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Instrumental performance in the nineteenth century

IAN PACE

1815–1848

Beethoven, Schubert and musical performance in Vienna from the Congress until 1830

As a major centre with a long tradition of performance, Vienna richly reflects the varied locations and types of performance in the early century. Following the Congress of Vienna, which had consolidated the position of Austria and especially Vienna within the German Confederation, there was a shift away from aristocratic patronage of music towards professionalisation, with work for musicians in theatres, churches or military bands.[1] At the same time emerged the concept of a 'Viennese School' of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven.[2] Concerts took place in the Burgtheater, Kärntnertortheater and Theater an der Wien, as well as the larger Grosse Redoutensaal or Winterreitschule at the Hofburg Palace, the latter of which could seat at least 1,500 people, maybe as many as 3,000.[3] Music was dominated by opera, especially the work of Rossini, but there were also major series pioneering instrumental music, organised mostly by members of the aristocracy in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde (hereafter the GdM), established in 1812,[4] the Gesellschaft des Privat-Musik-Vereins, founded in 1818; and the Concerts Spirituels einer Gesellschaft von Musikfreunden, established in 1819.[5] Audiences for these concerts were constituted of a genuine mixture of the

1 A. M. Hanson, *Musical Life in Biedermeier Vienna*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 7–23, 110.
2 See D. W. Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 191, 209.
3 S. Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume. Raumakustik und symphonische Aufführungspraxis an der Schwelle zum modernen Konzertwesen*, Frankfurt, Bochinsky, 2002, pp. 65–80, 100–1, 135–75, 198–9, including full figures from 1828 for seating capacities; O. Biba, 'Concert life in Beethoven's Vienna', in R. Winter and B. Carr (eds.), *Beethoven, Performers, and Critics*, Detroit, MI, Wayne State University Press, 1979, p. 86.
4 On the GdM, see R. von Perger and R. Hirschfeld (eds.), *Geschichte der K. K. Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde Wien*, 2 vols., Vienna, Holzhausen, 1912; E. Hanslick, *Geschichte der Concertwesens Wien*, 2 vols., Vienna, Graumüller, 1869–70, vol. 1, pp. 139–69.
5 O. Biba, 'Schubert's position in Viennese musical life', *19th Century Music*, 3/2 (1979), 107; M. Handlos, 'Die Wiener *Concerts Spirituels* (1819–1848)', in E. T. Hilscher (ed.), *Musik in Österreich: Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Mitteleuropas; Theophil Antonicek zum 60. Geburtstag*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1998, pp. 283–319.

upper and middle classes.[6] There were also some more commercially oriented concerts, often featuring young virtuosi and private events in aristocratic salons.[7]

At the Congress itself, various of Beethoven's works, including *Wellingtons Sieg* Op. 91, *Der glorreiche Augenblick* and the Seventh Symphony, were played as part of the festivities (Beethoven also gave his own last performance as a pianist during this time); his fame and wealth grew to an unprecedented level.[8] Beethoven's musical acquiescence with the intense militarism of his time[9] is relevant for consideration not only of his works and their performance, but also for the developments ushered in, which would have a profound effect throughout the nineteenth century. These included an expansion of instrumental resources, a new degree of compositional control expressed through ever more specific notation, and to some extent a more intensely mechanistic approach to tempo and rhythm through the use of the metronome.

Contrary to some ideas, the orchestras employed by Beethoven during this late period of his life were often relatively large for their time – a string section of 18–18–14–12–7 and two contrabassoons for the Eighth Symphony,[10] 24 violins, 10 violas and 12 cellos and basses together with doubled winds for the premiere of the Ninth. The orchestra of the GdM had a huge string section of 20–20–12–10–8, which apparently always remained the same, with winds doubled according to the requirements of the piece.[11] Anton Schindler, however, suggested that Beethoven's ideal was an orchestra of sixty players, the size employed for the Concerts Spirituels (after hearing the Seventh Symphony played with 120, Beethoven apparently denied he wrote 'noisy music').[12]

Beethoven's students Carl Czerny and Ferdinand Ries, as well as others, attested to the importance he placed upon fidelity to the score and his

6 Biba, 'Concert life in Beethoven's Vienna', 87; P. A. Bloom, 'The public for orchestral music in the nineteenth century', in J. Peyser (ed.), *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, New York, Billboard, 2000, p. 265.

7 Hanson, *Biedermeier*, pp. 92 102.

8 D. W. Jones, *The Life of Beethoven*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 118 24; L. Lockwood, *Beethoven: The Music and the Life*, New York, Norton, 2003, pp. 192 3.

9 On this subject and also the growth of military bands during the Austrian Empire of this time, see B. Cooper, *Beethoven*, Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 255; Hanson, *Biedermeier*, pp. 142 9.; W. Kinderman, *Beethoven*, Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 167 88; M. Solomon, *Beethoven*, London, Granada, 1980, pp. 296 322; H. G. Helms, 'Ökonomische Bedingungen der musikalischen Produktion', in Helms, *Musik zwischen Geschäft und Unwarheit*, *Musik Konzepte 111*, Munich, edition text + kritik, 2001, pp. 30 2.

10 M. Solomon, 'Beethoven's Tagebuch', entry 18, in Solomon, *Beethoven Essays*, Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1988, pp. 252 3; *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. E. Forbes, 2 vols., Princeton University Press, 1967 (hereafter *Thayer/Forbes I/II*), vol. 1, pp. 575 6.

11 Biba, 'Concert life in Beethoven's Vienna', 90. On Beethoven's view of the relationship between the size of the space and the ideal number of instruments, see Jones, *The Symphony in Beethoven's Vienna*, p. 179.

12 A. Schindler, *The Life of Beethoven*, ed. and trans. I. Moscheles, Boston, Ditson, 1841, pp. 143 4.

intentions;[13] his letters attest to how much care he took over detailed markings in the scores.[14] This was facilitated by the first appearance of Mälzel's metronome at the end of the Congress in 1815. Beethoven added metronome marks for all his first eight symphonies (though there is no extant autograph for these),[15] the 'Hammerklavier' Sonata, the first eleven string quartets, and various other works,[16] and signed a public declaration attesting to the value of the device,[17] which he continued to use and favour despite occasional alleged outbursts against it.[18] At the same time, however, a digest of varying accounts by Czerny, Schindler and Ries,[19] as well as of Beethoven's conducting,[20] all demonstrate that Beethoven also desired and employed a fair degree of tempo flexibility.

Beethoven urged the use of legato fingering over and above the 'pearly' (or 'choppy' (*gehackte*)) effect favoured by Mozart and other earlier composers,[21] though his careful notation of a plethora of articulations, right up to his final works, suggest a more varied approach is necessary than for the 'London School' of Cramer, Clementi and Dussek. Whilst Beethoven was given a London Broadwood piano some time in early 1818 and had earlier owned an Érard, all evidence points to his having favoured Viennese instruments, especially those of Streicher, throughout his life[22] (almost all of his late piano works are unplayable on the smaller range of the Broadwood;[23]) the coruscating trills and passage-work in the later sonatas have a much greater clarity on these instruments.

13 See *Thayer/Forbes I*, pp. 640 1; O. G. Sonneck, *Beethoven: Impressions by his Contemporaries*, New York, Dover, 1967, p. 33; *Remembering Beethoven: The Biographical Notes of Franz Wegeler and Ferdinand Ries*, trans. F. Noonan, London, Deutsch, 1988, pp. 77 8, 94.

14 I draw here and elsewhere upon a variety of Beethoven's letters from the last decade and a half of his life, too numerous to detail individually, as collected in S. Brandenburg (ed.), *Ludwig van Beethoven: Briefwechsel Gesamtasugabe*, 7 vols., Munich, Henle, 1996 8.

15 For a facsimile of the published version, see W. Malloch, 'Carl Czerny's metronome marks for Haydn and Mozart symphonies', *Early Music*, 16/1 (1988), 75.

16 A full list can be found in G. Nottebohm, *Beethoveniana*, Leipzig, Peters, 1872, pp. 131 3.

17 See *The Letters of Beethoven*, ed. E. Anderson, 3 vols., London, Macmillan, 1961, vol. 3, pp. 1441 2.

18 See further I. Pace, *Instrumental Performance from the Congress of Vienna to the Berlin Philharmonic* (forth coming).

19 The most insightful treatment of this issue of which I know is to be found in G. Barth, *The Pianist as Orator: Beethoven and the Transformation of Keyboard Style*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1992; see also S. P. Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988, pp. 387 90.

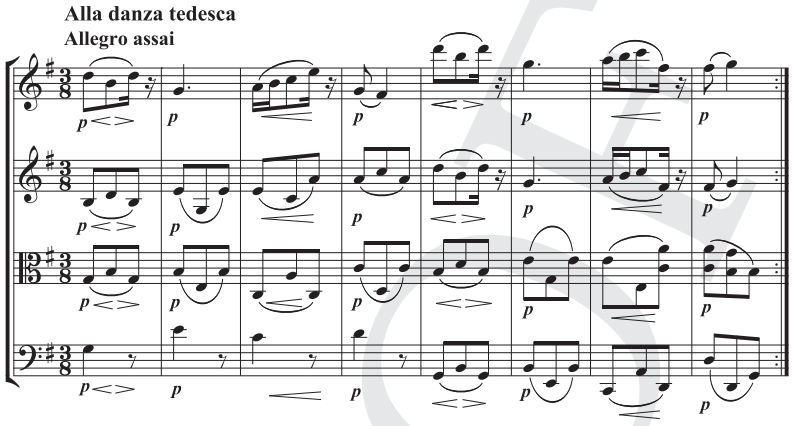
20 *Louis Spohr's Autobiography*, trans. anon., 2 vols., New York, Da Capo, 1969, vol. 1, p. 186; Sonneck, *Beethoven*, pp. 39 42; *Thayer/Forbes I*, p. 570.

21 C. Czerny, 'Recollections of my life', *Musical Quarterly*, 42/3 (1956), 307; Schindler, *Beethoven* (1841), p. 156; C. Potter, 'Recollections of Beethoven, with remarks on his style', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 10/226 (1861), 152. I believe that Beethoven's comments on the *gehackte* style apply to articulation rather than accentuation.

22 See W. Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven: Playing his Piano Music his Way*, New York, Norton, 1988, pp. 45 67.

23 As pointed out in E. M. Good, *Giraffes, Black Dragons, and Other Pianos: A Technological History from Cristofori to the Modern Concert Grand*, 2nd edn, Stanford University Press, 2001, pp. 109, 113 14.

Ex. 26.1. Beethoven, String Quartet in B flat Op. 130, opening of fourth movement



Whilst I am not aware of any explicit comments by Beethoven on the execution of his plentiful short slurs (though evidence is available from contemporary treatises[24]), his need to notate explicitly slurs cut short (e.g. Ex. 26.1) suggests that this was not the default practice he envisaged.[25]

Franz Schubert's profile in the Vienna of this time was larger than often imagined, though based primarily upon his Lieder, part songs, dances and short piano pieces.[26] None of his symphonies was performed publicly in his lifetime, though Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 6 did receive private salon performances (apparently of a reasonably high standard), organised by Otto Hatwig, with an orchestra with string section 7–6–3–3–2 and doubled winds.[27] The Ninth, however, Schubert donated to the GdM and was rehearsed by them in his presence;[28] he may have envisaged the mighty sound of their large forces when writing passages as in Ex. 26.2.

Source data relating directly to Schubert performance in the composer's lifetime is relatively scarce; much has thus been made of wider contemporary

24 Various different views are given in the treatises of Türk, Joseph and Carl Czerny. See also Barth, *The Pianist as Orator*, pp. 103–5.

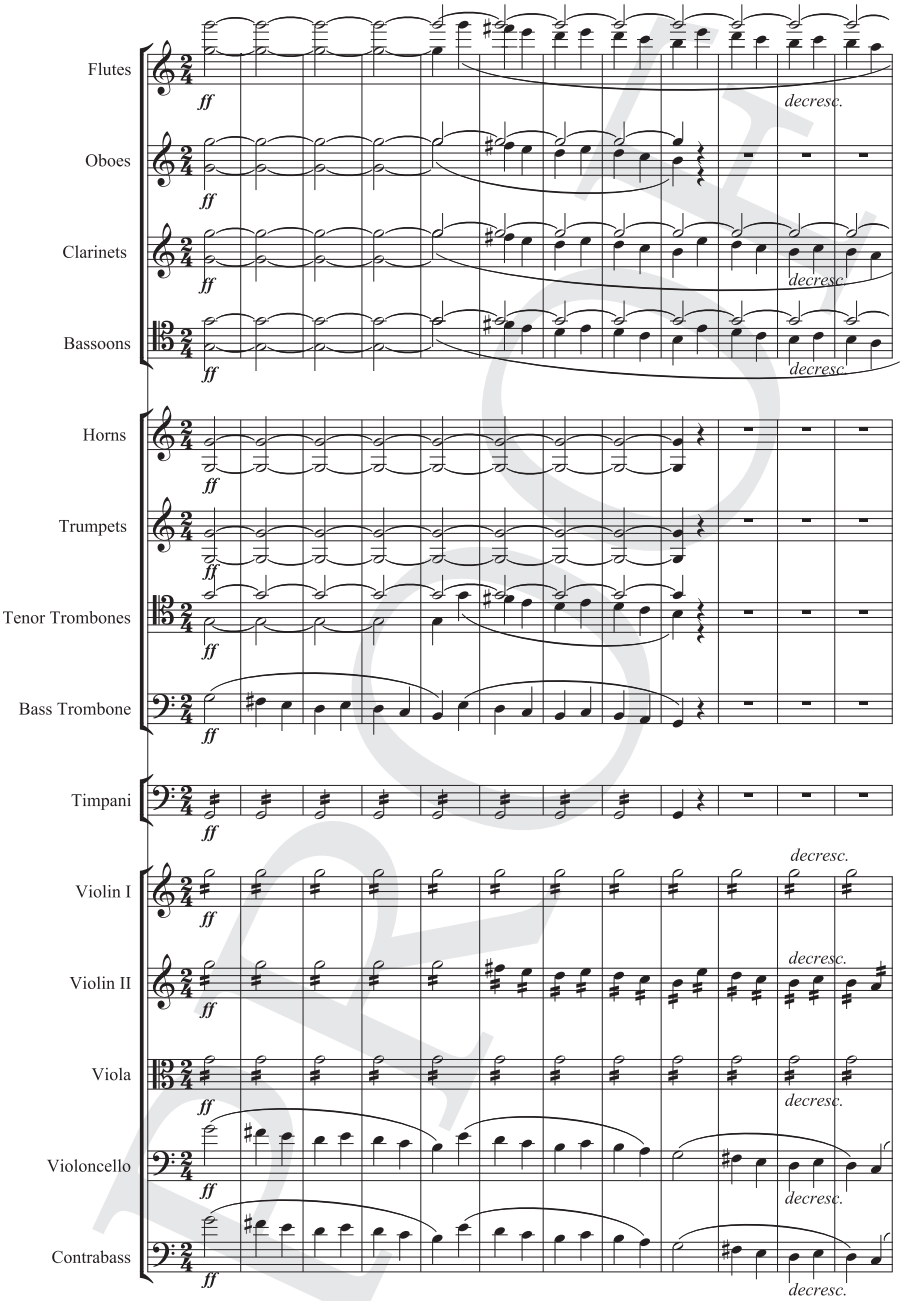
25 This question is evaded by both Rosenblum, Newman (*Beethoven on Beethoven*, pp. 121–62), and to some extent by Barth.

26 See C. H. Gibbs, '"Poor Schubert": images and legends of the composer', in C. H. Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 36–55; Biba, 'Schubert's position in Viennese musical life', pp. 106–7.

27 Biba, 'Schubert's position in Viennese musical life', pp. 107–9; E. N. McKay, *Franz Schubert: A Biography*, Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 92, 116–17.

28 According to the memoirs of Leopold Sonnleithner, in O. Deutsch (ed.), *Schubert: Memories by his Friends*, trans. R. Ley and J. Nowell, New York, Macmillan, 1958, p. 431; Biba, 'Schubert's position in Viennese musical life', pp. 107–8.

Ex. 26.2. Schubert, Symphony No. 9 in C D944, finale



treatises.[29] Albert Stadler attested to his clarity and expressivity, beauty of touch and quiet hand and fingers, whilst Schubert himself wrote to his parents about how much he disliked 'this damnable chopping that even quite advanced pianists indulge in', preferring the vocal style at the keyboard for which he himself had been praised after a performance of the variations from the Sonata in A minor D845.[30] He expressed a clear preference in late 1823 for Viennese instruments, though he never owned one of the more recent models.[31] He also left thirty metronome markings for his works,[32] from which David Montgomery has made a strong case for the application of a very wide range of tempos to his music.[33] Leopold von Sonnleithner emphasised how Schubert kept strict and even time in Lied rehearsal, except where indicated otherwise, and disallowed violent expression.[34] Many of his scores employ accents on weak beats, which suggest deviations from patterns of strong and weak stress patterns,[35] and make much more sense within a general context of stress on strong beats (e.g. in Ex. 26.3).

The age of virtuosity

The early nineteenth century had witnessed the domination of the French school of violin playing, centred around the figures of Pierre Baillot, Pierre Rode and Rodolphe Kreutzer, involving brilliant and varied bow strokes, a strong tone and a high degree of expression,[36] as well as a distinct German school headed by Ludwig Spohr, for whom imitation of the voice was a recurrent concern.[37]

29 For the most comprehensive such studies, see D. Montgomery, 'Franz Schubert's music in perform ance: a brief history of people, events, and issues', in Gibbs (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, pp. 270 83, and his more extended treatment of Schubert performance practice in *Franz Schubert's Music in Performance: Compositional Ideals, Notational Intent, Historical Realities, Pedagogical Foundations*, Hillsdale, NY, Pendragon Press, 2003.

30 O. Deutsch (ed.), *Franz Schubert's Letters and Other Writings*, trans. V. Saville, London, Faber & Gwyer, 1928, pp. 97 8.

31 Montgomery, *Schubert's Music in Performance*, p. 6; McKay, *Schubert*, pp. 184 5, 213.

32 See Montgomery, *Schubert's Music in Performance*, pp. 220 6; two earlier studies, A. P. Brown, 'Performance tradition, steady and proportional tempos, and the first movements of Schubert's Symphonies', *Journal of Musicology*, 5/2 (1987), 296 307, and C. Brown, 'Schubert's tempo conventions', in B. Newbould (ed.), *Schubert Studies*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 1998, pp. 1 15, rely heavily upon markings which Montgomery argues to be of spurious authenticity.

33 See Montgomery, *Schubert's Music in Performance*, pp. 254 67 for the full table.

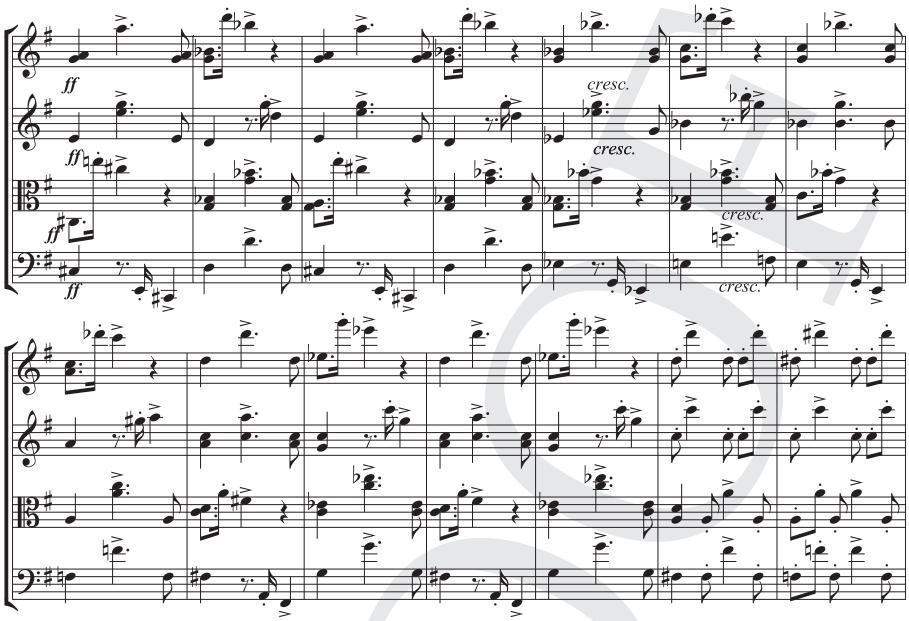
34 Deutsch, *Schubert: Memoirs*, p. 116.

35 Montgomery, *Schubert's Music in Performance*, p. 139. Examples cited by Montgomery include the last movement of D894, bars 143 7, and the first movement of the A minor Quartet D804, bars 44 9.

