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GUEST EDITORIAL

CLIVE BROWN

More than a decade ago, in a review of period-instrument recordings of Beethoven symphonies, I commented that the public was in danger of being offered attractively packaged but unripe fruit. The rush to record late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century repertoire with period instruments was driven largely by commercial considerations, with mutual benefit to the musicians involved and the recording companies. The publicity that surrounded these recordings frequently stressed the 'authenticity' of the undertaking; I recall during the 1980s seeing one recording displayed in the window of Blackwell's Music Shop in Oxford with the extravagant and nonsensical claim that it was 'Mozart as he would have heard it'. Two decades of lively debate about the nature, and legitimate aims of what is now generally called 'Historically Informed Performance' (HIP) has made us all more aware of the naivety of claims that were commonplace at that time. But the greater sophistication of our language may mask a distinction without a difference; it is highly questionable whether, for the majority of those who are involved in the field, there is a significant difference between HIP and what was once called Authentic Performance.

There is still, in most instances, a gaping chasm between the practice of those professional and amateur musicians who play on period instruments or sing in a so-called period style, and the state of our knowledge about historical practices. Professional musicians, who are inevitably concerned with earning a good living, have to make compromises; they will usually need to perform a broad range of repertoires, and have limited time for study and practice, so that modifications of style and technique must be kept within bounds; if involved in recording (which is nowadays a *sine qua non* for those who want to make progress within the profession) they must take account of commercial exigencies, which impose quite restrictive norms. A recording has to sell to cover its costs and must not seem too alien to the average music lover; the end product will, therefore, be in a style and sound that is different in some respects from a conventional modern performance, but remarkably similar in others. The distinctive sound of period instruments and the use of little or no vibrato (except in the case of many singers), which is now common in period performance of many repertoires, and perhaps an unusual choice of tempo or some added ornamentation (now accepted in much baroque music, but not in many other repertoires where it is known to have been used) serve to set these recordings apart from conventional performances without challenging the listener too much. Other documented aspects of historical practice are much more rarely encountered: these might include unconventional vibrato effects, portamento (in all its various manifestations from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century), a free approach to notated rhythms, dislocation of melody and bass or, in nineteenth-century keyboard music for instance, unwritten arpeggiation of chords. Since recordings provide the most accessible models for amateur and semi-professional musicians to develop a 'period' style, these inevitably follow a few steps behind the commercial orthodoxy. Somewhere in the background to all this there is a loose connection with scholarly work on performing practice; but the so-called historically informed performances that result, after the findings of scholars have been picked over and adapted for commercial consumption, will bear little relation to what may have been imagined by a scholar, who must of necessity be unconcerned with reconciling uncomfortable findings with current musical taste.

In case everything I have written so far seems negative and dismissive of the efforts of practising musicians who are involved in period performance, I must say right away that I firmly believe that, at its best, the HIP movement has conferred real benefits on contemporary music making. It may not have resulted in performances that genuinely recapture more than a hint of former manifestations of musicality, or really penetrated deeply into the ways in which notation may have conveyed quite different messages to the musicians for whom it was intended, but it has certainly provided a powerful stimulus to make modern musicians reflect on the manner in which they perceive their musical heritage. Along the way it has produced many refreshingly different and exciting performances of repertoire that was in danger of becoming stale through familiarity. The impact on younger musicians who do not specialize in period

The illustration on the front cover is taken from George Bickham's *A New Introduction to the Art of Drawing* (London, 1740).

performance has also been considerable, and has encouraged a much more questioning attitude towards received 'tradition'. The National Youth Orchestra's preparation for their recent concerts at the Snape Maltings and the Proms, in which they played Smetana's *Ma Vlast* and Mahler's First Symphony, is a fine example of what can be achieved. A week before the concert I spent an evening talking to them about the ways in which current orchestral performing practices differ from those of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and was greatly impressed by their lively interest and intelligent response to the issues I raised. A few days later their conductor for the concert, Sir Roger Norrington, talked to them further about the avoidance of vibrato in orchestral playing at that time. In their concerts the orchestra put some of these ideas into practice, as instructed by the conductor, with a degree of commitment and discipline that I have rarely encountered in professional orchestras. The first-rate performance that resulted was still, of course, a compromise between modern musicianship and the application of selected aspects of historical performing practices, but it was, nevertheless, undoubtedly a stimulating and valuable experience for the players and the audience. It is perhaps an encouraging sign that no claims about 'authenticity' or HIP were made in the programme of the concert; the performance stood on its own merits and succeeded splendidly.

But the question remains: is there also a role for historically informed performances in which risks that would be unthinkable in a commercial context are taken? I would answer this strongly in the affirmative and argue that the proper place for such experiments is in universities, or music colleges with a research department, where, properly thought out, documented and disseminated, they could provide model examples of practice-based research. They would be an ideal way of making scholarly findings about performing practice widely accessible to the musical community and beyond, stimulating debate and further experiment. There are, however, considerable practical difficulties. First we require sound scholarship, and this is not as easy to achieve as the layman might think, since even scholars, who must be musicians with a firmly based (preferably practical) understanding of the technical and aesthetic issues, are subject to the distorting effects of their own taste (this can clearly be seen, for instance, in Robert Donnington's pertinacious insistence, so demonstrably contrary to the facts, that it would have been impossible for any sensitive musician in the past to have performed without vibrato). Secondly, we need sensitive musicians of sufficient technical ability and intellectual curiosity to undertake radically experimental performances based on scholarly hypotheses. And finally, perhaps most importantly, a considerable amount of money is necessary to undertake research of this kind; the scholars' time and overheads must be funded, musicians paid, recordings financed, the process documented, and the findings of the research disseminated. As yet the financial support has not been forthcoming. In a world where funding for the arts and humanities is severely limited and strongly competed for, it is hard to persuade the bodies that distribute it of the legitimacy and potential value of work for which there is, as yet, no existing model.

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Beethoven's Violin Concerto Op. 61 and Joseph Joachim - a Case Study in Performance Practice[1]

ROBIN STOWELL

Beethoven's Violin Concerto in D major Op. 61 was completed with some haste and was coolly received at its premiere in Vienna on 23 December, 1806, given by Franz Clement.[2] The Austrian violinist's performance in the same concert of some variations 'mit umgekehrter Violine' (with the violin upside down) evidently fared somewhat better! Anecdote has it that the concerto received few performances immediately thereafter, but Jakob Dont, in the preface to his edition of the work, implies that it was performed rather more frequently in Beethoven's lifetime than has generally been believed.[3]

Whatever the frequency of the concerto's performance in its infancy, about forty years elapsed before it gained a regular place in the violin repertory. Despite notable performances by, among others, Pierre Baillot in Paris during the inaugural season of the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in 1828 and Henri Vieuxtemps in Vienna in 1833, the concerto's first real champion was Joseph Joachim (1831-1907). Joachim first performed it as a thirteen-year-old under the direction of his revered mentor Felix Mendelssohn in London on 27 May, 1844, receiving considerable critical acclaim. He later adopted the work almost as his own, giving especially significant performances under Robert Schumann's direction in Berlin (1852) and Düsseldorf (1853) and causing Eugène Ysaÿe to remark in the mid-1880s that his 'interpretation was as a mirror in which the power of Beethoven was reflected'.[4]

Although any attempt to recreate the finer detail of Joachim's interpretation of the concerto would be purely speculative, it is possible to pinpoint various characteristic features of his playing style, evaluate the extent to which they complied with the aesthetic of his time and how they differed from early twentieth-century trends, and contemplate their implementation in particular contexts in the work. Help is at hand in a variety of pertinent source materials, most notably Joachim and Moser's three-volume *Violinschule* (1902-05), which incorporates Joachim's own edition of the concerto. Although most of the first two volumes of this treatise's text was written by Andreas Moser, Joachim's pupil and biographer, it includes valuable observations on Joachim's technical and interpretative priorities; furthermore, as Joachim himself confirms, 'no conclusion was arrived at, upon which we had not mutually agreed'.[5] The editions of significant violin repertory that make up the third volume are largely Joachim's work.[6]

In keeping with his artistic credo, Joachim's edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto is based on the composer's manuscript. It includes remarkably few differences of note or rhythm, but does incorporate (in editorial parentheses) some additional expressive markings and suggestions as to bowings. There is also an edition of the work by one of Joachim's pupils, Heinrich Dessauer, which includes 'Explanatory Remarks for Concert Performance With Special Reference to the Artistic Conception of Joseph Joachim'.[7] The edition by one of Joachim's mentors, Ferdinand David, also offers valuable interpretative clues, as do also the editions and other publications by Joachim's pupils, notably Leopold Auer, Jenö Hubay, Carl Flesch and Willy Hess, even though these four represent a slightly later performing aesthetic.

Countless contemporary critiques of Joachim's performances, especially those of Beethoven's concerto, also enter the equation. However, perhaps our most significant sources are early recordings, offering historical evidence that is arguably much more complete than most printed materials. They indicate more clearly than the written word what performances actually sounded like, at least in the recording studio, and provide a valuable key to understanding both the development of modern

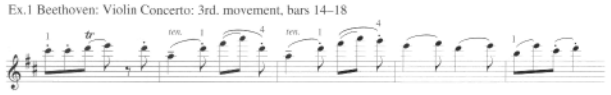
performance practice, and the practices of earlier centuries'.[8] Although there are no extant recordings by Joachim of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, reference to his few available recordings, made in 1903 not long before his death, are very informative, despite both their poor fidelity and the fact that they do not reflect the quality of his playing in his prime. However, it is doubtful if his style of playing changed appreciably during his career, and it is likely that the striking features of, for example, his recording of his own Romance in C major in his seventy-third year - the sonorous tone, the cantabile style, the sparing use of vibrato, the occasional, somewhat slow portamenti, the flexibility of pulse and the adoption of tempo rubato - are replications of his earlier performing aesthetic.[9] Printed sources seem to support this assumption.

