jour de ton mariage, petite! ... L'enfant le regard fixement sans répondre... Il baissa les yeux, il secoua ses cheveux blancs sur son front plus pâle que le marbre, et prit son archet... (Avec une vive émotion.) J'entendis alors le chant du Calvaire... Ah! le chant du Calvaire, oui!... Pendant qu'il jouait je voyais de grosses larmes tomber une à une sur ses pauvres mains amaigries et tremblantes... Il pleurait! Le bois et le cuivre pleuraient!... Et moi!...L'enfant seul ne pleurait pas!...' Octave Feuillet, *Dalila* (Act 3 sc. 5), in *Théatre complet* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1893) vol. 3, p. 350-1.

[100] Charles Dickens, ed. Norman Page, *Bleak House* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971), p. 123 (ch. 6). First pub. 1853.

> seen artists paint their own portraits) which I could not separate from the idea of a romantic youth . . . .[101]

Skimpole's cello playing becomes a metonymic signifier of moral laxity. In Thackeray's *Pendennis*, it is just one of a whole myriad of activities undertaken by a typical modern metropolitan 'woman of world' in the satirical view of the central character Pen. Among all her social events, charitable works, the education of her children and household management, she 'plays in private on the violoncello, – and I say, without exaggeration, many London ladies are doing this'.[102] There is a clear implication that this type of woman is not one to be emulated. Here the cello itself stands for a secret female vice, and colours the reader's perception of all the woman's other activities, each one respectable or at least harmless in itself. Elsewhere in *Pendennis* the cello is used as a guarantee of probity:

> "You forget your poor mother, Fanny, [...]" Mrs. Bolton said. "[...] I'm sure he'll come to-day. If ever I saw a man in love, that man is him. When Emily Budd's young man first came about her, he was sent away by old Budd, a most respectable man, and violoncello in the orchestra at the Wells; and his own family wouldn't hear of it neither."[103]

Arsène Houssaye's *Galerie du XVIIIe siècle* includes a semi-fictionalised account of a real figure, Felice Blangini (1781-1841), a cellist, singer, and composer of *opéras-comiques* and other vocal music.[104] While most of the narrative concerns Blangini's travels, he appears as a cellist twice, framing the story near its beginning and end.

> From that time he was taken with a lively love for the cello, which

[101] Ibid., pp. 118-19 (ch. 6).
[102] William M. Thackeray, *The History of Pendennis* (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1880), p. 435 (ch. 44). First pub. London, 1848-50.
[103] Ibid., p. 495 (ch. 51).
[104] Arsène Houssaye, *Galerie du XVIIIe siècle deuxième série Princesses de comédie et déesses d'opéra* (Paris: Hachette et Cie., 1858), pp. 145-164. The fictional and dramatic use by Feuillet, Houssaye and Dickens of a cellist-composer, who specifically writes opera, may suggest a genre in which to place Auguste van Biene and *The Broken Melody* (1892).

> was until his death his sweetest and most faithful love. "Look, he said to me, grasping the bow with fire, it is in the cello that, little by little, all my hopes and passions are buried; there are souls in the cello which I can bring back to life as if by a miracle; all my life is there, so that my life is no more than a memory. If I wished, at the first bow-stroke I would see once more appear that adored image of Pauline.[105]
> I met Blangini for the last time a year ago, at a curiosity shop. I had rather lost sight of him. He was still the same man, sad, smiling, anxious, extravagant, his eye full of fire.
> - "Well! My dear Blangini, where are the canzonettes?
> - The canzonettes? Alas! I am at my requiem!
> - And your dear cello?
> - Ah! my cello, I have covered it well with tears since our journey in the forest! I hope that God will give me the strength to break it at the hour of my death; for, he continued with a sweetly saddened smile, shaking my hand, I do not want another to know the secret follies of my youth ... Ah! La Grissini!..."
> Blangini was less a musician than a poet. He wrote his hymns with his bow on the cello, the cello, eloquent book which contains the full range of the passions and responds to every beat of the heart. Here lies a poet, here lies a soul which sang, here lies the sound of the wind, as Antipater said at the tomb of Orpheus.[106]

Clearly, the cello which contains a man's entire emotional life, and which should even be destroyed in case it repeats its knowledge to another, is a rather different instrument from the cello which elevates and regulates the passions.

Des Esseintes, the central figure of Joris-Karl Huysmans's *A rebours*, creates a musical instrument which dispenses various liqueurs into small glasses, which he calls

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[105] ' Il s'était pris dès ce temps-là d'un vif amour pour le violoncelle, qui a été jusqu'à sa mort plus doux et fidèle amour. "Voyez, me disait-il en saisissant l'archet avec feu, c'est dans ce violoncelle que se sont enfouies peu à peu toutes mes espérances et toutes mes passions; il y a des âmes dans ce violoncelle que je puis ranimer comme par miracle; toute ma vie est là, car ma vie n'est plus qu'un souvenir. Si je voulais, au premier coup d'archet je verrais apparaître encore cette image adorée de Pauline".' Houssaye, ibid., p. 147.

[106] 'J'ai rencontré Blangini pour la dernière fois, il y a un an, chez un marchand de curiosités. Je l'avais un peu perdu de vue. C'était toujours le même homme, triste, souriant, inquiet, extravagant, l'œil plein de feu. "Eh bien! mon cher Blangini, où en sont les canzonnettes? - Les canzonnettes? hélas! j'en suis à mon requiem! - et votre cher violoncelle? - Ah! mon violoncelle, j'y ai répandu bien des larmes depuis notre voyage dans le forêt! J'espère que Dieu me donnera la force de le briser à l'heure de ma mort; car, poursuivit-il avec un doux sourire attristé et en me serrant la main, je ne veux pas qu'un autre ait le secret des folies de mon cœur. ... Ah! la Grassini!... Blangini fut moins un musicien qu'un poète. Il écrivait ses hymnes avec son archet sur le violoncelle, le violoncelle, livre éloquent qui renferme las gamme des passions et répond à tous les battements du cœur. Ci-gît un poète, ci-gît une âme qui chantait, ci-gît le bruit du vent, comme disait Antipater sur la tombe d'Orphée.' Ibid., p. 164.

his 'mouth organ'. Instead of sounds, this organ generates tastes which can be orchestrated at will.

> Des Esseintes would drink a drop of this or that, playing interior symphonies to himself, and thus providing his gullet with sensations analogous to those which music affords to the ear.[107]

Among these taste/sounds there are the stringed instruments. The violin is 'fine old liqueur brandy', the viola 'rum [...], more sonorous and rumbling', the cello 'vespetro, heart-rendingly long drawn-out, melancholy and caressing', and the double-bass 'an old, pure bitter'.[108] Admittedly, there is in general no place in Des Esseintes's narcissistic decadence for simple manly eloquence, so the lack of such associations for the cello here is no surprise. Nonetheless, the choice of adjectives is in general more aligned with these later nineteenth-century views of the instrument.

Emile Goudeau's poem 'Le violoncelle' (1896) is ambivalent, with its increasingly exasperated refrain 'Ça n'en finit plus, ce violoncelle'. It is prefaced by an epigraph worth quoting in full:

> Yes, the cello! All the dreadful moaning music of Parisian struggles seem enclosed in this box in the shape of a coffin, from where the Bow, living, vibrant, biting, fierce as Destiny and sometimes honeyed like a kiss of feminine light, knows how to draw moans, ritornellos, sobs and hymns, at length, at length, until the final hoped-for silence, like a rest from the madnesses of the Parisian struggle: the silence of Sleep, the peace of the final Retreat... at least until they do not recover again and do not recommence, awakening, the eternal theme of life, heroic and mad.[109]

[107] Joris-Karl Huysmans, trans. Margaret Mauldon, *Against Nature* [A rebours] (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 39.
[108] Ibid., pp. 39-40. Vespetro is a Swiss liqueur made from angelica, coriander, fennel, lemons, cloves and sugar. An eighteenth-century recipe is held in the Archives départementales de la Savoie, MS 45F 101, <http://www.savoie.fr/archives73/expo_boire_et_manger/pages/32.htm> [last accessed November 2008]
[109] 'Oui, le Violoncelle! Toute la redoutable et geignante musique des parisiennes luttes semble enclose en cette boite à forme de cercueil, d'où l'Archet, vivant, vibrant, mordant, farouche comme le Destin, et parfois miel comme un baiser de féminine lumière, sait tirer des plaintes, des ritournelles, des sanglots et des hymnes, longuement, longuement, jusqu'au silence terminal, espéré comme un repos par les affolés de la parisienne lutte: le silence de Sommeil, la paix de la définitive Retraite... a moins qu'ils ne ressaisissent encore et ne recommencent, en un

The cello is used here as a symbol of an endless emotional nagging and is also associated with physical contortion. Its voice is sad ('Tristement va la triste voix', st.1, l.2); it sobs ('C'est angoissé comme un sanglot', st.3 l.3); it rattles ('Soudain grince un son de crécelle', st.3 l.1); it will not stop ('Tais-toi, violoncelle!' st.9 l.8). Its posture is awkward (st. 5):

> A swing, going back and forth!
> Stretch your hands, twist your arms!
> Your brains are full, your eyes weary...
> It is not finished yet, the cello.[110]

The final stanza expresses the despair of the poet as listener/victim:

> But the scraping pesters us:
> It torments, it bites, it grasps;
> The final cadence never comes...
> It is not yet finished, the cello.[111]

Interpreting such a poem as evidence of attitudes to the cello is risky; one would not use Wallace Stevens's poem *The Blue Guitar* primarily as source material about guitars. Its association with the constant sound of urban Paris may be deliberately shocking, casting the cello in an unfamiliar rôle in order to evoke Baudelaire's 'swarming city ('fourmillante cité') or Verlaine's 'a vague sound / says that the city is there which sings its song [...] which licks its tyrants and bites its victims' ('un vague son / Dit que la ville est là qui chante son chanson [...] Qui lèche ses tyrans et qui mord ses victimes').[112] Nonetheless, this sobbing, painful instrument is at least more closely aligned with the cello of Dumas, Feuillet or Houssaye, than with the reserved manliness expressed in

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reveil, l'eternel thème de la vie héroïque et folle.' Emile Goudeau. 'Le Violoncelle', *Chansons de Paris et d'ailleurs Violoncelles – Fifres – Mandolines* (Paris: Bibliothèque-Charpentier, 1896), p. 3-5.

[110] 'Un va-et-vient de balancelle! / Tendez vos mains, tordez vos bras! / Les cerveaux sont pleins, les yeux las... / Ça n'en finit plus, ce violoncelle.'

[111] 'Mais le raclement nous harcèle: / Ça lancine, ça mord, ça tient; / Le point d'orgue jamais ne vient... / Ça n'en finit plus, ce violoncelle.'

[112] Charles Baudelaire, 'Les sept vieillards', *Fleurs du mal* (Paris: Poulet-Malassis et de Broise, 2nd ed. 1861); Paul Verlaine, 'Nocturne parisien', *Poèmes saturniens* (Paris: Lemerre, 1866).

earlier sources.

A different kind of manliness underpins the American critic Henry Krehbiel's description of the cello as emotional, even sensual:

> Its tone is full of voluptuous languor. It is the sighing lover of the instrumental company, and can speak the language of tender passion more feelingly than any of its fellows.[113]

Marie Corelli's *A Romance of Two Worlds* (1886) has a character criticise English taste in string playing:

> "Exactly!" replied Heliobas. "[...] Everything that people cannot quite understand is called CLAP-TRAP in England; as for instance the matchless violin-playing of Sarasate; the tempestuous splendor of Rubinstein; the wailing throb of passion in Hollmann's violoncello – this is, according to the London press, CLAP-TRAP; while the coldly correct performances of Joachim and the 'icily-null' renderings of Charles Hallé are voted 'magnificent' and 'full of colour.'[114]

Hollmann's 'throb of passion' is not something that many critics praised in a cellist. Marie Corelli clearly agreed with Heliobas about Hollmann, whom she lavishly eulogised in a short article in 1884.

> Still when I look at Hollmann and his big friend, and note how they love each other, how eloquently they converse together, how they whisper and laugh and murmur, how they fondle and caress each other, I feel again that grand truth, that in the soul of the artist lives a joy which can never be taken from him, a peace which satisfies, a luxury of delight that the wealth of the world can never compass, and compared with which all other pleasures seem poor and mean. Yet it is well that this great London should learn to know its best friends, and that it should honour Hollmann and do him homage as one of the few among the world's chief artists.[115]

Corelli also described the instrument itself in terms which are very much in tune with the later nineteenth-century view of the cello as a sexually charged emotional vehicle:

> [...] the warmth, light and happiness of a sunny summer's day, as well

[113] Henry Edward Krehbiel, *How to listen to Music* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 7th ed. 1897), p. 80.
[114] Marie Corelli, *A Romance of Two Worlds* (London: Richard Bentley & Son, new ed. 1890), p. 114 (ch. 6). First pub. 1886.
[115] Marie Corelli, 'His Big Friend', *The Theatre*, 1st August 1884, p. 69.

> as the melancholy and love-languor of a moonlight night, can be summoned forth from the strings of the heavy, cumbrous thing, which, in the hands of a master, becomes a living, talking being – a being that laughs and weeps, and is capable of quick pulsations of joy and string shudders of passion near akin to pain.[116]

The feminised cello was not necessarily the product of an over-heated, urban *fin-de-siècle* sensibility. Mona Douglas describes Tom Taggart, a cellist from the Isle of Man, known as a 'wise man and a musician'. He played

> [...] a rather large 'cello, which he always referred to as The Fiddle, or Herself; and it was, to him, quite definitely a personality. Where it came from I could never find out; a question would only elicit from Tom a vague: "Aw, she's been in the Island a long time – brought by one of them Spaniards, it's like, and she's been here all my time."

Taggart played hymn tunes for services in Grenaby Church in which he led the singing, and also played folk music.

> But as a good old-fashioned Methodist, Tom felt rather guilty about these lapses of The Fiddle from "sacred" music; and I remember him once stroking the brown wood and saying apologetically: "Herself here has never what you could really call sinned to – but I'm admitting she likes a lively tune!"[117]

Taggart's photograph suggests a cellist far removed from Parisian decadence (figure 5).[118]

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[116] Ibid., p. 64.

[117] Mona Douglas, *This is Ellan Vannin Again: Folklore* (Douglas, Isle of Man: Times Longbooks, 1966), pp. 61-63. The vicar and churchwardens of Grenaby Church donated Tom Taggart's cello to the Manx Museum in 1934. It is now in the collections of Manx National Heritage, Douglas.

[118] Photograph, Manx Heritage Museum, Douglas, negative fol. 5 no. 8.

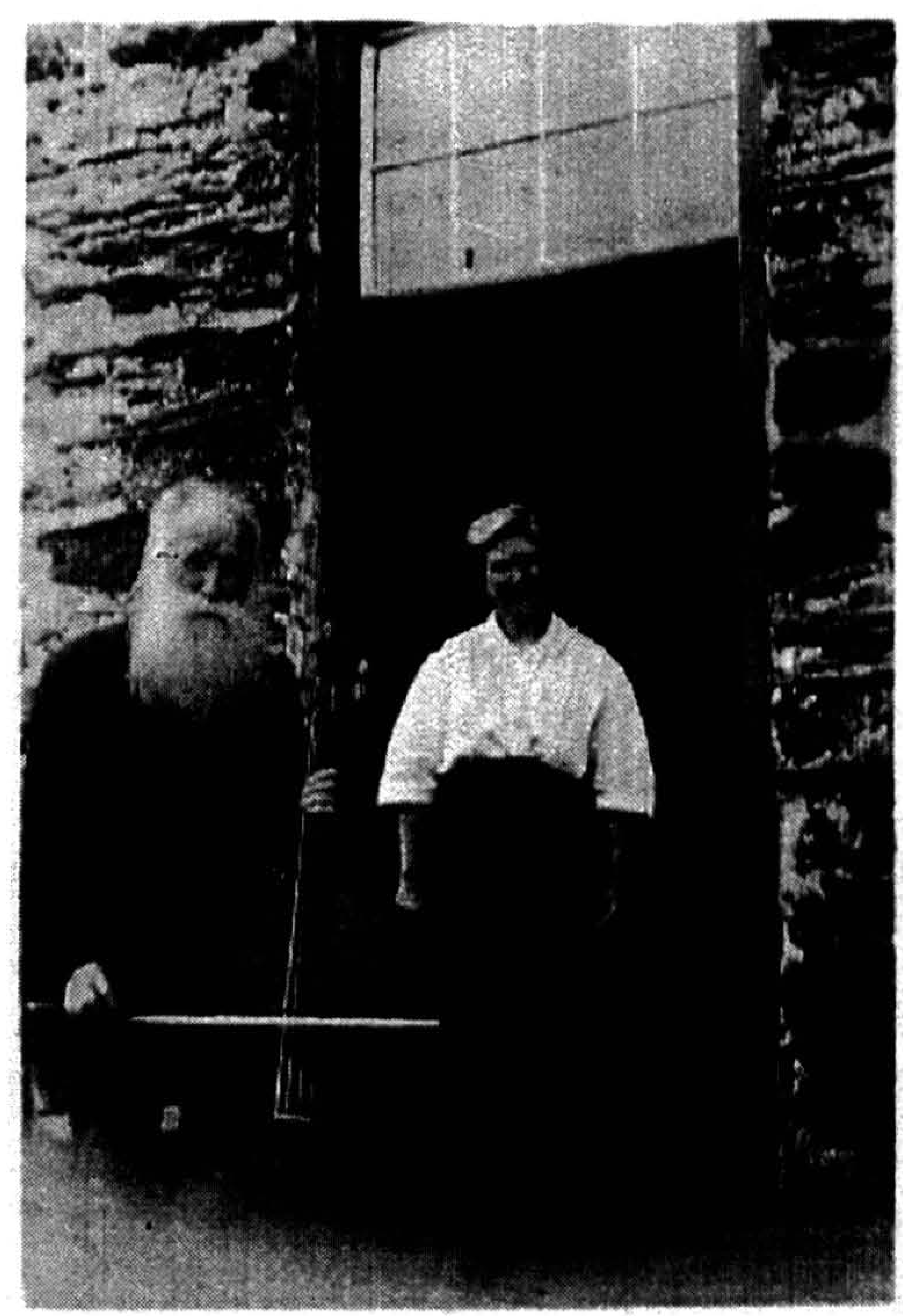

Figure 7/5: Tom Taggart, aged 83 (1930).

If the cello has become during this period 'feminised', or at least less 'masculine', it should be noted that these gender tropes are still being assigned by men, and can be seen as an exploration of otherness, rather than as a complete change of gender. Alastair Mitchell suggests such a possibility when considering Jeffrey Kallberg's view of Chopin nocturnes as a genre that 'embodies a male construction of femininity':

> Can we not find another voice in this socialisation of genre? Is it not possible that men experiencing the nocturne were not just constructing an idealised, patriarchal femininity, but also exploring another subject position, a feminine voice outside the normative codes of masculinity?[119]

These 'feminising' traits were not sufficiently well established to cause problems for female cellists similar to those encountered by female violinists. One possible reason for this is that, unlike the violinist, the cellist faces the audience directly and therefore is

[119] Alastair Williams, *Constructing Musicology* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), p. 54.

less likely to turn away from the listener in an attitude of eroticised self-absorption (one of the aspects of the illustration from *Punch*, figure 7, and see Suggia in figure 15). Conversely, in the first part of the nineteenth century the 'manliness' of the cello does not appear to have been a significant cause of the relative lack of women cellists, and neither is there any suggestion of problematic auto-eroticism in its being played by a man in public.[120] If anything, it still lacked the more pronounced gender identity of either the violin or the piano, and as a solo instrument it was also less well established, with a relatively small repertoire at any level of ability.