36 The details of this school of playing are amply described, with reference to contemporary treatises, in R. Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

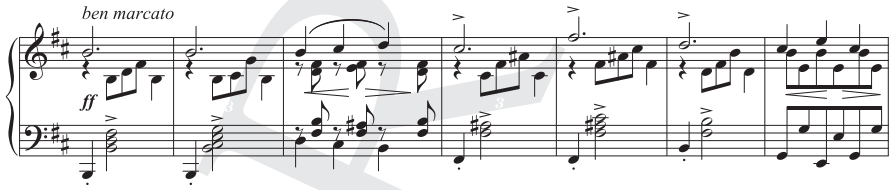
37 D. Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in performance, 1850 1900*, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, p. 18.

Ex. 26.3a. Schubert, String Quartet in G, D887, first movement



Ex. 26.3b. Schubert, Impromptu D899, No. 2.*

*On the way in which Schubert's use of accented weak beats constitute an integral part of the *style hongroise* (a factor neglected by Montgomery) see J. Bellman, *The Style Hongroise in the Music of Western Europe*, Boston, MA, Northeastern University Press, 1993, pp. 149–73, 191–2.



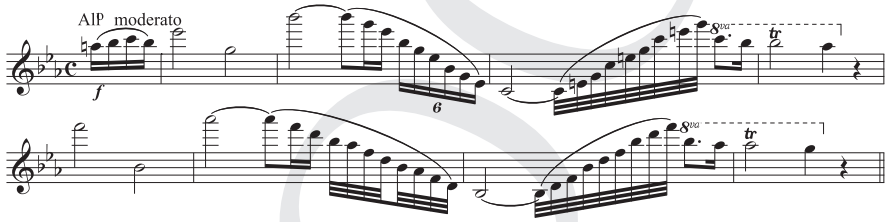
New developments in the instrument included the invention of the chin rest by Spohr in *c.* 1820, and occasional use of metal strings or coverings (though gut remained the norm).[38] However, violin playing, and attitudes to soloistic virtuosity in general, were revolutionised by Genoa-born violinist Niccolò Paganini (1782–1840), who created a Europe-wide sensation after playing

38 Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*, pp. 27 30, 46.

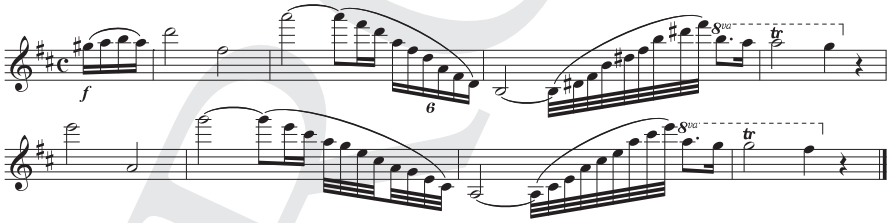
outside Italy from 1828 onwards.[39] Audiences were delirious by the spectacle of his playing, many believing him to be literally possessed by the devil, a belief fed by his eccentric and eerie stage manner. He captivated musicians such as Robert and Clara Schumann, Chopin, Berlioz[40] and above all Liszt (see below). Paganini's playing was theorised in an early treatise by Carl Guhr,[41] who listed his primary innovations as *scordatura* (used to facilitate various pieces, such as his Violin Concerto no. 1 in E flat major[42] (Ex. 26.4), bowing, left-hand pizzicato, harmonics, performing on the G-string alone (he also often played on just two strings),[43] fingering and 'extraordinary *tours de force*'.

Paganini's bowing involved strong contrasts between long sustained tones, especially in his soft singing melodies, and many different varieties of springing. His distinct staccato was a result of firm pressure upon the bow and the use of the thumb and forefinger of the right hand to accentuate each note, whilst he

Ex. 26.4a Paganini, Violin Concerto No. 1 in E flat major, opening



Ex. 26.4b Paganini, Violin Concerto No. 1 in E flat major, opening, as played



39 See J. Sugden, *Niccolo Paganini; Supreme Violinist or Devil's Fiddler?*, Tunbridge Wells, Midas Books, 1980, pp. 77 101, and A. Kendall, *Paganini: A Biography*, London, Chappell, 1982, pp. 57 83 for more details of Paganini's 1828 Viennese debut, subsequent tours and critical response.

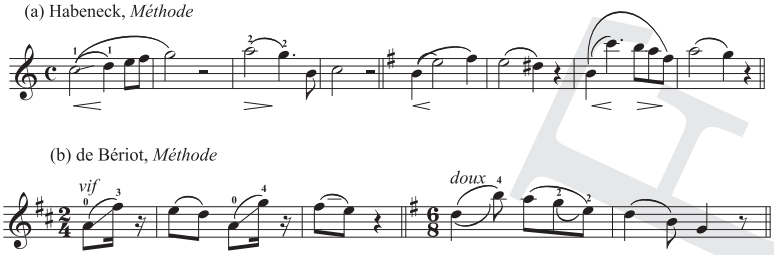
40 See J. Daverio, *Robert Schumann: Herald of a 'New Poetic Age'*, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 94; M. Steegmann, *Clara Schumann*, London, Haus, 2004, pp. 9 10; G. I. C. de Courcy, *Paganini the Genoese*, 2 vols., Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1957, vol. 1, pp. 330 4; H. Goldberg, *Music in Chopin's Warsaw*, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 278 81; *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. and ed. D. Cairns, London, Sphere, 1990, p. 173.

41 C. Guhr, *Ueber Paganini's Kunst. Die Violine zu spielen ein Anhang zu jeder bis jetzt erschienenen Violinschule*, Mainz, Schott, 1829. Some of the most important material in this is included in Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*.

42 Guhr, *Paganini*, pp. 2 5.

43 Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*, pp. 101 102; Kendall, *Paganini*, pp. 25 7.

Ex. 26.5. Portamento as suggested in treatises of Habeneck and de Bériot



demonstrated a new mobility through his fingering.[44] He used many brilliant glissandi as well as portamento effects between double stops. Guhr also used Paganini's playing as an opportunity to systematise a series of harmonics, which he felt were otherwise neglected.

Many other violinists were influenced by Paganini, including the Moravian Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst (1814–65), the Norwegian Ole Bull (1810–80), and the Belgians Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802–70) and Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–81); Ernst was thought by many to be the only one to match Paganini's technique.[45] The most influential other violinist of the period, however, was François Habeneck (1781–1849), whose *Méthode théorique et pratique de violon* was published around 1840.[46] Habeneck paid considerable attention to the subject of bow speed and pressure and set down various rules of phrasing, matching dynamics with contour, 'spinning out' long notes, and emphasising dissonant pitches. De Bériot was also important in the development of a Franco-Belgian violin school; he stressed an expression based upon whole phrases[47] and argued that 'the performer will not be perfect until he can reproduce the accents of song'.[48] Both Habeneck and de Bériot were clearer than their predecessors on the desirability of portamento if used tastefully (Ex. 26.5).[49]

Piano playing prior to 1830 had been dominated by Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), Irishman John Field (1782–1837), Frédéric Kalkbrenner (1785–1849) and Ignaz Moscheles (1794–1870), whose styles

44 Stowell, 'Technique and performing practice', in R. Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 122–42, at p. 124; see also Sugden, *Paganini*, pp. 149–150.
45 B. Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin: From Corelli and Vivaldi to Stern, Zukerman and Perlman*, London, Hale, 1983, pp. 193–4. See R. Schumann, 'H. W. Ernst' (1840), in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 4 vols., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914, vol. 1 (hereafter simply *GS 1*, likewise *GS 2*), pp. 466–8.
46 F. Habeneck, *Méthode théorique et pratique de violon, précédée des principes de musique et quelques notes en facsimile de l'écriture de Viotti*, Paris, Canaux, 1845. Much of this can be found in Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*.
47 On de Bériot's model of phrasing, see Milsom, *Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance*, pp. 38–44.
48 *Ibid*., p. 32.
49 These examples are taken from Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*, p. 101, and Stowell, 'Technique and performing practice', p. 127.

can be roughly characterised in order as (a) clarity and elegance involving high fingers; (b) singing of the melody, a 'floating' approach to passage-work and minimal finger action; (c) clean, even, brilliant playing known as the *jeu perlé* and (d) strength, agility and accuracy, as well as an interest in earlier repertoire.[50] But as for the violin, pianism was transformed above all by one individual, Franz Liszt (1811–86), whose virtuoso style is generally believed to have been inspired primarily by the experience of hearing Paganini in Paris in 1832[51] (though it has also been suggested by his student Moriz Rosenthal that envy of Chopin was the galvanising factor).[52] He certainly developed numerous pianistic techniques in imitation of Paganini's playing, including wild leaps (Ex. 26.6), spiccato-like effects, tremolos, harmonics and glissandi (achieved through rapid chromatic scales, sometimes in double-notes).[53]

After hearing the premiere of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* in 1830, Liszt was also moved to develop an 'orchestral' style at the piano, evident in his 1833 transcription of this work and much later music. This style was the antithesis of that of Frederic Chopin, whose Parisian debut in 1832 was also heard by Liszt. The two were not close, with Chopin disliking both Liszt's theatricality and the use of effects in his compositions.[54] Numerous accounts of Chopin's playing[55] describe his 'delicacy' and 'elegance',[56] though also it was suggested that he could not produce a great deal of power from his instrument;[57] he told students to 'Caress the key, never bash it!'.[58] He preferred the lighter-toned

50 R. W. Gerig, *Famous Pianists and their Technique*, Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1976, pp. 72–80, 133–7; P. Piggott, *The Life and Music of John Field, 1782–1837: Creator of the Nocturne*, London, Faber, 1973, pp. 102–9; *Life and Letters of Sir Charles Hallé being an Autobiography (1819–1860) with Correspondence and Diaries*, London, Smith, Elder & Co, 1896 (hereafter Hallé, *Autobiography*), pp. 213–14; J. Warrack (ed.), *Carl Maria von Weber: Writings on Music*, trans. M. Cooper, Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 181–2, 191; J. Roche and H. Roche, 'Ignaz Moscheles', at *Grove Online* (accessed 13 March 2009).

51 See A. Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years 1811–1847*, rev. edn, London, Faber, 1987 (hereafter simply *The Virtuoso Years*), pp. 174–5.

52 See M. Mitchell and A. Evans (eds.), *Moriz Rosenthal in Word and Music: A Legacy of the Nineteenth Century*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2006, pp. 3–4.

53 See also D. Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 36–43, for more on this piece and related aspects of Liszt's playing during this period.

54 See Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 184–6 for more on the relationship between Chopin and Liszt.

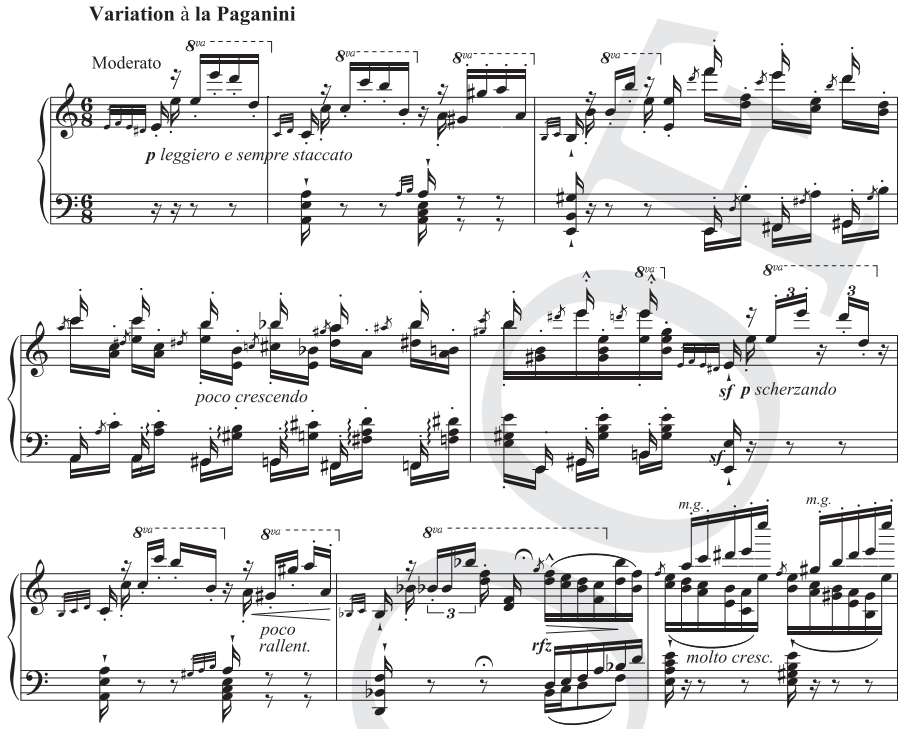
55 Much the most important work on Chopin's pianism is J. J. Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher as Seen by his Pupils*, trans. N. Shohet, with K. Osostowicz and R. Howat, ed. R. Howat, Cambridge University Press, 1986 (hereafter simply *Chopin*), which draws upon a wide range of accounts. All evidence concerning Chopin's playing comes from this source unless otherwise stated.

56 B. É. Sydow (ed.), *Correspondance de Frédéric Chopin*, vol. 1: *L'Aube 1816–1831*, in collaboration with S. and D. Chainaye, Saint Herblain, Éditions Richard Masse, 1981 (hereafter Chopin, *Correspondance I*; similarly for *II: L'Ascension 1831–1840* and *III: La Gloire 1840–1849* (all 1981)), p. 109.

57 See F. J. Fétis, 'The concert of Monsieur Chopin from Warsaw', trans. P. Bloom (from *Revue Musicale*, 3 March 1832, pp. 38–9), in L. Treitler (ed.), *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History*, rev. edn, New York, Norton, 1998 (hereafter *Strunk*), p. 1124.

58 As related by Mathias, in Eigeldinger, *Chopin*, p. 31. See also Z. Skowron, 'Creating a legend or reporting the facts? Chopin as a performer in the biographical accounts of F. Liszt, M. A. Szulc, and F. Niecks', in A. Szklener (ed.), *Chopin in Performance: History, Theory, Practice*, Warsaw, Narodowy Instytut Fryderyka Chopin, 2004, p. 14.

Ex. 26.6. Liszt, *Grande Fantaisie de Bravoure sur la Clochette de Paganini*



pianos of Pleyel (and Broadwood in England) to Érards,[59] though he also made some positive remarks about Grafs that he played in Vienna.[60]

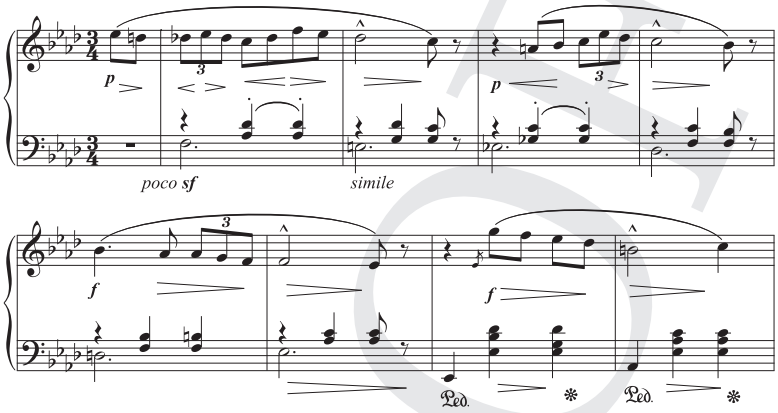
Chopin believed pianists should have a quiet but flexible demeanour, with elbows close to the body and a curved hand, which could be turned to aid the thumb. He emphasised the individual sound of each finger, opposing strategies to 'equalise' them in the manner of Liszt. Otherwise his musical style can be summarised in terms of (a) long phrasing and the stressing of long, high, dissonant or syncopated notes (see Ex. 26.7 for an example of this as written out by Kleczyński); (b) musical declamation learned by listening to the best

59 For more on Pleyel pianos, see Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 191–4 and J. J. Eigeldinger, 'Chopin et la manufacture Pleyel', in Eigeldinger (ed.), *Frédéric Chopin: Interprétations*, Genera, Librairie Droz S.A., 2005, 89–106, at pp. 95–7. On the differences in span between Érards and Pleyels, see R. Winter, 'Orthodoxies, paradoxes, and contradictions: performance practices in nineteenth century piano music', in R. L. Todd (ed.), *Nineteenth Century Piano Music*, New York, Schirmer, 1990, p. 28. Érard pianos were associated with Liszt, and Pleyels with Kalkbrenner, Chopin and Ferdinand Hiller.

60 Chopin, *Correspondance I*, pp. 100–8, 120.

Ex. 26.7. Chopin Waltz in A flat Op. 69 No. 1, execution as described by Kleczyński†.

†Eigeldinger, *Chopin: Pianist and Teacher*, ed. R. Howat, Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 43.



Italian singers,[61] (c) a legato and cantabile approach with unbroken lines, (d) tasteful but flexible rubato, which applies only to the melody, the accompaniment remaining steady, (e) ornamentation as if improvised, without slackening of tempo, (f) the widest range of subtle dynamic gradations, (g) the use of both pedals for colour and harmonic effects, though sparingly, (h) a study of the formal properties of works, and (i) simplicity, naturalness and spontaneity. His *tempo rubato* was much commented upon; Meyerbeer, upon hearing Chopin play the Mazurka in C Op. 33 No. 3, insisted that the music was in 2/4 rather than 3/4. His pedal markings are extremely distinct (and belie some of the other evidence), with long pedals crossing harmonic changes and the use of the pedal to imply particular phrasing or rhythmic accents; there is also considerable reason to believe that he would have used the pedal more selectively than is common nowadays.

Perhaps the most serious rival to Liszt, however, was Sigismond Thalberg (1812–71). Able to move effortlessly in aristocratic company after having been brought up in such an environment, Thalberg had success in the late 1820s, and launched a major career after his 1836 Paris debut received unanimous praise.[62] His playing was characterised by many at the time above all in terms of its

61 See Skowron, 'Creating a legend or reporting the facts?', p. 15.

62 Much of my material on Thalberg is drawn from I. G. Hominick, 'Sigismond Thalberg (1812 1871), 'forgotten piano virtuoso: his career and musical contributions', DMA thesis, Ohio State University, 1991. See pp. 3 20 for an overview of Thalberg's career.

vocality, entailing a clear *marcato* emphasis upon the melody most of the time as well as the use of the pedals, as well as a still posture,[63] in distinction to the playing of Liszt, frequently praised for its dramatic virtuosity and frenetic bodily motion, but much less for his 'tone'.[64] The introduction to Thalberg's *L'art du chant appliqué au piano*, op. 70,[65] suggests the most important attributes of his playing were (a) fingers close to the keys to produce a full sonority, (b) separation of the melody clearly from the accompaniment (and learning from singers) in terms of both dynamics and rhythmic displacement, and the use of close arpeggios for melodies in the upper notes of chords, (c) holding notes for maximum legato, (d) much variety of dynamics, colour and sonority and (e) using pedal (either one or both) at all times. Taken as a whole, these attributes constitute what might today be called a 'beautiful tone' approach to the instrument.[66]

Thalberg's playing and music (mostly transcriptions and fantasies on popular operas of the time) have been argued to have had a particular appeal to a certain section of the aristocracy socially defined at the time as 'dilettante', drawn to Italian opera and disdainful of more 'learned' forms of listening, expressing through their enthusiasm for this music an affinity with the political order of the Restoration and the venues with which it was associated.[67] He garnered firm support amongst a Paris high aristocracy still relatively inaccessible to Liszt, whose social networks were limited to more specific subsections of this class, dominated by women and literati.[68] The rivalry this engendered led to a notorious 'duel' organised by the Princess Cristina Belgiojoso-Trivulzio in March 1837 at her salon[69] (with the princess giving an ambiguous verdict), and soon afterwards a commission for six leading Parisian pianists – Liszt, Thalberg, Johann Peter Pixis, Henri Herz, Chopin and Czerny[70] – each to write a variation on a theme from Bellini's *I puritani* to be presented in a

63 See Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 24–7, 48; K. Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 18.

64 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 27–8, 42–52; also J. Hunecker, *Franz Liszt*, New York, Scribner, 1911, pp. 285–7.

65 S. Thalberg, *L'art du chant appliqué au piano*, Op. 70, four series, Paris, Heugel, 1853–68. A summary of various of Thalberg's main points can be found in Hamilton, *After the Golden Age*, pp. 158–161. Whilst these publications date from some time after the period in question, I have not encountered any evidence of a significant change in Thalberg's style between the 1830s and the 1850s.

66 For one perspective upon this, see C. Rosen, *Piano Notes: The Hidden World of the Pianist*, London, Allen Lane, 2003, pp. 23–30.

67 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 29–35. 68 *Ibid*. pp. 62–70.

69 Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 237–40; Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 21, 73–6. For Liszt's rantings on Thalberg, see many letters from Liszt to d'Agoult from 1836 and 1837 in D. Ollivier (ed.), *Correspondance de Liszt et de la Comtesse d'Agoult, 1833–1840*, Paris, Grasset, 1933, and Hominick, 'Sigismond Thalberg', pp. 66–7.