Tone

Reviews of Joachim's playing are consistently complimentary about the quality and variety of Joachim's tone. From a purely technical standpoint, it is difficult to understand how he actually managed to achieve such a sonorous style, characterised by a 'flood of strength' and 'by virile energy rather than by voluptuous roundness'.[10] Carl Flesch, a former pupil, was very critical of Joachim's bowing technique, characterised by a very low upper right arm pressed against the body and necessitating a highly angled wrist.[11] Adolf von Menzel's famous portrait of Joachim and Clara Schumann (1854) may involve some artistic licence but seems to endorse Flesch's criticism that it was cramped and unnatural and did not facilitate the cultivation of tonal volume.[12] Joachim's fingers were evidently close together and perpendicularly placed on the bowstick almost at their fingertips; a bow-change at the frog was accomplished by a rotary wrist movement and stiff fingers.[13] This method may have fitted Joachim's individual needs, enabling him to control the dynamic nuances and subtle shadings of tone for which he was renowned; however, in Flesch's words, it was 'unnatural ... and not surprising that the majority of the students thus maltreated contracted arm troubles and, as violinists, became cripples for life'.[14]

Nevertheless, tonal considerations were for Joachim always the servant of the music. He did not submit as a matter of course to the contemporary trend of exploiting high positions for greater tonal intensity or effect, especially if such a result were likely to prove unfaithful to the composer's intentions. For him, for example, the E string was preferable to the higher positions of the A string in passages such as 3/14-18 (See Ex. 1).[15] As Dessauer explains: 'In order that this passage may sound exactly as bright and harmonious as before in the lower

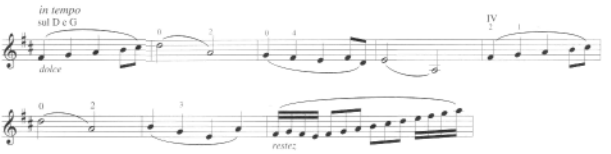
Ex.1 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 3rd. movement, bars 14–18



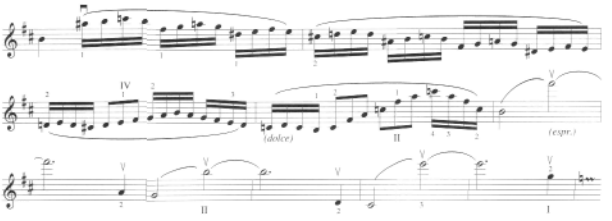
position [taken sul g], many violinists, among them Joachim, play it entirely upon the E-string.' He points out, though, that Joachim's fingering involves a 'disagreeable sliding from the third to the sixth position', which can be avoided by adopting the more common two-string approach.[16]

Joachim does take the *una corda* prescription much further than Beethoven intended in Ex. 2a (from bar 515 onwards); and he opts for the greater sonority of the G string in bar 398 (Ex. 2b) in the interests of cultivating the expressive, singing style of his time. This cantabile style had been facilitated by the 'seamless phrase' characteristics of the Tourte bow, developed in the 1780s, and the influence of the Parisian violin school of Viotti and his contemporaries. Geminiani's view that 'the art of playing the violin consists in giving that instrument a tone that shall in a manner rival the most perfect human voice' was reinforced by numerous later writers.[17] Charles de Bériot, among other nineteenth-century violinists, advocated the importance of 'imitating the accents of the human voice' in performance; and Dessauer's edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto consistently emphasises the need for cultivating the singing qualities of the instrument for successful emulation of Joachim's performing style.[18]

Ex.2a Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 511–18



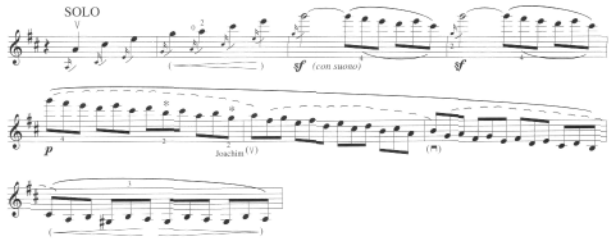
Ex.2b Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 396–406



Such cantabile ideals are mirrored in many of our printed sources by the addition of slurs to Beethoven's text, and the increased use of portato, broad détaché and 'hooked' bow-strokes. They are also confirmed by approaches to fingering, notably those which imply the introduction of portamento.[19]

In Ex. 3 the seamless phrase ideal is implied by Beethoven's long slurs/phrase markings, one slur extending over three whole bars (bars 93-5). In order to realise such an effect, many editors suggest the introduction of 'overlapping slurs' (indicated by dotted slurs in Ex. 3) which traverse the beat for a

Ex.3 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 89–96



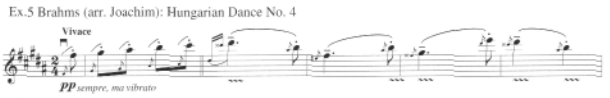
smoother cantabile effect. Although such overlapping slurring features prominently in Joachim's cantabile style (as in Ex. 4), he surprisingly advocates changing the bow on the first semiquaver of each bar in bars 93-6 (see Ex. 3), despite the advice in the *Violinschule* that 'the descent from the highest note to the lowest [in this passage] should occur without a single hitch'.[20]

Ex.4 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 181–4

Vibrato

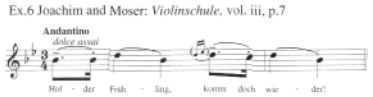
Joachim's recording of the Tempo di Borea (often referred to as Bourrée) of J. S. Bach's First Partita for solo violin (BWV1002) and his unusual prescription of vibrato verbally (*pp sempre ma vibrato*) and by symbol in the central section of his arrangement of Brahms's Hungarian Dance No. 4 (Ex. 5), evidently

Ex.5 Brahms (arr. Joachim): Hungarian Dance No. 4



to reproduce more closely the mannerisms of Hungarian gypsy violinists, represent probably the two extremes of his vibrato practice.[21] Although vibrato was 'not only employed for the beautifying of notes of longer duration in slow movements, but also in the fleeting course of passages that are to be rapidly played', Joachim's use of the colouring in the Bourrée is restrained, in keeping with both the character of the music and the prescriptions in most nineteenth-century treatises.[22] The incidence of long sustained notes as the harmonic pillars of the quasi-improvisatory figuration in the opening Adagio of Bach's G minor Solo Sonata (BWV1001) moves Joachim to introduce some discernible vibrato colouring.[23] Such usage aligns with Joachim and Moser's *Violinschule*, in which they warn against the 'habitual use' of vibrato, 'especially in the wrong place,' recognising 'the steady tone as the ruling one' and recommending vibrato 'only where the expression seems to demand it'.[24] They concur substantially with Spohr regarding its application, even quoting him verbatim at times; and they illustrate its introduction, which they stress is not

Ex.6 Joachim and Moser: *Violinschule*, vol. iii, p.7



obligatory, in a verbal/vocal context. In keeping with the verbal stresses of the German text in Ex. 6, they record that vibrato 'must only occur, like a delicate breath, on the notes under which the syllables "früh" and "wie" are placed', thus leaving the vast proportion of notes unadorned with the device.[25] This is supported by Sam Franko, who wrote: 'Joachim's tone did not dazzle and flatter the hearer by means of penetrating sensuousness. It was a tone whose limpid beauty had a transcendental quality. His playing was spiritualised and etherealised'.[26]

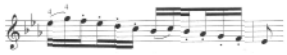
Recordings also reveal that Joachim's vibrato oscillation, originating largely from the fingers, varied considerably, if within a fairly narrow range; however, it was normally small and sometimes barely discernible, even on long notes or in cantabile passages, resulting in a rather 'flat' sound quality. His edition of Beethoven's concerto seems consistent with this observation, because its various editorial harmonics and open strings would have sounded unpleasantly incongruous if combined with anything like a continuous or even frequent vibrato. Joachim's vibrato usage in his performances of Beethoven's Violin Concerto would certainly have been more liberal than in his recording of Bach's Bourrée, but radically different from, say, that of Fritz Kreisler, who first recorded the work in 1926. Kreisler employed vibrato less selectively and more as a constant ingredient of good tone-production than as an expressive colouring, and his wider, pulsating oscillations involved the use of the left arm as well as the fingers and hand.[27]

Portamento

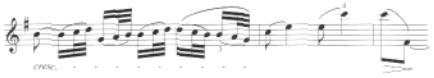
The so-called 'artistic shift', normally involving a position-change incorporating portamento, was commonly used in legato contexts. It helped: to shape the melodic line vocally by emphasising structurally important or expressive notes; to intensify the emotional expression; and to preserve tone-colour within the musical phrase. It was known and occasionally employed by eighteenth-century violinists, but it came into its own as an essential expressive device from the early-nineteenth century.

Little is known about Beethoven's views on portamento usage. Clive Brown has discovered one *echt* fingering in Beethoven's own quintet arrangement of his Piano Trio Op. 1 no. 3 that suggests that the composer may sometimes have felt the effect to be appropriate (Ex. 7a).[28] Beethoven also, apparently, intended it in the finale of his Violin Sonata Op. 96 (Ex. 7b) - he wrote the sonata for Rode whose prominent use of portamento is well

Ex.7a Beethoven: *Piano Trio Op.1 No.3*

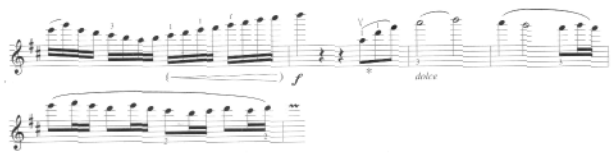


Ex.7b Beethoven (ed. Joachim): Violin Sonata Op. 96, 4th. movement

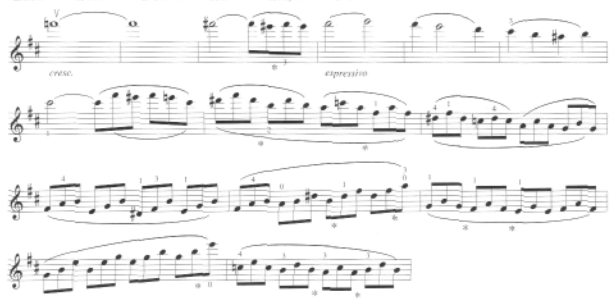


documented.[29] Joachim's fingerings for Beethoven's concerto confirm that he regarded portamento as an extremely important aesthetic resource; some examples of its use are given as Exs. 8a and b

Ex.8a Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 100–05

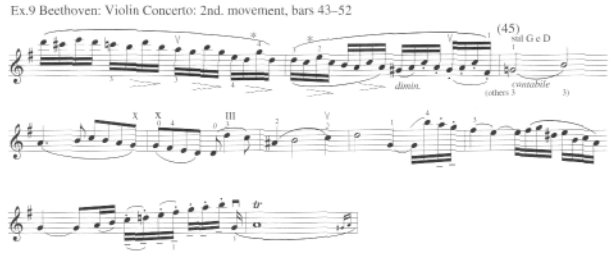


Ex.8b Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 298–311



(asterisked). Surprisingly, though, he does not advocate a portamento fingering for the emotional

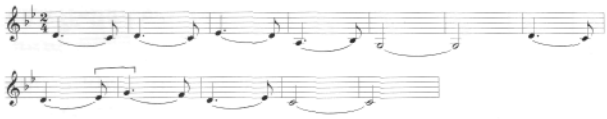
Ex.9 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 2nd. movement, bars 43–52



core of the slow movement (bar 45 in Ex. 9) - his fingerings imply rather more discreet slides, e.g. on the last beat of bar 43 and the first beat of bar 44 (asterisked) - where the likes of his mentor David, and his pupils Hubay and Flesch and numerous others have no hesitation in recommending the effect.