In the period from the second half of the nineteenth century until the early twentieth, over forty female cellists can be identified, as shown in the following provisional list (table 3, below), compiled from references in periodicals, van der Straeten, and Forino.[121] It has been asserted that the increase in the number of female cellists in the later nineteenth century was due to the spread of the tail-pin, originating with Servais, which initially enabled women to play the instrument side-saddle, and later to adopt the now conventional posture.[122] The supposed inelegance of a woman playing the cello without a tail-pin had been a problem, which Beth Macleod puts in a wider context:

> The obvious impediment to [the cello's] acceptance for women was physical: anything held between the legs – whether horse, bicycle or cello – engendered discussion as to its suitability for women.[123]

The review of the female cellists at the Paris Conservatoire in 1860 has already been cited – it clearly implies that the instrument was held without a tail-pin.[124]

[120] Not even when played by a Scotsman in a kilt, as in David Allan's *Highland Wedding* (1780), which depicts the cellist Donald Gow and his brother the fiddler Neil.
[121] Luigi Forino, *Il violoncello il violoncellista ed i violoncellisti* (Milan: Ulrico Hoepli, 2nd ed. 1930).
[122] Gillett, *Musical Women in England*, p. 101, and see Tilden Russell, 'The Development of the Cello End-Pin', *Imago Musicae*, 4 (1987), pp. 335-356.
[123] Beth Abelson Macleod, ibid.
[124] Anon., 'Music and Theatres in Paris', *MW* (1860); see note 58.

Table 4: summary list of women cellists

Periodical references:	van der Straeten (1914):	Forino (1930):
1845 Lisa Christiani	Anna Ballio	Giovanna [Jeanne] Fromont-Delune
1848 Therese Jaurès	Rosa Brackenhammer	Margherita Ponsacchi-Jesler
1854 Benefice de Lea	Mabel Chaplin	Maddalena Herson-Marcelli
1855 Mme. Viereck	Rosa Crow	Adele Clément
1856 Helene de Katow	Josefine Donat	Giulietta Alvin
1859 Mme. Joseph Pain (amateur) (obituary)	Gertrude Ess	Carlo e Caterina Ould [Charles and Catherine Ould, father and daughter]
1857 Anna Krull	Amy Flood-Porter	Raya Garbousova
1859 Rosa Szük	Agge Fritsche	Iudith Bokor
1862 Elisa de Try	Muriel Handley	
1863 Mlle. Astieri	Beatrice Harrison	
1863 Nina Gaillard	Florence Hemmings	
1867 Mathilde Galitzine	Adelina Leon	
1874 Elise Weinlich	May Mukle	
1875 Louise Wandersleb	Lucy Müller-Campbell	
	Gabrielle Platteau	
	Dora Pretherick	
	Marianna Raimondi	
	Elsa Ruegger	
	Guilhermina Suggia	

(Beth Macleod also includes the Americans Leontine Gaertner and A. Laura Tolman).[125]

However, a century earlier, this posture was not always considered grotesque. A female cellist is referred to without any surprise in one eighteenth-century account (although she is admittedly playing in an all-female ensemble):

> But at last, from conversation they went to music, and performed two pieces, as a conclusion to the happy evening. Mrs. *Schemberg* and Miss *Chawcer* sing with the greatest judgment, extremely fine. Miss *West* plays well upon the *Violoncello*, the little bass violin: and the matchless fiddle of Mrs. *Benlow* being added, they formed a harmony the most excellent and perfect.[126]

Casanova was highly impressed by a female cellist whom he met at a concert in Paris in 1749. A young male cellist having performed a concerto by Vandini, Henriette de Schnetzmann (Casanova's great love) complimented him on his instrument.

> [...] [she] told him, with modest confidence, as she took the

[125] Macleod, ibid.
[126] Thomas Amory, *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (London: John Noon, 1755), p. 82.

> violoncello from him, that she could bring out the beautiful tone of the instrument still better. I was struck with amazement. She took the young man's seat, placed the violoncello between her knees, and begged the leader of the orchestra to begin the concerto again. [...] not seeing her disposing herself to play, I was beginning to imagine that she had only been indulging in a jest, when she suddenly made the strings resound. My heart was beating with such force that I thought I should drop down dead.
> [...] the concerto being over, well-merited applause burst from every part of the room! The rapid change from extreme fear to excessive pleasure brought on an excitement which was like a violent fever. [...] My happiness was so immense that I felt myself unworthy of it. [...] a Spaniard asked Henriette whether she could play any other instrument besides the violoncello.
> "No," she answered, "I never felt any inclination for any other. I learned the violoncello at the convent to please my mother, who can play it pretty well, and without an order from my father, sanctioned by the bishop, the abbess would never have given me permission to practise it."
> "What objection could the abbess make?"
> "That devout spouse of our Lord pretended that I could not play that instrument without assuming an indecent position."
> At this the Spanish guests bit their lips, but the Frenchmen laughed heartily, and did not spare their epigrams against the over-particular abbess. The 'vox humana' of the violoncello, the king of instruments, went to my heart every time that my beloved Henriette performed upon it.[127]

On the other hand, as late as 1919, Alfred Earnshaw assumed that the lack of a tail-pin proved that only men had played the cello in the past:

> It is probably only in comparatively recent times that ladies have taken up the 'cello, and the fact that few, if any, 'cellos were fitted with the sliding peg by which the 'cello could be held up, proves that it was considered only possible for a man to play it.[128]

Even though Servais died in 1866, and spent much of the last years of his life touring abroad, mostly in Russia, he appears to have taught at least four female pupils: Anna Krull, Rosa Szük (later Madame de Matlekowitz), Eliza de Try (who previously studied with Franchomme, also occasionally credited with the first use of the tail-pin) and

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[127] Jacques Casanova de Seingalt, trans. Arthur Machen, *The Memoirs of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt 1725-1798* (New York: G. Putnam's Books, London: Elek Books, 1894), vol. 2 ch. 2, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2956/2956.txt> [accessed 15th February 2008].
[128] Alfred Earnshaw, *Elements of Cello Technique* (London: Joseph Williams, 1919), p. 1.

Hélene de Katow (later Madame Zegowitz de Katow). Krull and Szük are not listed as students of the Brussels Conservatoire, but may well have studied with Servais privately. Van der Straeten claims that Gabrielle Platteau (d. 1875) also studied with Servais, 'unless we are greatly mistaken', but he was indeed mistaken, as her teacher was Servais's successor in Brussels, Gustave Libotton.[129]

There are depictions of women cellists using a tail-pin and playing side-saddle, such as Arthur Hughes's *The Home Quartette* (1882-83)[130], or George du Maurier's satirical cartoon 'The Fair Sex-tett'.[131]

Figure 7/6: Arthur Hughes: *The Home Quartette: Mrs Vera Lushington and her Children* (1882-83), current location unknown since 1983.

[129] E. van der Straeten, *History of the Violoncello* (1914), p. 559. Information about Platteau supplied by Peter François.
[130] Reproduced from Pamela Todd, *The Pre-Raphaelites at Home* (London: Pavilion, 2001).
[131] *Punch*, 68 (1875), p. 150.

Figure 7/7: George du Maurier: 'The Fair Sex-tette' (*Punch*, 1875)

According to Anita Mercier:

> A side-saddle position was popular, with both legs turned to the left and the right leg either dropped on a concealed cushion or stool or crossed over the left leg. A frontal position with the right knee bent and behind the cello, rather than gripping its side, was also used. Feminine alternatives like these were still in use well into the twentieth century. Paul Tortelier's first teacher, Béatrice Bluhm, played side saddle, and a photograph exists of Beatrice Harrison playing in the modified frontal position.[132]

The photograph to which Mercier refers clearly shows Beatrice Harrison with her left knee behind the instrument.[133]

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[132] Anita Mercier, 'Guilherminia Suggia', <http://www.cello.org/Newsletter/Articles/suggia.htm> [accessed 15th February 2008]. It has not so far been possible to verify Béatrice Bluhm's posture, and accordingly Mercier's book on Suggia omits these references; see Anita Mercier, *Guilherminia Suggia* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

[133] Reproduced here from exhibition pamphlet, *Violisten (M/V), Prenten en foto's vam de muziekabfeling* (Den Haag: Haags Gemeentemuseum, 1985). This catalogue is cited by Tilden, 'Development of the Cello Endpin', p. 352, n. 28.

Figure 7/8: Beatrice Harrison (R), side-saddle posture

However, this is the only surviving photograph of her in this posture, all others from childhood through to her final years showing the modern posture. The possibility remains that this posture was adopted for posed photographs but may not necessarily have been used in actual performance. This may also have been the case with the exaggerated posture depicted in Auguste van Biene's promotional postcards.

Figure 7/9: Auguste van Biene, promotional postcard, c. 1905 (writer's collection)

Forino mentions Giovanna (Jeanne) Fromont-Delune who 'was a supporter of the old posture for ladies (holding the cello to the side with the right knee below the left'.[134] He gives no dates, but she is briefly mentioned playing for the Belgian war-wounded in England in 1915.[135] The *Musical Times* reviewed a Birmingham concert in 1917 and a Paris recital in 1921. Intriguingly, both reviews are highly favourable, but neither mentions her playing position:

> [...] the chief attraction was Madame Fromont-Delune's magnificent violoncello playing [...] M. Louis Delune proved himself to be a performer of high rank.[136]

> Very welcome was the concert given by Madame Jeanne Fromont-Delune, a violoncellist of unusual attainments, who displayed a

[134] '... è partigiana della vecchia posizione per le signorine (tenere il violoncello di fianco col ginocchio destro sotto al sinistro)...' Luigi Forino, *Il violoncello*, p. 399. Jeanne Fromont-Delune may have been related to the Parisian publisher Eugène Fromont, and was the wife of the Belgian organist and composer Louis Delune (1876-1940), who wrote several short cello pieces and an arrangement of Tartini's concerto in D (originally for viola da gamba). In 1906 Louis's brother Pierre wrote a cello sonata in B minor dedicated to, and first performed by, Louis and Jeanne. Jeanne Fromont-Delune herself composed some cello pieces, reviewed in *Musica d'oggi*, 19 (1937), p. 31.
[135] *British Journal of Nursing*, 24th July 1915, p. 81.
[136] Anon., 'Music in the Provinces – Birmingham', *MT*, 58 (1917), p. 276.

> remarkably fine technique, breadth of style and beauty of tone. Her programme included examples by Tartini, Spourni, Pasqualini, and Louis Delune, whose compositions are remarkable for their atmospheric feeling and rare delicacy.[137]

For any repertoire other than the very simplest, the side-saddle posture is quite impractical. Fromont-Delune's edition of Hekking's left hand finger exercises, many of which require extreme extensions in double-stops, suggests that she herself was an advanced player. In fact, these exercises cannot be executed with the cello turned round as, for example, in Arthur Hughes's painting, and the more extreme pronation of the left wrist makes octave extensions virtually impossible (figure 10).[138]

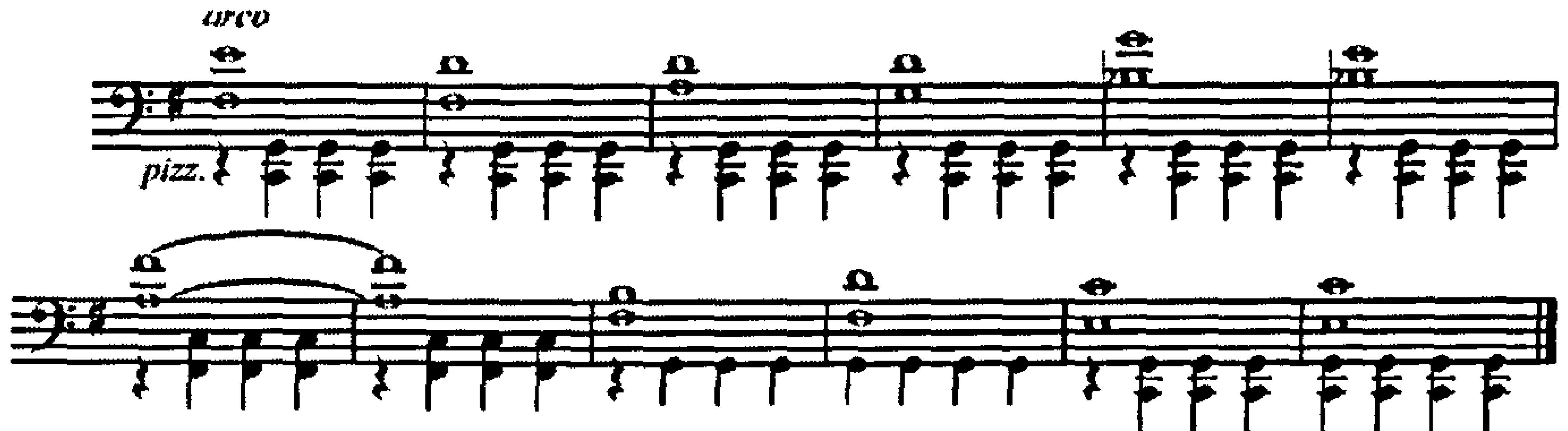

Figure 7/10: Hekking, ed. Fromont-Delune, LH pizzicato ex.

This exercise (figure 11) is to be practised in all keys.[139]

Figure 7/11: Hekking, ed. Fromont-Delune, double stops in high positions

This photograph of Helene de Katow shows one solution to the possibly

[137] George Cecil, 'Musical Notes from Abroad – Paris', *MT*, 62 (1921), p. 371.
[138] André Hekking, rev. Jeanne Fromont-Delune, *Exercices quotidiens pour la force et l'agilité des doigts* (Paris : H. Hérelle & Cie, [1927]), p. 4.
[139] Ibid., p. 5.

inelegant male posture (figure 12).[140]

Figure 7/12: Helene de Katow, c. 1864

Her voluminous dress almost totally conceals the disposition of her legs, so that she can rest the cello against her left leg without inelegance. Indeed, in 1875 her appearance, along with that of her female colleagues, was favourably commented on by the *Chronique musicale*:

> In place of the eternal montonous black suits and white ties, the public was agreeably surprised to see the concert begin with the appearance of three pretty ladies in ravishing costumes. Mme. de Katow, cellist, Mme. Blouet-Bastin, violin *premier prix* [...] and Mme. Tassoni, a young American pianist, executed with remarkable ensemble a trio by M. Lutzen on motifs from *La traviata*. [...] The Salle Philippe Herz is too small for the immense power of the Mme. de Katow's voice, which sang Gounod's Ave Maria.[141]

[140] Photograph by Nestor, Ghent. Zuidwestbrabants Museum, Halle, B.3694.

[141] 'Au lieu des éternels et monotones habits noirs et cravates blanches, le public a été agréablement surpris en voyant le concert débuter par l'apparition de trois jolies femmes en toilettes ravissantes. Madame de Katow, violoncelliste, madame Blouet-Bastin, premier prix de violon [...] et madame Tassoni, jeune pianiste americaine, ont executé avec un ensemble

Rosa Szük's concert dress may well have worked in a similar way (figure 13).[142]

Figure 7/13: Rosa Szük, from an unidentified newspaper cutting c. 1866 (Bibliothèque Nationale, France: Richelieu Musique magasin 001)

Lisa Cristiani's (1827-1853) more austere appearance in this popular lithograph also suggests that her less voluminous dress largely concealed her posture. After her 1845 Paris and Hamburg débuts, this portrait was 'eagerly sought after' (figure 14).[143]

remarquable un trio de M. Lutzen sur les motifs de la Traviata. [...] La salle Philippe Herz est trop petite pour l'immense puissance de voix de madame de Katow, qui a chanté l'Ave Maria de Gounod.' *Chronique musicale*, 8 (1875), p. 42.

[142] Unidentified newspaper cutting c. 1866, Bibliothèque Nationale, France: Richelieu Musique magasin 001.

[143] Anon., 'Lady Violoncellists and One in Particular', *MT*, 48 (1907), p. 307.

Figure 7/14: Lisa Christiani

No full-length portrait of Elisa de Try has been found to date, but the head-and-shoulders picture from an un-named newspaper cutting suggests a demeanour similar to Cristiani's.

Figure 7/15: Elisa de Try, unidentifed newspaper cutting, Paris Bibliothèque nationale

The female cellist with the most striking visual representation, Guilherminia Suggia, was also the stimulus for an extraordinary article from *Country Life*, cited below, which brings together many of the different gendered aspects of the cello

discussed here. Suggia's photographs were considerably more demure than the famous portrait by Augustus John, and they have something in common with depictions of Christiani and de Try. However, there is a degree of self-absorption which is less evident in earlier pictures of female cellists, and a striking physical intimacy in the photograph of her putting her Stradivarius cello in its case (figures 16-18).[144]

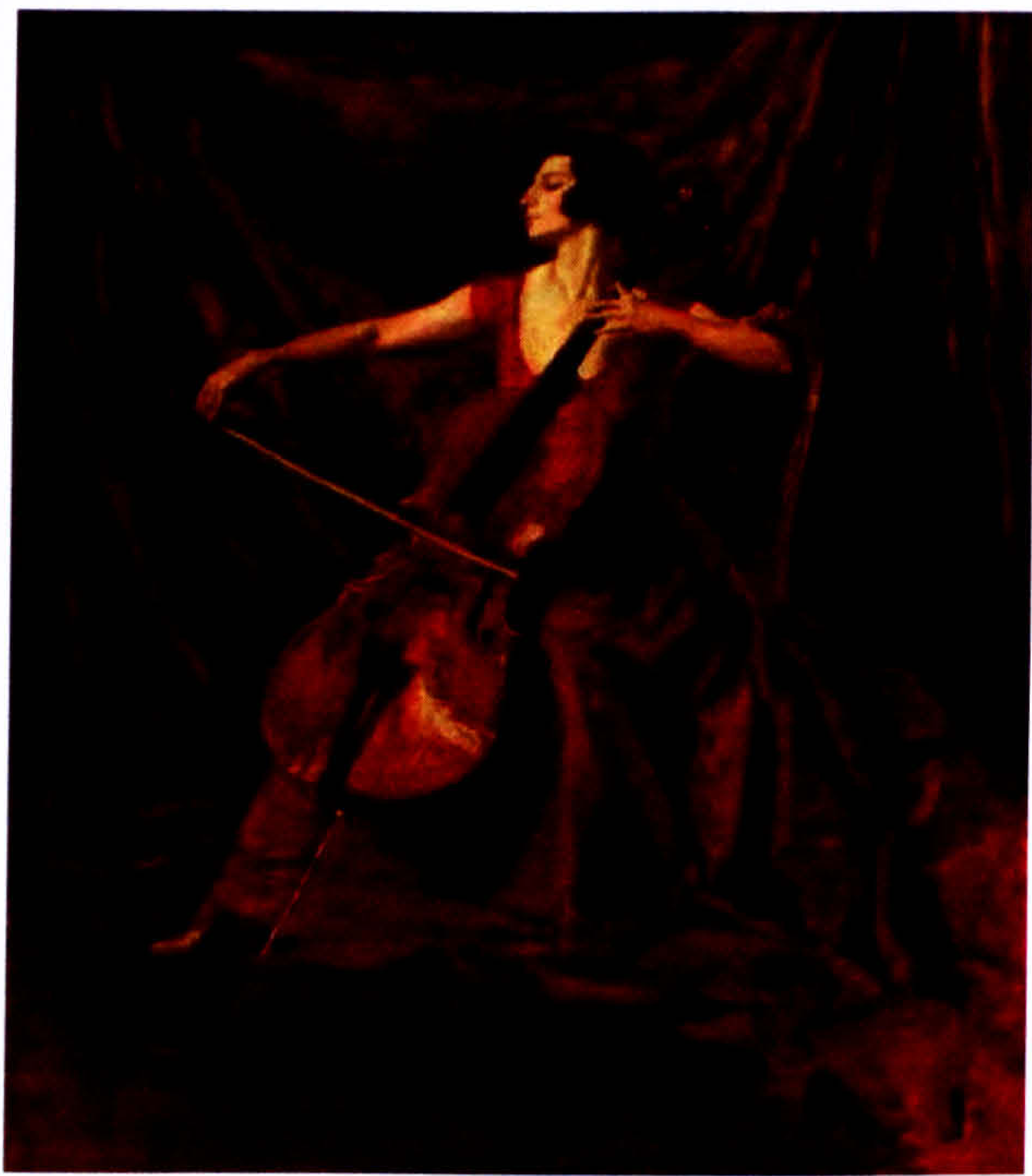

Figure 7/16: Augustus John, *Madame Suggia* (1920-23), Tate Collection

[144] These photographs taken from Mercier, *Suggia*, plates following p. 75.