70 See K. Lutchmayer, 'The *Hexameron*: wishful thinking, stylistic rivalry and Lisztian conquest in 1830s Paris', *Liszt Society Journal*, 31 (2006), 3–33.

combined performance (Liszt ended up also writing an introduction, version of the theme and finale, and performing the work – the *Hexameron* variations – alone).[71] Liszt's letters from later that year suggest his weariness for the rat race and disdain for mass audiences;[72] earlier he had sounded a note of scepticism about those of his own liberties which dazzled such company.[73]

However, after a triumphant series of performances in April and May 1838, Liszt began a major period of touring, spanning ten years, during which time he travelled to almost every corner of Europe, playing well over a thousand concerts.[74] Despite some noticing changes in Liszt's playing during these years,[75] there is no doubt that he favoured a much freer and more creative approach to musical interpretation around this time not only than many modern pianists, but also numerous of his contemporaries. Although there were some sceptical responses, especially in parts of northern Germany (in particular Leipzig, breeding a lifelong resentment of the city on Liszt's part),[76] his success was immense amongst audiences, not least in Berlin, where some critics worried about the generation of what was seen as irrational hysteria through his playing, especially on the part of his female admirers.[77] During this time he brought in numerous innovations which have gone on to shape the modern concert, playing a repertoire from Bach to the present, placing the piano at right angles to the platform,[78] and consolidating the practice of the solo recital with no other instrumentalists involved (though it took some time for this to become the norm).[79] His repertoire was overwhelmingly concentrated upon his own transcriptions of fashionable music of the time (especially from opera), in the manner of Roma musicians who would travel from city to city, acquainting themselves with the local music of each place, and perform and embellish it in their own manner.[80] The period saw the emergence of his

71 Ollivier, *Correspondance*, pp. 135–6.
72 F. Liszt, *An Artist's Journey: Lettres d'un bachelier ès musique 1835–1841*, trans. and annotated C. Suttoni, University of Chicago Press, 1989, p. 30.
73 *Ibid*., pp. 17–18.
74 Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 285–95, 445–7, for a full list of all the places where Liszt played during this period, and a catalogue of all the work he played in public 1838–48. For the concerts which launched this period in his career, see C. Gibbs '"Just two words. Enormous success": Liszt's 1838 Vienna concerts', in C. Gibbs and D. Gooley (eds.), *Franz Liszt and his World*, Princeton University Press, 2006, pp. 167–230.
75 See H. Heine, 'Musical Season in Paris', supplement to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Augsburg), 29 April 1841, trans. S. Gillespie, repr. in Gibbs and Gooley (eds.), *Franz Liszt and his World*, p. 449, and C. V. Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, London, Arnold, 1914, p. 59.
76 See M. Saffle, *Liszt in Germany, 1840–1845: A Study in Sources, Documents and the History of Reception*, Stuyvesant, NY, Pendragon Press, 1994, pp. 91–184; Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 158–63.
77 On this subject, see in particular Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, pp. 203–15.
78 Walker, *The Virtuoso Years*, pp. 285–6.
79 Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, p. 83 n. 7; Hamilton, *After the Golden Age*, pp. 33–71.
80 See B. Sárosi, *Folk Music: Hungarian Musical Idiom*, trans. M. Steiner, Budapest, Corvina, 1986, pp. 145–6, 150; I. Pace, 'Conventions, genres, practices in the performance of Liszt's piano music, part 2: Liszt and the style hongrois', *Liszt Society Journal*, 32 (2007), 68–9.

'Hungarian' style and works, drawing upon popular Hungarian melodies as played by Roma musicians, for which various sources imply his desires for the stressing of dissonant pitches, impulsive performance of extravagant harmonic shifts, a clear hierarchy between melody and accompaniment and free but stylised rhythm.[81]

The other most important pianist who came to prominence in this era (other than Clara Wieck/Schumann, who will be discussed below) was Adolph von Henselt (1814–89). His own particular singing style, legato touch, richness of sound even in quiet dynamics, free rubato (including tempo shifts, unlike Chopin's) and in particular performance of arpeggios (he had huge hands) won much praise.[82] Like Field before him, Henselt settled in Russia in 1838, where he was appointed to numerous teaching positions that provided him with significant influence of the development of piano playing in the country, especially in terms of training governesses and female teachers,[83] despite having practically given up performing at the age of thirty-three, probably due to stage fright.[84]

As noted in Chapter 24, there were many important developments in the piano during the first half of the nineteenth century. Primary among these were Érard's patenting of the new double escapement action in 1821, which enabled a key to be restruck without having to be fully released, greatly facilitating in particular the playing of repeated notes on English instruments (though Viennese manufacturers maintained their own distinct action), and also permitting the use of heavier hammers and a larger dip on the keys.[85] In 1843, Jonas Chickering of Boston patented a full cast-iron frame in 1843, a decisive move in shifting the centre of more radical developments from Europe to the United States.[86] Steel piano wire began to replace wrought iron from the 1840s; steel-wound strings had been in use by Érard since 1830.[87] Érard reduced their range from CC–c′′′′ to CC–f′′′ in 1834, though Graf extended

81 See Pace, 'Liszt and the style hongroise', for an extensive consideration of the subject. For other important perspectives, see S. Gut, 'Nationalism and supranationalism in Liszt', *Liszt Society Journal*, 19 (1994), 28–35, and especially K. Hamburger, 'Franz Liszt und die "Zigeunermusik"', in G. J. Winkler (ed.), *Musik der Roma in Burgenland*, Eisenstadt, Wissenschaftliche arbeiten aus dem Burgenland, 2003, pp. 83–101.

82 See for example Robert Schumann to Clara, 5 January 1838, in *The Complete Correspondence of Clara and Robert Schumann*, ed. E. Weissweiler, trans. H. Fritsch, R. L. Crawford, 3 vols., New York, Lang, 1994 (hereafter *Clara/Robert Correspondence*), vol. 1, p. 66, and B. Walker, *My Musical Experiences*, London, Bentley, 1892, pp. 153–324.

83 Walker, *My Musical Experiences*, pp. 235–6.

84 W. Lenz, *The Great Piano Virtuosos from Personal Acquaintance: Liszt, Chopin, Thalberg, Henselt*, trans. M. R. Baker New York, Schirmer, 1899, p. 137; W. Mason, *Memories of a Musical Life*, New York, Century, 1901, pp. 77–9.

85 D. Rowland, 'The piano since c. 1825', in D. Rowland (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 45–6; Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 167–72.

86 Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 153–63; Rowland, 'The piano since c. 1825', pp. 43–4.

87 Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 183–4.

their higher end from e′′′′ to g′′′′ in the late 1820s, which became standard until the late 1840s when the higher register was extended further by some to a′′′′. After this, some makers adopted a seven-octave range: AAA to a′′′′ by Érard, Collard and Kirman, GGG to g′′′′ by Broadwood. The former of these remained the standard until the 1870s.[88] The piano also became an ever-increasing presence in middle-class households, leading to a growth in the manufacture of square pianos through the course of the century, eventually replaced by the upright.[89]

Berlioz and the development of the orchestra and instruments in the first half of the nineteenth century

The first half of the nineteenth century, especially after 1830, saw a growth in new orchestral societies devoted to instrumental music.[90] Amongst the most important of these were the Hamburg Philharmonic Society (founded 1828), the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in Paris (1828), the Gürzenich Orchestra in Cologne (1840), the Royal Liverpool Philharmonic (1840), the Mozarteum Orchestra in Salzburg (1841), the New York Philharmonic (1842) and the Vienna Philharmonic (1842). Sizes are shown in Table 26.1 at the end of this chapter, with German court orchestras generally maintaining smaller forces than those in Paris, London and elsewhere. There were four principal German regional centres – Leipzig, Berlin, Dresden and Munich[91] – of which the most important was Leipzig, whose Gewandhaus orchestra, originally founded in 1743, was the oldest.[92] In London, the Philharmonic Society, founded in 1813, grew from an original twenty-two players to around seventy in 1833;[93] the players were notable for their sight-reading abilities in a competitive and badly paid world.[94] The Paris Conservatoire Société des Concerts du Conservatoire, founded by Habeneck (who conducted them with his bow),

88 Rowland, 'The piano since c.1825', p. 46.

89 A. Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History*, New York, Dover, 1990, pp. 115 20, 128 38, 142 4, 267 83; Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 120 44, and for most detail R. Harding, *The Piano Forte: Its History Traced to the Great Exhibition of 1851*, 2nd edn, Old Woking, Gresham, 1978, pp. 221 76.

90 See T. Carter and E. Levi, 'The history of the orchestra', in C. Lawson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 7, and P. A. Bloom, 'The public for orchestral music in the nineteenth century', in J. Peyser (ed.), *The Orchestra*, pp. 253 84.

91 See A. Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz*, Cambridge, Heffer, 1946, pp. 107 59 for a comprehensive history of German orchestras during the period.

92 The best source on the Gewandhaus during this period remains A. Dörffel, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25. November 1781 bis 25. November 1881*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884; see also H. J. Nösselt, *Das Gewandhausorchester. Entstehung und Entwicklung eines Orchesters*, Leipzig, Koehler & Amelang, 1943.

93 D. J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions and Seating*, Ann Arbor, MI, UMI Research Press, 1986, pp. 154 5.

94 C. Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 10.

were known for precision, unity of bowing and style, and feeling for tempo, whilst rehearsing more extensively than most other orchestras of the time.[95] Various seating practices of the time differ from modern conventions; some German orchestras, including the Leipzig Gewandhaus (until around 1905), maintained the practice of having the violins and violas standing. Some orchestras broke with an earlier theatrical practice of grouping strings on one side, wind on the other; in place of this, first and second violins would be seated at opposite ends.[96]

After 1815, orchestras gradually moved away from the practice of 'divided leadership', split between the leader and the conductor,[97] towards a singular conductor, as part of a wider Napoleonic cult of the commanding individual. Whilst Spohr made dubious claims to be the first baton conductor,[98] the practice was developed by Weber and Gaspare Spontini (often described in terms of military metaphors),[99] and consolidated by Mendelssohn[100] and Berlioz. The latter cut an imposing figure on stage, making extravagant bodily gestures like Beethoven before him, but with a clear and emphatic beat. Eschewing what he saw as 'approximate' approaches of Habeneck and others, he would drive orchestras through many rehearsals (and sectionals) to obtain the results he desired.[101]

Most major developments in woodwind instruments took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, after which further modifications were essentially refinements. French and German instruments became more stratified, the former producing a brighter and thinner sound, the latter richer and more timbrally varied. The flute gained new keys, but in the German Confederation throughout the period they remained separately mounted within the 'simple system'; Carl Boehm developed a new design in 1832 with separate holes for each chromatic note to produce evenness of tone and avoid the need for

95 R. Elvers, *Felix Mendelssohn: A Life in Letters*, trans. C. Tomlinson, London, Cassell, 1986, pp. 176 7; J. Cooper, *The Rise of Instrumental Music and Concert Series in Paris 1828 1871*, Ann Arbor, MI, UMI Research Press, 1983, pp. 21 4. For Wagner's hugely admiring view, see R. Wagner, *Wagner on Conducting*, trans. E. Dannreuther, New York, Dover, 1989, pp. 15 18.

96 See Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices*, pp. 175 7, 201 37. See also D. M. Di Grazia, 'Rejected traditions: ensemble placement in nineteenth century Paris', *19th Century Music*, 22/2 (1998), 190 209; R. Wagner, *My Life*, New York, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1911, pp. 339, 342 3.

97 See Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices*, pp. 61 70 on the persistence of this practice.

98 See Spohr, *Autobiography*, vol. 2, pp. 81 2, and J. A. Bowen, 'The rise of conducting', in J. A. Bowen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Conducting*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 99 101 on Spohr's claims.

99 Bowen, 'The rise of conducting', pp. 101 5.

100 See S. Reichwald (ed.), *Mendelssohn in Performance*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2008, pp. 85 114.

101 M. Rose, *Berlioz Remembered*, London, Faber, 2001, pp. 124 35, 170, 176 7, 283 5; H. MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 363 (for Berlioz's thoughts on conducting); D. Cairns, 'Berlioz and Beethoven', in P. Bloom (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 231 2.

'cross-fingering', and introduced a cylindrical rather than conical bore in 1847.[102] A thirteen-key oboe became the standard in the German Confederation from 1825, whilst an eight-key instrument with the new 'conservatoire' system of fingering became used in France.[103] The bassoon also followed divergent paths in France and the German Confederation through the century, the instruments being known as the 'Buffet' and 'Heckel' respectively. In both countries the bore was widened and extra keys added, culminating in a twenty-two-key bassoon which was produced in 1847 in France, and became the standard, whilst an eighteen-key model was more common in German-speaking countries.[104] Iwan Müller developed a thirteen-key clarinet around 1810, from which other fingering systems were developed; the other major technological development of the instrument was the development of a Boehm system in 1843, inspired by the earlier system for the flute, by Hyacinthe Klosé, then professor at the Paris Conservatoire. This became the standard system in France, southern Europe, North and South America, and the most used and manufactured in England, though modified versions of Müller's clarinet, including the later developments by Carl Bärmann around 1860, are appropriate for much of the Germanic repertoire.[105]

The first valved horns were introduced by Heinrich Stölzel in 1814, facilitating chromatic pitches; similar valves were introduced to the trumpet, cornet and trombone by 1825–30. Band players in the German Confederation took up the new horn, though it was not until the 1840s that most German orchestras had adopted it. It was resisted in France for most of the century, where the hand horn continued to be taught and studied.[106] Rossini, Meyerbeer and Berlioz were the first to use the valve trumpet in the 1820s in France, though it was still rare by the 1840s. The process was slower amongst Germans, with the B-flat trumpet only beginning to be employed regularly in the second half of the century, and Wagner and Mahler notating parts in C so as to leave the choice of instrument to the performer.[107] The early nineteenth century also

102 A. Baines, *Woodwind Instruments and their History*, London, Faber, 1967, pp. 62–7; R. Brown, *The Early Flute: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge University Press, 2002, pp. 20–9.

103 Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, pp. 101–6, 112–13; D. Charlton, 'Woodwind and brass', in H. M. Brown and S. Sadie (eds.), *Performance Practice: Music after 1600*, Basingstoke, Macmillan, 1989, pp. 410–11.

104 Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, pp. 152–63; Charlton, 'Woodwind and brass', pp. 414–15.

105 Baines, *Woodwind Instruments*, pp. 131–42; C. Lawson, *The Early Clarinet: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 16–17, 25–6.

106 R. Meucci (with G. Roccheti), 'Horn', at *Grove Online* (accessed 16 May 2009); J. Humphries, *The Early Horn: A Practical Guide*, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 32–5; Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 222, 249, 261–3; A. Baines, *Brass Instruments: Their History and Development*, London, Faber, 1976, pp. 206–26; A. Myers, 'Design, technology and manufacture since 1800', in T. Herbert and J. Wallace (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Brass Instruments*, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 115–30.

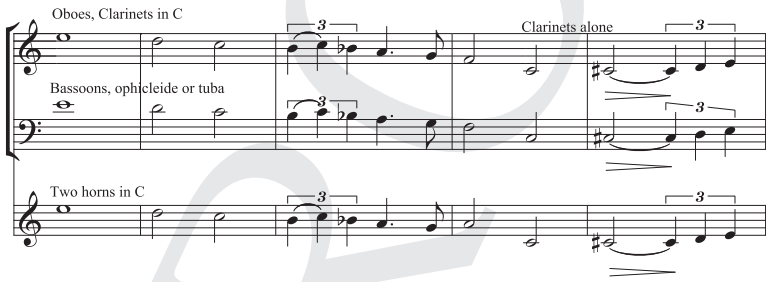
107 Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 262–3; E. H. Tarr, 'The Western trumpet', at *Grove Online* (accessed 17 May 2009). On early trumpets from the valve era, see Baines, *Brass Instruments*, pp. 232–42.

saw a move away from trios of alto, tenor and bass trombones in favour of two or just one model.

Berlioz, more than any other figure, was fascinated by the musical possibilities offered by the developing orchestra, especially after hearing Habeneck's performances with the Société.[108] He learned much through spending time with orchestral players, and became a major innovator within the medium, notable in particular for his insistence (as a non-pianist) that orchestra scores should not be thought of in terms of piano reductions.[109] A stickler for the letter of the score, Berlioz compared the performer to a sun which illuminates a picture, though this did not contradict his desire for fervent, passionate performances.[110]

Berlioz set down many of his ideas on orchestras and instruments in his influential *Grand traité d'instrumentation et d'orchestration modernes* of 1844.[111] He envisaged an expanded version of the Société with extra brass and some additional instruments from military bands, such as the E-flat clarinet.[112] At first favouring German clarinets, he would come by 1851 to write of the superiority of French instruments in general.[113] Similarly, he would later come to favour valved rather than natural horns; in the *Traité*, however, he wrote about the individual properties of the latter, identifying 'bad' notes with poor timbre and tuning, which he would avoid even if it required breaking a unison, as in Ex. 26.8.[114]

Ex. 26.8. Berlioz, Overture to *King Lear*, bars 364–8



108 D. Cairns, *Berlioz: 1803 1832: The Making of an Artist*, London, Deutsch, 1989 (hereafter *Berlioz 1*), pp. 246 9.

109 Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 39, 72 3; Rose, *Berlioz Remembered*, p. 119.

110 Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 55 6, 166 7, 255; R. Pohl, 'Beatrice und Benedikt' (1862), in R. Pohl, *Hektor Berlioz: Studien und Erinnerungen*, Leipzig, Schlicke, 1884, pp. 177 8.

111 For the purposes of this chapter, the version I use is MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, which mediates well between the 1844 and 1855 editions of Berlioz's original, provides an excellent commentary, and includes valuable diagrams of instruments and halls from the time. All of Berlioz's preferences in this respect are taken from this source unless otherwise stated.

112 D. K. Holoman, 'Performing Berlioz', in Bloom, *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, pp. 176 9; MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, pp. 64 9, 102, 117 18, 137 9.

113 P. Bloom, *The Life of Berlioz*, Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 128.

114 Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 261 3; MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, pp. 164 70, including this example.

Berlioz also listed various types of *détaché* and other bowings, in a similar manner to Baillot and Habeneck's treatises, and was very clear in the indications of specific techniques in his scores.

There is no doubt that Berlioz favoured large orchestras: he specified a minimum string section of 15–15–10–11–9 for the *Symphonie fantastique*, *Roméo* and the overture *Le carnaval romain* and 15–15–10–12–9 for *Benvenuto Cellini*, whilst for the version of the *Sinfonie funèbre et triomphale* with strings, he gave figures of 20–20–15–15–10, which are combined with around double the usual number of winds and massed clarinets.[115] In the *Traité* he fantasised about much larger orchestras, one of which would involve a whole 467 players and a choir of 360. His concerts got bigger and bigger, involving over a thousand musicians (around half of which were instrumentalists) for a performance of his *Hymne à la France*, and similar forces for movements from the *Symphonie fantastique* and *Sinfonie funèbre et triomphale* in 1844 as part of the Exhibition of Industrial Products in Paris.[116] As the Marxist writer Hans G. Helms suggests, the 1844 concert, which took place in the Hall of Machinery, represents the one time of true convergence between the economic conditions of music-making and those of wider industrial mass production; Berlioz's relationship to the orchestra was akin to that of a factory owner towards their workers, who he ensured (through his cooperation with instrument manufacturers including Adolphe Sax) gained those machines which enabled them to optimise their production. This possibility was utterly dependent upon fluctuations in the economy, and became untenable by the time of the 1848–9 revolutions, after which, during a recession, profits became used speculatively rather than to support further production.[117]

Berlioz was a strong proponent of the metronome, thinking it vital when a conductor has not 'received instruction directly from the composer or if the tempos have not been handed down by tradition', though warning about copying the 'mathematical regularity' of the device.[118] Those metronome markings he left, and other accounts suggest that he envisaged an extremely broad spectrum of tempos, especially in early works, though with a general inclination towards the faster end of the spectrum.[119]

115 MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, pp. 321 7; Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices*, pp. 123 4.

116 See Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 298 306 for the composer's own account of this occasion, in which, for example, there were a whole 36 double basses.

117 Helms, 'Ökonomische Bedingungen' pp. 34 6. See also Berlioz's own critique of Ferdinand Hérold's opera *Zampa* in *Débats*, 27 September 1835, comparing the music to industrial products (cited in D. Cairns, *Berlioz: Servitude and Greatness 1832 1869*, London, Allen Lane, 1999 (hereafter *Berlioz 2*), p. 65).

118 MacDonald, *Berlioz's Orchestration Treatise*, p. 339.

119 See in particular H. MacDonald, 'Berlioz and the metronome', in P. Bloom (ed.), *Berlioz Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 17 28, and Holoman, 'Performing Berlioz', pp. 188 92.