Clearly, as with vibrato, Joachim admitted sparing, calculated use of portamento. This is borne out by his recording of his arrangement of Brahms' Hungarian Dance No. 1, in which the Hungarian gypsy idiom encourages from Joachim a variety of interpretations of the recurrent dotted rhythm of the opening figure but inspires rather fewer portamenti than one might expect.[30] The slides are generally fast, but some are exaggerated and, contrary to theoretical writings, occur between and within slurs, as indicated in Ex. 10. Joachim's use of portamento was evidently equally, if not more prominent in the Second Hungarian Dance, if his recommended fingerings are reliable guides; those in Ex. 11 are confirmed in his

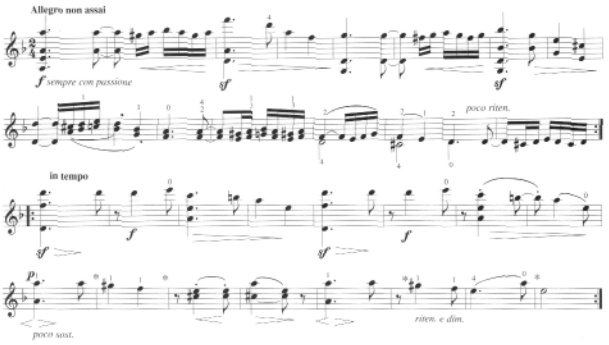
Ex.10 Brahms (arr. Joachim): Hungarian Dance No. 1



recording.

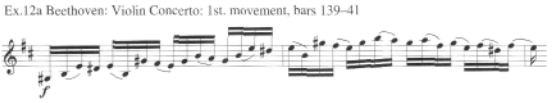
Interestingly, though, Joachim did not consistently practise in his recordings what he endorsed in his printed fingerings. In his recording of

Ex.11 Brahms (arr. Joachim): Hungarian Dance No. 2

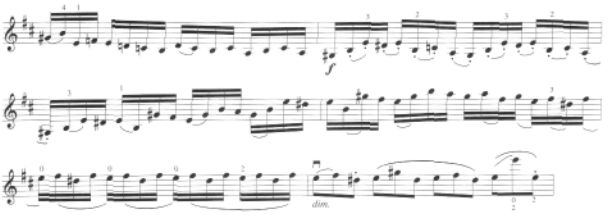


his Romance, for example, he clearly shifts down to an open string with a discernible slide, an effect that was disliked by many nineteenth-century theorists, including Joachim and Moser themselves! That Joachim's portamenti were generally carefully calculated is attested by his common use of finger extension to avoid shifts and hence portamento opportunities, sometimes with a view to preserving uniformity of tone-colour (see Ex. 8a (bar 100 into 101); Ex. 22 (bar 153); Ex. 12b (bar 137)); nevertheless, there are many places where, when a particular phrase or passage necessitates a shift, Joachim indicates a fingering likely to produce a

Ex.12a Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 139–41



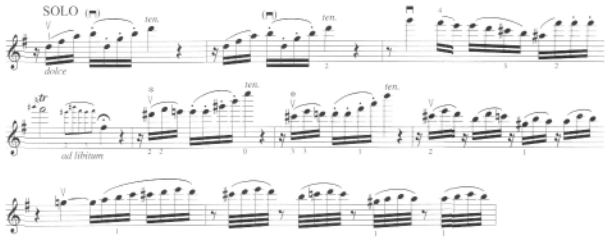
Ex.12b Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 137–42



discernible slide rather than a clean shift. In many such instances, however, the potential portamento probably tells us more about the contemporary tolerance of audible shifting than about any deliberate expressive intention (See Exs. 3 and 13 (asterisked)).

Joachim frequently employs the characteristic nineteenth-century technique of playing notes which extend above or below the hand's current position by taking them out of position through repetition of the previous finger (i.e. the use of 1-1-1 or 4-4-4). This ploy may or may not have portamento implications.

Ex.13 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 2nd. movement, bars 11–19



Furthermore, he often employed semitone shifts (i.e. using the same finger for a pair of notes a semitone apart); these might also imply a 'gliding' effect (see, for example, Ex. 8b), as could also Joachim's fingerings for the numerous passages in octaves in Beethoven's concerto. In agreement with Spohr, Joachim and Moser support the use of portamento in the production of harmonics, one of the few occasions on which they allow an L-portamento (involving sliding with the leaving finger). However, 'the use of the portamento must never overstep the limits of the beautiful and degenerate into a whine, as if the intention were to caricature the peculiarities of certain wandering street musicians'.[31]

Joachim and Moser advise that 'it will depend entirely on the character of the passage in question whether the portamento is to be executed slowly or quickly, with tenderness or with passion'.[32] They warn strongly against abusing the device and caution that shifts should 'not impinge on the consciousness' of the listener. Flesch found 'offensive' Joachim's frequent, generally slow portamenti with crescendo;[33] however, although Joachim's recordings do not exclude frequent, perceptible and sometimes very obtrusive shifts, his introduction of portamenti was aligned with 'what takes place in singing when the slur is placed over two notes which are meant to be sung on one syllable; the portamento occurring when a change of bow and position is simultaneously made corresponds to what happens when a singer for the sake of musical expression connects two notes, on the second of which a new syllable is sung'.[34] It appears to have been far more economical than that of Spohr or David, and his portamenti were almost exclusively of the B-type (i.e. involving sliding with the beginning finger).

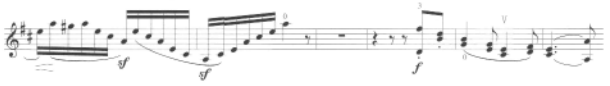
Open Strings and Harmonics

Joachim's edition of Beethoven's concerto also includes a strikingly large number of indications of open strings and natural harmonics. His use of open strings is very much in line with that of David and Spohr; but it is sharply at odds with the conventional eighteenth-century attitude. Leopold Mozart, Reichardt and others avoided open strings whenever possible and claimed that they should be used only for notes of short duration.[35]

A similar attitude reigned in respect of harmonics. Although harmonics are not specified by Beethoven, their use is recommended in varying quantities by many nineteenth-century editors for expressive or technical reasons, whether to avoid formal shifts, to assist in making a shift, or to avoid awkward string crossings. Joachim and his contemporaries again took the lead from Spohr. Although conservative about the employment of harmonic effects because of their lack of tonal affinity with stopped notes, Spohr did allow their limited introduction, 'chiefly in order to make one single note stand out more clearly than the others, for example the final note of ascending scales or broken chords'.[36]

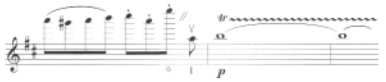
Examples of Joachim's employment of harmonics in Beethoven's concerto include use of the effect to follow an implicit portamento (Ex. 12b, bar 142) or to offer greater security in double stopping (Ex. 14, bar 236). The soft, expressive sound quality of natural harmonics often provided just the desired effect (Ex. 15); it also crowned the 'top-notes' of a scale or arpeggio passage, provided that no intensity

Ex.14 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 3rd. movement, bars 232–7



of expression was desired (Ex. 14), or offered a natural change in timbre for the second of a pair of repeated notes (Ex. 9, bars 46-7). Incidentally, Joseph Szigeti

Ex.15 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 204–06

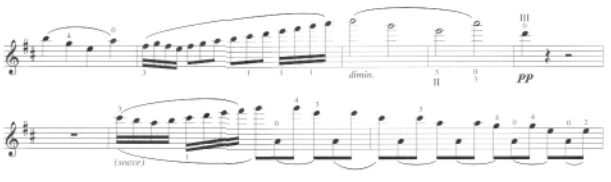


expresses disapproval of Joachim's use of a harmonic for the second g^1 in Ex. 9. Further, he abhors the abuse of harmonics by many of his predecessors and remarks that the bad old days of Ex. 16 (the two harmonics in bars 522 and 523), advocated by, among others, Joachim, 'seem to be over, happily!'[37]

Bowing

Editions of Beethoven's Violin Concerto differ

Ex.16 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 519–26

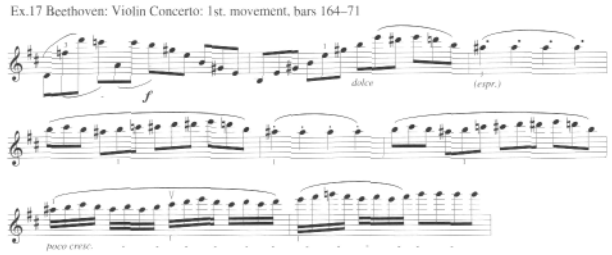


radically in respect of slurring and articulation. This may not be surprising, given the often confusing state of Beethoven's autograph. Moser's account of Viennese violin playing traditions suggests that Beethoven did not intend his bowings and articulations to be any more than rough guidelines.[38] He discusses the so-called 'Paganini' bowing, with its challenging articulated single notes and slurred pairs (Ex. 12a), and remarks: 'Certainly Joachim told me

that already during his time of study with Joseph Böhm the opinion was widespread among the Viennese violinists that Franz Clement, at the first performance of the Beethoven Violin Concerto ... had already used the aforesaid bowing at the following place in the first movement.' There is no better example of a passage on whose bowing performers/editors almost always beg to differ than that in bars 134-43 of the first movement, in which this Paganini bowing is often introduced. Joachim's prescriptions (Ex. 12b) comply neither with our Beethoven sources nor with a number of other nineteenth-century editions, notably those of David and Dont.

Among the most controversial features of Joachim's bowing indications is his employment of dots and, occasionally, horizontal lines under slurs, which were open to a wide range of interpretation both then and now. Where Beethoven himself used dots under slurs he undoubtedly intended to indicate portato bowing - notes taken in the same stroke played fairly broadly but with a slight articulation between each (Exs. 13 and 17). However, dots under slurs were also used during the early nineteenth century to imply sharp separation of notes by means of a succession of very short up- or, more rarely,

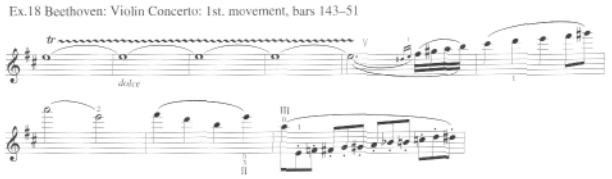
Ex.17 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 164–71



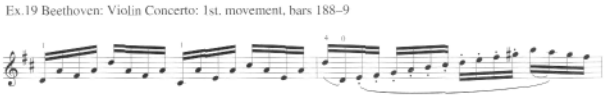
down-bows produced towards the point of the bow by a series of pressures of the hand (usually referred to as slurred staccato). Joachim specifies this bow-stroke, for instance, in Exs. 18 and 19.