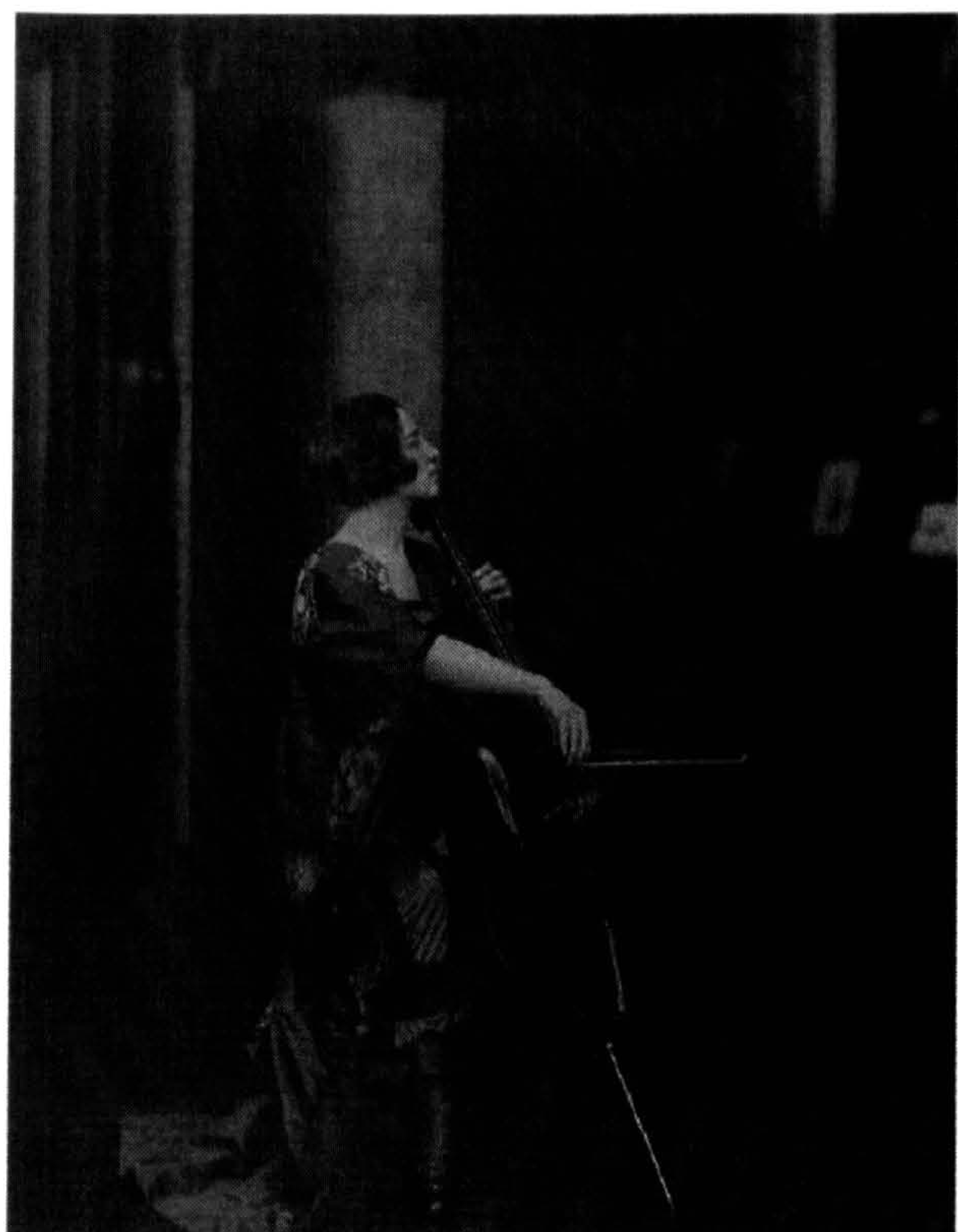

Figure 7/17: Suggia, c. 1911

Figure 7/18: Suggia c. 1924

Figure 7/19: Suggia with cello, 1930s

While reviews of Suggia's concerts generally followed predictable lines, remarking on her technical skill and musicality while occasionally criticising her small tone, some took a wider view. In 1924 the *Musical Times* described her as teasingly flirtatious in Brahms sonatas, written originally for 'big, bushy old Haussmann':

> Madame Suggia is a flashing sylphide. It was a great treat to hear her coaxing and drawing out Brahms, with all a woman's wiles. Now she would languish, and again she would give him a taste of her temper. As for Brahms, sometimes he responded all smiles (the Minuet of Op. 38), but sometimes he couldn't or wouldn't be nice (the fugal Finale of the same) but would insist on being cross as a bear, Andalusian witchery or no.[145]

However, stereotyped gender roles were presented very differently in an article about her in 1928:

> It was as if I watched a dance [...] the very imperfections of the visible rhythm kept me aware that the real dance was invisible; that rigid partner of hers forced her to almost ungainly motions, like those of strong rowers with stiff oars in a surge.
> In the visible impression, strength dominated always: the tense vibrant body, the powerful shoulders, had nothing of what is called graceful; as for prettiness, it never came within a league of that lady. Beauty, the

[145] 'C.', *MT*, 65 (1924), p. 1124. The Portuguese Suggia was frequently thought to be Spanish.

> obvious plain indisputable compulsion of beauty, flashed at you in moments now of motion, now of poise, in the long sweep of the bow, or the half instant of arrest when movement completed itself, and all lines fell together in a harmony. But beauty in the larger sense [...] was always there: the beauty that has roughness and force in it, like some of the hoarse disturbing notes she sent clamouring.
>
> It was a delight to see her, before each bout began, sit up alert, balance and adjust her bow as a fencer balances his foil, then settle herself with that huge tortoise between her knees, like a jockey sitting down to the ride: erect at first and watchful, till gradually, caught by the stream she created she swung with it, gently, sleepily, languidly, until the mood shifted, the stream grew a torrent and the group rocked and swayed almost to wreckage. Or again, she would be sitting forward, taking her mount by the head, curbing it, fretting it, with imperious staccato movements, mastering it completely – letting it free to caracol easily, or once more break into full course, gathering itself in, extending itself, in a wild gallop. She was creating sound till you could see it: the music seemed to flow like running water, up her arms, over her neck; one felt that seated behind her one could see it coursing down her shoulders and her spine, with the whirls and eddies of a mountain river.
>
> Only the face remained apart: in it was something different: the face with its closed eyes belonged to us who were played upon rather than to who played: it was the artist in the artist's other role, her own audience, listening to herself, experiencing first and more than all others the motion which her art evoked. That rapt and passive countenance, that swift ordered disciplined activity of every fibre of her body – disciplined till all was instinctive as the motions of a flying bird – showed once for all the double nature, speaker and listener at once, actor and spectator, which must be the artist's.
>
> And then at the end, with some long-drawn singing fall, or with one abrupt vehement clang of sound, she would finish, would raise her bow high, in a gesture of dismissal, break the magic – and come to the top like a diver, a little breathless and smiling.[146]

The 'masculine' trope of control is present, but here exercised by a woman. She is herself disciplined, and is also fully in control of the cello, her 'rigid partner' here presented as an awkward or impetuous animal (tortoise or racehorse). She is transformed into a force of nature, 'a mountain river', and finally emerges from what appears to be a self-absorbed sexual experience, 'a little breathless and smiling'.

[146] Stephen Gwynn, 'When Suggia was Playing', *Country Life*, November 26th, 1927, pp. 767-78. Mercier cites a shortened version of this passage, but mainly as a narrower demonstration of the importance to Suggia of listening intently to herself, and making a link between the physical energy of the performance described here with the Augustus John portrait. Mercier, *Suggia*, p. 61.

Beneath the exuberant language, this is a description of a self-contained, controlling and sexually dominant woman. The cello is the object of a woman's control, and a means to her own private fulfilment.

Stephen Gwynn writes as a self-proclaimed non-musician, responding to Suggia's performance primarily as a visual experience, but he was not alone in describing her intense physical relationship with the instrument. The adult beginner cellist Doris Stevens (1892-1963) quoted Havelock Ellis to this effect:

> At times [...] she seems crucified to the instrument; with arched eyebrows raised there is almost an expression of torture on her face, one seems to detect a writing movement that only the self-mastery of art controls, and one scarcely knows whether it is across the belly of the instrument between her thighs or across her own entrails that the bow is drawn to evoke the slow deep music of these singing tones.[147]

Ellis himself, in a complete reversal of the earlier nineteenth-century view, saw the cello as ideally suited to a female performer, to the extent that he found it

> hard to experience complete satisfaction at the spectacle of a woman with a violin [...] and conversely [...] the spectacle of a man with a violoncello causes a corresponding dissatisfaction.[148]

Stevens herself finds fault with Ellis for 'turn[ing] into the female body everything he likes', and she herself recounts several very conflicting accounts of the cello's gender, given to her by various friends. To the writer Floyd Dell, it was male; Konrad Bercovici, a writer and musician, confidently asserted it to be female; and the poet William Rose Benét 'said with equal finality, "It is clear that the cello is an hermaphroditic instrument"'. The lawyer Clarence Darrow, another friend, simply said '"I know it's a

[147] Doris Stevens, 'On Learning to Play the Cello', *American Mercury*, 8 (1926) 7, citing Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments (2nd Series)* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1921), p. 169. Ellis is describing a concert given by Suggia in May 1919. Stevens's is probably the earliest account of the experience of being an adult beginner (of either sex) on the cello. She was a prominent American suffragist, and amusingly describes how shop assistants assumed that she was buying the instrument for a child or a young man.
[148] Havelock Ellis, *Impressions and Comments, Third series* (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1924), p. 13.

stringed instrument", and shrugged his famous shoulders'.[149]

With Doris Stevens and her prominent friends, the conflicting significations of the cello lead us first into an aporic confusion which is simply sidestepped by Clarence Darrow's shoulder-shrugging. The traditional characteristics of the cello are still present in Ellis's 'slow deep music', something which Doris Stevens is also drawn to. However, within the terms used in this period, the cello has undergone a significant transformation. In her final paragraph, Doris Stevens describes a cello full of memories like Felice Blangini's, an eloquent instrument like the Paris Conservatoire's, one which provides 'wide hearty joy',[150] but a cello whose personal value is defined in terms which ultimately transcend these topics:

> The cello is mine now. It is a storehouse of beauty. It seems to me to have the power of a whole orchestra. Perhaps I endow it with memories. Anyway I no longer feel the pricks of the foolish. The instrument's deep beauty is eloquent and enduring and shrivels the easy prattle of the dead.[151]

The reception of the cello through a gendered filter shows certain significant changes over time. These changes, however, also have interest insofar as they can be applied to the perception of specific works and to aspects of their construction, and ultimately to issues of historical performance, possibilities which are explored in the next chapter.

[149] Ibid., p. 8.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Ibid.

CHAPTER 8:

GENDER IN ACTION – PERFORMING THE CELLO

When a cello composition is played, what is being performed is not only the sonata or other piece; the instrument itself is also being performed. With that act of performance come certain cultural associations, some of which have been outlined in the context of gender. These associated ideas bear directly on the reception of the performance. When certain instrumental forms are themselves seen in terms of gender tropes, the interaction of instrument and musical form can raise issues for performance practice and reception study. This chapter will explore some of the possible consequences of this interaction. Compositions by the Bohrer brothers and by Romberg, written earlier in the nineteenth century at a time of relative consensus about the 'character' of the cello, are studied with a view to showing how their differences led to strikingly contrasting reception. The Lalo cello concerto, from the late nineteenth century, is examined in order to show how the gender issues become somewhat more complex.

If the cello began the nineteenth century as a manly instrument played by men, and entered the twentieth century as a less strongly gendered instrument played by men and women, the actual music written for it took a rather different path. While the masculine virtues of restraint, slow eloquence and sublime emotion dominate its eulogies, cellists rarely followed this rhetorical path when they wrote music intended to demonstrate its (or their own) 'character'. For every slow, dignified melody (such as the initial themes of Beethoven's A major sonata and Brahms's in E minor, the slow movement of Schumann's concerto, or the second subject theme of Saint-Saëns' A minor concerto), there are literally dozens of compositions which are the exact opposite.

A cello canon develops very late in nineteenth century. The 'classical' cello compositions deemed most important in the 1889 edition of *Grove* are the sonatas by Beethoven, Hummel, Mendelssohn (the most highly recommended), Sterndale Bennett and Brahms, the concertos by Schumann and Molique, the Brahms double concerto, Schumann's *Stücke im Volkston* and Mendelssohn's *Variations Concertantes*. However, the same writer also recommends the violin-cello duos of the Bohrers, the Rombergs, and Léonard and Servais, as well as Popper's *Requiem.*[1] The first unambiguous statement of the centrality to the repertoire of any cello sonata only occurs at the very end of the nineteenth century, in Werner's comments on Beethoven's sonata in A op. 69:

> This sonata by Beethoven, with the motto: "Inter Lacrimas et Luctum" ('Twixt tears and pain) is the best and most beautiful that the literature of the violoncello can boast of. It is so thoroughly suited to the character of the instrument that [...] the performer to display his artistic capabilities in every direction. The genuine manly character which speaks in the principal theme shows the nobility which distinguished Beethoven from all other composers. Whoever can play this sonata properly deserves the reputation of being a good violoncellist.[2]

Werner, in stressing the manliness of this sonata, could be seen as reasserting the traditional gender trope at a time when it may have had less force. On this basis, the musical 'character' of the instrument – assuming that such a concept is valid – is not clearly established.

Much of the solo repertoire from the later eighteenth/early nineteenth century clearly sought to imitate violinistic virtuosity. For example, the sonatas by Janson (1765) or Lepin (1772) tend to avoid the lower two strings and frequently use high

[1] Edward John Payne, 'Violoncello-playing', in Sir George Grove (ed.), *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1889), vol. 4, p. 301.
[2] Josef Werner, *Die Kunst der Bogenführung The Art of Bowing. Supplement No. VII to the Author's Violoncello-method* (Heilbronn: C. F. Schmidt, 1894), p. 47. The 'Latin motto', supposedly found in a lost autograph MS, originates in Thayer's biography of Beethoven, and is based on Thayer's misreading of an earlier source. See Jonathan del Mar (ed.), *Beethoven Sonaten für Violoncello und Klavier* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004), Critical Commentary, pp. 35-36.

registers and thumb position passagework (Lepin's op. 2 sonatas were, according to the title page, expressly composed to explain 'les positions hors de la Manche'), with considerable use of high registers indicated by the transposing treble clef with a '*8va*' marking (figure 1, given here in modern notation).[3]

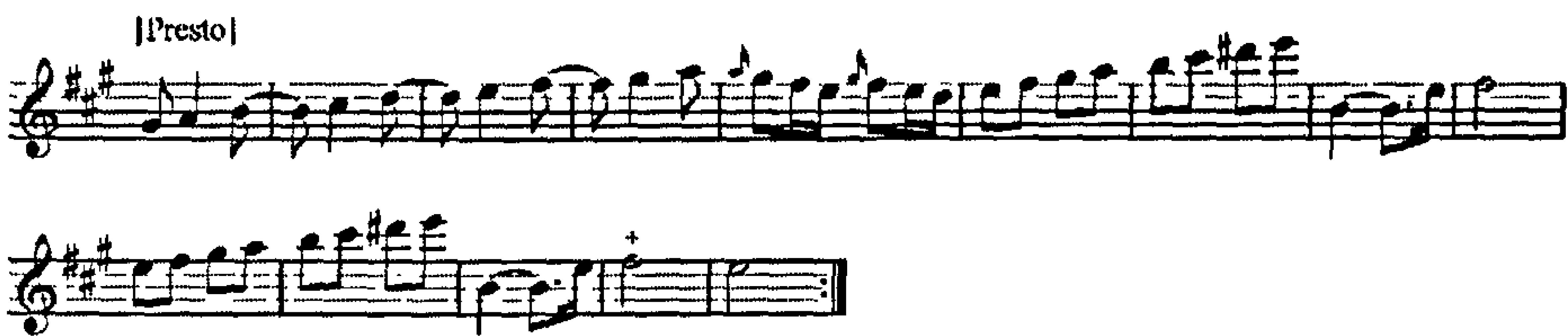

Figure 8/1: Janson, Sonata no. 5, 3rd movt.

Figure 8/2: Janson, Sonata no. 5, 3rd movt.

Figure 8/3: Janson, Sonata no. 6, 3rd movt.

[3] Jean Baptiste Janson, *Six Sonates a Violoncelle et Basse*, op. 1 (Paris: the author, [1765]); Henri-Noëlle Lepin, *Six Sonates pour le Violoncelle* (Paris: the author, [1772]).

Figure 8/4: Lepin, Sonata no. 6, 3rd movt.

Raoul also explores high passagework and particularly complex bowing, often involving intricate combinations of short slurred groups and détaché notes, and gives literally dozens of exercises of this type (figure 5).[4]

Figure 8/5: Raoul, mixed bowing exercise

These exercises culminate in a cello transcription of Tartini's *L'arte dell'arco.*[5] Bréval's sonatas also demonstrate many of these characteristics, albeit in a less extreme form than Raoul (figures 6-7).[6]

[4] Jean Marie Raoul, *Méthode de violoncelle* (Paris: Pleyel, [c.1797]), p. 74.
[5] Ibid., 'Airs variés pour Violoncelle et Basse. L'Art de l'Archet de Tartini', pp. 84-93.
[6] Jean-Baptiste Bréval, *Six Solos for the Violoncello & Bass* (London: Longman & Broderip,

Figure 8/6: Bréval, Sonata no 5, 3rd movt.