Chamber music, Leipzig, Mendelssohn and the Schumanns

Chamber-music performance developed distinctly from orchestral concerts; the medium was held up as a sophisticated and elevated alternative to the twin spectacles of virtuoso performance and opera that flourished especially between 1830 and 1848. Whilst various important quartet series had been founded earlier in the century, it was during the 1830s and 1840s that chamber music shifted from a private to a public medium,[120] with the advent of the concerts of the mixed amateur/professional Beethoven Quartet Society in London in 1835,[121] the chamber series formed by Ferdinand David in 1836,[122] and the first touring quartet, the Müller brothers from Braunschweig, who were active from 1830 to 1855.[123] The latter were much praised for their ability to play as a unified body without sacrificing each player's individual character, as well as their precision and expressive range.[124]

After Schuppanzigh's death in 1830, the focus of chamber music shifted to Leipzig, a city which was home to a large number of composers, performers and intellectuals; Mendelssohn, Schumann, David and the Wiecks all lived or worked there during the period leading up to the late 1840s. In contrast to Paris, Vienna and various other cities, Leipzig had little in the way of an aristocratic musical culture during this time; rather, the growing musical scene was based around the new middle class, though they themselves looked to emulate cultural pursuits associated with the aristocracy.[125]

The city also became world-famous through the 'Bach Revival', as the St Thomas Church there housed many of Bach's manuscripts;[126] a major catalyst in this revival was of course Mendelssohn's revival of Bach's St Matthew Passion in the Singakademie, Berlin, on 11 March 1829.[127] Mendelssohn himself was influenced by his teacher Carl Friedrich Zelter of the importance of music as a 'serious business' and 'high art', the epitome of which was represented by

120 C. Bashford, 'The string quartet and society', in R. Stowell (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the String Quartet*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 7–12.
121 J. H. Baron, *Intimate Music: A History of the Idea of Chamber Music*, Hillsdale, NY, Pendragon Press, 1998, pp. 320–1; R. Winter, 'Performing the Beethoven quartets in their first century', in R. Winter and R. Martin (eds.), *The Beethoven Quartet Companion*, Berkeley, CA, University of California Press, 1994, p. 54.
122 W. Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*; *Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms*, Cambridge University Press, 2008, pp. 123, 134; Winter, 'Performing the Beethoven quartets', pp. 42–4.
123 Baron, *Intimate Music*, p. 320.
124 See Winter, 'Performing the Beethoven quartets', pp. 44–5, and Berlioz, *Memoirs*, p. 252.
125 Botstein, 'History, rhetoric, and the self', pp. 30–1.
126 A. Walker, 'Schumann and his background', in A. Walker (ed.), *Robert Schumann: The Man and his Music*, London, Barrie & Jenkins, 1972, p. 21.
127 See C. Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the St Matthew Passion*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2005.

Bach.[128] Whilst this performance was far from 'authentic' by contemporary standards, using a large orchestra and with modified scoring, cuts and other changes,[129] it nonetheless laid down a gauntlet in terms of a historicist attitude to music-making, and the formation of a Germanic canon, whose implications continue through to the present day. After taking over the Gewandhaus in 1835, Mendelssohn had them perform a repertoire based upon eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Germanic music;[130] in February 1838, he devised various series of 'historical concerts' at the Gewandhaus, which were designed to show the 'succession of the most famous masters from one hundred or more years ago up to the present time'.[131]

As a pianist, Mendelssohn was noted for his elasticity of touch, elegance, roundness, unaffectedness, clarity of articulation and strict (though often fast) tempo, rather than Lisztian brilliance or Chopinesque seductiveness.[132] As well as being a brilliant sight-reader, from an early age he frequently played from memory and probably played a significant role in establishing this practice.[133] In 1831, he declared the metronome 'an utterly useless invention';[134] only in his later works, when his opposition seems to have been loosened, do we find a fair number of metronome markings.[135] Many, including Wagner, Liszt and Clara and Robert Schumann, noted (sometimes critically) his predilection as a conductor for fast tempos,[136] though he also employed occasional tempo fluctuations in performance which seemed pre-prepared.[137]

Mendelssohn also performed sporadically on the violin throughout his life.[138] Whilst at first favouring the broad bow and full tone of Eduard

128 See J. E. Toews, *Becoming Historical: Cultural Reformation and Public Memory in Early Nineteenth Century Berl*in, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 209 13.
129 H. Haskell, *The Early Music Revival: A History*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1988, pp. 15 16.
130 R. L. Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 314 15; Dörffel, *Gewandhausconcerte*, pp. 83 137.
131 Dörffel, *Gewandhausconcerte*, pp. 91, 95, 115 16; Schumann, 'Rückblick auf das Leipziger Musikleben im Winter 1837 1838', in *GS 1*, p. 373.
132 R. Nichols, *Mendelssohn Remembered*, London, Faber, 1997, pp. 91 6, 162 4, 172, 185; C. Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2003, p. 221.
133 See Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn*, pp. 204 6, 232 5.
134 At least according to Berlioz, *Memoirs*, p. 237; I use here the translation from Nichols, *Mendelssohn Remembered*, p. 172.
135 See S. Reichwald, 'Mendelssohn's Tempo Indications', in Reichwald, *Mendelssohn in Performance*, pp. 189 95.
136 *Wagner on Conducting*, pp. 22 3; Nichols, *Mendelssohn Remembered*, pp. 95, 162, 164; *The Marriage Diaries of Robert and Clara Schumann*, trans. P. Ostwald, ed. G. Nauhaus, London, Robson, 1994 (hereafter *Clara/Robert Marriage Diaries*), p. 44.
137 See D. Milsom, 'Mendelssohn and the Orchestra', in Reichwald, *Mendelssohn in Performance*, p. 87, and Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn*, pp. 254 5 for further evidence of Mendelssohn's (sparing) use of tempo fluctuation as a conductor.
138 C. Brown, 'Performance of chamber and solo music for violin', in Reichwald, *Mendelssohn in Performance*, pp. 59 60, 68 9.

Rietz (1802–32),[139] after Rietz's death he became closely involved with the most important Leipzig string player in Leipzig of the time, Ferdinand David (1810–73), a student of Spohr,[140] who would become leader of the Gewandhaus in October 1836 at Mendelssohn's instigation.[141] David was noted for technical brilliance combined with intellect, though later accounts suggest a more ostentatious approach, which some saw as poor taste.[142] He published his own *Violinschule* in 1863, which remains the best guide we have to his method and style.[143] He appears to have used a violin with no chin rest or shoulder attachment, with a low left elbow, distinctive bow hold, bowing in a right angle across the strings with a loose and bent wrist, and a variety of types of bow strokes, including hitting with the point and a 'springing bow'. Portamento was only to be used exceptionally, and vibrato employed sparingly. Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto was written in consultation with David (who premiered it in 1845);[144] David himself produced an edition of the work in 1875[145] which has been analysed by a variety of writers.[146] This contained a wide range of new markings, in particular counter-intuitive fingerings which would produce portamenti, as well as indications of harmonics (Ex. 26.9).

The most prominent piano teacher in 1820s Leipzig was Friedrich Wieck (1785–1873), who published his own important treatise, *Klavier und Gesang*, in 1853.[147] Wieck's emphasis was upon a legato tone, a flexible wrist without use of the arm, but also staccato and 'sprightly articulation'. He strongly disliked overuse of either pedal, was disparaging of young virtuosi, and urged a reverential approach to the music of Beethoven, Mozart and Weber. His most

139 Brown, 'Performance of chamber and solo music for violin', p. 63.

140 J. Eckardt, *Ferdinand David und die Familie Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, Leipzig, Duncker & Humblot, 1888, pp. 7 8; F. Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn, 2nd edn, London, Macmillan, 1874, pp. 162 3.

141 Dörffel, *Gewandhausconcerte*, pp. 86, 239.

142 N. Bickley (ed. and trans), *Letters from and to Joseph Joachim*, London, Macmillan, 1914, pp. 49, 397; R. Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola: A Practical Introduction*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 137 8; A. Moser, *Joseph Joachim ein Lebensbild*, Berlin, Behr's, 1898, pp. 42 6; B. Borchard, *Stimme und Geige. Amalie und Joseph Joachim*, Vienna, Cologne and Weimar, Böhlau, 2005, pp. 85 6 n. 60.

143 F. David, *Violinschule. Méthode de Violon*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1863; version with Eng. trans. *Violinschule/Violin School*, Leipzig and London, Augener and Breitkopf & Härtel, 1874.

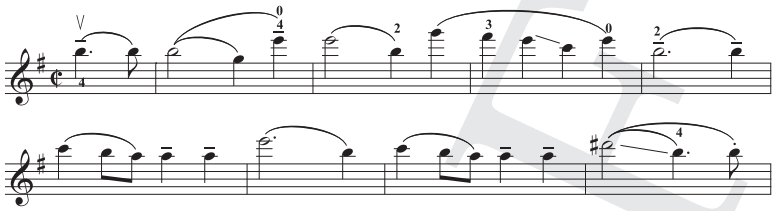
144 Dörffel, *Gewandhausconcerte*, p. 109. On the communications between Mendelssohn and David sur rounding the work's composition and first performances, see R. L. Todd, 'Introduction', in Mendelssohn, *Konzert in e Moll*, Kassel, etc., Bärenreiter, 2007, pp. iii ix.

145 *Violin Concerto neurer Meister Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Ernst, Lipinski, Paganini*, ed. F. David, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1875.

146 See Brown, 'Performance of chamber and solo music for violin', pp. 72 6; Milsom, *Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance*, pp. 86 7, and Stowell, *The Early Violin and Viola*, pp. 151 64.

147 Friedrich Wieck, *Klavier und Gesang*, Leipzig, Whistling, 1853, trans. M. P. Nichols as *Piano and Song: How to Teach, How to Learn and How to Form a Judgement of Musical Performances*, Boston, Lockwood, Brooks, 1875.

Ex. 26.9. Mendelssohn, Violin Concerto. Allegro molto appassionato. Edition of David, with implied portamenti notated



prominent student was of course his daughter Clara (1819–96),[148] whose early concerts, featuring works of Kalkbrenner, Herz, Czerny and others, drew praise for virtuosity and finished execution, as well as interpretation, accentuation and tonal shading.[149] Later in life she would also play the music of Thalberg and Chopin, and included works of Bach, Scarlatti and Beethoven in her programmes from the 1830s onwards, gradually eschewing virtuoso pieces and moving decisively towards what would now be called a more 'serious' repertoire centred around what are now seen as classic figures of the first half of the nineteenth century (Beethoven, Schubert, Weber, Chopin, Mendelssohn and Schumann) as well as some Bach and Scarlatti and a handful of mostly early works of Brahms.[150] From an early stage she would play from memory, and preferred the pianos of Graf to the heavier instruments of Érard.[151] Critics came to associate her with the *Werktreue* aesthetic of performance (sometimes described as 'objective' sometimes as 'faithful'),[152] and her playing was seen variously as 'intellectual' and 'refined' (in contrast to more overt virtuosi), 'elegant', 'solid', 'clear', 'pure' and 'deeply artistic'.[153] Nonetheless she admitted to Brahms in 1871 that she was often beset by nerves,[154] and was often perceived to play too fast,[155] though she had earlier commented very critically

148 My observations on Clara's playing are drawn from a digest of N. Reich, *Clara Schumann: The Artist and the Woman*, rev. edn, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 2001; Steegmann, *Clara Schumann*; F. May, *The Girlhood of Clara Schumann*, London, Arnold, 1912; B. Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Kunstlerleben*, 3 vols., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1920; B. Borchard, *Clara Schumann. Ihr Leben*, Frankfurt and Berlin, Ullstein, 1991.

149 May, *Clara Schumann*, pp. 64 5.

150 R. Kopiez, A. C. Lehmann and J. Klassen, 'Clara Schumann's collection of playbills: A historiometric analysis of life span development, mobility, and repertoire canonization', in *Poetics*, 37/1 (2009), 50 73.

151 N. B. Reich, 'The correspondence between Clara Wieck Schumann and Felix and Paul Mendelssohn', in Todd, *Schumann and his World*, p. 227 n. 5; *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 2, pp. 10 11, 53, 402, 461, and vol. 3, p. 274.

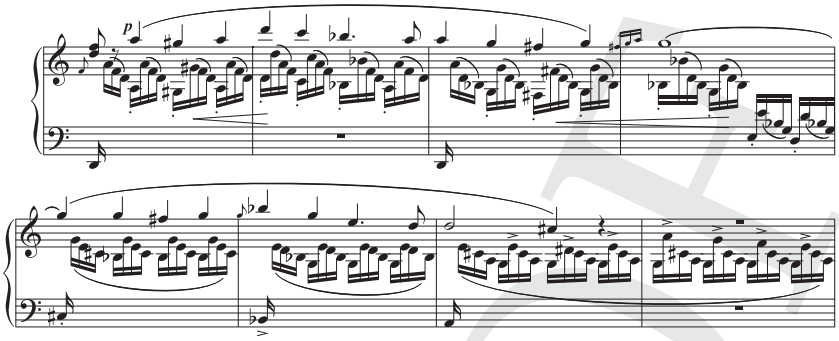
152 Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 272; A. App, 'Die "Werktreue" bei Clara Schumann', in P. Ackermann and H. Schneider (eds.), *Clara Schumann: Komponistin, Interpretin, Unternehmerin, Ikone*, Hildesheim, Zurich and New York, Georg Olms, 1999, pp. 9 18.

153 Reich, *Clara Schumann*, pp. 270 1.

154 *Clara Schumann Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853 1896*, ed. B. Litzmann, 2 vols., Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927, vol. 1, p. 636.

155 Reich, *Clara Schumann*, p. 270.

Ex. 26.10. Schumann, Fantasy Op. 17



in her diaries about impetuous virtuosity and hurrying in the playing of other rival pianists.[156]

The pianist career of Robert Schumann, Clara's husband-to-be, was curtailed at an early stage (by November 1832[157]), probably through his use of the chiroplast, as recommended by Kalkbrenner, Thalberg and others.[158] Yet the subsequent period saw the production of the majority of his major piano works, most of which were performed, if at all, by Clara, often in private;[159] Schumann himself sometimes discouraged public performances of his more 'difficult' works.[160] Whilst his pianistic preferences were less definitive than those of Clara,[161] he certainly thought highly of Viennese instruments such as those of Graf and Streicher;[162] these facilitate not only the staccato chords such as in the F sharp minor sonata, but also the detailed short staccatos and accents that are often interspersed into passage-work, as in the Fantasy Op. 17 (Ex. 26.10).

The lack of a sustained tradition of public performances of Schumann's piano music during his lifetime makes his stylistic preferences difficult to ascertain precisely. In terms of other pianists he dismissed Kalkbrenner, became lukewarm about Hummel, but was highly positive about Moscheles;

156 See, for example, her comments on her female rival Amalie Rieffel, entry of 20 November 1840, in *Marriage Diaries*, p. 35. She followed this up with some extremely patronising remarks about Rieffel on 22 November (*ibid.*, p. 36).

157 *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann. Nach den Originalen mitgetheilt von Clara Schumann*, 2nd edn, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886, p. 194.

158 The most sensible writing on this subject is in E. F. Jensen, *Schumann*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 68–72.

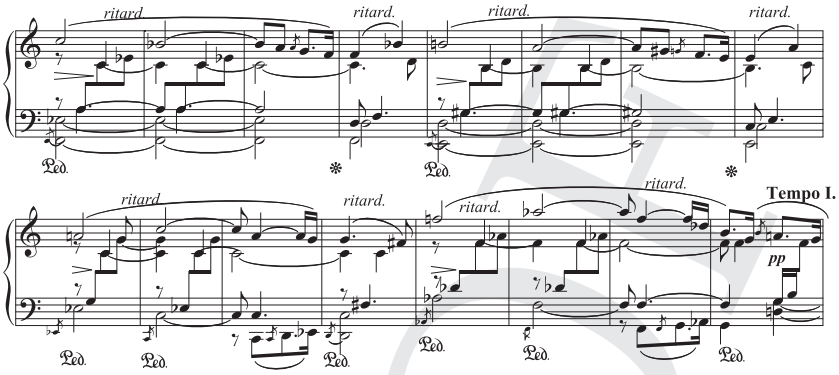
159 See Reich, *Clara Schumann*, pp. 259–60, for a full list of the first performances given by Clara of Robert's works; also B. Borchard, *Robert Schumann und Clara Wieck. Bedingungen künstlerischer Arbeit in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Weinheim and Basel, Beltz, 1985, pp. 280–1.

160 Especially with *Carnaval* – see *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 129–30, vol. 2, pp. 31, 210, and Schumann, 'Franz Liszt: concerts in Dresden and Leipzig', in R. Schumann, *Schumann on Music: A Selection from the Writings*, trans. and ed. H. Pleasants, New York, Dover, 1988, p. 161/*GS 1*, p. 484.

161 See *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 125, for Robert's interest in English pianos.

162 *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 1, p. 286, vol. 2, p. 50.

Ex. 26.11. Robert Schumann, *Arabeske* Op. 18



later he would become utterly effusive about Chopin, Field and Liszt, massively enthusiastic about Henselt, and favourable towards Thalberg.[163] In terms of Clara's own playing, it should not be automatically assumed that this represented Robert's ideal, as he sometimes compared her unfavourably or ambiguously with others,[164] had difficulty persuading her to adopt his slower tempos, and sometimes doubted the infallibility of her technique.[165]

Schumann's many very specific tempo modifications, such as in the first movement of the Fantasy, or the *Arabeske* Op. 18 (see Ex. 26.11),[166] need not imply a rigid tempo elsewhere, but should be set into relief by contrast with other surrounding material at least through the degree of modification. His pedalling was sometimes remarked upon as being extravagant, blurring harmonic shifts, with a certain murkiness.[167] He provided more detailed performance commentaries relating to two works, the *Études d'après les Caprices de Paganini* Op. 3 (1832),[168] and the *Album für die Jugend* Op. 68 (1848);[169] these eschew excessive bravura, forbid modifications or embellishments of texts

163 Schumann, *GS 1*, pp. 254–5, 478–85; *Robert Schumanns Briefe. Neue Folge*, ed. F. G. Jansen, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904, pp. 30–2, 63, 75, 106–107, 149–50; I, p. 135; *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 1, pp. 66, 283–4; Daverio, *Schumann*, pp. 21–2, 69, 87–8.

164 See J. Weingarten, 'Interpreting Schumann's Piano Music', in Walker, *Robert Schumann*, pp. 93–4; *Clara/Robert Marriage Diaries*, pp. 9, 35, 42, 52; Jansen, *Briefe*, p. 53; J. Gabrielova, 'Toccata op. 7', in H. Loos (ed.), *Robert Schumann. Interpretationen seiner Werke*, 2 vols., Laaber, Laaber, 2005, vol. 1, p. 45.

165 *Clara/Robert Correspondence*, vol. 2, p. 115; *Clara/Robert Marriage Diaries*, p. 178; F. Niecks, 'Schumanniana (1925)', in Todd, *Schumann and his World*, p. 291.

166 See Winter, 'Orthodoxies, paradoxes, and contradictions', pp. 46–8, on how such things are ironed out in the Fantasy.

167 See F. Brendel, 'Robert Schumann with reference to Mendelssohn Bartholdy and the development of modern music in general (1845)', trans. J. Thym, in Todd, *Schumann and his World*, pp. 322–3.

168 Schumann, 'Preface to Opus 3', in *Etüden nach Capricen von Paganini, Opus 3 und Opus 10*, ed. W. Boetticher, Munich, Henle, 1997, pp. xi–xxii.

169 The original text, 'Musikalische Haus- und Lebensregln', is given in the Henle edition of *Album für die Jugend*, Munich, Henle, 2007, pp. 61–8, with translations into French by Liszt and by H. H. Pierson.

(though sometimes to vary material upon repetitions), and encourage the employment of vitality and variety of touch and voicing and sometimes shifts in the pulse.

Ferdinand David was as important to Schumann as to Mendelssohn, though he was also impressed by the playing of Ernst and especially Ole Bull. David gave the first performances of all three of his string quartets (which required a new level of technique and ensemble playing), led (or conducted) the Gewandhaus orchestra in performances of various orchestral works and was also a major inspiration for the violin sonatas.[170] Schumann was deeply impressed by the ensemble, regularity of rehearsals and depth of preparation of the Gewandhaus orchestra from the late 1830s onwards.[171] They premiered his First Symphony in 1841 under Mendelssohn, a performance which met with huge admiration from the composer.[172] Their forces and seating arrangement have already been noted; the antiphonal arrangement of the standing violins is particularly important for exchanges such as in bars 97–106 of the first movement. Various correspondence around subsequent performances and editions provides significant information concerning performance;[173] Schumann was most concerned about the horns being sufficiently loud, with the execution of some tempo modifications, and with precise articulation in the first Trio.

In November 1849, Schumann accepted a position as municipal music director in Düsseldorf.[174] The orchestra there (mostly made up of amateurs or military musicians) had 27 strings, 8 woodwind, 2–3 horns, 2 trumpets, 2 trombones, and timpani,[175] significantly less than the Gewandhaus's 60 players. Almost all of Schumann's orchestral works from the beginning of this period exhibit thicker orchestration than those from hitherto, including the December 1851[176] revision of the Fourth Symphony (whose 1841 first performance under David is generally believed to have been a failure).[177] In

170 Daverio, *Schumann*, pp. 246 7; W. Schwarz, 'Eine Musikerfreundschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts. Unveröffentliche Briefe von Ferdinand David an Robert Schumann', in C. H. Mahling (ed.), *Zum 70. Geburtstag von Joseph Müller Blattau (Saarbrücken Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 1*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1966, pp. 294, 297.