As Clive Brown has pointed out, one of Joachim's mentors, Ferdinand David, appears not always to have understood Beethoven's dots under slurs as portato.[39] David sometimes retained

Ex.18 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 143–51

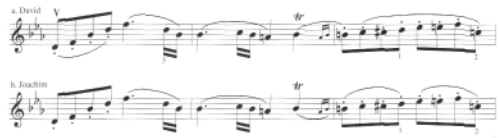


Ex.19 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 188–9



Beethoven's notation and sometimes changed it into lines under slurs, a method of indicating portato that was just gaining acceptance by violinists at that time. That there was confusion over this matter in the mid-nineteenth century is verified by some correspondence between Joachim and Brahms.[40] In the first bar of Ex. 20a David added dots under the slur, indicating up-bow staccato; evidently taking

Ex.20 Beethoven: Violin Sonata in E♭, Op. 12 No. 3, Allegro con spirito

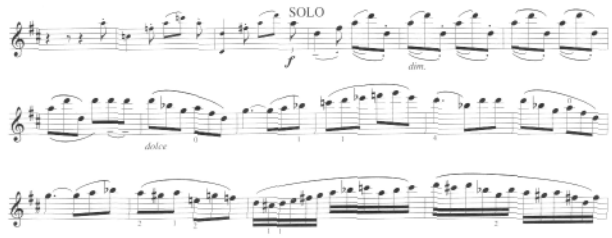


Beethoven's portato notation in the third bar to indicate the same bowstroke, he modified it accordingly. Joachim, whose letter to Brahms shows that he was aware of Beethoven's intention, reverted to the original notation for this passage (Ex. 20b). Nevertheless, in the Violin Concerto Joachim preserves Beethoven's dots at some 'natural' portato spots; but he does suggest alternative lines (and sometimes dots above and lines below the notes) at some other appropriate points in the slow movement. (e.g. bars 49 & 51 of Ex. 9).

Largely on account of the Tourte bow's greater length and weight, 'hooked' bowings, involving articulation of two notes within the same bow-stroke, often proved more comfortable and convenient and came into their own in Beethoven's finale (Ex. 21). They also helped to eliminate the up-bow accents that might result from the use of separate bow-strokes.

The mid-nineteenth century was the age of the virtuoso. This was reflected in violin playing not only by left-hand pyrotechnics but also by the use of a

Ex.21 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 3rd. movement, bars 120–35



wider range of bow-strokes, many of which exploited the qualities of greater strength, elasticity, hair tension, legato potential, more immediate attack and various other characteristics of the Tourte bow. One of the most important conflicts of opinion focused on the appropriateness of off-string versus on-string bowing, particularly in passages of successive detached notes in a moderate to fast tempo. The notation of the time is rarely sufficiently precise to indicate composers' intentions, and bowing practices varied according to teacher-pupil background, and national and local taste. One might surmise, for example, that an on-string bowing with as long a stroke as possible would be most appropriate to the character of Beethoven's concerto for most passages of detached notes. Furthermore, a strong tradition existed among violinists of the first half of the

nineteenth century that springing bow-strokes, except in a few rare circumstances, were inappropriate and unauthentic in the music of Classical German composers. Spohr-pupil Alexander Malibran recounts his mentor's restrictions regarding the use of springing bowings, claiming that they may be employed 'only in certain passages, in certain scherzos of Beethoven, Onslow and Mendelssohn'.[41]

Joachim seems to have been among the earliest German violinists to employ and advocate various kinds of springing (i.e. off-string) bow-strokes in Classical compositions. The story goes that as a twelve-year-old he had sought Mendelssohn's guidance about introducing such bowing in his interpretation of certain Classical compositions and had received the advice to use it, 'where it is suitable, or where it sounds well'.[42] Joachim clearly took that advice, introducing springing bowing at least four times in his recording of the Bourrée of Bach's B minor Partita and approving the fact that *spiccato* bowing then played a much greater role than the *martelé* in the performance of Classical and Romantic as well as modern repertoire.[43] Thus, Joachim may well have used springing bowing in his Beethoven concerto performances. Dessauer suggests that the *piano* semiquavers in 1/190 should be played with 'jumping bow' after Joachim's example; further, that these 'jumping strokes' 'should be exchanged for the usual decided (i.e. on-string?) bowing' for the ensuing crescendo and forte.[44]

For the ornamental triplet passage-work starting at 1/315 Joachim adds the direction 'legg. ma non troppo spiccato'. This would seem to equate with the kind of 'flaky spiccato' [*flockig-Spiccato*] that he and Moser advocated for the figurations of the E minor melody in the second section of Beethoven's Romance in G major.[45] As Dessauer confirms, 'While very clear and distinct the staccati therein are not detached too sharply; [play] with more smoothness and singing quality than brilliancy'.[46]

In bar 151 of the first movement of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, the triplet passage (Ex. 18) is played by most violinists nowadays very broadly and on the string. It is indicated by Joachim and Dessauer to be taken in one stroke, slurred staccato. Dessauer remarks: 'Not infrequently this staccato is executed by many artists with springing *(spiccato)* bowing; at any rate it is to be performed lightly and elegantly'.[47]

Marion Scott sums up Joachim's bowing skills especially vividly in her centenary tribute to the master:

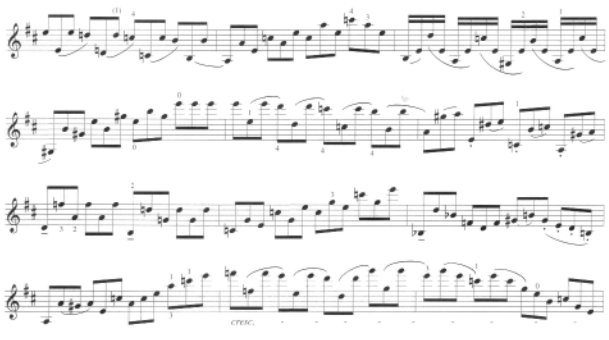
> In broad playing he used every atom of bow length, and gave an impression of illimitability. His détaché was noble: his staccato of several kinds. I do not remember hearing him use the extremely light French style, but otherwise I think he had every grade of staccato between a hammer stroke and the even-wrist springing bow ... His special staccato, however, I never heard from anyone else - a round, beautiful, flexible thing ... with the weight and balance obtained from the kind where the bow remains on the string, yet with the resilience and sparkle of the springing bow. This staccato was particularly beautiful when used in combination with slurred notes and with that wonderful rubato within the bar of which Joachim was the consummate master.[48]

Accentuation

Faithful accentuation and, in some cases, prolongation of important notes within the phrase for expressive emphasis were important elements in nineteenth-century performance. Some interesting rhythmic modifications of the notated rhythms often resulted, as are clearly evident in early recordings, not least Joachim's of his own Romance. Earlier theorists such as C. P. E. Bach and Türk had related this prolongation or agogic accent to rhetoric, for it was used to heighten the *Affekt*, just as an orator emphasises particular words in speech.

In their *Violinschule* Joachim and Moser distinguish between 'melodic accent' and 'rhythmic accent'. 'Melodic accent' referred to particular melodic or tonal emphases.[49] Many editors, including Joachim in his edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, highlighted some of the notes appropriate for melodic accent, or an 'imperceptible dwelling',[50] with a horizontal line above or below. Thus, in Ex. 22 the melodic solo counterpoint calls for agogic accents as it 'frames' the orchestral theme (marked, somewhat inconsistently, in bars 158 and 160), especially on notes 'borrowed' from the theme or closely related to it.[51] The Joachim recordings reveal that subtle dynamics, and occasionally the 'messa-di-voce' were also employed as forms of 'melodic accent'. A number of pertinent examples are evident, for example, in

Ex.22 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 152–63

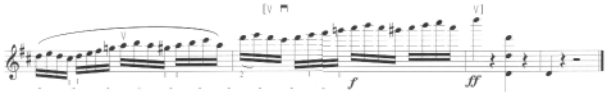


Joachim's recording of his Romance.

'Rhythmic accent' involved largely the hierarchy of the beats of the bar, with the main stresses being placed on strong beats, particularly the first of each bar. It was traditionally applied through the rule of down bow, which accommodated notes of rhythmic stress in the stronger down stroke; however, the Tourte bow's greater equality of attack between the up- and down-bows led to a less 'mannered' approach to bowing in the nineteenth century and Joachim, like Spohr and David before him, tended to execute scale and arpeggio passages so that the final note was taken with an up-bow flourish, often irrespective of whether that up-bow coincided with an accented beat of the bar (see Ex. 23).[52]

Ex. 24 from the finale also introduces what is often called 'counter-clockwise' bowing (from bar 68) that is contrary to the rule of down bow. The up-bow-on-strong-beat version prescribed here by Joachim, among others, certainly facilitates dexterity in executing the string-changes and a Tourte-model bow can convey the rhythmic accent perfectly satisfactorily.

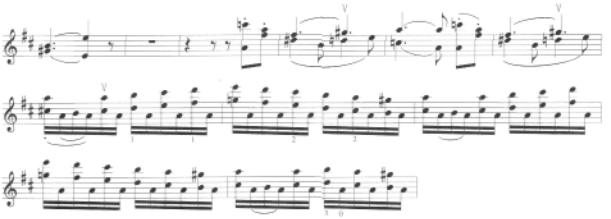
Ex.23 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 532–5



Tempo rubato

The chief means of rhythmic freedom for expressive melodic effect was *tempo rubato*. In Beethoven's time this normally involved a natural flexibility of the prescribed rhythm within a constant tempo, after which the ensemble was restored. Moser tells us that Joachim's rubato usage was influenced initially by Mendelssohn, 'who so perfectly understood the

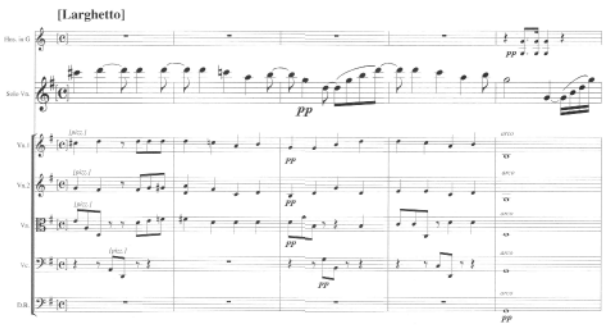
Ex.24 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 3rd. movement, bars 62–72



elastic management of time as a subtle means of expression', but 'always liked to see the uniform tempo of a movement preserved as a whole'.[53] A later influence on Joachim was, of course, Brahms. Clara Schumann's pupil, Fanny Davies, left us an important reminiscence of Brahms's piano playing, which took elasticity of tempo rather further than that implied by Mendelssohn and Spohr. She reports that Brahms's interpretation was free, very elastic and expansive, but with a balance of fundamental and surface rhythms. 'He would linger not on one note alone, but on a whole idea, as if unable to tear himself away from its beauty. He would prefer to lengthen a bar or phrase rather than spoil it by making up the time into a metronomic bar.'[54] This second type of rubato thus involved a somewhat greater rhythmic elasticity, allowing flexibility to the whole musical texture, not just to a melodic line.