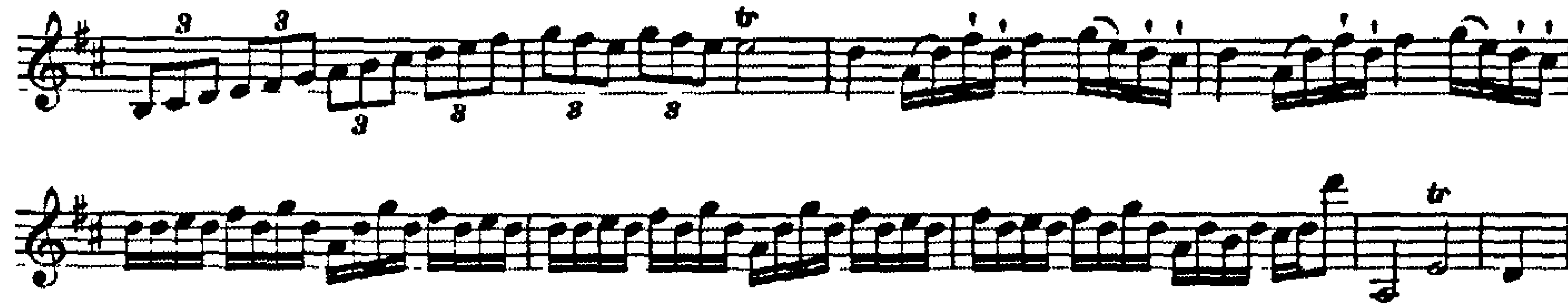

Figure 8/7: Bréval, Sonata no. 6, 1st movt.

THE BOHRER BROTHERS

However, the height of violinistic virtuosity is reached in the duets for cello and violin by the Bohrer brothers, Anton (1783-1852) and Max (1785-1867), composed by them as vehicles for their skills. Anton Bohrer led a quartet in Paris which in 1830-31 gave some of the earliest performances of Beethoven's late quartets. He was a close friend of Berlioz, who noted his particular affinity with 'des œuvres de Beethoven réputées excentriques et inintelligibles'.[7] Berlioz also esteemed Max Bohrer, 'le célèbre violoncelliste', who, being in Moscow at the same time as he (1847), offered 'cordialement' to play in Berlioz's orchestra to bolster a weak cello section.[8]

[1792-1798]). Facsimile ed. Philippe Obussier (Exeter: Musisca, 1982). First pub. Paris, 1783.

[7] Hector Berlioz, 'Dixième lettre', *Mémoires de Hector Berlioz*, 2 vols. (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1897), vol. 2, p. 141.

[8] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 287.

Nonetheless, earlier critics were divided about the merits of Max Bohrer's cello playing. William Ayrton's *Harmonicon* scorned the *Herald*'s enthusiasm:

> [...] And the Herald says, speaking of M. Bohrer's performance on the violoncello, that he "drew the most charming, tremulous, and harmonic-like tones from that, in few other hands pleasing, instrument." Tremulous and charming! – and the violoncello only pleasing in few hands! The fact is, I believe, that the simple tones of no instrument are more delicious than those produced from this. When bungling players attempt to execute on it, it is then, I grant, anything but pleasing. In this case, however, the player, and not the instrument, is at fault. But such trash is hardly worth a comment.[9]

This critique can be read in terms of the conflicted gender of the cello, with the *Herald* praising the 'charming, tremulous harmonic-like tones' and the implied insubstantial and ethereal sound, opposed to the *Harmonicon*'s 'simple tones' and direct unadorned address to the ear. In fact, the *Harmonicon* rarely missed an opportunity to disparage the Bohrers or their unstructured compositions. When an unnamed French critic suggested that they might have more success in England, where 'a taste for futile music is so predominant', the *Harmonicon* disagreed, by siding with the Parisian when he observed that

> [a]n eternal wandering from subject to subject, adopted without design, and abandoned without motive, can have no other effect than to excite weariness and disgust [...][10]

Indeed, when the Bohrers eventually came to London, the *Harmonicon*'s reviewer used some of the French critic's language himself:

> Eternal motives, resumed and laid aside at pleasure, can have no other effect than to weary and disgust.[11]

The English critic even affected French word-order when reviewing the Bohrers at the *Concert Spirituel*: 'Modulations incomprehensible, airs and passages old and

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[9] Anon., 'Diary of a Dillettante', *Harmonicon*, 7 (1829), p. 193. 'The Herald' could be the *Sunday Herald* (formerly the *Weekly Register*) which began under that name on January 6, 1828, the *News and Sunday Herald* (1805-35) or the *Morning Herald*, begun 1780.
[10] *Harmonicon*, 6 (1828), p. 110.
[11] Ibid., p. 119.

feeble [...]'.[12]

However, the *Harmonicon* also suggested an alternative repertoire for the cellist:

> His brother, M. Max Bohrer, has not lost any of his talent, but he would have been better appreciated had he displayed it in a concerto of Romberg.[13]

The *Harmonicon* clearly thought Romberg a better example than Bohrer, judging from a review of the former in Riga:

> [...] the most remarkable [concert] was that given by the celebrated Bernhard Romberg, on his return from [...] a very successful tour in Russia. On this occasion he performed with that effect which an author only can impart to his own works, his grand concerto in B minor [no. 9, op 56]. This noble picture of tones contains every thing that is consonant with the dignity of the art, and stands as a model of pure excellence in these days of caprice and extravagance.[14]

This contrasting of Bohrer and Romberg is referred to by van der Straeten:

> He [Romberg] said on one occasion when he heard Bohrer play: "If I stand at the end of the hall and close my eyes, I imagine myself sitting on the platform, and it sounds to me as if I were playing myself." A contemporary writing about the two artists says: "Romberg's playing is that of the purest German school, and as such unparalleled. Max Bohrer as a virtuoso stands outside of any school. His tone is fantasy itself, the earthly echo of the innermost vibrations of his very soul. This gives his style and manner of playing the stamp of originality, and it is so interwoven with his psychical being, so characteristic, light and skilful, that it must be regarded as absolutely individual, unlike everything else, and excluding all comparison. Technically he stands on the same level as Romberg, with whose compositions he usually appears before the public, the two artists being as yet unequalled by any other player".[15]

BOHRER COMPOSITIONS: TWO EXAMPLES

Max Bohrer's *L'Amabilité* and the brothers' jointly composed sixteenth *Grand Duo Concertant* for violin and cello give an indication of what it was that so exercised the *Harmonicon*, charmed the *Herald*, and perhaps prompted the un-named writer

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[12] Ibid., p. 141. This is all the more significant given the *Harmonicon*'s frequent antipathy towards French music and criticism.
[13] Ibid.
[14] *Harmonicon*, 4 (1826), p. 61.
[15] Edmund van der Straeten, *A History of the Violoncello. the Viol da Gamba. their Precursors and Collateral Instruments* (London: William Reeves, 1914), p. 244.

quoted by van der Straeten.[16] The following discussion will set out some of the characteristic features of these works, and the next section will show how Romberg's works differ from the Bohrers', both in terms of composition and of reception.

L'Amabilité is a set of variations. It begins with a short slow *pp* introduction, featuring double-stopped harmonics on the cello over a simple dotted-rhythm *arpeggio* figure in the piano part (which prefigures the opening notes of the principal *allegro* theme). Though short on melodic or harmonic interest, the piano part creates a particular atmosphere through the generous use of the sustaining pedal, the rapid flourishes in the high register and the final *tremolando* in the bass (figure 8).

Figure 8/8: ***L'amabilité*, opening bars.**

The principal *tempo di marcia* theme is banal, slightly resembling the theme from Rossini's *Mosé in Egitto* (added to the 1819 Naples revival), used for Paganini's set of variations on one string. It concludes with an amusing, *piano subito*, *delicato* sequence of trills (figure 9).

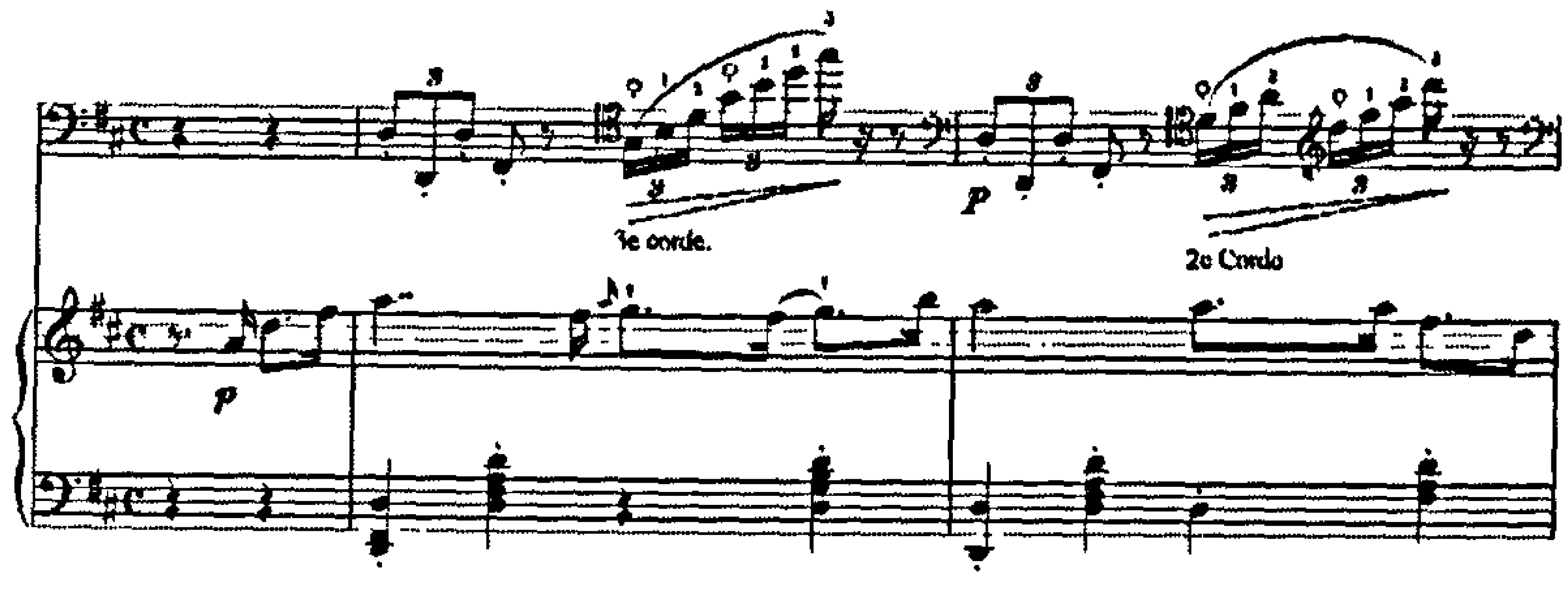
[16] Max Bohrer, *L'Amabilité, Duo Concertant pour piano et violoncelle* op. 14 (London: Wessel & Co. [*HM*1832]); Les Frères Bohrer, *16me. Grand Duo Concertant, pour violon et violoncelle* op. 47 (London: Wessel & Co.[*HM*1832]).

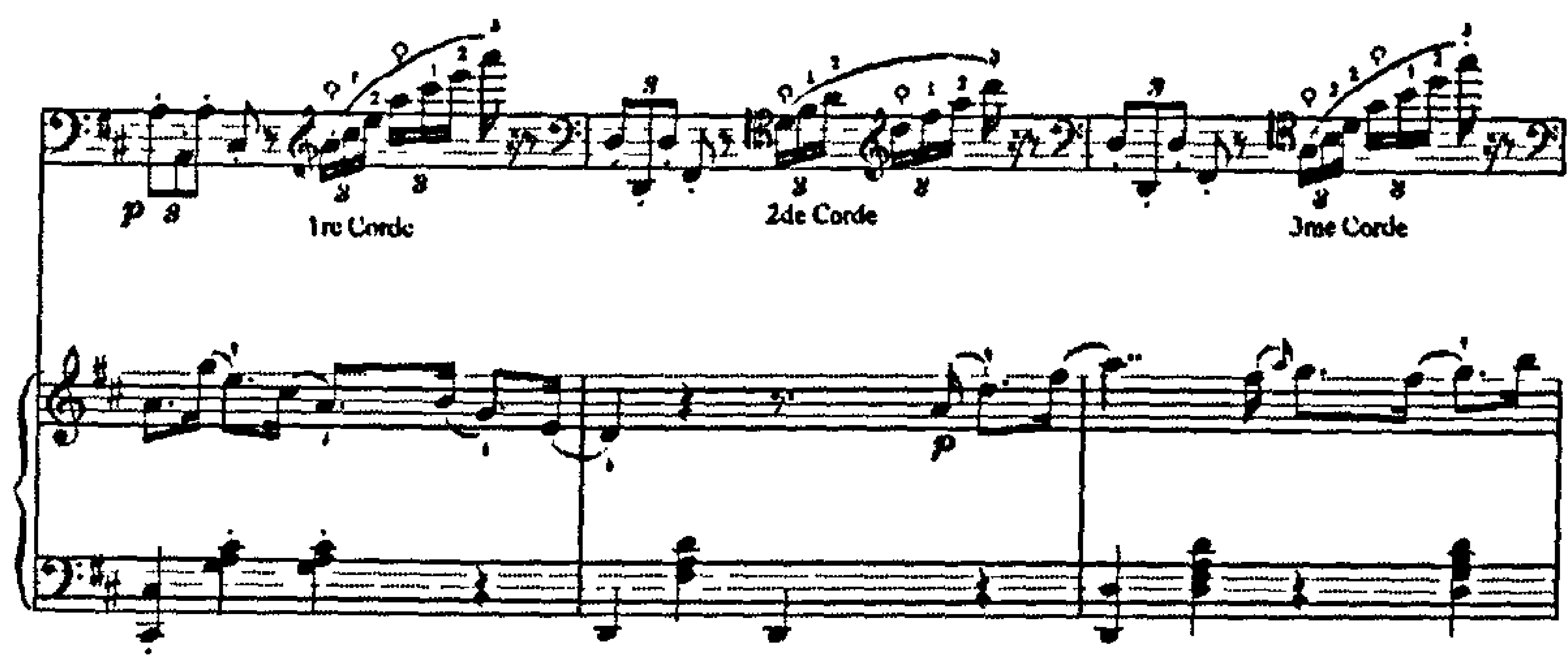
Figure 8/9: ***L'amabilité*****, conclusion of theme.**

Variation 1 is a virtuosic display, not for the cello, but the piano, accompanied by rudimentary pizzicato (figure 10). The Bohrer brothers were often accompanied by Anton's wife Fanny (*née* Lebrun), and it is quite possible that she composed the piano parts.[17] Variation 2 gives the piano the simple statement of the theme, with the cello adding arpeggio flourishes on one string (figure 11). Variation 3 has the cello and upper piano part playing mostly in thirds, in triplet quavers which are slurred, *détaché* and, in the case of the cello, sometimes played in up-bow staccato groups. However, in the second half of this variation the piano part becomes increasingly virtuosic, culminating in a passage of broken double octaves before fading away into an entirely new section, *andante* in F major. No sooner has this begun, however, than the piano has a cadenza, and only after this does the cello play the new theme (figure 12).

[17] There was a considerable keyboard tradition on the female side of the Bohrer family. Fanny Lebrun (b. 1807) was the daughter of the well-known pianist Sophie Lebrun and the piano maker J. L. Dülcken, and her sister Louise married Max Bohrer. Both Sophie Lebrun and her sister Rozine studied the piano with Andreas Streicher (the husband of Nanette Streicher, of the famous Viennese piano-manufacturing firm). Max Bohrer's daughter, also named Sophie, was a keyboard virtuoso who made her debut at the age of nine; their son Henry was also a pianist. Robert Munster, 'Sophie Lebrun', and Margaret Cranmer, 'Streicher', in *Grove Music Online* [accessed April 2008].

Figure 8/10: Bohrer, *L'amabilité*, var. 1.





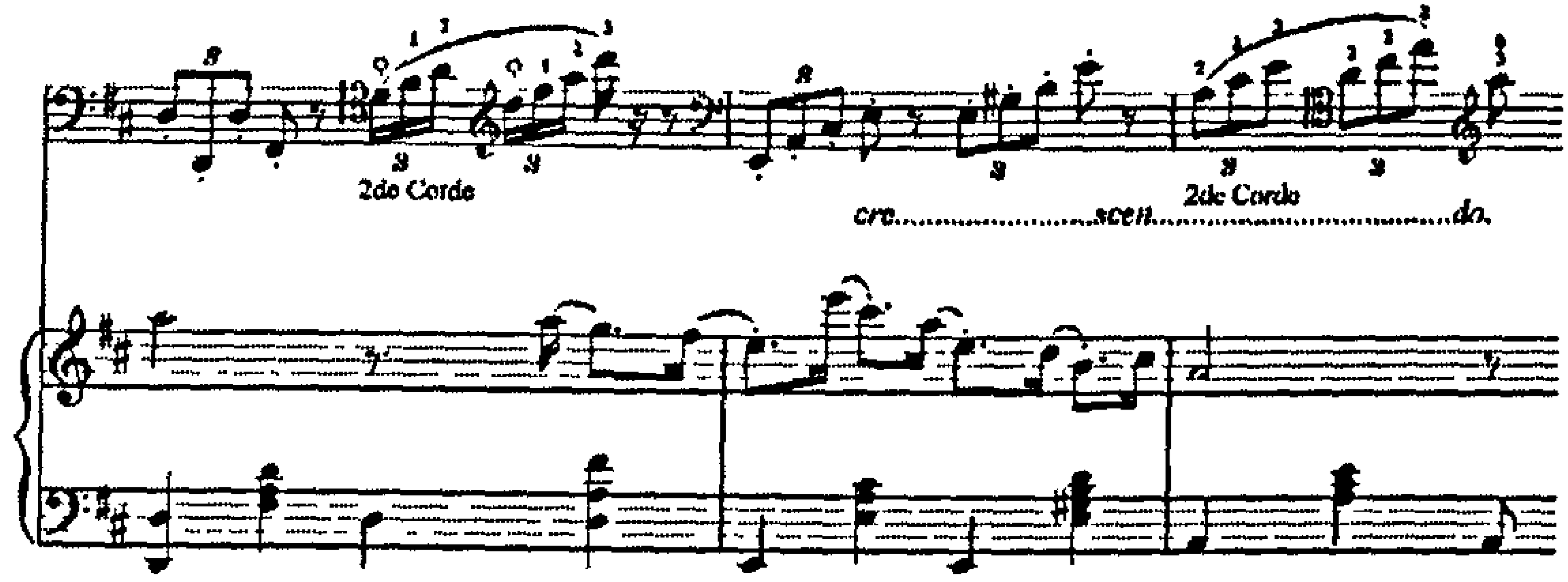


Figure 8/11: ***L'amabilité*: variation 2, first part (easier cello alternative part omitted).**

Figure 8/12: ***L'amabilité*****: end of piano cadenza, start of new theme**

For a few bars, the piano takes over, with a florid melody swathed in sustaining pedal over a cello accompaniment which is almost comically banal (figure 13).

Figure 8/13: ***L'amabilité*****: Andante, piano solo episode**

The cello returns to the *andante* theme, but soon the key modulates from F to the dominant of B minor, *con fuoco*. A gradually descending cello trill combines with diminished and dominant sevenths, '*tremulo*', in the piano, dying away on the dominant of the original theme (figure 14).

Figure 8/14: ***L'amabilité*, transition to return of main theme**

The main theme is repeated in full, but the *delicato* trills are interrupted this time

with a silent bar. From here, an extensive coda featuring *ponticello* bariolage and broken octave passage-work for the cello leads to a repeat of the opening *adagio* introduction and a brisk *allegro vivace* conclusion (figure 15).