171 See Schumann, 'Rückblick auf das Leipziger Musikleben im Winter 1837 1838', p. 378.

172 *Clara/Robert Marriage Diaries*, p. 72; Jansen, *Briefe*, p. 251.

173 Many of Schumann's other letters concerning this work are translated in J. W. Finson, *Robert Schumann and the Study of Orchestral Composition: The Genesis of the First Symphony Op. 38*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, pp. 122 6.

174 On this orchestra up to when Schumann took over, see C. H. Porter, 'The reign of the *dilettanti*: Düsseldorf from Mendelssohn to Schumann', *Musical Quarterly*, 73/4 (1989), 476 512.

175 Paul Kast (ed.), *Schumanns rheinische Jahre*, Düsseldorf, Droste, 1981, p. 11; see also the account of L. Mason, *Musical Letters from Abroad: Including Detailed Accounts of the Birmingham, Norwich, and Düsseldorf Musical Festivals of 1852*, New York, Mason, 1854, pp. 184 5.

176 Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, ed. Georg Eismann, 4 vols., Leipzig, Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971 82, vol. 3, pp. 579 80.

177 B. Schlotel, 'The orchestral music', in Walker, *Schumann: The Man and his Music*, pp. 288, 299, 303 n.1; Schwarz, 'Eine Musikerfreundschaft', p. 286.

particular there are many doublings of the string parts by the winds and denser textures, as well relentless use of the basses. This transformation of Schumann's orchestration is too sudden and consistent to be attributable merely to a lessening of competence, as suggested by Brian Schlotel;[178] rather it seems likely that Schumann's preferences changed, or (in my opinion more likely) he made allowances for the smaller and somewhat less accomplished string section at Düsseldorf, and possibly also for his own somewhat mediocre conducting skills.[179]

1848–1890

Introduction

The disruption of musical life subsequent to the events of 1848 and the following years was noticed by many,[180] with a major decline in the number of concerts and an end to the optimism of the virtuoso years. The 1848–70 period in particular was not an especially fruitful one for the production of instrumental music of previously existing genres; very few historically durable symphonies were produced after Schumann's Third in 1850, nor much important chamber music prior to Brahms's early works in the 1860s. The range and diversity of piano composition also fell, despite the appearance of a new range of performers; the major exceptions are to be found in the mid-period works of Liszt and the early work of Balakirev. The other most important development in instrumental music from the period is to be found in the symphonic poems of Liszt and then further programmatic or otherwise 'realistic' music of Borodin, Musorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakov at the end of the period. In 1860, a journalist in the Viennese *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* wrote of the fundamental changes in concert life over the past ten years: 'no more tumults of virtuoso concerts, but rather great instrumental and vocal presentations . . . the ungodly proliferation of concert promotions has given way to the present flood of 'classical' taste'.[181] These transformations were keenly felt as much in the world of performance as that of composition.

178 Schlotel, 'The orchestral music', p. 314.

179 On the quality of the Düsseldorf orchestra, see Porter, 'The reign of the *dilettanti*', pp. 482–99; Erler, *Schumanns Leben*, p. 204; on Schumann's conducting, see R. Pohl, 'Reminiscences of Robert Schumann' (1878), trans. J. M. Cooper, in Todd, *Schumann and his World*, pp. 249–51; Niecks, 'Schumanniana', in Todd, *Schumann and his World*, pp. 290–2; Walker 'Schumann and his background', pp. 32–4.

180 For example, Anton Rubinstein and Berlioz: see *Autobiography of Anton Rubinstein, 1829–1889*, trans. A. Delano, Boston, MA, Little, Brown, & Co., 1890, p. 16; P. Citron, 'The *Mémoires*', in Bloom (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Berlioz*, p. 129.

181 'Zehn Jahre aus dem weiner Musikleben' in *Recension und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik*, 6 (1860), cited in W. Weber, 'The rise of the classical repertoire', in J. Peyser (ed.), *The Orchestra: Origins and Transformations*, New York, Billboard, 2000, p. 381.

The piano and pianists after 1848

In February 1848, Liszt abandoned his career as a touring virtuoso to take up the position of *Kapellmeister* in the small German principality of Weimar.[182] From this point onwards his music also changed: he revised his many of his earlier transcendentally virtuosic works into (somewhat) more playable forms (which are those most frequently played today); his major original piano works from the time demonstrate a characteristic virtuoso approach to the instrument, but rarely with the level of extremity (or bombast) of his earlier productions.[183] Liszt also became involved with the rising tide of historicism, through his increased championing of Beethoven and the shift in focus of his transcriptions towards organ pieces of Bach.[184]

In his Weimar house, called the Altenburg, Liszt kept a new Érard concert grand on the ground floor,[185] together with pianos of Streicher and Bösendorfer on the second floor, and elsewhere the Broadwood which had belonged to Beethoven, of which he had come into possession during his tours.[186] He pursued a long pedagogical career from this point until the end of his life; his students from this period included Hans von Bülow (see below), Carl Tausig, Joachim Raff, Peter Cornelius, Karl Klindworth and William Mason.[187] Accounts of his teaching, right up to his final years, are relatively consistent,[188] and have been summarised as follows: (a) the music should flow

182 On this major shift in Liszt's career, see J. Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 134; D. Altenburg, 'Franz Liszt and the legacy of the classical era', *19th Century Music*, 18/1 (1994), 46–63; La Mara (ed.), *Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Liszt und Carl Alexander GrossHerzog von Sachsen*, Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1909, pp. 7–12.

183 Alan Walker suggests that Liszt's revisions from this time reflect the heavier actions of new pianos, in A. Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years 1848–1861*, Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1989, pp. 147–9.

184 See Walker, *The Weimar Years*, pp. 157–9, and Altenburg, 'Franz Liszt and the legacy of the classical era'.

185 See Mason, *Memories*, pp. 88, 92; also Walker, *The Weimar Years*, p. 5 on Liszt's special relationship with Érard pianos.

186 Walker, *The Weimar Years*, pp. 74–7.

187 See Mason, *Memories*, pp. 86–182 for a documentation of these times.

188 Amongst the most important memoirs to consult on Liszt's teaching (and playing) are Mason, *Memories*; A. Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (1880), New York, Dover, 1965: F. Lamond, *The Memoirs of Frederic Lamond*, Glasgow, Laclellan, 1949; A. Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt*, trans. anon., Edinburgh, Methuen Simpson, n.d.; A. Friedheim, *Life and Liszt: The Recollections of a Concert Pianist*, ed. T. L. Bullock, New York, Taplinger, 1961; B. Walker, *My Musical Experiences*, pp. 85–115; Mitchell and Evans, *Moriz Rosenthal*, especially pp. 17–39; E. von Sauer, *Meine Welt*, Stuttgart, Spemann, 1901; and A. Strelezki, *Personal Recollections of Chats with Liszt, with Anecdotes of Schumann, Chopin, Mendelssohn, Wagner, &c., &c*, London, Donajowski, 1893, as well as the three extremely detailed accounts of Liszt's masterclasses from his late years: R. Zimdars (ed. and trans.), *The Piano Masterclasses of Franz Liszt, 1884–6: Diary Notes of August Göllerich. Edited by Wilhelm Jerger*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1996; A. Walker (ed.), *Living with Liszt from the Diary of Carl Lachmund, an American pupil of Liszt, 1882–4*, Stuyvesant, NY, Pendragon Press, 1995; and L. Ramann, *Liszt Pädagogium*, 2nd edn, ed. A. Brendel, Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1996. Note that most of these come from the last decade and a half of Liszt's life; Mason's is one of the few from the early Weimar period. The most prominent account of Liszt's early teaching comes from his teaching of Valérie Boissier, whom he taught in the winter of 1831–2; see J. Rink, 'Liszt and the Boissiers: notes on a Musical Education', *Liszt Society Journal*, 31 (2006), 34–65.

in long phrases marked off by strong accents; (b) the musical sense should continue through the many rhetorical pauses; (c) expression (and bodily gestures) should avoid sentimentality at all cost; (d) the piano should produce a quasi-orchestral range of sonorities; (e) melodic figuration should more often be lyrical rather than brilliant; (f) tempo should be flexible, not metronomic; (g) rubato can take the form of interruptions to the beat or prolongings, quite distinct from that of Chopin; and (h) a lack of expressiveness is much worse than a few wrong notes.[189]

In what is arguably Liszt's crowning pianistic achievement of this period, the Sonata in B minor, he made use of a dichotomy between short, terse staccato writing (such as one might associate with earlier Viennese pianos and pianism), which he would later instruct students to play as 'muffled timpani strokes' (*dumpfer Paukenschlag*)[190] and much more expansive quasi-vocal lines (lending themselves to the more resonant pianos of Érard), running through the whole work (Ex. 26.12). In this sense the work stands on the fault-line dividing competing schools of instruments and piano styles.[191]

The Sonata was given its first public performance by Hans von Bülow (1830–94), who, after a brief early study with Wieck, worked with Liszt in Weimar from 1851, and became one of his favoured protegées.[192] From an early stage Bülow was also devoted to Beethoven,[193] and became a champion of the late works, giving all-Beethoven concerts and series in various German cities in the 1860s.[194] After a long period in which he focused upon conducting (see below), he began to tour again from 1872, also making a major American trip in 1875–6, which included the premiere of Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto.[195] In the 1880s he began to play all five of Beethoven's last piano sonatas in recitals.[196] A series of masterclasses he gave in Frankfurt from the mid-1880s reveal much about his pianistic and interpretive priorities. Focusing above all on the

189 K. Hamilton, 'Performing Liszt's piano music', in Hamilton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 182.

190 Ramann, *Pädagogium*, vol. 5, p. 3. This is the only known account of Liszt's teaching of this work.

191 See I. Pace, 'Conventions, genres, practices in the performance of Liszt's piano music', *Liszt Society Journal*, 31 (2006), 70–103, for a more in depth exploration of this aspect of the work. For a wider overview of the piece, see K. Hamilton, *Liszt: Sonata in B Minor*, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

192 See F. Haas, *Hans von Bülow. Leben und Wirken*, Wilhelmshaven, Noetzel, 2002, pp. 17–24.

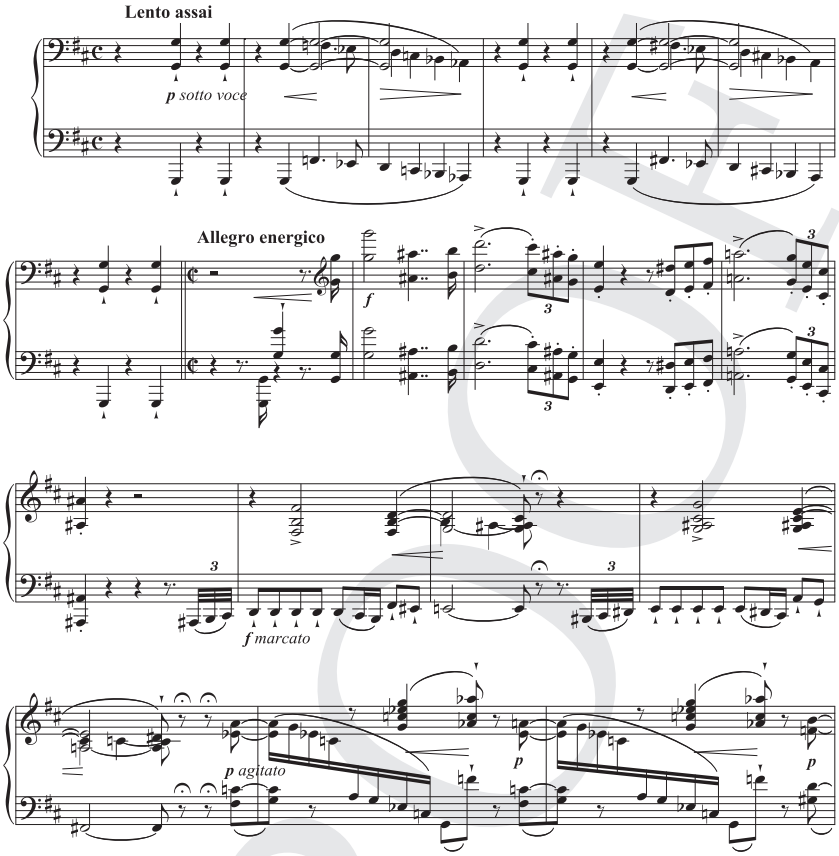
193 *The Early Correspondence of Hans von Bülow*, ed. by his widow, selected and trans. C. Bache, New York, Appleton, 1896, p. 77.

194 See H. J. Hinrichsen, *Musikalische Interpretation Hans von Bülow*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 1999, pp. 94–105, on the centrality of Beethoven to Bülow's musical outlook.

195 R. A. Lott, *From Paris to Peoria: How European Piano Virtuosos Brought Classical Music to the American Heartland*, Oxford University Press, 2003, pp. 232–88.

196 Including brief transitional sections to connect them – see R. L. Zimdars (ed. and trans.), *The Piano Master Classes of Hans von Bülow*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1993, p. 135, for an example. For a comprehensive list of Bülow's concerts as pianist and conductor, see W. D. Gewande, *Hans von Bülow. Eine biographisch dokumentarisch Würdigung aus Anlass seines 175. Geburtstages*, Lilienthal, Eres, 2004, pp. 218–331.

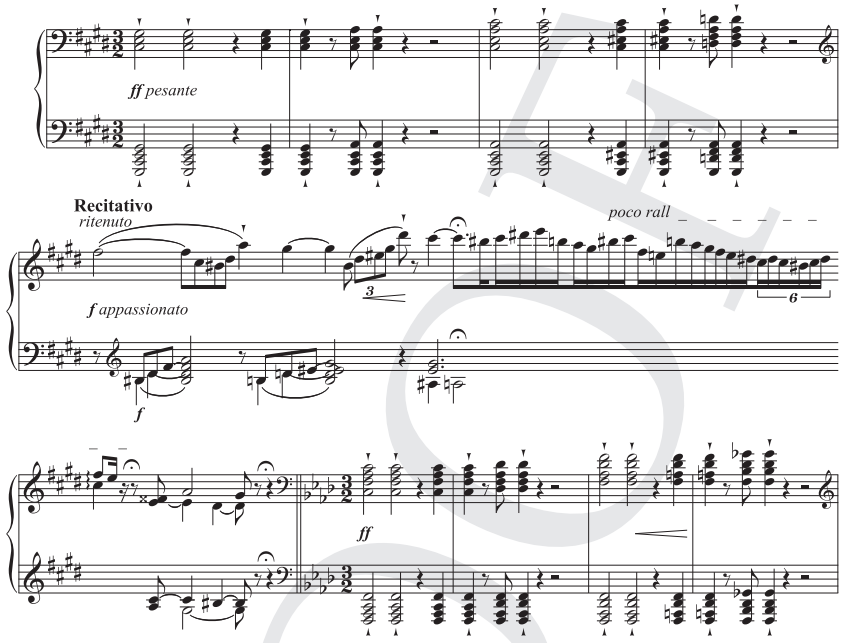
Ex. 26.12a. Liszt, Sonata in B minor, opening



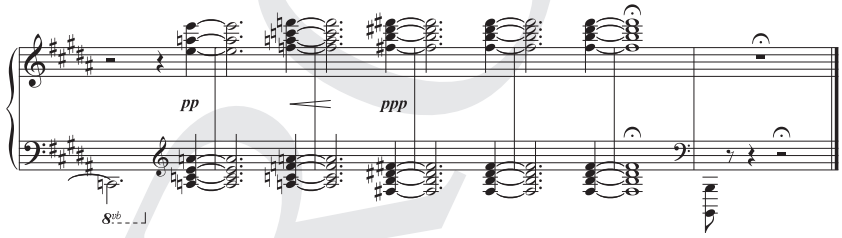
music of his holy trinity of Bach, Beethoven and Brahms, he urged diaphanous and differentiated approaches to Bach, cited Wagner in support of certain interpretive practices in Beethoven, and suggested that, as well as providing Brahms with much colour and expression, one should conceive the music in poetic rather than abstract terms.[197] Opinions of his playing varied, many admiring his facility, strength, endurance and variety of touch, or his reverence for text and style and ability both to 'command' and 'obey', but others finding him cold and unable to generate serious enthusiasm amongst audiences.[198]

197 Zimdars (ed.), *Bülow Master Classes*, pp. 17, 23, 32, 37, 70 3, 82, 90, 94, 104, 113 14, 124.
198 See, for example, Pohl, *Franz Liszt*, p. 35; L. Auer, *My Long Life in Music*, London, Duckworth, 1924, pp. 249 50; D. Legány, *Ferenc Liszt and his Country 1869 1873*, trans. G. Gulyás, Budapest, Corvina Kiadó, 1983, pp. 123 6; Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, pp. 274 5.

Ex. 26.12b. Liszt, Sonata in B minor, towards end of first 'movement'



Ex. 26.12c. Liszt, Sonata in B minor, conclusion



The other most prominent pianist of this era was the Russian-Jewish Anton Rubinstein, a student of Field's pupil Alexander Villoing (1804–78).[199] Idolising Liszt (whose reputation he came to mirror), Rubinstein attempted to mimic his theatrical mannerisms; also, like Chopin before him, he claimed as a major influence the opera singer Rubini, whose tone he would attempt to imitate on the piano.[200] Accounts of his playing draw attention to his rich and full tone (but also delicacy), his wild and impetuous nature at the instrument

199 Rubinstein, *Autobiography*, pp. 6 10.
200 C. D. Bowen, *Free Artist: The Story of Anton and Nicolai Rubinstein*, Boston, Little, Brown & Company, 1939, p. 170.

as a reflection of his volatile temperament, often opting for quite extreme (and flexible) tempos, his inimitable use of the pedal, and general grandeur of style,[201] though some were critical of excesses and clumsiness. After leaving the St Petersburg Conservatoire (see below), Rubinstein's career flourished, becoming the first major Russian musician to tour America in 1872–73.[202] But his crowning achievement was the series of 'Historical Concerts' he gave between autumn 1885 and May 1886 in Berlin, then various other cities around Europe, featuring the history of European piano music from English virginalists to contemporary Russian composers,[203] which deeply impressed the young Rachmaninov.[204] He followed these with a series of 'Historical Lectures' at the St Petersburg Conservatoire in 1888, in which he emphasised the employment of a variety of historical styles, and advocated C. P. E. Bach's keyboard treatise, and urged smaller orchestras to use clarity and restraint in the music of Haydn, Mozart, Hummel, Weber and Mendelssohn; on the piano, though, he believed that full modern resources should be employed for Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Chopin.[205]

Various schools of pianistic pedagogy were consolidated during this period, including the *style sévère* in France – clear, brilliant, elegant, strict in rhythm and tempo, and with a basically thin and non legato touch[206] – whose most brilliant representative was Camille Saint-Saëns (1835–1921),[207] and a finger school in various conservatoires, especially in Stuttgart.[208] What could be practical for Hummel and Czerny, working on very light Viennese pianos, now became a form of pianist torture, a merciless and grinding technical regime that produced much stiffness and unwanted harshness.[209] These schools encountered some early challenges,[210] but the most significant came

201 Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 127 8, 219 20, 295, 301; Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, pp. 59 60; Mason, *Memories*, pp. 173 4; Auer, *My Long Life*, pp. 114 15; A. Delano, 'Rubinstein as a pianist', in Rubinstein, *Autobiography*, pp. 165 71.

202 See Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 226 50, and Lott, *From Paris to Peoria*, pp. 170 230, on Rubinstein's American tours.

203 For the complete programmes, see P. S. Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2007, pp. 269 71.

204 Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 291 2; Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, p. 294.

205 See Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 311 17 on these lectures.

206 See C. Timbrell, *French Pianism: A Historical Perspective*, 2nd edn, Portland, OR, Amadeus, 1999, pp. 37 40; Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, pp. 315 17.

207 On Saint Saëns's playing, see S. Studd, *Saint Saëns: A Critical Biography*, London, Cygnus Arts, 1999, pp. 6 13, 49 51, 60 1.

208 See Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, pp. 21 2, 264 8 for her experiences of this school and wider thoughts on German Conservatoires. On the Lebert/Stark Stuttgart school of technique, see Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, pp. 229 33.

209 Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, p. 235. For a strongly worded but cogent critique of this type of approach, see G. Sándor, *On Piano Playing*, New York, Schirmer, 1981, pp. 52 78.

210 Including from William Mason, Adolf Bernhard Marx and Theodor Kullak see Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, pp. 236 50.

through the pioneering teaching of Ludwig Deppe (1828–90).[211] Deppe advocated the distribution of motions amongst all the components of the anatomy (hand and arm), involving circular movements of the hand and upward motions of the wrist, as well as a type of 'controlled free fall', by which the whole apparatus is allowed to drop freely under gravity. Amy Fay, who studied with Deppe from 1873, found his methods to be revelatory, relating them to what she had seen in Liszt's playing.