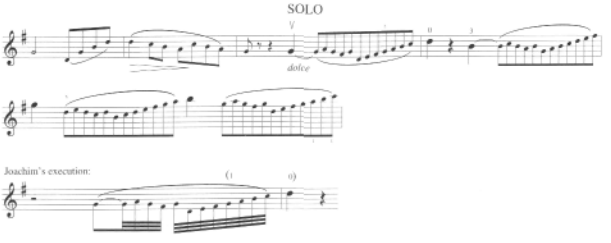
Interestingly, Beethoven himself wrote out a passage involving dislocation of the expected metrical accents in the slow movement of his Violin Concerto (Ex. 25), the soloist freely shadowing the orchestral melody in syncopation. Most of the other brief passages in the same movement which lie outside its rhythmic structure either prescribe or imply an 'improvisatory' *ad libitum* interpretation. Hanslick, incidentally, praised Joachim's 'free, deeply emotional performance of the adagio (which almost sounded like an improvisation)'.[55] Curiously, some nineteenth-century editors have felt the need to write out some of these passages painstakingly in a rhythmic form, often implying an interpretation

Ex.25 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 2nd. movement, bars 61–5



apparently quite contrary to the composer's intentions. Joachim and Moser explain soemwhat poetically their reason for doing so in respect of Ex. 26: 'In order to give full effect to the peaceful mood which should undoubtedly reign here, the quavers printed in small notes that throw themselves, like tendrils, from one crotchet to another, must not be played too quickly. One must endeavour to obtain the time necessary for their quiet and unhurried performance by diminishing the value of the preceding crotchet by almost one half'.[56]

Ex.26 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 2nd. movement, bars 38–42



Flexibility of tempo/pulse

From about the 1840s to the 1870s Wagner was a dominant force as a conductor throughout Europe. Based on the expressive requirements of his music, he believed that flexibility of tempo and rhythm, or 'tempo modification' as he called it, was a pre-requisite for appropriate interpretation of most music from Beethoven onwards.[57] Since every theme had its own optimum tempo which, in theory, was retained

consistently throughout a movement, tempo differentiations tended to highlight significant structural landmarks. Thus, differing stable tempos were matched to stable thematic and harmonic areas in a movement, while tonally unstable areas were marked by changing tempos. Large unstable areas, like the development and coda of a sonata-form movement, often featured accelerating tempos to heighten tension and drama.

Brahms, Joachim and their followers probably treated tempo modification with rather more restraint than Wagner, but nevertheless used it effectively, in order to avoid the 'deadly dullness' of a 'metronomic' performance.[58] Brahms's conducting score of his *Requiem* evidently contains many annotations in his hand for speeding up or holding back the tempo, and he discussed in correspondence with Joachim the tempo modifications that he had written into the score of his Fourth Symphony.[59] Joachim's recording of the opening Adagio of Bach's G minor Solo Sonata (BWV1001) testifies to his effective use of variation of the pulse in realising the movement's quasi-improvisational fantasia-like qualities.[60]

Joachim's recorded account of his Romance reveals a similar degree of tempo fluctuation and it is probable that he would not have changed his approach that much in his performances of Beethoven's concerto; at least, Robert Philip's research into early recordings confirms that it was certainly usual in the 1920s and 1930s for performers to underline contrasts of mood and tension by changes of tempo, lyrical and reflective passages generally being played more slowly and energetic passages especially being played more quickly. Information from his revealing table of tempo differences in the opening fifty bars of selected recordings of Beethoven's Concerto is reproduced as Table 1.[61] However, Joachim himself provides only one metronome marking (crotchet = 116) for this movement and claims that his markings correspond with his 'own feeling in the matter, and are therefore not arbitrary. Experience shows us that even with the most conscientious the passing mood will induce slight deviations of *tempo*.'[62] The general advice given in his *Violinschule*, following that of Spohr, is that acceleration or retardation of tempo to increase the expression should be employed in moderation so as not to misrepresent the character of the piece.[63] 'Unless one wishes to foolishly destroy the unity of a piece by breaking it up into separate parts, one must avoid springing at once into a *tempo* essentially different from the original, should a "tranquillo" happen to occur in the course of the movement. For the word "tranquillo" does not refer so much to the actual time-measure as to the kind of expression to be employed ... Of ten violinists who perform the Mendelssohn concerto, certainly nine play the theme marked "tranquillo" in the first movement [bar 127] not only with calm expression (as a contrast to the impassioned character of the piece as a whole), but also in a considerably slower *tempo* than that indicated at the beginning. With the time dragged in this way there comes to the fore a sickly, sugary feeling which has nothing in common with the theme, and still less with the view of the composer ... a well-tempered calando, before the entrance of the woodwind, is quite sufficient.' This Mendelssohn example has possible implications for Joachim's interpretation of the meditative G minor section in the first movement of Beethoven's Violin Concerto (from bar 321). Joachim here adds the descriptor 'espr. ma teneramente', suggesting a more expressive, gentle atmosphere and arguably a slightly slower tempo, even though, in the words of Joachim and Moser, any 'difference in tempo should be effected so that it is hardly perceptible'.[64] Dessauer confirms this more relaxed attitude to tempo in this section of the movement: 'The performance of this expressive part is to be brought about more through warm and deeply-felt interpretation, than through great tonal volume. After the last eighth-note of the second bar, it is permissible to indulge in an imaginary pause, just as though the player, to express his innermost feelings, finds it necessary to breathe once more. Naturally

Table 1: Beethoven: Violin Concerto, first movement

		bars 1-9	*bars* 28-41	*bars* 43-50
Kreisler, cond. L. Blech (rec. 1926)	crotchet =	108	128	112
Szigeti, cond. Walter (rec. 1932)		96	132	112
Huberman, cond. Szell (rec. 1936)		108	120	116
Kreisler, cond. Barbirolli (rec. 1936)		108	120	116
Kulenkampff, cond. Schmidt-Isserstedt (rec. 1936)		108	120	116
Heifetz, cond. Toscanini (rec. 1940)		116	124	124
Menuhin, cond. Klemperer (rec. 1966)		104	108	104
I. Oistrakh, cond. D. Oistrakh (rec. c.1971)		100	104	108
Szeryng, cond. Haitink (rec. 1973)		108	112	110
Grumiaux, cond. C. Davis (rec. 1974)		96	112	110
Zukerman, cond. Barenboim (rec. c.1977)		104	112	112

such liberties in interpretation demand great care and absolutely no exaggeration.'[65]

Rhythmic Freedom

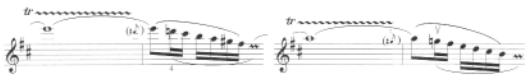
The evidence of early recordings reveals that violinists of Joachim's generation executed notated rhythms with a considerable degree of licence. Dotted rhythms, for example, were sometimes executed in a quasi-overdotted fashion, while other rhythmic prescriptions tended to be played in a flexible and somewhat approximate manner involving varying degrees of alteration. Joachim's recording of his Romance is especially significant in this respect, demonstrating that his rhythmic flexibility extended even to his own prescriptions.[66] Donald Tovey is reported to have written about Joachim's 'inimitable ... moulding of ... phrases', which 'consists of slight modifications of the strict metronomic value of the notes, together with slight variations of power such as no marks of expression could convey'.[67] In such subtle rhythmic modification 'there is a feeling of resilience, of rebound, in the sequence of the notes, a constant and perfect restoration of balance between pressure and resistance taking place, as an indiarubber ball resumes its original shape after being pressed'. The fact that such flexibility is not especially evident in Joachim's recording of the Bourrée of Bach's B Minor Solo Partita suggests that his use of the ploy may have depended on the type of work to be performed. While it is certainly possible that Joachim would have included some rhythmic alteration as part of his spontaneous reading of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, it seems unlikely that gross rhythmic variants would have been introduced, as these would have been contrary to his principle of fidelity to the composer. In any case, no published musical documentation is available to enable us to assess the extent of such flexibility of approach as it might have been applied to Beethoven's printed text.

Ornamentation

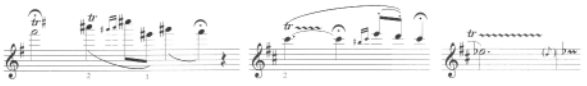
The third volume of Joachim and Moser's *Violinschule* devotes about fourteen pages to issues of ornamentation, focusing largely on eighteenth-century music and the recommendations of Quantz, Leopold Mozart, C. P. E. Bach, Tartini and others. Nevertheless, the comments on the execution of trills, turns and 'short appoggiaturas' have particular relevance to Joachim's interpretation of Beethoven's Violin Concerto. Joachim normally began his trills 'with the essential [main] note', commencing them 'with the upper degree [only] when this is expressly demanded by an appoggiatura'.[68] Thus, for example, the trills at 1/143, 1/205ff, 1/329-30, 1/416, 1/479ff, 2/24, 2/52-3, 2/78, 2/91, 3/92, 3/269ff, 3/280ff and 3/309-10 would almost certainly have been interpreted as main-note trills, while the execution of the two quick trills included in the principal theme of the finale may well have resembled more closely mordents. Joachim would doubtless have been faithful to Beethoven's upper-note beginning to the trill prescribed in 2/14. Except in some stepwise descending passages or, for example, cases where the trilled note is followed by another note on the same degree, Joachim normally concluded his trills with a turn or some other termination, whether or not one was prescribed, because such an interpretation seemed to him 'more natural and beautiful'.[69] Thus, for example, at bar 147 in the first movement Joachim adds a termination to the trill that gives impulse to the semiquaver link to significant thematic material (Ex. 18); bar 1/421 provides a similar example; and at the end of the successions of trills in bars 1/205-17 and 1/479-91 he inserts a d#^{3} and g#^{2} respectively to round off each passage prior to the ensuing descending scalic figure (Ex. 27a). Beethoven himself prescribes terminations to trills at 1/330, 2/52-3, 3/272 and 3/310, but Joachim adds a termination also in 2/24, 3/92 and 3/292 (Ex. 27b). Joachim's trills were praised as being 'incomparable for purity and equality'.[70]

Joachim normally performed what he called the 'short appoggiatura' (acciaccatura), so prominent in Beethoven's concerto (Exs. 3 and 28; also at 1/89-92; 1/126ff; 3/219 and 3/223), 'as short as possible, i.e., it should be impossible to tell whether the time necessary for its execution comes from the main note that follows or from the preceding one'.[71] One imagines that he would have taken steps to make somewhat more melodic the short appoggiaturas in 2/25-6 and the three-note *coulé* prescribed by Beethoven in 2/66, 2/68 and 2/82.[72] He suggests that such ornaments, as with turns, 'must not in any way be struck forcibly, but must be gently attached to the