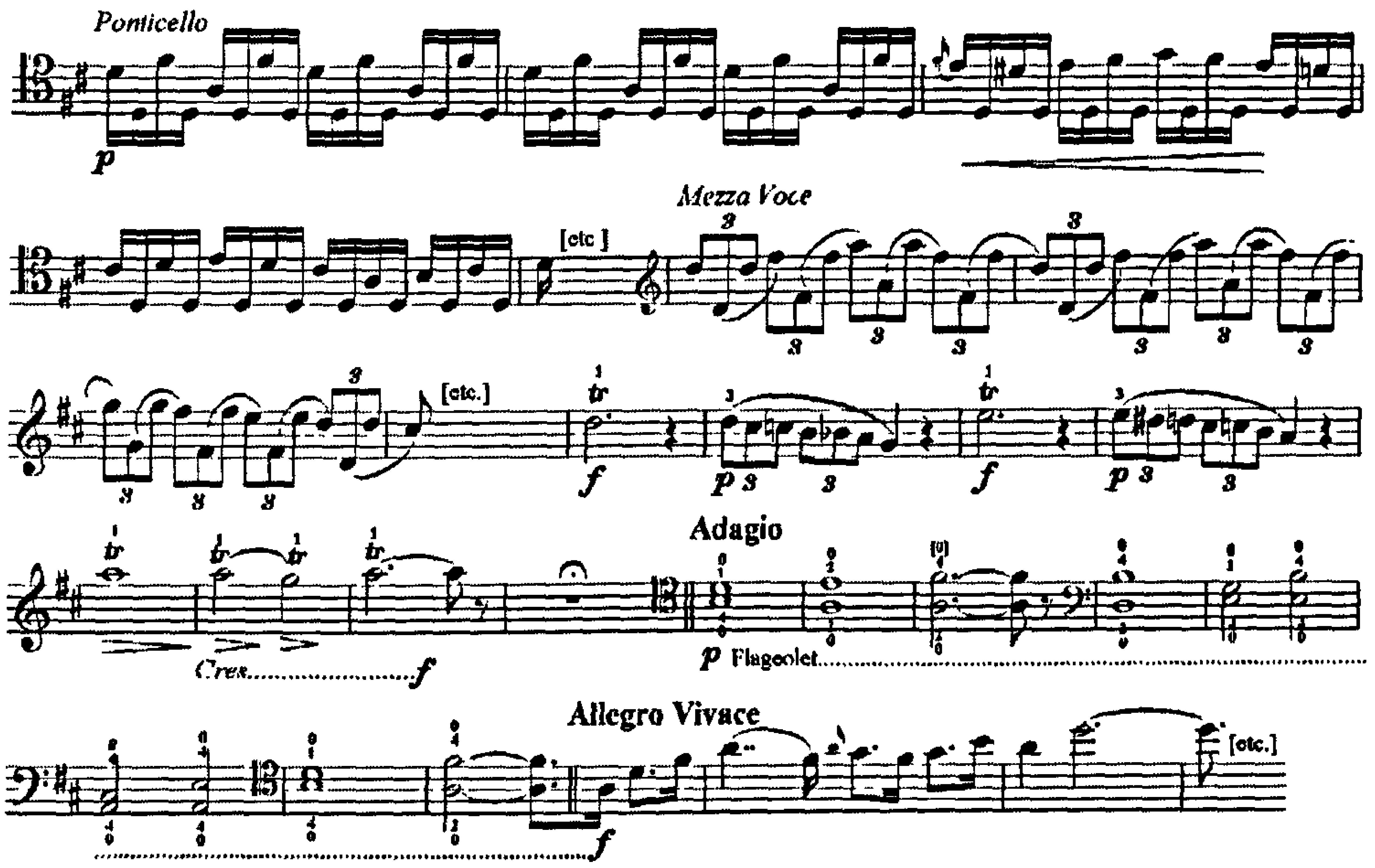


Figure 8/15: ***L'amabilité*, cello part, coda and conclusion**

Viewed in the light of the conventional perceptions of the character of the cello at this time, there are several striking features of this composition. The lower registers are largely avoided, other than for short sections where the cello plays an accompanying bass figure. Dynamics are very restrained, in curious contrast with the piano part which almost appears designed to be too loud for the cellist. There is much use of harmonics, both sustained and in passage-work, some *ponticello* and some left-hand pizzicato. The octave triplets shown in figure 15 are marked 'mezza voce', where other cellists would indicate something much more assertive. Indeed, a very similar passage in a later work, Goltermann's concerto in D minor (1861), is marked *mf* with repeated *crescendi/diminuendi* hairpins (figure 16).[18] For a cellist whose octave playing was often praised, *mezza voce* here is curiously diffident.

[18] Georg Goltermann, *Concerto no. 2* op. 30 (Offenbach: André, [*HM*1861]).

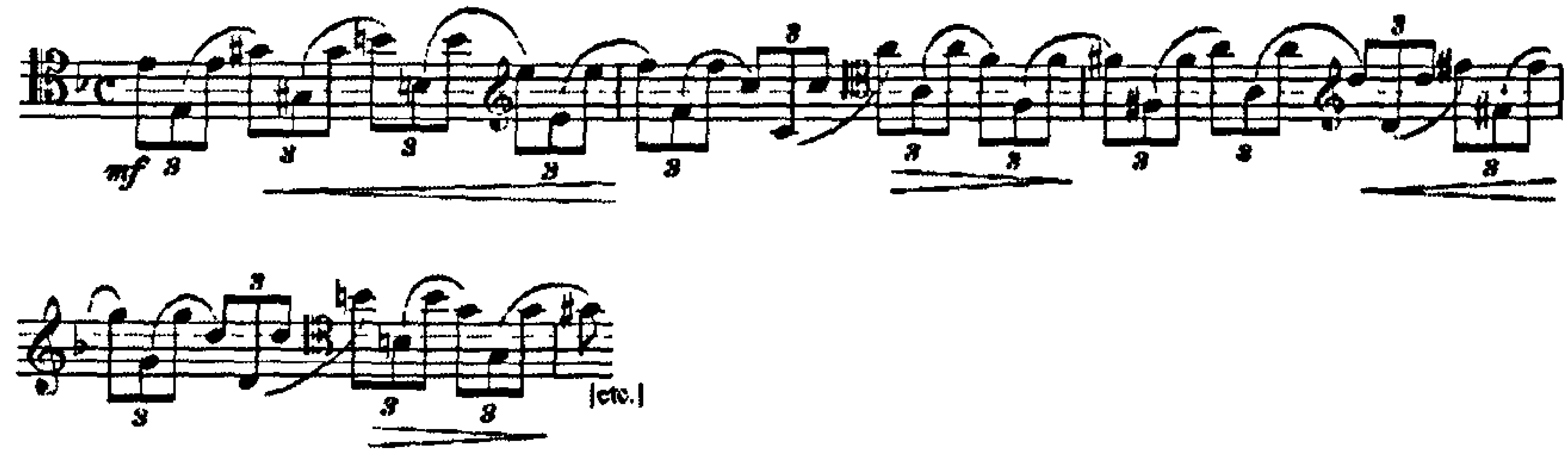


Figure 8/16: G. Goltermann, *Concerto no. 2* in D minor, 1st movement triplet octaves

For what might be assumed to be a composition intended primarily as a virtuoso showpiece, the piano part is far more than a mere accompaniment.[19] It takes the main role in the first variation (using rapid crossed hands at one point) while the cello provides the simplest possible accompaniment, and is provided with an elaborate cadenza which is much more impressive than anything the cello is required to do. The piano's upper pitch range is particularly high, often using f'''' but going no lower than G♯'. This upper limit is not by any means unknown at this time, but many pianos were still being made with the lower top note of c''''.[20] Not only, then, is the cello part itself rather light-weight, avoiding the more resonant and 'characteristic' registers, but its effect is further weakened by the extremely virtuosic accompaniment. There is what the *Harmonicon* might have described as a lack of *gravitas* about this piece, which the frivolous piano part, if anything, underlines.

With the sixteenth *Duo Concertant* for violin and cello very much the same tendencies can be observed. High harmonics (even on b''', which at this height is possible as a harmonic, if not strictly in tune with equal temperament), double-stopped harmonics, combinations of left- and right-hand pizzicato, complex string-crossings, playing in very high positions on lower strings, rapid arpeggios on one string, rapid

[19] While there may some influence of the 'accompanied sonata' genre here, no review suggests that these pieces were seen as anything other than primarily cello solos.
[20] Martha Novak Clinkscale, *Makers of the Piano 1700-1820* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 289. Clinkscale shows that pianos by Streicher after 1810, and most of those by Wachtl, reached *f''''*, but only some Broadwood grands and uprights did so, and Stodart's mostly did not.

multiple same-finger shifts, a tendency towards quieter dynamic markings, and the near-total avoidance of anything resembling a straightforward *cantabile* melody, mean that the 'accepted character' of the cello is contradicted if not actually subverted (figures 17-20).

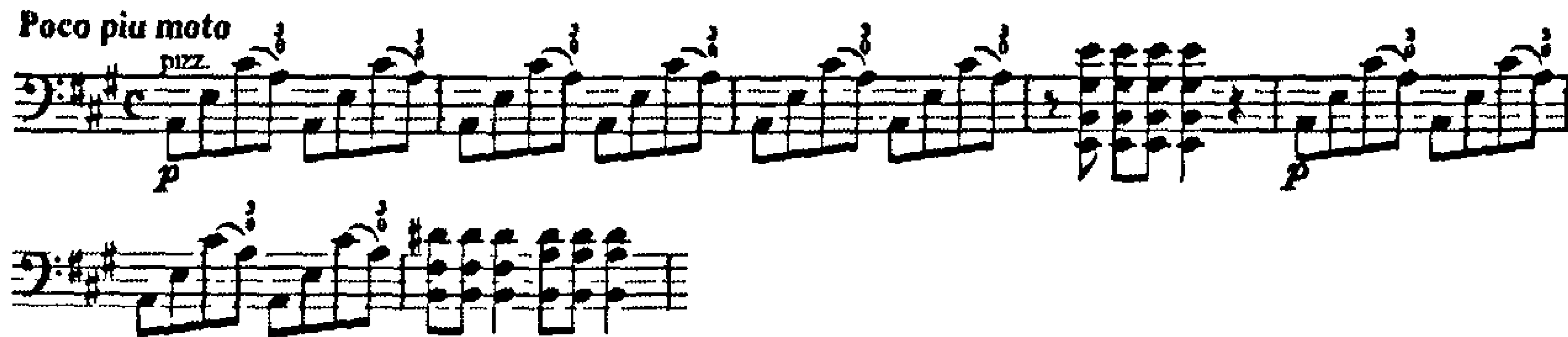


Figure 8/17: Bohrer bros., *Duo Concertant*, cello part, pizzicato (note that the open A strings are plucked by the left hand)

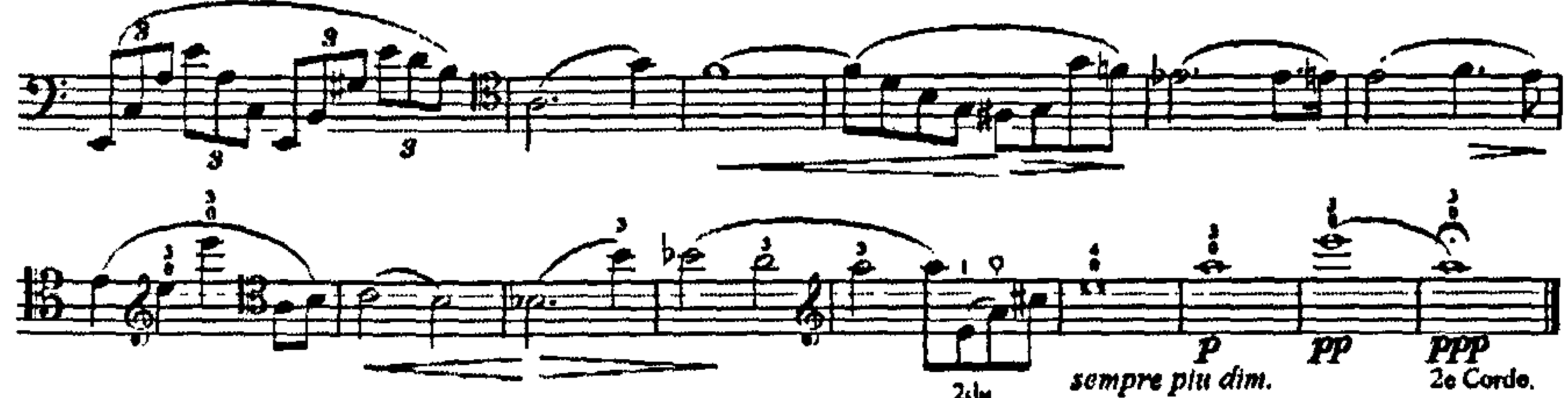


Figure 8/18: *Duo Concertant*, cello pt, high harmonics

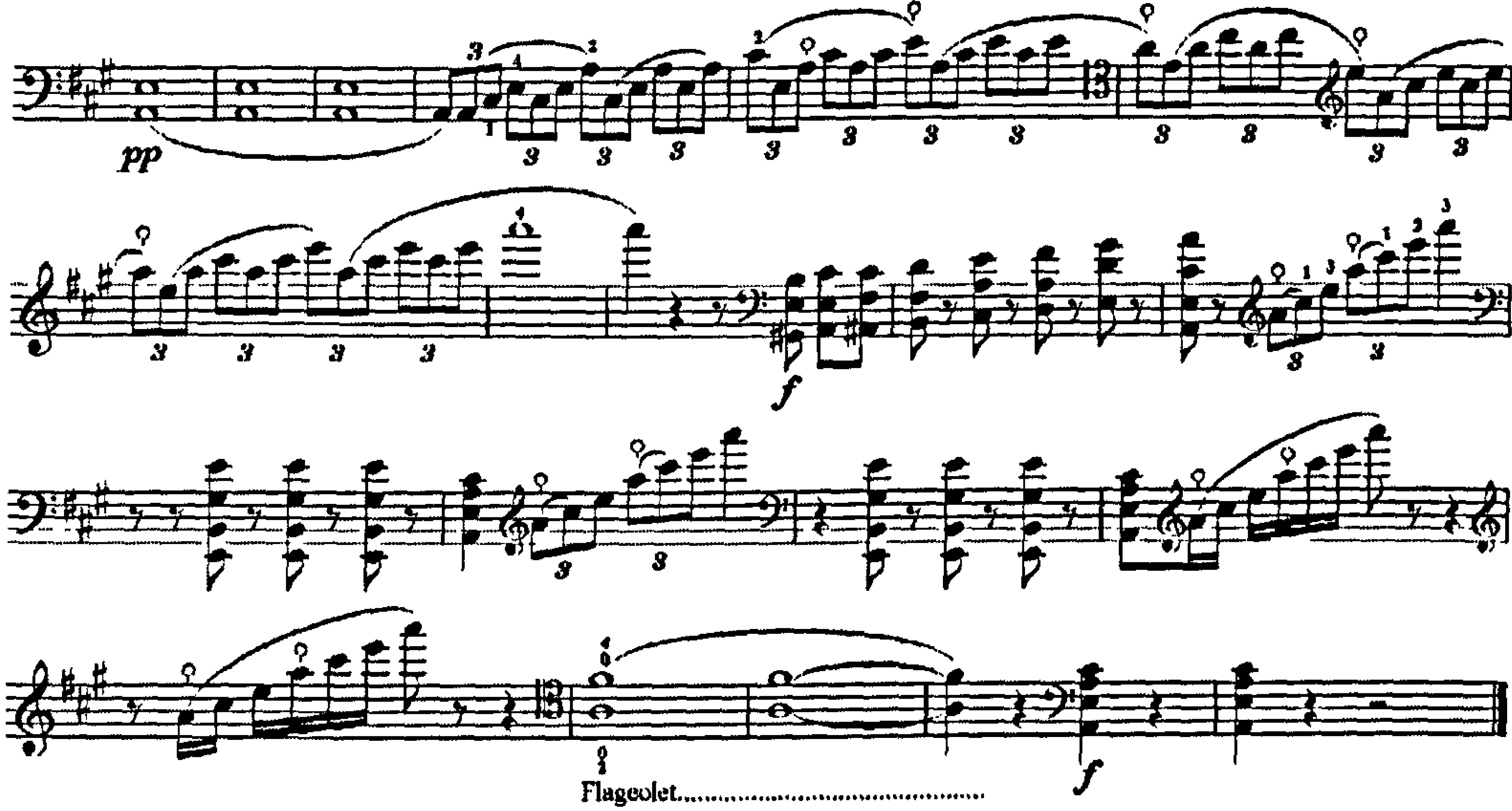


Figure 8/19: *Duo Concertant*, cello pt., arpeggios, double-stopped harmonics

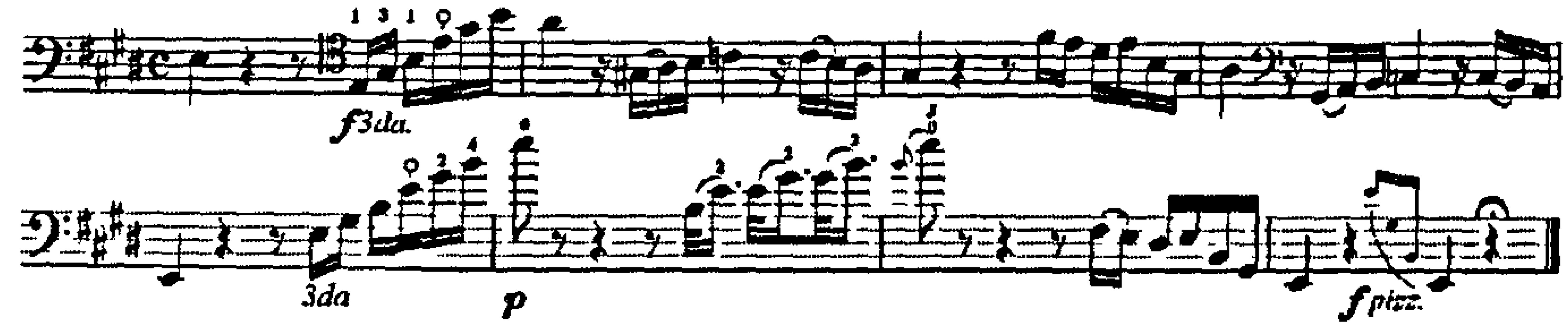


Figure 8/20: ***Duo concertant*****, cello pt., same-finger shifts**

The cello, in these compositions, becomes an epigone of the violin. Indeed, most of the features of the cello part in the *Duo Concertant* are present in the violin part as well, including the rapid sequences of same-finger shifts in the last example.[21] This duo maintains an equal balance of interest between the parts to a greater degree than *L'amabilité*; in one case a florid improvisatory gesture in the violin part is not replicated by the cello, but otherwise the two are very similar. They also generally avoid up- or down-bow staccato and complex combinations of slurred and *détaché* bowing. The equality of the violin and cello parts means that at times both instruments appear to be busy with elaborate accompanying figures, while no melody is present. The effect is of a proliferation of subsidiary material in the absence of a principal idea.

BOHRER COMPOSITIONS: RECEPTION

Contemporary opinions varied about both the inherent qualities and the aesthetic merits of the Bohrers' compositions. An 1822 concert in Vienna was reviewed at some length, with particular attention paid to the cellist, whose virtuosity was spoken of along with that of the 'unforgettable Romberg', and whose reputation had raised high expectations.[22] Max Bohrer was praised for

> [...] special certainty and skill, combined with a regulated use of the

[21] The string and piano parts of the Bohrer works examined here are thoroughly marked with performance instructions such as fingerings, bowings and pedal marks.

[22] 'Der Ruf, welcher diesen beyden Künsltern vorausging, und besonders jener des Violoncellisten, von dessen Virtuosität selbst noch bey der letzten Anwesenheit des uns unvergesslichen Rombergs viel gesprochen wurde, musste die gespannteste Erwartung des ganzen Publicums rege machen, welches auch die Lösung ihrer Aufgabe nur um so schwieriger machte.' *AMZmbR*, 6 (1822), p. 629.