At the Great Exhibition in London in 1851, the difference between Viennese and English pianos was noticed very strongly;[212] the intervening period saw the growth of large-scale industrialised production of pianos, especially in the United States, facilitated by new woodworking machinery and hammer-covering machines.[213] At the 1862 London Great Exhibition, Steinway exhibited their iron-frame, cross-stringed piano, which had been patented in 1859; this provoked a variety of opinions at the time, but would become the standard model for all instruments, right up to the present day, though some other distinct pianos were manufactured for a short while.[214]

The few new developments during the remainder of the century included an extension of the upper range to c''''', the new iron frame curved up from its fastenings, and the addition of the middle pedal, which won Liszt's advocacy for such works as his third *Consolation*[215] (Ex.26.13).

Violinist and violin playing 1848–1890

In the period immediately after 1848, four violinists became most prominent: Henri Vieuxtemps (1820–81), Joseph Joachim (1831–1907), Henryk Wieniawski (1835–80) and Leopold Auer (1845–1930). Vieuxtemps, a prodigy who also spent five early years in Russia as soloist to the Tsar,[216] was described as having perfect intonation, an excellent staccato, an avoidance of portamento, whilst avoiding an overly 'expressive' style, for which he was criticised from various quarters,[217] whilst Joachim, who worked first in Leipzig in the

211 Deppe's methods are set down in E. Caland, *Artistic Piano Playing as Taught by Ludwig Deppe, together with Practical Advice on Questions of Technic*, trans. E. S. Stevenson, Nashville, TN, Olympian Publishing Co., 1903. Most of Deppe's short 1885 article entitled 'Armleiden des Klavierspielers' is reproduced in Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, pp. 252–4. The account here of Deppe's methods is taken from these two sources, and also Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, pp. 285–91.

212 Rowland, 'The piano since c.1825', p. 45.

213 For more on this subject more widely, see Good, *Giraffes*, pp. 197–256.

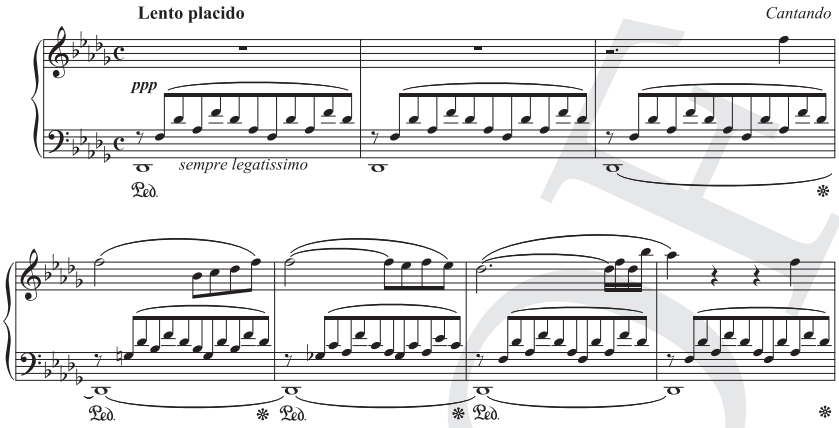
214 Rowland, 'The piano since c.1825', pp. 44–7.

215 See Liszt's 1883 letter, reproduced in F. Clidat, 'The Transcendental Studies: A Lisztian pianist's impressions', in M. Saville and J. Deaville (eds.), *New Light on Liszt and his Music: Essays in Honor of Alan Walker's 65th Birthday*, Stuyvesant, NY, Pendragon Press, 1997, p. 316.

216 Schwarz, *Great Masters*, pp. 210–12.

217 See Schwarz, *Great Masters*, pp. 214–15; J. S. Campbell, *V. F. Odoyevsky and the Formation of Russian Musical Taste in the Nineteenth Century*, New York and London, Garland, 1989, p. 251; Mason, *Memories*, p. 149.

Ex. 26.13. Liszt, *Consolation* No. 3



Gewandhaus with David, moved to become leader of Liszt's orchestra in Weimar, then left this environment, dissatisfied, to become royal music director at Hanover,[218] and developed an intensive relationship with both Schumanns and the young Brahms. Like Clara, he was known for his fidelity to works and avoidance of effects, as well as varied styles for different works, unaffected expression, and the performance of a core German repertoire.[219] His technique involved the 'Joachim grip', a very low arm pressed to the body and a high-angled wrist, with rotary motion of the wrist and stiff fingers to change at the frog, which came to be opposed by many later players not least for its unsteadiness.[220] In his late years, Joachim published a treatise with his student and biographer Andreas Moser,[221] in which they expressed their reservations about the new dominance of the Franco-Belgian schools, a move from a singing style towards 'effects', and opposed trends towards continuous vibrato.

Wieniawski was in Weimar at the same time as Joachim, and like Vieuxtemps was a prodigy who settled in Russia, first in the early 1850s, then for twelve years until leaving in 1872.[222] His playing seems, however, to have been more

218 Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, pp. 96 113.
219 See Milsom, *Violin Performance*, p. 20; R. Pohl, *Franz Liszt. Studien und Erinnerungen*, Leipzig, Schlicke, 1883, p. 20.
220 Schwarz, *Great Masters*, pp. 271 2; *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*, trans. H. Keller, ed. Keller and C. F. Flesch, London, Rockliff, 1957, pp. 33 5; Milsom, *Violin Performance*, pp. 21 2.
221 J. Joachim and A. Moser, *Violinschule/Violin School*, 3 vols., Berlin, Simrock, c. 1905. See in particular vol. 2, p. 96a, vol. 3, pp. 32 3.
222 W. Duleba, *Wieniawski*, trans. G. Czerny, Neptune City, NJ, Paganiniana, 1984, pp. 26, 37, 50; Schwarz, *Great Masters*, pp. 221 2.

subjective, temperamental and colourful than that of Vieuxtemps,[223] whilst employing a very different bow technique to Joachim, with a high right elbow, pressing the bow with the index finger above the second joint, and stiffening his arm to produce the so-called 'devil's staccato' on a single string, a technique which later was referred to by some as the 'Russian bow grip'.[224] Auer, a student of Joachim, who also had played to Vieuxtemps at a young age, replaced Wieniawski in Russia.[225] He broke with Joachim's teaching by employing a standard Franco-Belgian grip and to the end of his career was adamant in his opposition to the continuous use of vibrato, despite the fact that this practice was adopted by many of his students.[226]

The most significant later nineteenth-century violinist was Eugène Ysaÿe (1858–1931), a protégé of Vieuxtemps and student of Rodolphe Massart and Wieniawski[227]. Ysaÿe himself perceived distinct schools descending from Vieuxtemps and Paganini, definitively preferring the 'romanticism' of the former to the 'mechanics' of the latter.[228] His playing emphasised a singing tone above all else, continuous but containing distinctive sonorities, with the use of a practically immobile right upper arm, playing from the point of the bow, simplicity of fingering, rhythmic cohesion and smooth transitions, as well as a greater amount of vibrato (though still only on selected notes) and portamento than earlier players, and a highly spontaneous and declamatory rubato.[229] He was closely associated with Fauré, César Franck and Max Bruch; works such as the Franck Violin Sonata (written as a wedding present for Ysaÿe in 1886) provided a new customised outlet for the French and Belgian violin schools (Ex. 26.14).

The orchestra between 1848 and 1890

After 1848 orchestral repertoire also became much more focused upon the classics (including a small increase in performances of works from the Renaissance and Baroque periods) and a canonical repertoire,[230] whilst

223 On Wieniawski's playing see, Duleba, *Wieniawski*, and R. Stowell, 'Henryk Wieniawski (1835 1880): Polish, French, Franco Belgian, German, Russian, Italian or Hungarian?' in M. Jabłoński and D. Jasińska (eds.), *Henryk Wieniawski and the 19th Century Violin Schools: Techniques of Playing*, *Performance*, *Questions of Sources and Editorial Issues*, Poznań, Henryk Wieniawski Musical Society, 2006, pp. 9 28.

224 B. Schwarz and Z. Chechlińska, 'Henryk [Henri] Wieniawski', at *Grove Online* (accessed 2 March 2009).

225 Auer, *My Long Life*, pp. 32 5, 114 17.

226 Schwarz, *Great Masters*, p. 421; L. Auer, *Violin Playing as I Teach It*, New York, Dover, 1980, p. 23. On the rivalry between Franco Belgian and German schools in general, see Milsom, *Violin Performance*, pp. 25 7.

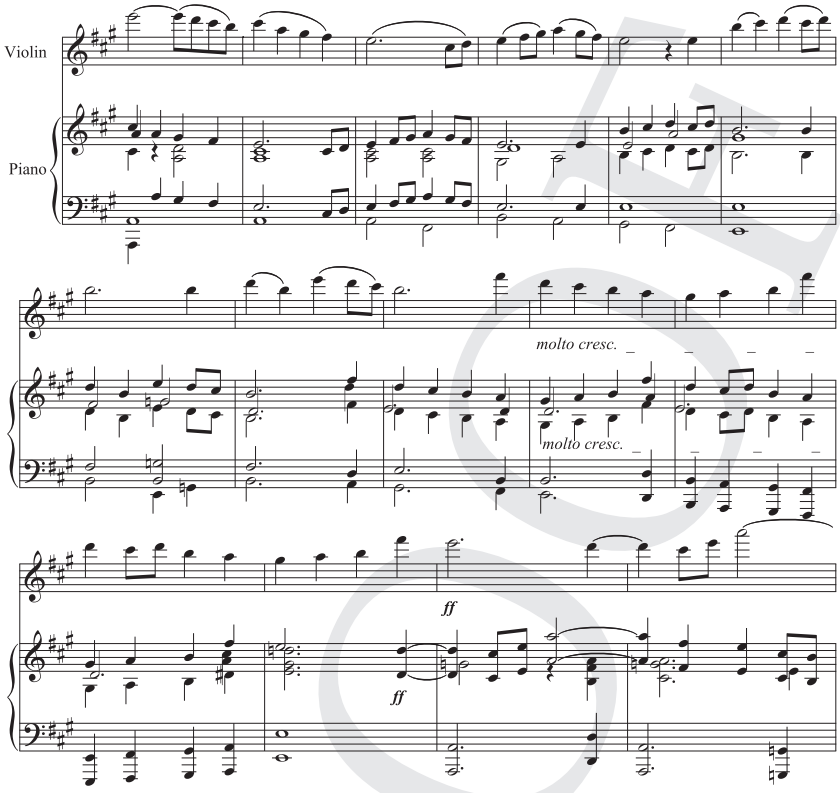
227 Lev Ginsburg, *Ysaÿe*, trans. X. M. Danko, ed. H. R. Axelrod, Neptune City, NJ, Paganiniana, 1980, pp. 19 31.

228 Ysäye, interviewed in F. H. Martens, *Violin Mastery: Talks with Master Violinists and Teachers*, New York, F. A. Stokes, 1919, pp. 3 4.

229 Flesch, *Memoirs*, p. 79; Ginsburg, *Ysaÿe*, pp. 19 31, 35, 41, 45, 270 1, 356 82, 491 2.

230 Weber, 'The rise of the classical repertoire', pp. 372 4. On F. J. Fétis's earlier Concerts historiques at the Paris Conservatoire in the 1830s, a prototype for this tendency, see K. Ellis, *Interpreting the Musical Past: Early Music in Nineteenth Century France*, Oxford University Press, 2005, pp. 22 5.

Ex. 26.14. César Franck, Violin Sonata, from fourth movement



orchestras became national institutions rather than private societies. The most important new orchestras were the Budapest Philharmonic Orchestra (1853), the Strasbourg Philharmonic Orchestra (1855), the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester (1858), the Pasdeloup Orchestra in Paris (1861), the Düsseldorf Symphony Orchestra (1864), the Tonhalle Orchestra in Zurich (1868), Dresden Philharmonic Orchestra (1870), Concerts Colonne in Paris (1873), Berne Symphony Orchestra (1877), Boston Symphony Orchestra (1881), Lamoureux Orchestra in Paris (1881), Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (1882), Helsinki Philharmonic Orchestra (1882), St Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra (1882), Detroit Symphony Orchestra (1887), Dortmund Philharmonic Orchestra (1887) and Concertgebouw Orchestra (1888).

The Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra had been founded as the Philharmonische Akademie in 1842 with just a few annual concerts; after a

quiet period between 1848 and 1859,[231] the opera director Carl Eckert started a series of subscription concerts which has continued through to the present day.[232] From the second season, they were conducted by Otto Dessoff, under whom they played (uncharacteristically for the time) a large number of world or Vienna premieres.[233] Desoff's interpretations differed considerably from others of his time, in terms of highly extended pauses and a massive dynamic range, as well as some very slow tempos. Hans Richter directed the subscription concerts from 1875 to 1898, a period which has been described variously as the 'full flowering' or 'golden era' of the orchestra. He described his ideal as being guided by the orchestra and its individuality, rather than subjugating it as if with a whip. By 1884, it had expanded to ninety players.[234]

Liszt regularly conducted the relatively small court orchestra at Weimar (see the Table 26.1 for the size in 1851),[235] performing numerous Beethoven symphonies and staged performances of Wagner operas.[236] His conducting was of mixed quality, employing various body signals to signify nuances, colours and rubato, and describing arc-like shapes with the bow, but lacking some basic technique.[237] He deeply opposed metronomic tempos, which he said led to a situation whereby '*the letter killeth the spirit*',[238] and used symbols *R* . . . and *A* . . . to indicate light tempo modifications around particular motives, as in the symphonic poem *Orpheus*. Some of his principles were extended further still by Wagner, who published his hugely influential tract on conducting, *Über das Dirigiren*, in 1869. This set down many of the principles upon which twentieth-century approaches to conducting were founded, in opposition to various existing practices he had experienced.[239] Identifying a different style required for Beethoven and after than for earlier composers, he advocated the centrality of the melodic line or *melos* to be rendered in the manner of a singer, as well as selecting the appropriate tempo (wary of excesses of fast or slow) and its

231 See C. Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige: Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker*, Zurich, Vienna and Mainz, Schweizer, Kermayr and Scheriau & Schott, 1992, pp. 93 116, on these years.

232 Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige*, pp. 117 28. A full list of the Vienna Philharmonic's subscription concerts from 1860 to 1901 has been compiled and is available at http://concertannals.blogspot.com/2009/04/wiener philharmoniker 1860 1870.html (accessed 6 July 2009).

233 Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige*, p. 138.

234 E. Mittag, *The Vienna Philharmonic*, trans. J. R. L. Orange and G. Morice, Vienna, Gerlach & Wiedling, 1950, pp. 26 33. Koury, *Orchestral Performance*, p. 141.

235 On this and earlier and later forces, see Koury, *Orchestral Performance*, p. 134; Pohl, *Franz Liszt*, pp. 105, 188 9; Walker, *The Weimar Years*, pp. 124, 161 2, 418.

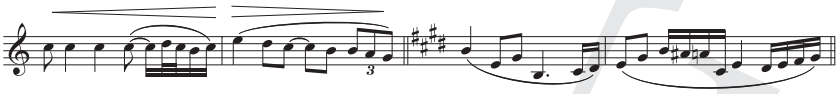
236 See Pace, 'Conventions, genres, practices', pp. 95 6 for more on Liszt's performances of Beethoven, and Walker, *The Weimar Years*, pp. 112 34 for his efforts on behalf of Wagner.

237 Walker, *The Weimar Years*, pp. 276 9. See Bowen, 'The rise of conducting', pp. 108 10, on Liszt's theories of conducting and the rather mixed results of their application.

238 La Mara, *Letters 1*, pp. 175 6. See also Pohl, *Franz Liszt*, p. 18.

239 See, however, *Wagner on Conducting*, pp. 5, 15 17, for Wagner's admiring comments on Habeneck and French orchestras in general.

Ex. 26.15. Wagner, Overture to *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg*, bars 89–90, 97–8.



modification according to the qualities of individual sections of a work.[240] Wagner left detailed comments on various Beethoven symphonies as well as for the overture to his own *Die Meistersinger*.[241] He wished the movement to begin with a vigorous 4/4 beat, pushing ahead in bars 89–90, whilst for the second theme in E, the conductor should hold back the tempo (in the manner of 'a somewhat grave 4/4 time') but lend the music a 'passionate, almost hasty character' (Ex. 26.15).

Bülow was also as central a figure as a conductor as a pianist during this period. Beginning his career in Berlin, and moving on to work in Leipzig, Munich and elsewhere, he focused upon the music of Berlioz, Liszt and Wagner[242] (giving the premieres of *Tristan* and *Die Meistersinger* in 1865 and 1868).[243] Whilst he described his conducting in Napoleonic heroic terms,[244] it was noted by others for similar qualities to his piano playing;[245] he also conducted without a score. He directed the Meiningen Court Orchestra from 1880 to 1884, taking them to a new level of renown and in the process establishing a new orchestral practice.[246] Bülow would give as many as six rehearsals per concert including sectionals, and took great care to synchronise dynamics, bow strokes and articulation amongst the players;[247] he also retained the practice of having higher strings standing.[248] He devoted the whole of the

240 *Wagner on Conducting*, pp. 17–28, 39–66; C. Fifield, 'Conducting Wagner: the search for Melos', in B. Millington and S. Spencer (eds.), *Wagner in Performance*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1992, pp. 1–14.

241 *Wagner on Conducting*, pp. 15–18, 25–8, 35–8, 42–3, 92–100.

242 For Bülow's signature featuring the names of these three composers, see H. von Bülow, *Briefe*, ed. M. von Bülow, 7 vols., Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898–1908, vol. 3, p. 439.

243 See A. Walker, *Hans von Bülow: A Life and Times*, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 83–160; Haas, *Bülow*, pp. 144–79.

244 Hinrichsen, *Bülow*, p. 86.

245 See Pohl, 'Drei Musikaufführungen unter Hans von Bülows Leitung in Karlsruhe (1873)', in Pohl, *Liszt*, p. 325; *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga von Meyendorff 1871–1886 in the Mildred Bliss Collection at Dumbarton Oakes*, trans. W. R. Tyler, Washington, DC, Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1979, p. 344; W. Damrosch, *My Musical Life*, New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1930, pp. 78–9.

246 On Bülow's time in Meiningen, see above all *Südthüringer Forschungen. Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Meiningens*, Meiningen: Staatliche Museen Meiningen, 1991, and also Haas, *Bülow*, pp. 199–227.

247 S. Avins, 'Performing Brahms's music: clues from his letters', in M. Musgrave and B. D. Sherman, *Performing Brahms: Early Evidence of Performance Style*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 19. Bülow's 'Meiningen Principles' were laid down in an 1880 article reproduced in part in Bülow, *Briefe 6*, p. 36 n. 2, and Haas, *Bülow*, p. 204.

248 E. Hanslick, 'The Meiningen court orchestra', in Hanslick, *Music Criticisms 1846–99*, trans. and ed. H. Pleasants, London, Penguin, 1950, p. 234.

1880–1 concert season to Beethoven's music, and also developed a very strong relationship with the music of Brahms.[249]

Bülow is also credited with generating widespread acclaim for the Berlin Philharmonic, which was founded in 1882 by a breakaway group of fifty-four players from the Bilsesche Kapelle, run from 1867 to 1882 by Benjamin Bilse.[250] The Berlin Philharmonic began giving a series of 'Philharmonic Concerts' conducted by Franz Wüllner, featuring important symphonic works, subscription concerts conducted by Joachim and Klindworth, and some popular concerts as well. They quickly flourished, with the help of major private contributions, giving 50 concerts (with 110 rehearsals) in the 1883–84 season, and a total of 20 subscription concerts in the 1884–85 season, though this fell to 12 in the next two seasons.[251] Joachim became their Principal Conductor in 1884, followed by Bülow in 1887, who introduced public general rehearsals and gave didactic speeches from the podium to the audience. Whilst reactions to the latter were mixed, concerts sold out during his tenure, with thousands of people turned away.[252] The establishment of this orchestra reflected wider growth in the city, whose population increased from 400, 000 in 1848 to four million in 1914, and which was home to a range of major banks which exerted commanding power over German industry.[253]

Bruckner and Brahms in late nineteenth century Vienna

The two most enduring composers based in Vienna from the 1860s to the 1890s were Anton Bruckner and Johannes Brahms, bitter rivals within a charged critical climate in which the 'War of the Romantics' continued to be fought, generally to the benefit of Brahms. Bruckner's formative musical experiences derived from the organ, military bands and dance orchestras;[254] he described the Trio of the Fourth Symphony as a dance tune played to hunters during their meal.[255]

Bruckner had mixed experiences at first with the Vienna Philharmonic, with various rejections, hostility from the players, or even walk-outs from the

249 Hinrichsen, *Bülow*, p. 62; for the important Brahms programmes given by the orchestra in 1882, see R. and K. Hoffmann, *Brahms als Pianist und Dirigent. Chronologie seines Wirkens als Interpret*, Tutzing, Schneider, 2006, pp. 207 8.