Ex.27a Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 216–17 and 490–1



Ex.27b Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 2nd. movement, bar 24, and 3rd. movement, bars 92 and 297–8



principal note ... the rapidity of this embellishment must be determined by the character of the piece and its *tempo*'.[73] The turns at 1/131, 1/342, 1/443-4 and 3/143-5 were doubtless comfortably executed while preserving the fundamental rhythms prescribed, but

Ex.28 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 3rd. movement, bars 45–7

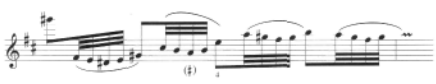
Joachim takes pains to spell out his optimum interpretation of the more problematical turns in 1/173 (Ex. 29). However, having discussed guidelines

for specific ornamentation at some length, Moser has to admit that 'rules in art, no matter from whom they proceed, provide no arguments that cannot be overthrown; it is much more essential to know when and where they should be employed - and when and where avoided!'[74]

Cadenzas

Beethoven allows opportunity for a cadenza in each of the three movements of his Violin Concerto; however, although he wrote four cadenzas for his piano adaptation of the work, he provided none for the original violin version. Appropriately enough, the violin cadenzas by the concerto's greatest champions, Joachim and Kreisler, are the most often played. Of Joachim's two sets of cadenzas, the second is somewhat easier and more accessible, but the first has provided the challenge for most converts to

Ex.29 Beethoven: Violin Concerto: 1st. movement, bars 173–4



Joachim's work. Its seventy-six-bar, first-movement cadenza admirably combines extempore qualities with pertinent thematic material and sustains the predominantly lyrical character of the movement. The timpani motif and, to a lesser extent, the dramatic gestures of 1/28 and the solo entry dominate the first section (bars 1-40); then follows an effective, *con delicatezza* development of the timpani motif, mostly in left-hand pizzicato, and the second theme in the triplet rhythm of the soloist's accompaniment at 1/41-51. Much of the rest of the cadenza is built around the soloist's entry at 1/89 and its related passage-work. A *fortissimo* descending chromatic scale in octaves (bars 63-4) heralds a dramatic return of the timpani motif (bars 65-9 and 74-6), which, together with further reminiscences of passage-work from the First Solo (bars 71-4), leads into Beethoven's coda. The first set's cadenza for the Larghetto incorporates Beethoven's prescribed six-note lead-in early on, but continues by developing the third theme (2/65-70) before proceeding to a trill on the dominant and a chromatic ascent to the rondo theme's anacrusis. Joachim's favoured cadenza for the finale comprises largely an elaboration of the principal theme but it also incorporates some skilful two-part counterpoint, focusing throughout on the realisation of his artistic principles.

Joachim is often credited with inaugurating a new era in performance, one which fostered the art of interpretation. As Carl Flesch wrote, 'technique and pure sound were to him only a secondary means ... towards the sacred artistic aim'.[75] His sensitivity to historical fidelity and his cautious respect for the composer's intentions within the performance aesthetic of his time[76] heralded a new type of artist, one who was willing to submerge his own personality into the work of another composer, eager to serve the cause of music through his own musicianship - 'Music first, and then the virtuoso', as Leopold Auer expressed it.[77] The success with which he achieved his goal made him one of the most revered performers of his time, 'the musical conscience of Europe - incorruptible and uncompromising in musical quality, textual fidelity and artistic integrity'.[78]

While it is, of course, impossible to express in words any truly accurate idea of what Joachim's performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto was like, musicians of his time were adamant that his principal goal was to convey 'the inner meaning of the work under his bow'.[79] In a similar analogy to that of Ysaÿe, quoted earlier, Moser claimed that Joachim's fidelity to the composer was such that the composer 'speaks to us through him' and that his interpretation might be compared to 'a mirror, which, held before an object, reflects it in its unclouded purity and truth'.[80] Joachim's studies with Joseph Böhm in the early 1840s gave him an indirect link with Beethoven.[81] Amy Fay wrote of Joachim that it was 'like revealing Beethoven in the flesh, to hear him', and it is small wonder that a respected nineteenth-century critic claimed, following one of Joachim's performances of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, 'it is not Joachim who played Beethoven yesterday. Beethoven himself did play'.[82]

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1 This essay is a revised version of a paper presented at the University of Utrecht as part of the STIMU Symposium on 19th-century Performance Practice, 24-25 August 2002, held during the Holland Festival of Early Music at Utrecht.
2 See Robin Stowell, *Beethoven: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 30-33.
3 Ibid., pp. 33-34.
4 Antoine Ysaÿe and Bertram Ratcliffe, *Ysaÿe, His Life, Work and Influence* (London, 1947), pp. 211-212.
5 Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, *Violinschule* (3 vols. Berlin, 1902-05), Eng. trans. A. Moffat, vol. i, p. 5, Preface.
6 Moser contributed some of the prefatory essays, including the one for Joachim's edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto.
7 Ludwig van Beethoven, *Concerto for Violin and Piano Op. 61, Newly Revised and Provided with Numerous Explanatory Remarks for Concert Performance With Special Reference to the Artistic Conception of Joseph Joachim,* Edited by Heinrich Dessauer (New York, Carl Fischer, n.d.).
8 Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900-1950* (Cambridge, 1992), 'Introduction', p. 2.
9 This recording is available on CD, issued by Pavilion Records Ltd. on Opal CD 9851 and also on Pearl Gemm 9436 (*The Recorded Violin: The History of the Violin on Record,* vol. 1).
10 Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms, 1846-99,* trans. and ed. Henry Pleasants (London, 1951), p. 78; John Fuller Maitland, *Joseph Joachim* (London, 1905), p. 25.
11 Carl Flesch, *The Memoirs of Carl Flesch*; Eng. trans. and ed. Hans Keller (with C. F. Flesch) (London, 1957), pp. 33-34.
12 This portrait is reproduced in numerous publications. See, for example, Dominic Gill (ed.), *The Book of the Violin* (Oxford, 1984), p. 115.
13 Flesch actually describes it (*The Memoirs*, p. 34) as a 'horizontal jerk of the wrist and a slightly rotating movement of the forearm'.
14 Flesch, *The Memoirs*, p. 34.
15 3/14-18 refers to the third movement/bars 14-18. This system of identification applies throughout this article.
16 Dessauer, edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, Letter B), p. 13. Dessauer's view of the slide being 'disagreeable ' would seem to be an unusual one for his time.
17 Geminiani, *The Art of Playing on the Violin* (London, [1751]); facsim. edn. David Boyden (1952), Preface, p. 1.
18 Charles de Bériot, *Méthode de Violon (Mainz*, [1858]), Preface.
19 The term 'portamento' is essentially a shortened form of 'portamento della voce' (literally, 'carriage of the voice'), which referred to an important vocal technique for legato singing dating from at least the early seventeenth century. This expressive effect connecting two notes by passing audibly through the intervening pitches was adopted by instrumentalists in emulation of the voice.
20 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. iii, pp. 11-12.
21 Vibrato is also specifically prescribed in Joachim's Concerto in the Hungarian Style Op. 11.
22 Ibid., vol. ii, p. 96a; the recording is available on CD, issued by Pavilion Records Ltd. on Pearl GEMM CD 9125 and also on Pearl Gemm 9436 (*The Recorded Violin: The History of the Violin on Record,* vol. 1).
23 Joachim's recording of his Romance involves the introduction of rather more vibrato, although its usage is still selective and confined largely to long notes.
24 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, vol. ii, p. 96a.
25 Ibid., iii, p. 7.
26 In Joseph Szigeti, *Szigeti on the Violin* (London, 1969), pp. 174-175.
27 Kreisler's 1926 recording of the work has been re-issued on CD by Biddulph Recordings (LAB 049-50). Listeners will note fluctuations of pulse, subtleties of tempo rubato and the incidence of portamento, which would have been largely in common with Joachim's practice.
28 Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750-1900* (Oxford, 1999), p. 583.
29 Ibid., pp. 582-583.
30 This recording is available on CD, issued by Pavilion Records Ltd. on Opal CD 9101 and also on Pearl Gemm 9436 (*The Recorded Violin: The History of the Violin on Record,* vol. 1).
31 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, pp. 93-93a.
32 Ibid., p. 92.
33 Carl Flesch, *Alta Scuola di Diteggiatura Violinistica* (Milan, 1960); Eng. trans. Boris Schwarz as *Violin Fingering: its Theory and Practice* (London, 1966), p. 365.
34 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. ii, p. 92.
35 Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg, 1756/R1976; Eng. trans. Editha Knocker as *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing,* London, 1948, 2/1951); Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-Violinisten* (Berlin and Leipzig, 1776).
36 Louis Spohr, *Violinschule* (Vienna, 1832), p. 108.
37 L. van Beethoven, *Concerto per Violino e Orchestra Op. 61,* edited by Joseph Szigeti (Milan, Edizioni Curci, 1962), Preface.
38 Andreas Moser, *Geschichte des Violinspiels* (Berlin, 1923), rev. H. J. Nösselt (Tutzing, 1967), ii, p. 148.
39 In Robin Stowell (ed.), *Performing Beethoven* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 163-164.
40 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel V und VI: Johannes Brahms in Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim,* ed. Andreas Moser, 2 vols. (2nd edn Berlin, 1912/R Tutzing, 1974), VI, pp. 163-4.
41 Alexander Malibran, *Louis Spohr* (Frankfurt, 1860), pp. 207-208.
42 Andreas Moser, *Joseph Joachim, ein Lebensbild,* 2 vols. (Berlin, 1898; Eng. trans. Lilla Durham, London, 1901), p. 46.
43 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 126.
44 Dessauer, edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, Letter K), p. 4.
45 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 12.
46 Dessauer, edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, Letter L), p. 6.
47 Ibid., Letter G), p. 3.
48 Marion M. Scott, 'Joseph Joachim', *Monthly Musical Record* 61 (1931), p. 162.
49 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. i, pp. 58-62.
50 Ibid., vol. i, p. 59.
51 The markings (horizontal dashes) are actually not as consistent as one might expect.
52 The square brackets are mine.
53 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule*, Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 228.
54 Fanny Davies, 'Some personal recollections of Brahms as pianist and interpreter', in the article 'Brahms' in *Cobbett's Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music,* ed. W. W. Cobbett (London, 1929; 2nd enlarged edn, London, 1963), pp. 182-184.
55 Eduard Hanslick, in Moser, *Joseph Joachim: ein Lebensbild,* Eng. trans., p. 186.
56 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans. iii, p. 183.
57 Richard Wagner, 'Ueber das Dirigieren', *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (10 vols., 2nd edn. Leipzig, 1887-8); ed. and Eng. trans. William Ellis as *Richard Wagner's Prose Works,* 8 vols. (London, 1892-9), viii, p. 296.
58 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 16.
59 *Johannes Brahms Briefwechsel V und VI,* VI, pp. 216ff.
60 This recording is available on CD, issued by Pavilion Records Ltd. on Pearl GEMM CD9101 and also on Pearl Gemm 9436 (*The Recorded Violin: The History of the Violin on Record,* vol. 1).
61 Philip, *Early Recordings,* p. 16.
62 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. iii, Preface.
63 Ibid., p. 17.
64 Kreisler almost grinds to a halt in this section in his recordings.
65 Dessauer, edition of Beethoven's Violin Concerto, Letter N), p. 7.
66 The author has a hunch that collection of relevant empirical data might provide evidence to suggest that Joachim's rhythmic 'looseness' was part of a pre-determined stylistic approach to the music.
67 In Fuller Maitland, *Joseph Joachim,* p. 28.
68 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. iii, p. 20.
69 Moser, *Joseph Joachim*, Eng. trans., p. 259.
70 Eduard Hanslick, in Moser, *Joseph Joachim,* Eng. trans., p. 186.
71 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. i, p. 144.
72 And by implication at 2/80.
73 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. iii, pp. 29-30.
74 Ibid., p. 31.
75 Carl Flesch, *The Memoirs,* Eng. trans., p. 79.
76 Joachim and Moser, *Violinschule,* Eng. trans., vol. 1, p. 59.
77 Leopold Auer, *My Long Life in Music* (London, 1924), p. 57.
78 In Boris Schwarz, 'Joseph Joachim and the Genesis of Brahms's Violin Concerto', *Musical Quarterly* 69 (1983), p. 504.
79 Moser, *Joseph Joachim,* Eng. trans., p. 257.
80 Ibid., p. 256. See fn. 4.
81 For example, Böhm, professor of violin at the Vienna Conservatoire (1819-48), was selected by Beethoven to play in the second performance of the String Quartet Op. 127 on 23 March, 1825. As a pupil of Rode, Böhm's teachings had their origins in the French school of Viotti, Rode, Baillot and Kreutzer.
82 Amy Fay, *Music Study in Germany* (Chicago, 1880), p. 111.