> bow [...], his beautiful trills, precision in the low strings, and the purity of his harmonics [...][23]

However, neither his tone quality nor his *cantabile* production merited the same degree of praise; these should have been better, Bohrer being 'in the prime of life' as far as strength and feeling were concerned.[24] The concert was 'somewhat old-fashioned, [appearing] to belong to an earlier period' ('etwas veraltet, und scheint der frühern Epoche desselben anzugehören'), but the audience response was much greater than for other musicians.

> The two cadenzas, in which this artist proved to us the whole range of his skill and security in leaps and runs, could not therefore likewise restrain the overflowing applause, because such exercises more for the assembly of difficulties, as for cadenzas must apply.[25]

The unity of the Bohrers' ensemble was frequently praised, both in parallel passages ('gleichlaufenden Passagen') and in 'insurpassable individual solos' ('unübertrefflich waren die einzelnen Passagen'), particularly the cellist's octave runs ('besonders die so schwierigen Octavengänge des Violoncells'). However, just as has been shown in the discussion of the *Duo concertant* above, so here too the variation technique obscured the principal theme:

> The theme is quite beautiful, and one wants to hear the principal melody more often than the variations allow it to appear.[26]

This review also, rather surprisingly, singles out one final aspect of the Bohrers'

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[23] 'Eine besondere Sicherheit und Fertigkeit, verbunden mit einer geregelten Bogenführung zeichnen ihn besonders aus, so wie auch sein schöner Triller, die Deutlichkeit auch in den tiefen Corden, und die Reinheit seines Flageolets äusserst lobenswerth erscheinen.' Ibid.

[24] 'Wir bedauern nur ihm unsere volle Anerkennung seines Verdienstes nicht in demselben Grade, auch in Hinsicht des Tones, so wie auch in Bezug auf die Führung des Gesanges zu können, da er doch in der Blüthe seiner Jahre, sowohl hinsichtlich der Kraft, als des Gefühls, zu dieser Erwartung berechtiget hätte.' Ibid.

[25] 'Die beyden Fermaten, in welechen uns dieser Künstler die ganze Fülle seiner Fertigkeit und Sicherheit in den Sprüngen und Läufen bewiessen hat, konnten ebenfalls desshalb nicht zum überströmenden Beyfall reitzen, weil derley Excercitien mehr für Agregat von Schwierigkeiten, als für Fermaten gelten müssen.' Ibid., p. 630.

[26] 'Das Thema ist recht anmuthsvoll, und man möchte öfter seinen Haupstgesang hören, als die Variationen ihn zum Vorschein kommen lassen.' Ibid.

playing for special praise:

> The duo's purity in ensemble, often so beautifully produced (which was only more increased through really beautiful and interesting accents [*Drucker*] and *rinsforzandi*), sounded like a complete harmony.[27]

A concert in Dresden was treated quite favourably, with praise for Max Bohrer's clarity in low registers, purity in fast passage-work, confident shifting and other technical aspects of the performance, but it was also noted that the 'final cadenza clashed horribly with the whole'.[28] The programme consisted of a Mozart overture, a Rossini aria and four items by the Bohrers. The last item, a *Capriccio* on a French song, was seen as a weak conclusion, 'full of difficulties yet with no real effect' ('als Schlussstück zu matt, voll Schwierigkeiten und doch kein wahrer Effect').[29]

On the other hand, the almost literal equality of the violin and cello parts in their duets prompted one reviewer to see them as a particular sub-genre of duet:

> Duets in the strictest sense (i.e. where the composition is purely in two parts, each part is a leading voice and the motives are skilfully developed), are as rare as they are difficult to devise, particularly for instruments of a single type, and are not as highly valued by the multitude as they deserve to be. It may be for this reason that Mozart, the two Rombergs and many others do not exclude polyphonic textures from their Duets, and use it in alternation with two-part counterpoint, though conforming otherwise with all critical demands of this sort of composition. The addiction of virtuosi to writing for their instruments, even without a previous thorough study of composition, has led to the emergence of a third genre of so-called Duos, which could really be called solos for two instruments and are comparable with a poem which two people divide up and recite. [...] In [these duos], both instruments are meaningfully used and require good players, especially as concerns execution; in such hands the first two Duos, despite their manifold weaknesses of execution, their motives, modulations etc., will go down well everywhere; the third however, which aspires to erudition, will not please anyone, under any

[27] 'Die Reinheit ihres im Ensemble oft so schön geführten Duo's, welche durch recht anmuthige und interessante Drucker und Rinsforzando's nur noch mehre erhöht wurde, klang gleich einer vollständigen Harmonie.' Ibid., p. 631.
[28] '...die am Schlusse angebrachte Ferma passte aber zum Ganzen wie eine Faust auss Auge.' *BAMZ*, 6 (1822), p. 679.
[29] Ibid., p. 680.

circumstances.[30]

This review of the Bohrers' *Trois duos concertans* op. 3 was supplemented by a much longer discussion in the same journal, but by a different writer ('v. d. O.'), and with different conclusions.[31] The latter reviewer struggles with the concept of two brothers writing one composition, citing Reichardt and Naumann who wrote one act each of an opera, and the Stolberg brothers who published poetry jointly, but stating that for 'two brothers [to] compose one composition, one and the same allegro, is really unprecedented'.[32] In fact it was not quite unprecedented. The Rombergs' *Trois duos concertans* op. 2 had appeared c.1801, although they were admittedly cousins, not brothers, and the brothers Moritz and Leopold Ganz appeared as soloists together often in the 1830s and 40s performing their own duos.[33] After extolling the Bohrers'

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[30] 'Duetts, im strengsten Sinne des Worts, so dass der Satz rein zweistimmig, jede Stimme Hauptstimme ist, und die Motive kunstgemäss ausgeführt sind, findet man eben so selten, wie sie schwer, besonders für Instrumente einerlei Gattung, zu erfinden sind, und von der Menge nicht so geachtet werden, wie sie es verdienen. Aus diesem Grunde mögen wohl Mozart, die beiden Romberge u. a. m. den mehrstimmigen Satz in ihren Duetten nicht ausgeschlossen haben, und lassen ihn mit dem zweistimmigen Satze, ubrigens aber alle Forderung der Kritik an Kompositionen dieser Art erfüllend, abwechseln. Die Sucht der Virtuosen, auch ohne vorhergangenes gründliches Studium der Komposition für ihre Instrument zu schreiben, hat noch eine dritte Gattung sogenannter Duos zu tage gefördet, die eigentlich nur Solos für zwei Instrumente genannt werden können und einem Gedicht vergleichbar sind, in welches sich zwei theilen und so recitiren. Dass auch auf diesem Wege von talentvollen Männern manches unterhaltende Tonstück für kleine Zirkel gewonnen wird, beweisen vorliegende Duos, welche schon durch den herrlichen Vortrag ihrer Autoren dem musikalischen Publikum auf das vortheilhafteste bekannt sind. Beide Instrumente sind in denselben bedeutend beschäftigt und verlangen gute Spieler, besonders, was den Vortrag betrifft; in solchen Händen aber werden die zwei ersten Duos, trotz ihrer mannigfaltigen Schwächen rücksichtlich der Ausführung, der Motive, Modulation etc., überall eine recht freundliche Aufnahme finden; das dritte aber, welches Anspruch auf Gelehrsamkeit macht, wird unter keiner Bedingung irgend Jemand aussprechen.' 'Fiaccola', *BAMZ*, 1 (1822), p. 402, reviewing Bohrers' *Trois duos concertans* op. 3 (Berlin and Paris: Schlesinger, [1822]).

[31] 'v. d. O.', *BAMZ*, 1 (1822), p. 403-5.

[32] '...aber dass zwei Brüder an einem Werke, an ein und demselben Allegro komponirten, ist wol nicht vorgekommen.' Ibid., p. 403. Friedrich Leopold (1750-1819) and Christian (1748-1821) Stolberg, joint publications: *Gedichte* (1779); *Schauspiele Wait Choren* (1787), *Vaterlandische Gedichte* (1815). Johann Friedrich Reichardt and Johann Gottlieb Naumann composed acts 1 and 2 respectively of *Protesilao* (1789, rev. 1793).

[33] Andreas and Bernhard Romberg, *Trois duos concertans* op. 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1801]); 'Les frères Ganz', *Duo concertant* op. 11 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [*HM*1832]). Moritz Ganz became principal cellist in the Royal Court Chapel in Berlin in 1826, following Duport, Romberg and Bohrer. Anon., 'Memoirs of the Brothers Moritz & Leopold Ganz', *MW*, 5 (1837),

presumed upbringing, unanimous taste and feeling, 'v. d. O.' nonetheless argued that the duets could not have been composed by, say, one of the brothers who included the other's name out of brotherly affection ('aus brüderlicher Liebe'), because each part is individually treated with great knowledge of the instrument, and therefore 'each [part] owes its origin only to its master and to its virtuoso' ('dass eine jede nur ihrem Meister und ihrem Virtuosen den Ursprung verdankt'). In spite of this eulogy, the final judgement is more qualified:

> Did the two brothers compose this duo together? Probably not. – There blows therein the spirit of a great shared feeling. Nevertheless, it can surely be said: one created it, but both prepared it.[34]

Concerning the music itself, v. d. O. has mixed feelings. On one hand it is almost amusingly predictable:

> The cellist says, "I will take the theme and play a solo, you accompany the cello." Said; done. Bravo! The violinist says, "Now it's my turn, you accompany." So the first repeat is done just like this, the movement taking off, but tastefully and always interestingly designed, and the whole movement following sonata form. It is certainly not an original duo, in which both parts have melody and the harmony is justified on contrapuntal principles.[35]

However, the audience for chamber music with a large solo element will not be disappointed here:

> [...] whoever loves the nine [sic – really eleven] quartets of B. Romberg, in which the cello is validated as a concertante soloist, and quartets for the [solo?] violin by Spohr, will in this sense [context?] not fail to applaud our present duo.[36]

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p. 148.

[34] 'Ob die beiden Herren Brüder auch wol dieses Duo zugleich erfunden haben? Wohl nicht. – Es weht darin nur der geist einer grossen mitgetheilten Empfindung. Man kann wol immerhin behaupten: einer habe es erfunden, aber beide es ausgearbeitet.' Ibid., p. 405.

[35] 'Der Cellist sagt: "ich will das Thema nehmen und ein Solo spielen, begleite Du auf dem Cello." Gesagt, gethan. Bravo! Der Violinist sagt: "Nun komm ich, begleite Du." So ist die erste Reprise in etwas zu geraden, absetzenden Sätzen, aber geschmackvoll und immer interessant entworfen und der ganze Satz in Sonatenform gehalten. Ein Original-Duo, in welchem beide Stimmen Melodie haben und nach kontrapunktischen Grundsätzen Harmonie begründen, ist es freilich nicht.' Ibid., p. 404.

[36] ' Wer aber die neun Quartetts des B. Romberg, in welchen das Violoncell allein koncertirend geltend gemacht wird, liebt, und manche Quartette für die Violine von Spohr, der wird in diesem

The second duo is 'designed with great virtuosity, efficiently accomplished and in every respect to be called a great duo, but not an original one' ('Es ist mit hoher Virtuosität entworfen, tüchtig durchgeführt und in jeder Beziehung ein grosses Duo zu nennen, aber nicht Original-Duo').[37] However, the two *BAMZ* reviews differ most when discussing the third duo (a prelude and fugue). The first reviewer dismisses it as a work which would not please anyone at all, but for the second it is the best, especially the prelude:

> However the reviewer gives the absolute preference to the prelude, effectively arranged though the fugue is. It is rich in the noblest song, the clear two-part [writing] always shines out and is only provided with essential long sustained filling notes, nonetheless this only gives more charm to this outstanding duet. The dominant key is C major, however it modulates in the style of the prelude (free fantasia) but nonetheless naturally in various keys (apart from bars 10 and 11). Through this, it had a high, noble and serious feeling, so that it must produce a peculiar effect of the evening darkness.[38]

Although neither the fugal subject nor its passage-work are original, the fugue is competently written and makes an excellent impression, and the reviewer singles out the use of inversion, the test of a worthy contrapuntist ('mit vielen Umkehrungen, den wackern Kontrapunktisten bewährt'). The reviewer concludes by commending the set of duos as a whole:

> The first two likewise cannot be recommended enough for study, and will give to connoisseurs and amateurs, who wish to build up their playing on each instrument, a rich spiritual nourishment.[39]

Sinne auch unserm [unsern?] vorliegenden Duo seinen Beifall nicht versagen.' Ibid.

[37] Ibid.

[38] 'Rec. giebt aber dem Präludio unbedingt den Vorzug, so tüchtig auch die Fuge gearbeitet ist. Es ist reich an dem edelsten Gesange, der immer rein zweistimmig erscheint und nur mit langgehaltenen Füllnoten versehen ist, die dem eigentlichen, dennoch hervortretenden Duett nur noch mehr Reiz geben. Die herrschende Tonart ist C-dur, es modulirt aber in der art der Präludien (freien Fantasien) überaus natürlich (ausgenommen den 10. und 11. Takt) in mancherlei Tonarten. Dabei hat es eine hohe, edle und ernste Empfindung, so dass es etwa des Abends im Dunkeln, in einer eigenthümlichen Effekt hervorbringen müsste.' Ibid.

[39] 'Die andern beiden ersten sind ebenfalls zum studium nicht genug zu empfehlen und werden Kennern und Liebhabern, die sich für das höher im Spielen der beiden Instrumente ausbilden wollen, eine geistreiche Unterhaltung gewähren.' Ibid., p. 405.

What is striking in v. d. O.'s review is the combination of conventional musical description with a flash of poetic evocation, and the overall attempt to praise even when pointing out weaknesses or lack of originality. This reviewer is most impressed by the mood of the third duo's prelude, prompting the analogy with twilight, 'etwa des Abends im Dunkeln'. However, this small flight of fancy is easily outdone by the reviewer for the 1822 *AMZmbR*:

> These artists are on the path, which they have followed well and rapidly for many years; we mean a correct and sound treatment of the violin and the cello. Bowing, fingering, and presentation, they themselves mark every bow-stroke with the finest security, sweetness and inner feeling [*Innigkeit*]; they are the van der Werfs, the Houwalds among musicians. And it is this combination of the two which arouses new interest in the listener. One can hear no more complete ensemble; it is at the same time a unanimity of feeling [*Zusammenfühlen*] and so must affect the hearer, with sensibility, more strongly. Also in their compositions the brothers' individuality remains the same. Everywhere loveliness and tender colouring, and the same in the *Symphonie militaire concertante* [...], with a rondo on Dutch national themes, which smells of a pot-pourri of violets, mayflowers and primroses, beneath which only a timpani-stroke stands out (like dog-roses). May these true virtuosi remain with us for quite a long time; they will always find grateful listeners.[40]

These reviews from the earlier 1820s suggest that while the identity of the respective instruments remains, with the cello and violin parts each idiomatically conceived, this character is also transcended, so that the correct way of writing for the

[40] 'Diese Künstler sind auf dem Wege, den sie schon vor mehreren Jahren ganz entschieden betreten, rasch vorgeschritten: wir meinen den, einer correcten und gediegenen Behandlung der Geige und des Cello. Bogenführung, Applicatur, und Vortrag, haben sich bey ihnen zur schönsten Sicherheit, Zartheit und Innigkeit bezeichen jeden Strich; sie sind die van der Werf's, die Houwald's, unter den Musikern. Und diese Vereinigung Beider ist es nun auch wieder, welche ein neues Interesse beim Zuhörer weckt. Man kann kein vollendeteres Zusammenspiel hören; es ist zugleich ein Zusammenfühlen und so muss es auch stärker auf den Zuhörer wirken, der Gefühl hat. Auch in ihren Compositionen bleibt die Individualität der Brüder sich gleich. Überall Lieblichkeit und zartes Colorit, und selbst in der (Sr. Majestät dem König zugeigneten) Symphonie militaire concertante, mit Rondo über holländische National-lieder, duftet ein pot-pourri von Veilchen, Maiblumen und Aurikeln, unter denen nur einige Paukenschlage (als Klatschrosen) hervorstechen. Möchten diese echten Virtuosen recht lange bey uns verweilen; sie werden stets dankbare Zuhörer finden.' Anon., *AMZmbR*, 6 (1822), pp. 5-6. Christoph Ernst von Houwald (1778 - 1845), German playwright and writer (although his brother Heinrich does not appear to have been a writer); Pieter (1665-1722) and Adriaen (1659-1722) van der Werff, Dutch painters.

instrument produces sounds that can only be described by means of floral analogy and literary allusion.

The assertion that the individual character of each instrument is preserved is puzzling in the light of the *Duo Concertant* op. 47, where there seems to be little that distinguishes either part from the other. The simplest explanation would be that some listeners thought that Max Bohrer's style of composition and performance did indeed represent the true character of the cello. Whatever the case, this was not a view shared by a later critic. In 1830, echoing the *AMZmbR* reviewer of Bohrer's 1822 Vienna concert, *BAMZ* praised Max Bohrer's 'praiseworthy skill' ('bewunderungswürdiger Fertigkeit') but with an important reservation:

> One makes a criticism of Herr Bohrer, that he is unable to produce the loveliest characteristic of his instrument, consisting of a singing tone, though the tone of the cello has the greatest affinity with the male voice.[41]

Another review saw Bohrer's apparent contradiction of the character of the cello as a positive virtue:

> Herr Bohrer may be aptly styled the Paganini of the Violoncello, for he conquers a thousand hitherto insurmountable difficulties, and achieves undreamed of things – his tone is mellifluous, his execution brilliant, his fingering rapid and facile, and his bow-hand free and capable of every possible evolution – he makes the instrument more like a violin, or tenor, than a violoncello, and his tone on the two lower strings is almost the reverse of the upper – however, he uses them but rarely [...][42]

Compared with the next generation of virtuosi, his playing appears to have been found wanting by implication:

> Herr Max has a firm tone, and plays *cantabiles* with great neatness and finish. His playing is devoid of the singing like manner which so highly distinguishes Piatti, Cossmann, and others, but he accomplishes great

[41] 'Man macht Herrn Bohrer zum Vorwurf, dass er die schönste Eigenthümlichkeit seines Instruments, die im Gesangtone bestehe, nicht zu kennen scheine, da der Ton des Violoncello die grösste Verwandtschaft mit der menschlichen Stimme habe.' Anon, *BAMZ*, 7 (1830), p. 40.

[42] Anon., 'Herr Max Bohrer's Concert', *MW*, 17 (1842), p. 309, reviewing a concert at Windsor, 20th September 1830.

difficulties; his intonation and phrasing are very correct.[43]

Many reviews, then, suggest that Max Bohrer did not realise the true, masculine, singing character of the cello. Critics agreed that his compositions and performances avoided the conventional cello stereotype, but opinions differed markedly as to why, and to whether or not this was a good thing.

ROMBERG'S COMPOSITIONS

Predominantly virtuosic works such as these, composed by cellists primarily as vehicles for their own technique, can appear broadly similar if viewed from the perspective of the canon. They may well look weak when compared with, say, the sonatas by Beethoven or Mendelssohn. However, if the viewpoint is rather closer to this type of repertoire, then some interesting distinctions appear, with Romberg's compositions offering much more solid fare than Bohrer's. A generation after his death, Romberg was seen as irretrievably *passé*:

> Signor Piatti repeated at his concert the *adagio frondo* from Bernard Romberg's 'Swiss Concerto', lately resuscitated by him at one of the meetings of the Philharmonic Society. Music so weakly elegant would not be worth calling from its grave, were it not clothed with fresh beauty by the silvery tones of the Italian violoncellist.[44]

'Weakly elegant' it may have seemed, but compared to the Bohrers' duos it is relatively substantial. Romberg's musical forms are on a larger scale (he writes far fewer sets of variations), his passage-work and *cantabile* melodies are both more extended, the full range of the instrument is exploited, effects such as harmonics or *sul ponticello* are used far less often (though there are some striking examples of both), and the accompaniments remain just that.