250 W. Stresemann, *The Berlin Philharmonic from Bülow to Karajan: Home and History of a World Famous Orchestra*, trans. J. Stresemann, Berlin, Stapp, 1979, pp. 37 40; P. Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester, Erster Band: 1882 1922*, Tutzing, Schneider, 1982. On the Bilsesche Kapelle in 1870, see Fay, *Music Study in Germany*, pp. 42 3.

251 Stresemann, *Berlin Philharmonic*, pp. 40 2.

252 *Ibid*. pp. 47 56; Muck, *Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester*, vol. 1, pp. 95 160.

253 G. Mann, *The History of Germany since 1789*, trans. M. Jackson, London, Pimlico, 1996, pp. 200 1.

254 C. Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, vol. 1: *From Ansfelden to Vienna*, Lewiston, NY, Edwin Mellen, 2002) (hereafter simply *Bruckner 1*, likewise *Bruckner 2* for Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, vol. 2: *Trial, Tribulation and Triumph in Vienna*), pp. 7, 67, 122, 172, 194, 211 12, 230 1.

255 Howie, *Bruckner 2*, p. 335.

audience (from the Third in 1877);[256] this prompted him to make cuts and other changes, one reason for the often bewildering number of versions of his works.[257] In general, the first published versions of his works have more detailed indications of tempo, dynamics and expression than the manuscripts, as Bruckner would revise writing he felt to be impractical or misleading. He was also very concerned to be clear about his tempos and their modifications (though wrote in one letter that many important details, as well as tempo modifications, are not indicated in the score).[258]

Furthermore, varying conceptions of Bruckner as treating the orchestra like an organ, or alternatively as a Wagnerian symphonist (a view that was especially prevalent during the Third Reich), may affect one's approach to performance.[259] Bruckner's organ-playing was described by August Stradal as 'monumental' with 'no false sentimentality, no daintiness, no fancy touches played purely for special effect'.[260] This sort of musical ideal seems to have informed his wishes for his orchestral music as well: he implored Felix Mottl to extend the dynamic range and adopt a slow, solemn tempo in the funeral music (in memoriam to Wagner) for tubas and horns in the Adagio of the Seventh Symphony[261] (Ex. 26.16). Similarly, Bruckner wanted practically as slow a tempo as possible for the Sanctus from his E minor Mass at an 1885 performance.[262] Letters between Bruckner and Felix Weingartner also suggest that he liked the large string section of the Vienna orchestra.[263]

Brahms's twenty-four orchestral works rarely extend beyond the forces common in the first half of the century, but there is some debate about his preferred size of string section, on the basis that he had an equally strong association with the Meiningen Orchestra and the Vienna Philharmonic.[264] The argument for his preferences are too intricate to do justice to here;[265] I maintain

256 A. Harrandt, 'Bruckner in Vienna', trans. J. Williamson, in J. Williamson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 30–1.

257 D. Watson, *Bruckner*, London, Dent, 1975, pp. 34, 61–4; B. M. Korstvedt, 'Bruckner editions: the revolution revisited', in Williamson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, pp. 121–37.

258 See Korstvedt, 'Bruckner editions' and Williamson, 'Conductors and Bruckner', in Williamson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, pp. 135, 233.

259 See J. Horton, 'Bruckner and the symphony orchestra', in Williamson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, pp. 139–40, also C. Brüstle, 'The musical image of Bruckner', in Williamson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, pp. 244–60, and L. Botstein: 'Music and ideology: thoughts on Bruckner', *Musical Quarterly*, 80 (1996), 5–9.

260 S. Johnson, *Bruckner Remembered*, London, Faber, 1998, p. 74.

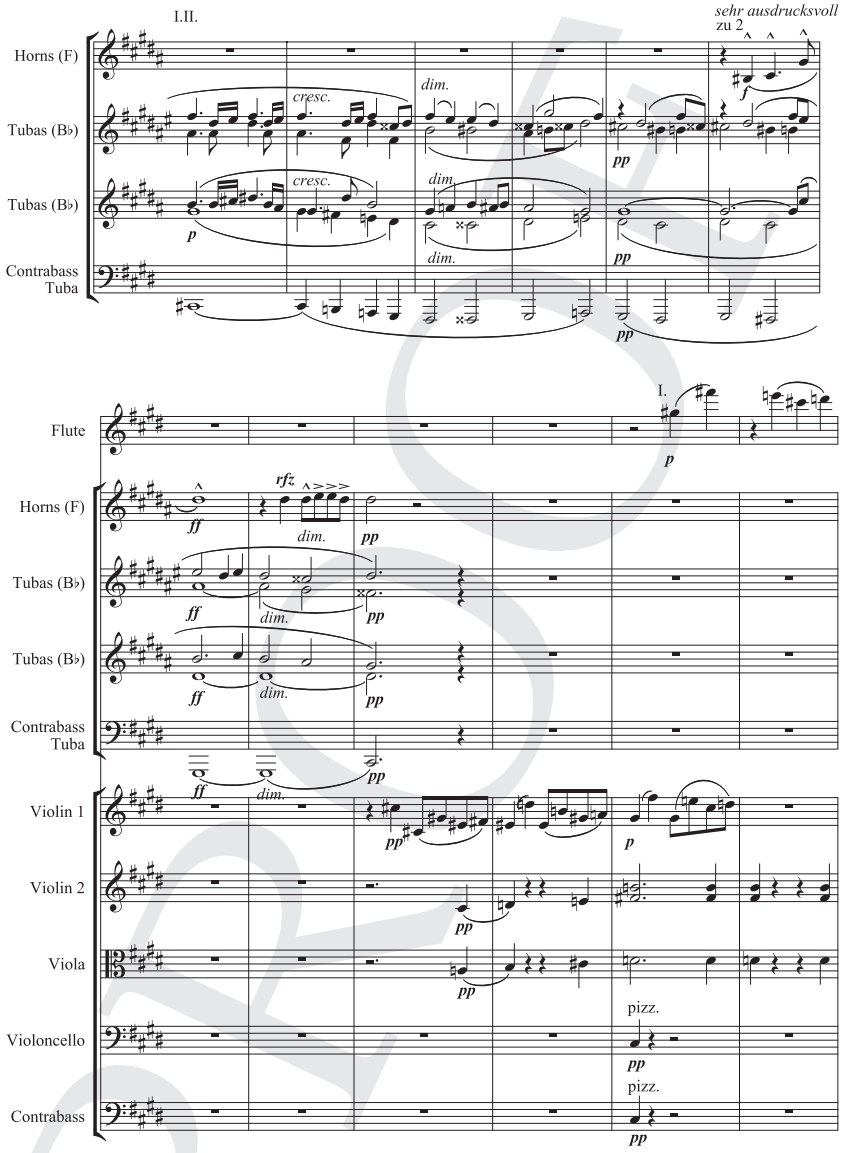
261 Howie, *Bruckner 2*, pp. 463–4. 262 Howie, *Bruckner 1*, pp. 174–5; *Bruckner 2*, p. 481.

263 Howie, *Bruckner 2*, pp. 620–2, 624.

264 For a highly partisan comparison, see Hanslick, 'The Meiningen court orchestra', p. 233.

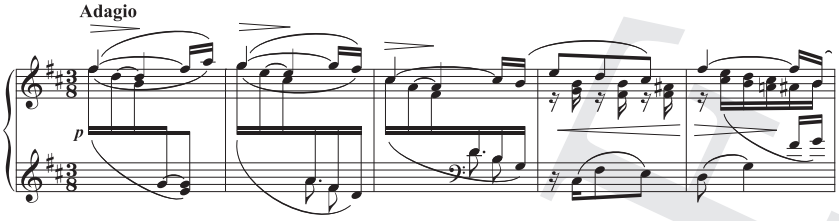
265 Robert Pascall and Styra Avins argue for Brahms's preferences for smaller and larger orchestras respectively. R. Pascall, *Playing Brahms: A Study in 19th Century Performance Practice*, University of Nottingham, 1991, pp. 11–12; Avins, 'Performing Brahms's music: clues from his letters', in Musgrave and Sherman (eds.), *Performing Brahms*, pp. 11–47. For a further detailed critical examination of the evidence, see I. Pace, *Brahms Performance Practice: Documentary, Analytic and Interpretive Approaches*, Aldershot, Ashgate, 2010.

Ex. 26.16. Bruckner, Symphony No. 7, Adagio. Funeral Music



that Brahms seems probably to have favoured a larger orchestra for his Second, Third and Fourth Symphonies in particular, though he could equally be happy with the works played with smaller forces when the playing was of the standard produced at Meiningen.

Ex. 26.17. Brahms, Intermezzo Op. 119 No. 1



Brahms was not fond of the metronome and left few markings; some evidence suggests a general preference for moderate tempos, though with exceptions such as the Intermezzo Op. 119 No. 1 (Ex. 26.17), which he told Clara could hardly be played slowly enough.[266]

However, performances of the symphonies have been demonstrated to have slowed progressively since Brahms's death, though he himself wrote that a 'normal person' would take a different tempo 'every week'.[267] Other documents suggest that he desired and executed a fair amount of tempo flexibility and nuancing, though was critical of both Bülow's use of mannered rhetorical pauses and Richter's inflexibility in both tempo and phrasing.[268] Of younger conductors, Brahms had kind words about both Fritz Steinbach and Felix Weingartner, but seems especially to have favoured the former's flexible approach.[269]

A crucial aspect of performance practice in Brahms concerns the execution of his numerous two-note slurs. In a letter to Joachim of 1879, Brahms made clear that he believed that in the second note in such slurs should be shortened (though not in longer slurs);[270] this is corroborated in accounts by Florence May, Charles Villiers Stanford and Siegfried Ochs,[271] as well as in Steinbach's

266 See B. D. Sherman, 'Metronome marks, timings, and other period evidence', in Musgrave and Sherman (eds.), *Performing Brahms*, pp. 99 130; *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms: Briefe as den Jahren 1853 1896*, ed. B. Litzmann, 2 vols., Hildesheim, Olms, 1989, vol. 2, p. 513.

267 See W. Frisch, *Brahms: The Four Symphonies*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1996, pp. 169 73, and Sherman, 'Metronome marks', p. 123.

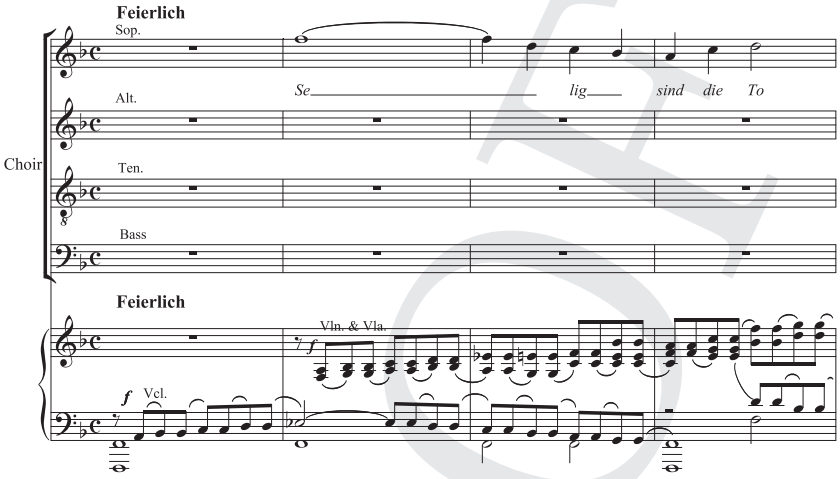
268 See in particular R. Pascall and P. Weller, 'Flexible tempo and nuancing in orchestral music: under standing Brahms's view of interpretation in his Second Piano Concerto and Fourth Symphony', in Musgrave and Sherman (eds.), *Performing Brahms*, pp. 220 43; also Johannes Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, 2nd edn, 16 vols., Leipzig, Deutschen Brahms Gesellschaft, 1908 1922, vol. 1, pp. 145 6.

269 See W. Frisch, 'In search of Brahms's First Symphony: Steinbach, the Meiningen tradition, and the recordings of Hermann Abendroth', in Musgrave and Sherman (eds.), *Performing Brahms*, pp. 277 301; Styra Avins, *Johannes Brahms: Life and Letters*, Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 726; Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 12, p. 169. For a more detailed consideration of Brahms's relative views on Steinbach and Weingartner, drawing upon the available evidence, see Pace, *Brahms Performance Practice*.

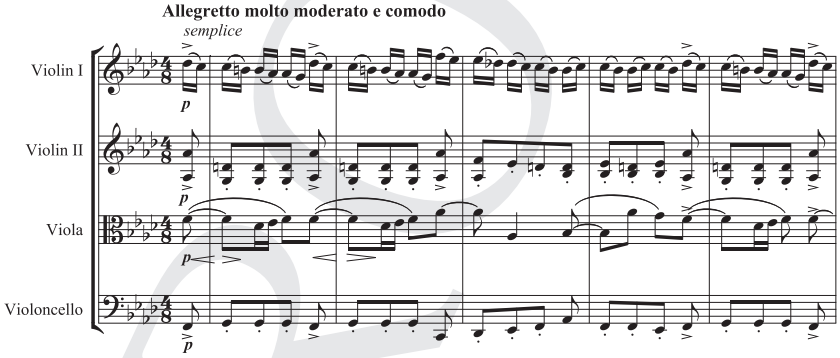
270 Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 6, p. 168.

271 F. May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2 vols., London, Arnold, 1905, vol. 1, p. 19; Stanford, *Pages from an Unwritten Diary*, p. 57; S. Ochs, '*A German Requiem* to words of Holy Scripture for soloists, choir and orchestra (organ *ab libitum*), from *Der deutsche Gesangverein*', trans. M. Musgrave, in Musgrave and Sherman (eds.), *Performing Brahms*, p. 160.

Ex. 26.18a. Brahms, *Ein deutsches Requiem*, opening of seventh movement, 'Selig sind die Toten'



Ex. 26.18b. Brahms, String Quartet in C minor Op. 51 No. 1, third movement.

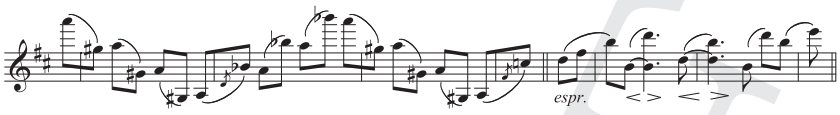


markings for the symphonies,[272] in which almost all two-note slurs are rewritten with the second note shortened. The two-note slur is a recurrent feature of much of Brahms's output (see for example the passages in Ex. 26.18, some of which would then suggest faster tempos than are commonplace).[273]

272 A great many of these are illustrated in W. Blume (ed.), *Brahms in der Meininger Tradition: Seine Sinfonien und Haydn Variationen in der Bezeichnung von Fritz Steinbach*, Stuttgart, Suhrkamp, 1933.

273 Other prominent examples would include the fifth variation of Book 1 of the Paganini Variations, Op. 35, the opening of the Second Symphony, the *Klavierstücke* Op. 118 No. 2 in A major, or the opening of the Clarinet Sonata Op. 120, No. 1.

Ex. 26.18c. Brahms, Violin Concerto, first movement, bars 347–52, 460–3, solo part



Other important considerations for Brahms performance include his preferences for pianos: he made clear his liking for those of Streicher, though also played Bösendorfers in most of his concerts in Vienna, whilst in the last fifteen years of his life he became enthusiastic about Bechsteins and Steinways, requesting one or other of these for performances of his piano concertos.[274] He also favoured natural over valved horns, telling Ochs in this context that 'The natural is always the artistic',[275] and took an interest in the 'reform flute' (with a modified non-Boehm simple system) developed by Maximilian Schwedler, which produced a powerful and reedy sonority.[276]

The Rubinsteins and the transformation of Russian musical life

A general atmosphere of paranoia in Russia after 1848, with increased censorship, executions and control over education, came to head following defeat at the hands of Britain and France in the Crimean War (1853–56) and increased isolation. Tsar Alexander II reformed an antiquated political and economic structure, including the phasing out of serfdom, beginning in 1861.[277] Musical life had earlier been dominated by Italian and French opera, in large measure directed by foreign musicians; the emergence of Russian-language operas from the 1830s onwards did little to change this situation,[278] though there was a private Symphonic Society organised by Count Matvey Wielhorski from 1841, and a symphonic concert series conducted by Karl Schuberth at the

274 G. S. Bozarth and S. H. Brady, 'Brahms's pianos', in W. Frisch (ed.), *Brahms and his World*, Princeton University Press, 1990, pp. 56, 58 9, 61, 64 n. 56; *Clara Schumann Brahms Briefe*, I, 471; Avins, *Life and Letters*, pp. 417, 586 7; Brahms, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 7, p. 208.

275 S. Ochs, *Geschehenes Gesehenes*, Leipzig, Grethlein, 1922, pp. 297 8.

276 Brown, *The Early Flute*, p. 30.

277 H. Seton Watson, *The Russian Empire, 1801 1917*, Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 274 9, 319 31, 334 48; G. L. Freeze, 'Reform and counter reform 1855 1890', in G. L. Freeze (ed.), *Russia: A History*, 2nd edn, Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 171 2.

278 J. Maes, *A History of Russian Music: From Kamarinskaya to Babi Yar*, trans. A. J. and E. Pomerans, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2002, pp, 14 17, 30; S. Campbell (ed.), *Russians on Russian Music, 1830 1880: An Anthology*, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. xvi (hereafter *Russians on Russian Music I*).

Peterschule in St Petersburg from 1842, as well as a tradition of amateur chamber music and numerous visits by prominent foreign musicians.[279]

Anton Rubinstein, who had spent some of his childhood in Germany, attacked the perceived backwardness of Russian musical life in a Viennese journal in 1855, to much criticism.[280] He was to make a profound change through his foundation of the Russian Musical Society (*Russkoe Muzykal'noe Obshchestvo* or RMO) in St Petersburg in 1859,[281] who performed at first a mostly Germanic orchestral and chamber repertoire, and the St Petersburg Conservatoire in 1862, made possible after some limited relaxation of earlier restrictions upon higher education after 1855,[282] and with the support of Grand Duchess Elena Pavlovna. The first faculty was highly international, including Rubinstein himself, Leschetizky, Anton Gerke and Alexander Dreyschock on piano, Wieniawski on violin, and Schuberth and Karl Davidov on cello.[283] The teaching of both Rubinstein and Leschetizky laid the foundations of two Russian piano schools: the former stressed tone, rhythm and general musicianship (over technique),[284] the latter a quiet demeanour, cantabile playing, a mixture of curved fingers and some wrist motion, chords played close to the keys, displacement between melody and accompaniment, judicious use of the pedal, sustained bass lines and flexibility of tempo and rhythm.[285] Wieniawski, and after him Auer, continued the influence of the Franco-Belgian school in Russia, following on from Rode, Lafont, de Bériot and Vieuxtemps.[286] Davidov, who succeeded Schuberth in 1863, taught an approach to cello tone derived from listening to violinists.[287]

279 R. Schumann, 'Russian Customs', in *Clara/Robert Marriage Diaries*, p. 307; R. C. Ridenour, *Nationalism, Modernism and Personal Rivalry in Nineteenth Century Russian Music*, Ann Arbor, MI, UMI Research Press, 1981, p. 11; Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 41–3. See also R. Stites, 'The domestic muse: music at home in the twilight of serfdom', in A. B. Wachtel (ed.), *Intersections and Transpositions: Russian Music, Literature, and Society*, Evanston, IL, Northwestern University Press, 1998, pp. 187–205.

280 Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 64–73. See also Chapter 5 of the present volume.

281 Taylor, *Rubinstein*, p. 886. See also L. Sargeant, 'A new class of people: the conservatoire and musical professionalization in Russia, 1861–1917', *Music & Letters*, 85/1 (2004), 41–61.

282 Seton Watson, *The Russian Empire*, pp. 357–8; T. Chapman, *Imperial Russia, 1801–1905*, New York and London, Routledge, 2001, p. 102.

283 Gerig, *Famous Pianists*, p. 272; C. Barnes (trans. and ed.), *Russian Piano School: Russian Pianists and Moscow Conservatoire Professors on the Art of the Piano*, London: Kahn & Averill, 2007, pp. xv–xvi; also the history on the conservatoire's own website: http://eng.conservatory.ru/historyeng.htm (accessed 17 March 2009); L. Kovnatskaya, 'St Petersburg' at *Grove Online* (accessed 22 March 2009). For a list of professors at the conservatoire, see Taylor, *Rubinstein*, p. 101.

284 See Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 334–8 for more on Rubinstein's teaching in his later years in particular.

285 The primary treatise is M. Brée, *The Leschetizky Method: A Guide to Fine and Correct Piano Playing* (1902), trans. A. Elson, New York, Dover, 1997; see also M. Prentner, *Leschetizky's Fundamental Principles of Piano Technique* (1903), New York, Dover, 2005, and E. Newcomb, *Leschetizky as I Knew Him*, New York and London, Appleton, 1921.