Observations on the Flute Writing in the Operas of Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714 - 1787)

FIONA ELIA SMITH

The period between 1740 and 1780 was a turning point in the history of the flute and recorder. Both had been in use for centuries; at the start of the eighteenth century the recorder was in its golden age, while the flute was less popular. The type of recorder in use was that now known as the Baroque recorder, of which the most common size was the alto in F, with a range of f^1 to g^3 though lacking $f\#^3$. Like the transverse flute of the time, the chromatic notes were produced by forked fingerings that gave a weaker tone quality than the plain fingerings for non-chromatic notes. The instrument, like the flute, played best in its home key (F major in the case of the alto) and related keys. The flute commonly used at the start of this period was the four-piece, one-keyed flute in D, with a range of d^1 to d^3 (although instruments with foot joints could go lower). Notes higher than d^3 were possible but difficult. Unlike the recorder, the forked fingerings used for chromatic notes on the flute produced notes that were noticeably poorer in both tone quality and intonation and required much more tuning by the player than the plain-fingered notes. The recorder, therefore, played in remote keys with more ease than the flute. It was discovered in the late 1750s or early 1760s that the flute's chromatic notes could be greatly improved by boring new holes in the acoustically correct places.[1] The holes could be covered by keys, with the keypads extended so that the fingers could reach them, whereas previously the position of the finger holes had been a compromise between acoustic correctness and the need for a comfortable hand position for the player.

As the Baroque gave way to the Classical era, the use of the recorder began to decline while the flute gained in popularity. The expressive qualities of the flute, in particular its greater flexibility of tone and dynamics, were more in line with those required by the changing style of music. Since the range of the transverse flute extended a minor third below that of the recorder, it was better able to double the violins when used orchestrally. Also, the aforementioned developments in flute construction in the second half of the century enabled composers to write for the instrument in keys previously better suited to the recorder: such music would heretofore have been playable on the flute by only a few virtuosos. It is, however, unclear exactly how the new instruments affected the music. In 1800, for example, well after the keyed flute's probable date of invention, Johann George Tromlitz complained of its unpopularity even among professional players.[2] A change in the style of orchestral flute parts is apparent at the beginning of the Classical era, when chromaticism, extremes of register and remote keys became far more common. Possibly this was linked to the appearance of the keyed flute. However, although such features were new in orchestral flute parts, they had already appeared frequently in Baroque solo flute music. Therefore it is unclear whether the appearance of the keyed flute prompted or was prompted by the changes in orchestral flute parts.

Thus the career of Christoph Willibald von Gluck spanned an interesting period of changes in flute use and construction. At the start of his career, the recorder was just beginning to be ousted by the one-keyed transverse flute. By the time of his last

works, the recorder was regarded as archaic and four- and six-keyed flutes had existed for almost thirty years, although according to Tromlitz their use was not yet widespread.[3]

The main influences on Gluck's works were Italian opera and French comic opera and ballet, although his Bohemian origins, the mix of musical styles and traditions in contemporary Vienna and his visits to other countries also played a part in shaping his style.[4] Most of Gluck's working life was spent in Vienna, where he began composing French *opéras-comique* after the importation of a French theatre troupe into the city in 1750. In 1762 the first phase of his so-called 'reform of opera' began in Vienna with *Orfeo ed Euridice*. In 1774 he moved to Paris to attempt a reform of French opera, in which he was substantially successful. Gluck's surviving operas, composed between 1744 and 1781, contain many examples of flute writing. But which instrument did he intend by the term *flauto* and was he consistent in his intentions? This study attempts to determine which of Gluck's *flauto* parts were intended for the flute, whether one-keyed or multi-keyed, and which for the recorder or other instrument, and where and how he used these instruments. It is also hoped that a study of Gluck's Viennese works will yield further insight into the use of the flute in eighteenth-century Vienna. This is a subject in which extensive primary research still needs to be done.

Not enough is known about the recorder during the period in which its use declined: the exact frequency of its use is obscured by the change in the use of the word *flauto* or 'flute'. During the Baroque it usually indicated a recorder. *Traverso, Querflöte, flûte traversiere, flûte d'Allemand* or *'German flute'*, among other terms, indicated the transverse flute. By the late eighteenth century *flauto* had come to mean the transverse flute, while the recorder was referred to as the 'English' or 'common' flute, or as *flauto dolce, Blockflöte, flûte douce* or *flûte à bec*. In music from the intervening period, however, the single word flauto is often ambiguous. Attempts to distinguish between the flute and recorder need to take into account factors such as key, range, tessitura, suitability for the instrument and capability of the instrument. This subject has been dealt with in articles by David Lasocki and William Metcalfe.[5] To summarise: the flute functioned best in keys close to its home key of D major, the alto recorder in keys close to F major. Both instruments sound their strongest in their mid to high registers, that of the recorder (f^1 to g^3 but without $f\#^3$) being higher than that of the one-keyed flute (normally d^1 to d^3). In both cases, higher notes were possible but difficult, and therefore rarely used. The recorder was superior to the one-keyed flute as a virtuoso instrument due to its 'sharply defined articulation' and hence the relative ease with which groups of quickly repeated notes and wide leaps at a fast speed could be played.[6]

Any piece of *flauto* music using $f\#^3$ is unlikely to be for the recorder: in my experience, and that of several other recorder players, there exists no piece of music definitely for the treble recorder in F that contains this note, or the equivalent note for recorders of other pitches ($c\#^3$ in the case of the descant (soprano) and tenor in C; in the case of the descant, the note sounds an octave higher than written). Any pieces containing $f\#^3$ are more likely to be for an instrument in G, as Bruce Haynes argues.[7] There appears to be little evidence that this note was thought to exist on the recorder prior to the twentieth century, since the technique of obtaining it by stopping the bell of the instrument on the knee was not evidently practised.[8] Hieronymus Cardanus, writing in around 1546, offers the only pre-twentieth-century reference to this technique I have found. He refers to it as a method of extending the instrument's range, but only downwards.[9] Possibly it was known that the same technique could be used to extend the range upwards; indeed, Haynes comments:

> the suggestion that the 'recorderists' of the 18th century were not resourceful enough to solve the problem of the missing high $f\#^3$ is absurd, when one considers the ingeniousness of the instruments and the music which were played at the time.

There is, however, no evidence of this at present, and any discussion on the subject can only be speculation.

The context and style of the music in which the *flauto* appears is also important in deciding whether the instrument is a flute or recorder. Traditionally the recorder was associated with the supernatural, the pastoral and love. The flute was also associated with the pastoral and with love, but was more suited to a *legato* and *cantabile* style than the recorder because of its more varied tone colour and less clearly defined articulation. It also had military associations, linked to the use of the fife in some armies and the use of the flute in battle in ancient Greece. Gluck, for example, seems to have limited his use of flutes to fairly specific contexts until the late 1760s. Although the flute was traditionally associated with love, at times he did not use the instrument in this context if he required it to depict one of its other associations, namely the pastoral and the military. In *Ezio* (Vienna, 1763), for example, the flute is not used in the love arias. Instead, Gluck saves it for the military-like march and for Ezio's aria in his role as a soldier. In *Il re pastore* (Vienna, 1756), it seems to be used to depict the pastoral setting rather than because of its

associations with love, it is used in love arias.