ROMBERG: *DIVERTIMENTI*

At the lighter end of Romberg's output, his *Divertimenti* on national themes are

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[43] Anon., 'Miscellaneous', *MW*, 24 (1849), p. 414.
[44] Anon. [Henry Chorley], *Athenaeum*, 4th July 1868, p. 25.

admittedly uneven. The *Divertimento über österreichische Lieder* op. 46 is typical.[45] A short introduction based largely on simple arpeggio figuration (and with no 'national' content) is followed by a succession of triple-time themes: a quaint *ländlerisch* dance (figure 21), another triple time theme (figure 22) with a contrasting theme from the piano which is taken up later by the cello (figure 23), a *scherzando* theme with skittish jumps (figure 24), and a contrastingly broad theme with equal material for both instruments. After a flirtatious linking passage based on the last bars of the introduction, the last section of the piece begins with another, more waltz-like, theme (figure 25). This final section is virtually a *pot-pourri* of its own, consisting of five new themes. The conclusion consists of simple string-crossing arpeggio figures for the cello under a new theme in the piano part.

Although this type of composition is formally loose by nature, it is not quite as arbitrarily constructed as a Bohrer piece. The themes may be fundamentally unconnected, but they share a generally triadic character.

Figure 8/21: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 1

[45] Bernhard Romberg, ed. Friedrich Grützmacher, *Nationallieder* opp. 42, 46, 65 (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, n.d.).

Figure 8/22: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 2

Figure 8/23: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 3 (piano solo).

Figure 8/24: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 4

Figure 8/25: Romberg, *Divertimento on Austrian Themes*, theme 5.

Romberg himself thought highly of the *Nationallieder* genre and discussed its possibilities at some length.

> If the Composer of such variations has made himself acquainted with the airs upon which they are written, in the country to which they belong, and if he has acquired a knowledge of the musical feeling of the nation, then he may certainly impart a character to the variations which he composes on such airs. The airs with variations of the French, German and Tyrolese, are seldom national [...] we must not consider as such, those which have acquired a certain appearance of nationality, by being frequently sung by mechanics and artisans, but only those which take their rise among the peasantry.[46]

The balance between cello and piano is hard to ascertain, because Romberg's original version has only been found with guitar accompaniment (both versions were published in the same year), and it is quite possible that Grützmacher rewrote some of Romberg's piano part for his own edition. Modulation is restrained, and in general the piece eschews flamboyant instrumental or compositional effects. While reviews of the Bohrer's concerts often mention pizzicato, accents and harmonics, along with a lack of melodic expressiveness, it is clear from works like Romberg's *Nationallieder* that the latter's playing was almost entirely the reverse. Nonetheless, it should be noted that,

[46] Bernhard Romberg, *Theoretical and Practical School* (London: Cocks & Co., 1840), p. 132. *Violoncelloschule* (1840), pp. 130-31.

while their playing styles were normally quite clearly distinguished in their day, within a few years they were seen as very similar; in 1849 the *Literary* Gazette described Max Bohrer as 'a cellist of the Romberg school'.[47]

ROMBERG: CONCERTO No. 2

Romberg's second cello concerto op. 3 in D was particularly widely studied in the nineteenth century and is typical of his ten concerti. There is a very clear contrast between the first and second subject groups, the latter strikingly restless and contrasting with the first subject's clear orientation around the tonic triad. Both themes are presented along with passage-work of various kinds. The development opens with the first subject in the dominant, slightly modified so that the more decorative passages are not literally repeated, immediately followed by a similarly altered version of the second subject. After more semiquaver passage-work a new theme is introduced in G, which soon modulates towards an extended section of passage-work in B minor, leading to the recapitulation. Romberg omits the first theme and goes straight to a reprise of the passage-work which immediately followed in the exposition, and similarly shortens the second subject group, before finishing with some triplet passage-work. The themes are not particularly individual and rely for their character on the decorative figures which embellish them. The emphasis is clearly on the passage-work material, which uses a small number of ideas each of which is used sequentially to create larger units. The effect of this method is heightened in the recapitulation by the foreshortening of the principal themes. In general there is a complete avoidance of the sort of 'tricks' used by the Bohrers, and a more integrated approach to form which highlights the soloist's virtuosity while keeping the overall form relatively concise. There are no harmonic surprises – even Romberg's 'dramatic' flattened submediant modulation in the second

[47] Anon., *Literary Gazette*, 33 (1849) 468.

movement is unconvincing.

Figure 8/26: Romberg, Concerto no. 2, slow movt, modulation to C

The second movement is in a simple ternary form, with an extended middle section. This introduces various short-lived themes which all appear to derive from the initial one – the result of the use of short melodic formulae in different combinations, which achieves an apparent thematic consistency (figure 27).

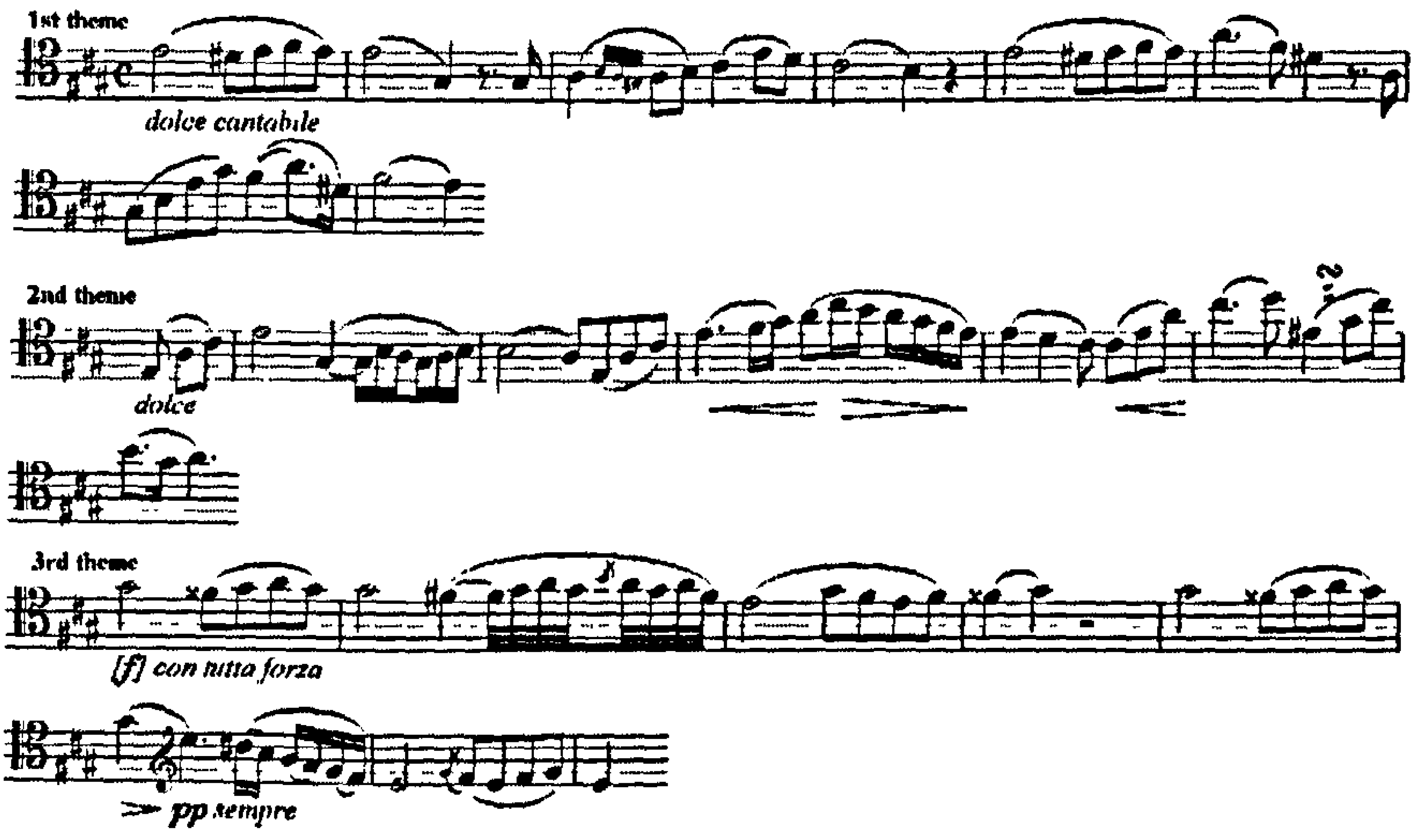

Figure 8/27: Romberg, *Concerto no. 2*, slow movt. themes

Rather like the first movement, the third, a *Rondo tempo di minuetto*, alternates a rather weak theme with successive virtuosic episodes, including the extended Spanish-style fandango utilising the lower strings in high positions (up to a on the C string - see chapter 3, figure 27). There are also *ponticello* effects and a few bars in artificial harmonics. Even here, however, the *Passagen* are consistent in character.

Romberg's style of composition strives toward a balance between the basic requirements of musical form and the need for virtuosic display. What should be important thematic material is announced but quite swiftly curtailed, a sensible tactic given Romberg's lack of a real melodic gift, and these themes are mostly used as simple structural markers rather than as the source of material for development. *Passagen* tend to rely on a few standard figurations derived from scales, arpeggios and sequences of broken octaves, with combinations of short slurred groups and *détaché*. High natural harmonics are used in simple arpeggio figures which are extensions of melodic lines rather than sound-effects; once in the high register Romberg does not simply stay there in order to find additional harmonics on other strings as Max Bohrer does. The general impression is therefore of a more integrated style, even if this results from Romberg's limitations. The 'structural cohesiveness' which Valerie Walden finds in his works, but does not demonstrate, is present only at a surface level – if not actually illusory.[48]

ROMBERG: RECEPTION

Critics treated Romberg's works quite differently from those of the Bohrers. The *Harmonicon*'s review has already been quoted. Although more extreme than many, *AMZmbR* still did not resort to far-fetched poetic similes to describe Romberg's playing. It stressed his effortless technique and the purely musical effect of his performance on his audience, utilising the masculine trope of the controlling cellist:

[48] V. Walden, 'Bernhard Heinrich Romberg', *Grove Music Online* [accessed 18th April 2008].

> Romberg's great freedom in his element shows already in his appearance. Spurning the printed music as an *aide-memoire,* he takes his place, the magic instrument in his hands, and, without hiding himself behind a music stand, presents to the public the whole picture of a free, unrestricted ruler of the kingdom of tones. The left hand flies with a never before seen ease through high and low positions, while the right swings the bow with an unsurpassed calm and security. Not revealing any courageous effort, in spite of the strength of the low strings [when] landing in high positions, the whole bodily strength required by passages of such speed, shows the eye an interesting picture of this artist, such as his marvellously beautiful playing brings to the delighted ear. It sings, to put it in a word, and seizes the listener's soul by the power of its singing. In the *adagio* all hearts admitted themselves overcome by his art, which were already overcome and carried away in the preceding fiery *allegro* by the force of his tones. The applause acknowledged the character of stormy joy, and at the end of the finale hardly seemed to want to end.[49]

Romberg's most 'representational' piece, the so-called 'Swiss' concerto, no. 7 (performed by Piatti with such a lack of effect in 1868),[50] was received by the *AMZmbR* as a masterpiece of painterly realism.

> His cello concerto, a Swiss picture, showed Romberg's art, which knows how to combine musical painting with high virtuosity. It gives his tone-poem, through the tender sounds (not exaggerated in the slightest) which his ear must have overheard carefully in Nature, a decidedly higher poetic worth. One hears in one's breast the sounds, which express gigantic Nature, from the heights of the Jungfrau to the valleys of the Alps, in the most beautiful, but also terrifying, moments, because the music has enough means to give all tender nuances from the whispering wind to the terrifying thunder, representing again and bringing such a beautiful, artistic combination before our fantasy. The

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[49] 'Romberg's grosse Freyheit in seinem Elemente zeigt sich schon bey seinem Auftritte. Die Noten, als Erinnerungszeichen verschmähend, nimmt er seinen Platz, das zauberische Instrument in Händen, und biethet, ohne sich hinter einem Notenpulte zu verstecken, dem Publikum das ganze Bild eines freyen, unbeschränkten Herrschers in Gebiethe der Töne. Die Höhen und Tiefen der Applicature durchfliegt die Linke Hand mit einer noch nie gesehenen Leichtigkeit, indess die Rechte mit einer unübertroffenen Ruhe und Sicherheit den flüchtigen Bogen schwingt. Keine müthevoll Anstrengung verrathend, da doch die Gewalt der tiefen Saiten sowohl als das Aufsetzen in höheren Tonlagen, bey solcher Schnelligkeit der Passagen die ganze Körperkraft erfordert, biethet dieser Künstler beständig ein interessantes Bild dem Auge, indess sein wunderbar schönes Spiel das Ohr in Entzücken bringt. Er singt, um uns *eines* Wortes zu bedienen, und ergreift das Gemüth des Zuhörers durch die Macht seines Gesanges. In Adagio bekannten sich alle Herzen für überwunden durch seine Kunst, die schon im vorhergehenden feurigen Allegro von der Gewalt seiner Töne beseigt und mit fortgerissen wurden. Der Beyfall nahm den Charakter der stürmischen Freude an, und schien am Schlusse des Finales kaum enden zu wollen'. Anon., *AMZmbR*, 6 (1822), pp. 25-6.

[50] See note 43.

> alpine song of the beautiful Swiss maiden sounds in the middle of the gale blowing through the rocky ravines, and whispers comfort as it were to the hesitant ear from a distance.[51]

During their lifetimes Bohrer and Romberg were normally seen as different both in their compositional style and in terms of their reception. These differences can be seen partly in terms of differing views of the 'true' character of the cello itself, which in turn reflect its perception as a gendered instrument. When Max Bohrer neglects this 'true' (that is, masculine) character, sympathetic reviewers are driven to use poetic language which is quite at odds with the more measured terms applied to Romberg, while the unsympathetic dismiss Bohrer's music as technically competent but trivial. Romberg's reviews were rarely anything but eulogistic. However, the Russian critic Odoyevski observed in 1825 that Romberg's playing had become more powerful, adding that the older generation disliked this because 'everything strong and virile frightens this lot – they yearn for something delicate colourless and senile'.[52] Their compositions themselves can be shown to be different enough in construction to suggest an underlying difference in their approach to their instrument. This difference in approach can also lead to markedly differing reactions from contemporary critics, which become much less differentiated in later periods when this sort of composition is seen a generic virtuosity.

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[51] 'Sein violoncell-Concert, ein Schweizer Gemähldc, zeigte die Kunst *Romberg's* , durch welche er die musikalische Mahlerey mit seiner hohen Virtuosität zu vereinigen weiss. Er gibt durch die zarten und nicht im Geringsten übertriebenen Anklänge, welche sein Ohr sorgfältig der Natur abgelauscht haben muss, seiner Tondichtung einen entschiedenen höheren poetischen Werth. Man hört die Laute, welche die gigantischen Natur auf den Höhen des Jungfrauhorns und in den thälern der Alpen in den schönsten, aber furchtbarnsten Momenten aus ihrer Brust hervor drängt, weil die Musik Mittel genug hat, alle zarten Nuançen des säuselnden Windes bis zum furchtbarnsten Donner darstellend wieder zu geben, und in so schöner, kunstvoller Vereinigung vor unsere Phantasie zu führen. Das Alpenlied der schönen Schweizerinn tönt mitten in den die Felsschluchten durchwühlenden Orkan, und flüstert gleichsam dem zagenden Ohre von fern Trost zu'. Ibid., p. 88.

[52] Vladimir Odoievskii, 'On music in Moscow and on Moscow concerts in 1825', *Moskovskiy Telegraf,* April 1825, p. 132 , quoted in Lev Ginsburg, trans. Tanya Tchistyakova, *Western Violoncello Art of the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Neptune City, NJ: Paganiniana Publications, 1983), p. 353 n. 44. First pub. as *Istoriya violonchelnovo iskusstva* (Moscow: Muziyka, 1978).

The concept of a performed gender that is achieved rather than merely assigned is familiar from a literature that extends from Simone de Beauvoir to Judith Butler. In this context, these nineteenth-century gendered views of the cello will appear superficial. No attempt has been made to examine the wider cultural origins of a gendered view of the violin as feminine or the cello as masculine, or of the refinements and changes to this view that are occasionally manifested in the later nineteenth century, or indeed of the eventual disappearance of this view in the twentieth. Yet, from the point of view of cello performance practice, it can suggest a fresh perspective on some of the cello literature from this period.

LALO: CELLO CONCERTO

In the case of the cello, there are potentially two gendered perspectives at work – the cello itself as masculine or feminine (or some combination of the two), and the musical material. Works such as the Lalo cello concerto (1877) appear in a slightly different light when these ideas are applied to them. Marcia Citron cites this striking passage from d'Indy's composition treatise, on the gendered character of themes:

> Insofar as the two ideas exposed and developed in pieces in sonata form perfect themselves, one notices that in effect they truly behave like living beings, subject to the inevitable laws of mankind: sympathy or antipathy, attraction or repulsion, love or hate. And, in this perpetual conflict, reflecting those in life, each of these two ideas show qualities comparable to those which have always been attributed to men and women respectively. Force and energy, concision and clarity: such are almost invariably the essentially masculine characteristics belonging to the *first idea*: they are imposed in the form of vigorous, brusque *rhythms*, nobly affirming its tonal ownership, one and definitive. The *second idea*, on the other hand, all sweetness and *melodic* grace, almost always affects by its verbosity and vague modulation of the eminently alluring *feminine*: supple and elegant, it progressively spreads out the curve of its ornamented melody; more or less clearly circumscribed in a neighbouring key in the course of the exposition, it will always leave it in the recapitulation in order to take up the initial key solely occupied from the outset by the dominant masculine. It is as if, after the active struggle of the development, the entity [*l'être*] of gentleness and weakness has to submit, be it by violence, be it by persuasion, to

conquest by the entity of strength and power.[53]

Citron examines this description in terms of its implication of 'sexual dominance gone awry', and the essentialism that characterised such statements in the nineteenth century.[54] D'Indy's terms do, however, apply strikingly well to the first movement of Lalo's concerto. After an orchestral introduction punctuated by loud staccato chords (figure 28), and a short cello recitative, the first theme appears (figure 29). This matches d'Indy's description of a masculine theme almost exactly.