286 See Stowell, 'Wieniawski', p. 15, n. 29.

287 Bowen, *Free Artist*, p. 170; E. Raychev, 'The virtuoso cellist composers from Luigi Boccherini to David Popper: A review of their lives and works', DMA thesis, Florida State University (2003), pp. 73, 76–7.

Nationalistically minded composers were from the outset uniformly opposed to the Conservatoire, and its perceived Germanic bias.[288] A rival Free School of Music, in which Balakirev was closely involved, was established in the city in 1862.[289] The School hosted a series of concerts featuring first Classical repertoire, then foreign figures neglected by the RMO, including Schumann, Berlioz and Liszt,[290] towards the establishment of a nationalistically inclined flavour of programming and the concept of the 'Mighty Handful' or *kuchka*.[291] By 1867, Rubinstein had resigned from both the RMO and the Conservatoire (weary of constant tensions);[292] Balakirev took over the conducting of the RMO concerts the same year, and steered their programming in a similar direction.[293] Dismissed two years later, he returned to the Free School in 1869 and pursued an 'anti-RMO' programming policy with increased fervour, eschewing almost all pre-nineteenth-century music, or any of a purportedly conservative tendency such as favoured by Rubinstein, though this policy in turn was undermined by a greater inclusion of the *Neudeutsche Schule* and Russian music by the RMO.[294]

Nikolai Rubinstein set up a branch of the RMO in Moscow in 1860, and a second conservatoire in the city in 1866, of which he was the first director.[295] His early faculty included Anton Door and Karl Klindworth for piano, Ferdinand Laub for violin and Bernhard Cossman for cello,[296] the latter three of whom had worked with Liszt in Weimar. Less dogmatic than his brother, Nikolai could entertain better relations with the *kuchka* faction.[297] The initial standard of performance was apparently not high, but this would change in later eras.[298] The teaching of Nikolai Zverev, Paul Pabst, Alexander

288 See Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 73–85, 89–91 for some of the key articles; also Maes, *A History of Russian Music*, pp. 38–41; Taylor, *Rubinstein*, pp. 77–81; Ridenour, *Russian Music*, p. 90.
289 E. Garden, *Balakirev: A Critical Study of his Life and Music*, London, Faber, 1967, pp. 47–8, 81.
290 See César Cui's reviews in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 85–9, 178–83.
291 This was a term coined by Vladimir Stasov for Balakirev, Musorgsky, Borodin, Cui and Rimsky Korsakov after a free School concert in 1867. See Stasov, 'Mr Balakirev's Slav concert', *St Petersburg Bulletin*, 13 May 1867, no. 130, in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 183–6; Maes, *A History of Russian Music*, pp. 42–3. See also Chapter 5 of the present volume.
292 Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 217–18.
293 Garden, *Balakirev*, pp. 82–6; Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, pp. 186–95.
294 Ridenour, *Russian Music*, pp. 172–7, 180–4.
295 See Campbell, *Odoyevsky*, pp. 157–64 for a good overview of the events from the foundation of the Moscow branch of the RMO to the opening of the Moscow Conservatoire; also Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 187–8, 200–1.
296 Barnes, *Russian Piano School*, p. xvi; G. A. Pribegina, *Moskovskaia konservatoriia 1866–1991*, Moscow, Muzyka, 1991, pp. 20–1, 32
297 Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music I*, p. 91.
298 For an early account of concerts in Moscow, see Piotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, *Letters to his Family: An Autobiography*, trans. G. von Meck with annotations by P. M. Young, New York, Stein & Day, 1981, p. 27; see also N. A. Minorova, *Moskovskaia Konservatoriia. Istoki* (The Moscow Conservatoire. Origins), Moscow, 1995, available online at www.mosconsv.ru/page.phtml?11134 (accessed 24 June 2009), ch. 3, pt. I); on the transformations in both cities as noticed by Berlioz, Wagner and Bülow, see Cairns, *Berlioz 1*, pp. 757–66; R. Bartlett, *Wagner and Russia*, Cambridge University Press, 1995, pp. 18–35; Bülow, *Briefe 3*, p. 587.

Siloti and Vasilii Safonov on piano, and Adolph Brodsky and Ivan Hřimaly on violin, would have immeasurable effect upon twentieth-century performance schools headed by their students.[299]

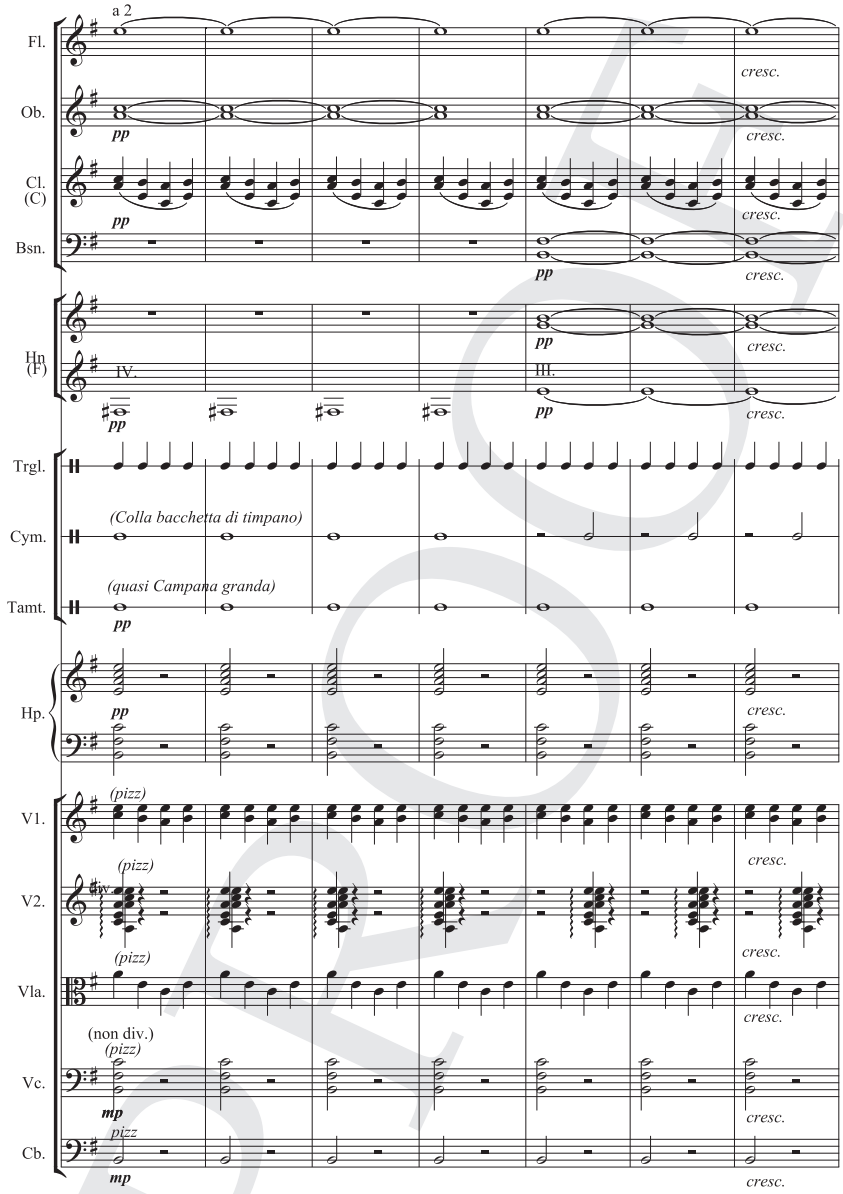
After the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881, his son moved the country away from German sympathies towards a cultural 'Russification', especially in St Petersburg, to inspire a new sense of 'belonging'; this led to increased discrimination towards other citizens, especially Jews, who were falsely blamed for the assassination.[300] Rubinstein returned to run the St Petersburg Conservatoire in 1886 (it had previously been directed by Mikhail Azanchevsky, during whose time a certain rapprochement was achieved between opposing factions by inviting Rimsky-Korsakov to teach there,[301] then Davidov); ultimately fear of anti-semitism and the possibility of pogroms led him to resign for the final time in March 1891, bringing a uniquely cosmopolitan era to an end.[302] During his final tenure, however, Rubinstein drove up standards through ruthless examinations, leading to dismissals, and the creation of an international competition for composers and pianists to take place in different European cities,[303] a prototype for twentieth-century competitions.

Some information concerning Russian orchestras can be discerned from the writings of Rimsky-Korsakov.[304] A pragmatist who believed that a composer should write idiomatically for whatever orchestra was available, one can fairly assume that the orchestras Rimsky knew were ideal for his compositions. He lists numbers of strings in present-day orchestras (though in which year is not entirely clear) as follows: Full: 16–14–12–10–8/10; Medium: 12–10–8–6–4/6; Small: 8–6–4–3–2/3 (occasionally with more strings and/or woodwind doublings).[305] In his *Russian Easter Overture* (1887–8), Rimsky specifies string forces lying roughly between 'Full' and 'Medium: 20/12–18/10–14/8–12/8–10/6; in passages such as Ex. 26.19, the appropriate relative proportions are very important in order for the cellos and basses to be able to provide a depth of sound upon their pulsations and not be overshadowed by the horn or harp.

Rimsky's descriptions of the characteristics of different strings[306] makes clear that he would have known gut strings with steel-wound gut on the violin G and viola and cello G and C, which would produce a particular timbral

299 Barnes, *Russian Piano School*, pp. xvi xvii; Pribegina, *Moskovskaia konservatoriia*, pp. 32, 47, 52, 56.
300 G. Hosking, *Russia: People & Empire: 1552 1917*, London, Fontana, 1997, pp. 367 97; Seton Watson, *The Russian Empire*, pp. 460 1, 485 505.
301 Maes, *A History of Russian Music*, pp. 45, 169 70. 302 Bowen, *Free Artist*, pp. 299, 339 42.
303 Taylor, *Rubinstein*, p. 197.
304 Above all Nicolai Rimsky Korsakov, *Principles of Orchestration, with musical examples drawn from his own works*, ed. M. Steinberg, trans. E. Agate, London, Russian Music Agency, 1911, and *My Musical Life*, trans. J. A. Joffe, London, Eulenburg, 1974
305 Rimsky Korsakov, *Principles of Orchestration*, p. 6. 306 *Ibid*., p. 9.

Ex. 26.19 Rimsky-Korsakov, *Russian Easter Overture*



differentiation in the opening violin solo and various other passages in *Scheherazade*.

By 1890, there were music educational institutions not only in St Petersburg and Moscow, but also Kiev, Kharkov, Saratov, Tiflis, Odessa, and Omsk (in Siberia), though most of these were not full conservatoires.[307] Russian schools of performance, especially on piano and violin, would come to be hugely influential in the twentieth century, especially in the charged geopolitical environment that characterised the Cold War, whilst German schools eventually declined somewhat in prominence. Whilst many of the styles entailed would certainly have become modified in the interim period,[308] there is little doubt that they have roots in the particular conflation of European influences and counter-reactions that bred those schools of playing that emerged in the late nineteenth century in both St Petersburg and Moscow.

307 Rubinstein, *Autobiography*, pp. 110, 130 1.
308 For one view on a 'Soviet' style of performance, see R. Taruskin, *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays*, Princeton University Press, 1997, p. 89.

Table 26.1 *Orchestral sizes in the nineteenth century*

Orchestra and Date	Violins	Violas	Cellos	Basses	Flutes	Oboes	Clarinets	Bassoons	Horns	Trumpets	Trombones	Tubas	Timp/perc./ other
Vienna Redoutensaal 1814	18+18	14	12	17	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	T+P
Vienna: Hatwig orchestra for Schubert 1810s	7+6	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	0	0	T
Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde 1810–20s	20+20	8	7	7	Unknown, depending on requirements of piece (often doubled)								
Prague: Conservatoire Orchestra 1820	4+4	3	2	2	2	2	2	4	2	2	0	0	T
Berlin: Court Opera 1823	11_11	7	10	7	5+picc	5	5	5	8	3	2	2+flugel	T, hp, pno
Dresden: Court Opera 1823	18	4	5	5	5	5	5	5	6	2	0	0	T, organ
Vienna Hofkapelle 1825	12	2	2	2	Unknown								
Vienna: Concerts Spirituels 1825	10+10	10	6	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Milan: La Scala 1825	13+13	6	6	8	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	Serpent	T+P, kbd
Paris: Opéra 1826	12+12	8	10	8	3	3	3	4	4	2	3	0	T, hp
Munich Hofkapelle 1827	25	6	6	5	7	7	7	6	8	?	1	0	T, hp
Paris: Societé des Concerts du Conservatoire 1828	15+15	8	12	8	4	3	4	4	4	2	3	Ophicleide	T
Leipzig Gewandhaus 1831	8+8	4	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	0	T
London Philharmonic Society 1837	14+14	8	8	6	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Leipzig Gewandhaus 1839	9+8	5	5	4	Unknown – probably similar to 1831								
Paris: Societé des Concerts du Conservatoire 1841	15+15	10	13	11	4	3	2	4	4	4	3	0	T, pno
Paris: Pasdeloup Concerts 1841	15+12	10	13	11	4	3	2	4	4	4	3	0	2 T+2 P, 2 hps
Vienna: Philharmonische Akademie 1842	10+10	7	4	5	3	3	4	3	6	4	4	0	2 T+2 P, 2 hps
St Petersburg: Peterschule Orchestra 1842	30	9	8	4	Unknown								
Frankfurt Opera 1843	8+8	4	5	4	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Stuttgart Court Opera 1843	8+8	4	4	4	Unknown								
Weimar Court Opera 1843	22	7	7	7	Unknown								
Hanover Court Opera 1843	7+7	3	4	3	Unknown								
Berlin Court Opera 1843[a]	14+14	8	10	8	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	0	T+P, 2 hps
New York Philharmonic 1843	22	6	4	5	3+picc	2	2	2	4	1	3	0	T/P, various kbd
Dresden Court Opera 1844	8+8	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	4	4	3	1	T+P
Munich Hofkapelle 1844[b]	6+6	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	T

Table 26.1 (*cont.*)

Orchestra and Date	Violins	Violas	Cellos	Basses	Flutes	Oboes	Clarinets	Bassoons	Horns	Trumpets	Trombones	Tubas	Timp/perc./ other
Vienna Hofkapelle 1844	6+6	2	2	3									
Paris: Opera 1845	12+12	8	10	8	3	3	3	4	6	4+2corn.	3	Oph.	T, 2 P, 2 hp
London: Philharmonic Society 1846	15+14	10	9	9	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	Oph.	P
Berlin: Court Opera 1849	27	8	11	7	5	4	5	5	9	3	3	0	2 T/P
Hanover: Court Opera 1849	8+8	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Royal Liverpool Philharmonic 1849[c]	12+12	8	6	6	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Dresden: Hofoper 1850	18	5	5	5	4	4	4	4	5	4	3	0	T, hp
Weimar: Court Opera 1851	5+6	3	4	3	2	2	2	2	4	2	1	0	T
Manchester: Hallé Orchestra 1858	10+10	6	5	5	2	2	2	2	4	2+2 cornets	3	0	T+P, hp
Paris: Sociéte des Concerts du Conservatoire 1859	15+14	10	12	9	4	2	2	4	4	2+cornet	3	Oph.	T, hp
London: Philharmonic Society 1860	12+12	8	8	8	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	0	T
Vienna Philharmonic 1860	13+12	7	7	7	4	4	3	4	6	4	3	Bomb	2 T+P
St Petersburg: Philharmonic Society (Bülow) 1864	48	12	12	?	Doubled winds								
Leipzig Gewandhaus 1865	16+14	8	9	5	2	2	2	2	2	4	3	0	T
London: Philharmonic Society 1870	14+14	10	11	10	2+picc	2	2	2+cbsn	4	1	3	1	T+3 P, 2 hp
Bayreuth Opera Orchestra 1876	16+16	12	12	8	4	4+ca	4+bcl	4+cbsn	7	4+btpt	4+cbtbn 1cbt	2tnr, 2bst,	3 T, 8 hp
Karlsruhe: Court Orchestra 1876	18	4	4	4	1	1	1	1	Unknown				
Paris: Societé des Concerts du Conservatoire 1878	15+14	10	15	10	Unknown								
Hamburg: Philharmonische Gesellschaft 1878	25+22	16	14	10	2	2	2	2	4	2	3	?	T+?P
Royal Liverpool Philharmonic 1879	14+12	8	7	7	2+picc	2	2	2	4	2	3	Euph.	T+P
Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, 1880s	14+14	10	10	10	Unknown								
Boston Symphony Orchestra 1881	13+11	10	8	8	2	2	2	2+cbsn	4	2	3	1	T, hp
Leipzig Gewandhaus 1881	12+10	8	8	6	2+picc	3+ca	3+bcl	3+cbsn	5	3	3	0	T, hp
Meiningen Court Orchestra 1882	10+?	?	3	5	Unknown (total size of orchestra: *c.* 48 players)								
Vienna Philharmonic 1883	18+18	12	10	10	Unknown								

St Petersburg Philharmonic Orchestra 1885	16+14	12	8	10	Unknown								
Meiningen Court Orchestra 1886	6+6	3	3	3	Unknown								
Concertgebouw Orchestra 1888	12+10	7	6	6	2	2	2	2	4	2(+2 cnts)	3	1	3 T, hp
Boston Symphony Orchestra 1889	17+14	10	9	8	3	3	2	2	5	2cnts	3	1	T+P, hp
London: Philharmonic Society 1890	14+14	10	9	9	2+picc	2+ca	2+bcl	2+cbsn	4	4	3	1	T+4 P, hp, organ
Leipzig Gewandhaus 1890	18+14	10	10	8	2+picc	2+ca	2+bcl	2+cbsn	4	3	3	1	T+P, hp
Berlin Philharmonic 1890	17	6	6	5	4	2(incl. ca)	2+bcl	2+cbsn	4	3	3	1	2 T/P, hp
Cologne: Gürzenich Orchestra 1891	8+8	6	4	4	3	3	3	3	6	3	3	1	T/P, hp
Berlin Philharmonic 1891	12+12	8	8	6	3	3+ca	2+bcl	2+cbsn	4	3	3	1	2 T, hp
New York: Philharmonic Society 1892	34	14	14	14	2+picc	2	2	2+cbsn	4	3	4	4+bass	2 T+3 P, hp, organ

*The 1843 forces come from Berlioz. Carse also gives much smaller forces for 1844 (3+picc–2–2–2/4–2–3–1/timp+perc/2hp/8–8–6–8–4). However, forces available in 1820 and 1830 were closer to Berlioz's figures.

**A very different set of figures are given for this year by Carter and Levi (7–6–7–4/5–5–0–0/2timp + perc (number unknown)/26 total violins, 3 violas, 8 cellos, 6 basses), but this must be assumed to have been for a special occasion. A similar balance for 1827 is cited by Carse.

† This is the planned 'Grand Band' as projected by Zeugheer Herrman in his manifesto of 1849. The string figures were minimums. Whether this corresponded with the actual forces used at this date is unclear. There was also a planned smaller orchestra of 2–2–2–2/2–2–0–0–/timp/5–5–3–3–3. See Henley and McKernan, *The Original Liverpool Sound*, pp. 34–5.

Sources: Henriette Posthuma de Boer, *Concertgebouw and Royal Concertgebouw Orchestra Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, Ludion, 2003); Adam Carse, *The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz* (Cambridge, Heffer, 1946); Tim Carter and Erik Levi, 'The history of the orchestra', in Colin Lawson (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Orchestra* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 1–21; Cyril Ehrlich, *First Philharmonic: A History of the Royal Philharmonic Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), Clemens Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige: Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker* (Zurich, Vienna and Mainz, Schweizer verlagshaus, Kermayr & Scheriau & Schott, 1992); Darren Henley and Vincent McKernan, *The Original Liverpool Sound: The Royal Liverpool Society* (Liverpool University Press, 2009); James Gibbon Hunecker, *The Philharmonic Society of New York and its Seventy-Fifth Anniversary* (New York and London, Novello, Ewer & Co., 1917); Daniel J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions and Seating* (Ann Arbor, MI, UMI Research Press, 1986); W. Langhans, 'Hans von Bulow and the Meiningen Hof-Capelle in Berlin', *Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, 23/468 (1882); Peter Muck, *Einhundert Jahre Berliner Philharmonisches Orchester. Darstellung in Dokumenten. Erster Band: 1882–1922* (Tutzing, Hans Schneider, 1982); Stefan Weinzierl, *Beethovens Konzerträume. Raumakustik und symphonische Aufführungspraxis an der Schwelle zum modernen Konzertwesen* (Frankfurt, Verlag Erwin Bochinsky, 2002), *The Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. and ed. David Cairns (London: Sphere Books, 1990), Hans von Bülow to August Steyl, 30, November 1885, in Bülow, *Briefe 7*, p. 1; 'Correspondenzen. Köln', in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 9, September 1891, p. 392.