Figure 8/28: Lalo, cello concerto, 1st movt., orchestral introduction

[53] 'A mesure que les deux idées exposés et développées dans les pièces de formes sonate se perfectionnent, on constate en effet qu'elles se comportent vraiment comme des êtres vivants, soumis aux lois fatales de l'humanité : sympathie ou antipathie, attirance ou répulsion, amour ou haine. Et, dans ce perpétuel conflit, image de ceux de la vie, chacune des deux idées offre des qualités comparables à celles qui furent de tout temps attribuées respectivement à l'homme et à la femme. Force et énergie, concision et netteté : tels sont à peu près invariablement les caractères d'essence *masculine* appartenant à la *première idée* : elle s'impose en *rythmes* vigoureux et brusques, affirmant bien haut sa propriété tonale, une et définitive. La *seconde idée*, au contraire, toute de douceur et de grâce *mélodique*, affecte presque toujours par sa prolixité et son indétermination modulante des allures éminemment *féminines* : souple et élégante, elle étale progressivement la courbe de sa mélodie ornée ; circonscrite plus ou moins nettement dans un ton voisin au cours de l'exposition, elle le quittera toujours dans la réexposition terminale, pour adopter sa tonalité initiale occupée dès le début par l'élément dominateur, masculin, seul. Comme si, après la lutte active du développement, l'être de douceur et de faiblesse devait subir, soit par la violence, soit par la persuasion, la conquête de l'être de force et puissance'. Vincent d'Indy, *Cours de composition musicale* bk. 2 pt. 1 (Paris: 1909), p. 262, quoted in Marcia Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 136. Citron's translation, modified by the writer.
[54] Citron, ibid., pp. 135-7.

Similarly, the second theme, in a dominant-inflected relative major, wanders without direction, accompanied only by low sustained notes in the orchestral celli, with the flutes playing occasionally in thirds (figure 30).

Figure 8/29: Lalo, cello concerto, 1st movt., first theme

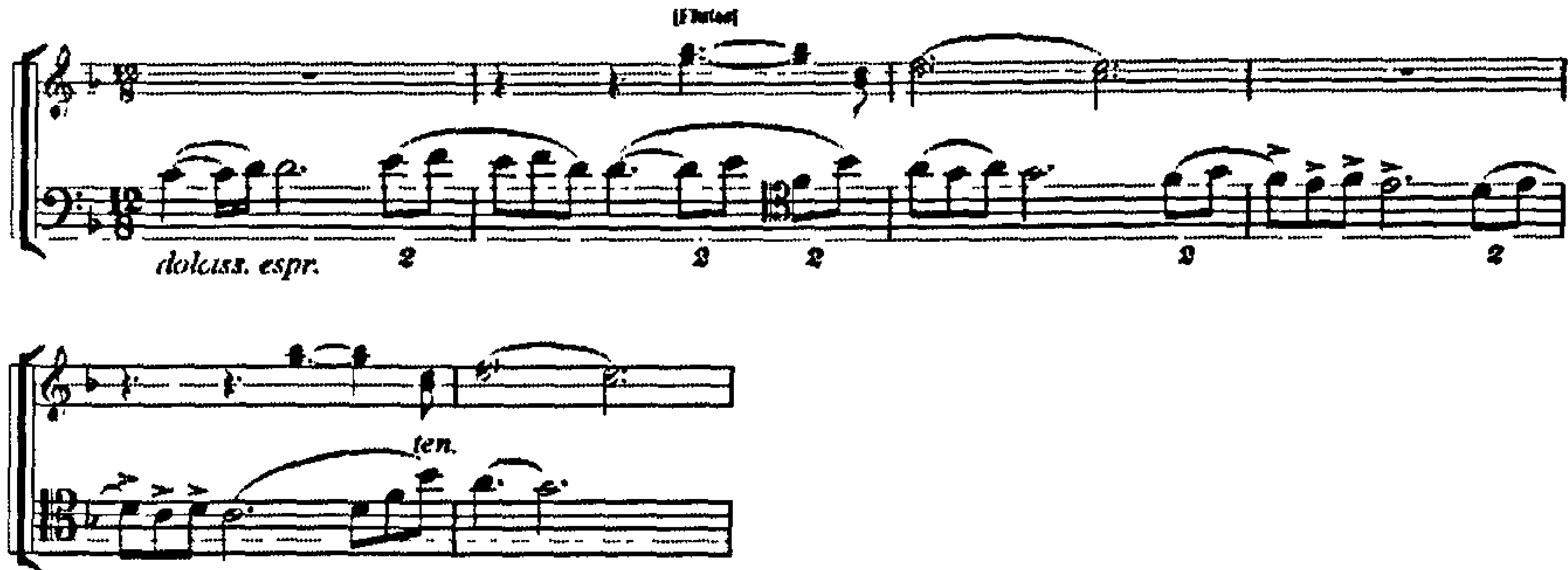

Figure 8/30: Lalo, cello concerto, 1st movt., second theme

When this theme returns in the development section, in A, it has a clearer shape and is more extrovertly expressive (figure 31).

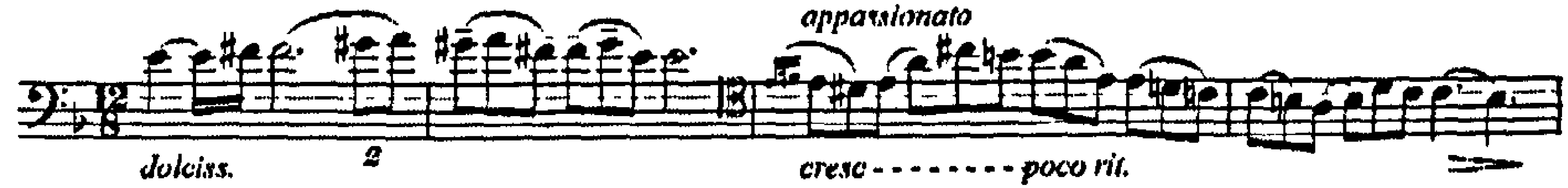

Figure 8/31: Lalo, cello concerto, 1st. movt., second theme (development)

This suggestion of an extended and more clearly structured theme is not fulfilled, as the

theme disappears in semiquaver passagework. In the recapitulation it appears as the first time, here 'correctly' in D. It reappears finally in the coda with a new continuation, heralded by flutes in thirds, which strives after extra emotional effect but which fails after repeating itself and dissolving again into a stream of D major semiquavers (figure 32).

Figure 8/32: Lalo, cello concerto, 1st movt., coda

The final peroration firmly reasserts D minor. This '*seconde idée féminine*', in d'Indy's terms, is never allowed to realise its potential, and so far this gendered view appears merely to reinforce a dominant masculinity. However, there is also a problem in terms of the cello's own masculine/feminine identity. It was suggested in chapter 7 that the cello moved from a firmly masculine identity in the earlier nineteenth century to a less clearly defined one – that the cello, which begins as a regulator of the passions, becomes a vehicle for almost uncontrolled emotional expression. Here, in the Lalo concerto, the most apparently 'feminine' material (in nineteenth-century terms) is not in fact the most emotionally free, for all the *appassionato* markings. It has been argued by Citron and others already cited that the 'subjugation' of the feminine is true of sonata-form movements in general, in that the recapitulation will enforce the tonic on the return of the second subject group, and this view has been refined in various ways.[55] However, what is proposed here is more a question of emotional subjugation, in the context of a

[55] See Kramer, chapter 7 note 86.

potential tension between the gendered identity of the instrument and its music.

Because the publisher Durand was unimpressed by the work, it was eventually published in Berlin.[56] The Lalo concerto was not particularly well received; according to the *Monthly Musical Record*, reviewing the *première* (9th December, 1877), it was 'agreeable but somewhat pretentious'.[57] Later performances fared slightly better, but there is persistent suggestion that the work is lightweight: 'diffuse and uninteresting',[58] 'delicate and cleverly written',[59] and played 'with charm' in 1900 by the young Jean Gerardy (1877-1929).[60] 'Delicacy' in particular is not a quality that strikes the modern player of this piece, and it might possibly reflect an overall impression made by slower-moving, more lyrical material, which rarely reaches any sustained emotional intensity.

The relevance of historical gender studies for performance issues is that an awareness of these gender tropes can inform an interpretative approach in a different way from more conventional studies of performance practice techniques outlined in earlier chapters. In the Lalo concerto, if performers play with a uniform intensity and a strong sense of tonal organisation, over-riding the gender tropes applied to the construction of sonata-form themes, they are, in a sense, playing unhistorically.[61] If, on the other hand, the soloist made a conscious attempt to play the second theme of the first movement as freely as possible, with a less highly projected tone quality, and no clear sense of direction, they could, equally arguably, be said to be playing within the

[56] Edouard Lalo, *Concert pour violoncelle* (Berlin: Bote & Bock, [*HM*1878]). Sarasate persuaded Bote & Bock to publish this work, which Durand did not publish until 1923; see Edouard Lalo, ed. Joel-Marie Fauquet, *Correspondance* (Paris: aux Amateurs de Livres, 1989), p. 121 n. 2.
[57] Anon, 'Music in North Germany', *Monthly Musical Record*, 8 (1878), p. 57.
[58] Anon., *MT*, 31 (1890), p. 28.
[59] Anon., *MT*, 40 (1899), p. 20.
[60] Anon, 'Mr. Robert Newman's Symphony and Wagner Concerts', *MT*, 41 (1900), p. 34.
[61] The 1953 recording by Zara Nelsova in particular is played with a very intense tone quality throughout, and the orchestral interjections are extremely dry and aggressive. Zara Nelsova (vc), Sir Adrian Boult (cond), London Philharmonic Orchestra (Decca, LXT 2906, 1953; reissued in *Zara Nelsova Decca Recordings 1950-1956*, Decca 4756327, 2004).

gender tropes of the period, and therefore to be historically aware. More importantly, these judgements would not necessarily include or exclude the use of period instruments, any particular posture, or any settled view as the appropriate use of portamento or vibrato.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSIONS

Recent trends in historically informed performance have been to avoid making claims for 'authenticity'; post-Taruskin, this word has virtually disappeared from the lexicon of concert life. Although it was already under fire from others (as he himself acknowledged), Taruskin's critique has had the most far-reaching results.[1] Researchers in this field who adopted a concomitantly prescriptive approach have had little observable success. On the other hand, scholars who are unwilling to dictate to performers, for fear of a musical fundamentalism characteristic of the earlier stages of the early music movement, adopt a more disinterested approach, simply offering information for performers to use as they please, or not at all, so that the scholarly work functions chiefly as a means of evaluating HIP advertising claims.[2] For instance, Laurie Ongley produces good evidence about the *basso* group in the eighteenth-century Dresden court orchestra, but simply concludes her article thus:

> Modern performers who want to follow 18th-century practices can confidently use Dresden's instrumentation as an exemplar.[3]

Lawson and Stowell amass a substantial amount of detailed organological and other information relating to Mozart's serenade for thirteen wind instruments K.361, only to conclude that, while the use of original instruments brings out fascinating sonorities,

> ...although certain elements of the 1784 performance can be

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[1] See Richard Taruskin, 'The Limits of Authenticity: A Discussion', *Early Music* 12 (1984) 3-12; Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, 'What we are doing with early music is genuinely authentic to such a small degree that the word loses most of its intended meaning', ibid., pp. 13-16; Richard Taruskin, 'The Pastness of the Present and the Presence of the Past', in Nicholas Kenyon (ed.), *Authenticity and Early Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 137-207 (reprinted in Taruskin, *Text and Act* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 90-115). Kenyon's introduction surveys the field and notes significantly qualified uses of the term 'authentic' by such as Gustav Leonhardt, Franz Brüggen and Trevor Pinnock. Kenyon (ed.), ibid., pp.5-6. Taruskin mentions Kerman's reservations about the the term, citing J. Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Unviersity Press, p. 192.

[2] John Moran's Ph.D. thesis adopts this position explicitly. John Moran, *Techniques of Expression in Viennese String Music (1780-1830)*, Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 2002.

[3] Laurie Ongley, 'The Reconstruction of an 18th-Century Basso Group', *Early Music* 27 (1999) p. 280.

> recreated, no rendition more than 200 years later can ever be in any sense authentic.[4]

Ironically, in the same year as Lawson and Stowell's book, performance practice research was already being treated as something of a *cul-de-sac* with little underlying intellectual development of the field.

> It was originally intended to include a chapter on historically informed performance, but it proved impossible to find an author who could feel that there was something useful that could be said beyond a summary of conclusions of arguments current in the 1980s.[5]

Performers, perversely, tend in the end to go their own way. In the field of baroque performance, many ensembles are now regularly adopting performance practices for which there is no particular historical evidence – indeed, the work of groups such as Red Priest could justifiably be seen as 'post-HIP' if not indeed postmodern in their approach to musical texts.

> [M]ost of [Red Priest's] repertoire is arranged by the musicians for recorders, violin, cello and harpsichord. That adaptation of scores, and the way the performers inject virtuosic improvisation into their playing, has left some purists outraged, but Red Priest has also become a hardy perennial at many early music festivals. 'Most things I feel we could justify historically and the rest we could justify philosophically', [Piers] Adams says. He cites contemporary accounts of Baroque musicians' on-stage antics, such as Corelli's eyeballs turning red. 'There were some pretty wild musicians out there'.[6]

Paul Laird has recently shown that almost every prominent modern baroque cellist has taken a more or less relaxed pragmatic approach to the use of accurate period instruments. This is prompted in some cases by the acoustic requirements of large concert halls, but more often by the player's personal preference.[7] Other performers have taken some insights from historical research but have ignored others; Sir Roger

[4] Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell, *Historical Performance: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 184.
[5] Mark Everist and Nicholas Cook (eds.), *Rethinking Music* (Oxford: OUP, 1999, rev. ed. 2001), p. 12 n. 5.
[6] Philip Sommerich, 'Viva Vivaldi', *Classical Music*, 14th February 2009, p. 40.
[7] Paul R. Laird, *The Baroque Cello Revival: An Oral History* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004).

Norrington's version of Elgar's First Symphony, with the Stuttgart Symphony Orchestra at the 2008 Promenade Concerts, was notable for lacking vibrato, portamento and (to a degree) rubato, in the face of Elgar's recorded evidence to the contrary.[8]

This study envisages a somewhat less equivocal approach – neither prescriptive nor disinterested. Easy generalisations about 'period style' – the type of thinking that Taruskin perceived to be essentially a manifestation of modernism – can best be countered by pointing to the diversity of practices observable at any particular time. In a nineteenth-century context, certainly, the question '*which* performance practice?' is possibly the most important one, and can lead to further, complex, discussions, which can counter such misleading shorthand as 'little vibrato; lots of portamento; keep the bow on the string'. It is entirely possible that such a reductive formula will become as pervasive in nineteenth-century performance as the modernist baroque equivalent.

The evidence offered in the preceding chapters suggests, above all, a range of possibilities for performance. For example, the 'impaired' (in modern terms) tonal projection that would have resulted from the generally accepted nineteenth-century posture, with its emphasis on low elbows and an upright stance which meant that the bow's weight did not naturally fall upon the string, can be seen not simply as a disadvantage, but as an invitation to explore the consequences of this posture simply to find out how these effects can be used in performance. Based on the writer's experience of recreating Romberg's idiosyncratic posture to perform some of his own music, the relative lack of tonal projection is at first perceived as a defect. However, once reconciled to this, the interest of the performance lies in finding out by practical experiment just how adapted the music is to the instrument and to this posture.[9] Later in

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[8] The ensuing controversy was well summarised in Daniel Wakin, 'Elgar Without Vibrato? Fiddlesticks', *New York Times*, 12th August 2008, URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/13/arts/music/13vibr.html>.

[9] George Kennaway, '"Noble and Easy Attitudes" or a Violent Embrace? : Towards Carnality in

the period under discussion, the older, '*classique*' posture, recommended even when the tail-pin was almost universally used, could suggest a different approach to works from the late nineteenth century normally seen as extremely physical in nature, such as the Dvořák concerto or the solo part from Strauss's *Don Quixote.* Indeed, a posture for the latter which retained a certain *aisance* and verticality could emphasise the rococo character of much of the work. Similarly, while the restrained use of vibrato is widely accepted as part of historically informed performance practice, it would appear that in some circumstances there are historical justifications for the use of intensifying vibrato where accent marks are present. Here, the historical evidence suggests a possibility which a literal reading of the accent marking would not necessarily endorse. Further, the use of vibrato to reinforce a small *messa di voce* raises the interesting issue of consistency where parallel passages cannot all be played one way or the other (the question arises when some notes are clearly open strings or harmonics). If, as has been suggested, consistency for its own sake may not have been important in the nineteenth century, an 'inconsistent' use of vibrato in such a context could be seen as liberating. Again, the possibility that a staccato dot may not mean a particularly short note is generally accepted by modern performers, but the more interesting option, that it may mean that one plays with a firm *détaché* stroke on the string, is not yet generally known. This can create an altogether different effect in passages where the modern player's first instinct is to play with a more or less off-the-string stroke – and yet, a fast tempo and a lot of string-crossing can still result in the bow coming off the string somewhat, as was proposed in the discussion of the Beethoven *Judas Maccabaeus* variation. In this case, the variety of technical terms used to describe a range of bowing styles, and the inconsistency of their application, could suggest to the player that all options are

19th-century Cello Performance', conference lecture-recital, *The Musical Body: Gesture, Representation and Ergonomics in Performance*, Royal College of Music, London, April 2009.

acceptable. However, an imaginative approach, trying out all reasonable possibilities, can lead to new performing perspectives. In a more general context, rather than relying primarily on evidence derived from instrumental tutors and other similarly authoritative documents, performers can observe the wide discrepancy between such sources and the evidence of reviews and early recordings, and decide where to position themselves on this spectrum – either inclining more towards *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, with liberal portamento and widespread vibrato, or acquiescing in Potter's 'ideology of disciplined restraint' and obeying the warnings given by Joachim or Becker in the face of a rising tide of cheap coffee-house emotionalism.[10]

Therefore, rather than a set of rules (which the evidence simply does not support), the material presented here can offer a stimulus to performers. In the writer's experience, performers respond to creative stimuli more positively than to simple commands. Modern performers are generally – and this is a considerable generalisation – much less likely than their predecessors to assert of their own interpretations that they originate in their own profound conviction that 'this is how the music goes'. They are more historically *aware* (as opposed to informed) than ever before. This means that what might have been an unquestioned norm of performance at one time is now recreated with a sense of self-awareness and a lack of, for want of a better word, innocence. Elizabeth le Guin's recent suggestion that the performer's visible demeanour be calculated for a deliberate rhetorical effect, on the ground that this was conventional in Boccherini's performances, is perhaps an extreme instance, but it still illustrates a general tendency.[11] However, the performer's self-awareness is combined with a need, not for any specific historical justification, nor for specious encouragement to follow

[10] John Potter, 'Beggar at the Door: The Rise and Fall of Portamento in Singing', *Music & Letters*, 87 (2006), p. 528, cited in chapter 6.
[11] Elisabeth le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), p. 102.

one's own simple instincts, but for an imaginative stimulus. Margaret Campbell cites an amusing but pertinent anecdote:

> After a performance of the Haydn D Major in Edinburgh, a small boy came backstage and asked Tortelier what images he used for the Haydn? Tortelier sat down and talked for some time to the child about merry-go-rounds and children falling off and so on. The child went away misty-eyed saying he'd always remember that image every time he heard the concerto in future. As closed the door, Tortelier turned to his student and said, 'How leetle does he know that all I think about in the 'aydn is the dangair of the sheefts!'[12]

The stimulus envisaged in this study is not a simple compromise designed merely to avoid the pitfalls of pedantry or of instinctive self-indulgence (assuming that this is in fact a pitfall). It should ultimately encourage performers to see themselves as part of a continuing process of reception, widely defined. Reception documents like Marie Corelli's novels, or the reminiscences of amateur musicians, or newspaper articles by non-musicians, or indeed the astonishing popular success of Auguste van Biene, tell us something about audience expectations of performances and performers which could not be determined from other sources. Emerging notions of what the audience might have expected from the performance – relating to such things as the characteristics of the themes, of the instrument, or of the player – could radically influence our performing choices, and lead not only to *historically-aware* performance, but to historically-aware *performance.*

[12] Margaret Campbell, *The Great Cellists* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1988), p. 219.

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