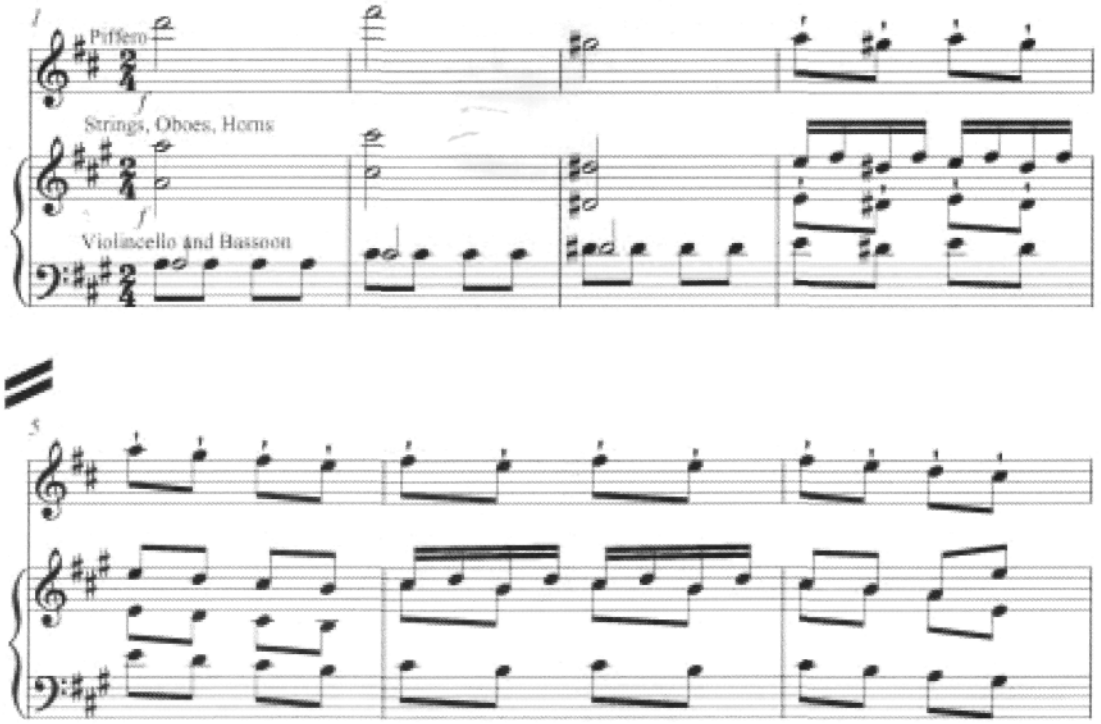
The *Pifferi* in *Le Cadi Dupé* (Vienna 1761) and *La Rencontre Imprévue* (Vienna 1764)

Two of Gluck's works, *Le cadi dupé* (Vienna, 1761) and *La rencontre imprévue* (Vienna, 1764), specify the use of a *piffero* or *biffero* (referred to as *flauto piccolo* in the *Sämtliche Werke*[11]). It is pitched in g^1 and notated as transposing. It is unclear what Gluck intended by *piffero*. The etymology of the word is similar to that of 'pipe' and 'fife', and in the sixteenth century the term appears to have referred almost exclusively to reed instruments such as shawms. However, by the seventeenth century it may have denoted a flute.[12] By the 1760s, the same conventions no longer applied. Lenz Meierott, in what appears to be the only work on the subject of Gluck and the *piffero*, claims (it is unclear with what justification) that 'certainly in the second half of the eighteenth century, the word 'piffero' no longer referred to an oboe-instrument'.[13] Meierott suggests five possibilities:

1. A flageolet in G. The parts would lie very high for a flageolet with a^2 as the lowest note (sounding c^3 - d^5), but this would still be a strong possibility.
2. A flageolet in C with d^2 as the lowest note. The range of the parts would be suitable for this instrument, though admittedly the notation in G for such an instrument was not usual (the transposition would be explicable if the player were accustomed to a flageolet in F).
3. A transverse fife in A, with a lowest note of g^1. The range and the chromatic notes (g#, a# / b*b* and d#) are at present unrealised [i.e. these chromatic notes have not been found to exist on an instrument in this key]. Possibly, if a transverse flautist were to play this instrument and were accustomed to an instrument in C, he would be forced to transpose.
4. A recorder in c^2. The player is (as normal) accustomed to the larger size in f^1 and transposes by a fifth. In view of the early date, this option remains a possibility.
5. A last, very unlikely hypothesis should be mentioned. Schubart [1739-1791] says in a section on 'Turkish music', 'The Kaiser maintains a splendid consort of *Turkish musicians* that the great Gluck has already required in the operas'. Schubart dictated the manuscript of his *Ästhetik* in 1784; if his statement was based on his own experience (Schubart was imprisoned in 1777), he must have referred to the aforementioned opera, *La rencontre imprévue*. If this is correct, and if they [the musicians] were at that time 'real Turks' as Schubart repeatedly stresses, the term *piffero* could refer to either a *zurna* (oboe-type instrument) or a *nay* (end-blown flute). This does not of course explain the transposition into G.[14]

This last hypothesis is all the more unlikely as the purpose of 'Turkish' music in the theatre at this time was to add exoticism to a production and indicate that the characters portrayed were foreign. An accurate representation of Turkish music was not attempted, nor would it have been thought necessary. The Turks were regarded as an inferior race, and as such, their music was regarded as inferior and, indeed, amusing. Genuine Turkish instruments were, therefore, not required; rather, the nearest Western equivalent was used in a 'Turkish' style. For this reason *pifferi* are unlikely to be real Turkish instruments, but instead some type of Western pipe, whether this is a flageolet, transverse flute or fife, or a recorder. In theatrical productions Turks were normally portrayed as comic characters; the few portrayed as noble were so as a result of their adoption of Western values. The value of 'Turkish' music was, therefore, substantially comic. 'Mahomet notre grand prophète' in *La rencontre imprévue* is sung by a Muslim in praise of wine, and requires a *piffero* to double the violins. In the overture to the same opera, the repetitive music with the high-pitched *piffero* doubling the violins is clearly intended to sound both exotic and ridiculous. The *piffero* is only ever used to double other instruments; probably elaborate music was not required for depicting foreigners regarded as uncivilised (see Ex. 1).

Another possibility for the *piffero* is an unusual size of small transverse flute (the transposition would be inexplicable on a normal piccolo). The transposition requires an instrument with a lowest note of a^1; there seems, however, to be no evidence for the use of such an instrument. This option is rejected by Meierott who suggests that 'it is incomprehensible why Gluck should have designated the instrument *piffero* and not *flauto piccolo* or *flautino*'. Such an argument would also militate against the use of a small recorder. The recorder was often inconsistently described in scores, especially at this date, but there were far more specific terms in use than *piffero*. There is at present no firm evidence that *piffero* could refer to a recorder at this date. It seems also that the possibility of a descant recorder can be ruled out since the part contains a (notated) $f\#^3$. The *piffero* part in



Ex. 1: *La rencontre imprévue*, Overture.

Le cadi dupé, though, fits perfectly on a descant recorder: the apparent problem of the a^3 is no problem as the tessitura is consistently high and in fact does not go below g^2, indicating that the part might be notated at pitch instead of an octave lower, as is usual with high-pitched instruments. Perhaps Gluck intended no specific instrument at all, so that any kind of pipe or flute that would serve to depict the 'Turkishness' required.

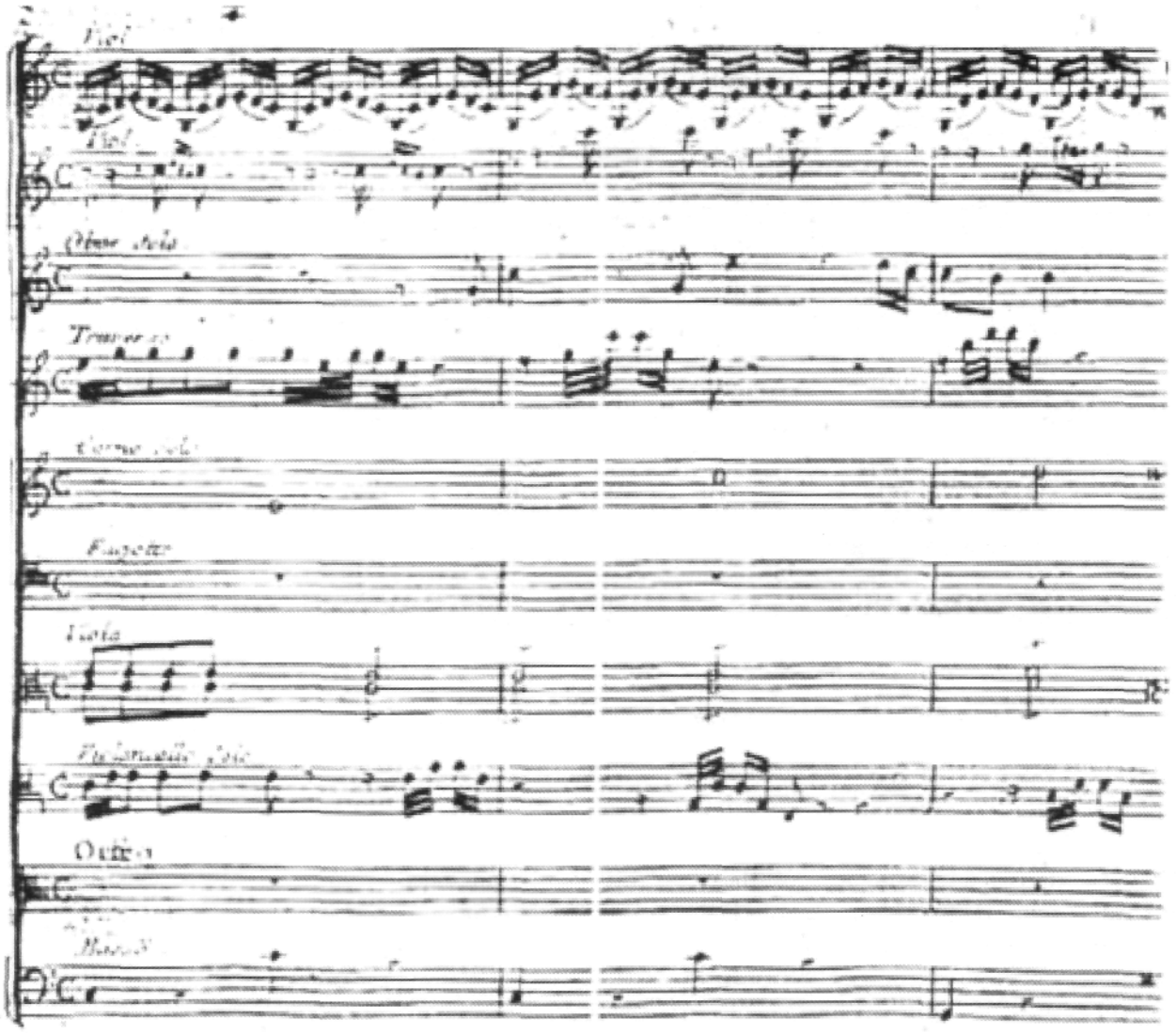
Orfeo ed Euridice (Vienna, 1762), *Orphèe et Eurydice* (Paris, 1774), the *Ballo* Known as the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' and Edgar Hunt's Theory

Orfeo ed Euridice (Vienna, 1762) is an interesting case. In the first printed score (1764) the first, second and fourth numbers using the flute are for *flauti* (the air 'Chiamo il mio ben cosi' in Act I and the two *balli* in Act II), while the third, the recitative 'Che puro ciel', is for 'traverso solo'.[16] It is hard to tell whether Gluck intended to distinguish between the instruments here. The air and the first *ballo* fit the recorder perfectly in terms of range and key, but the second *ballo*, which comes after 'Che puro ciel', goes down to d′ and so is clearly for the transverse flute. One argument supporting the use of recorders for 'Chiamo il mio' is that they would be better suited to the 'rustic' atmosphere evoked at this point: 'Chiamo il mio' is not a traditional aria but a strophic and unsophisticated *romanze*, sung as Orfeo calls to his dead wife but is answered only by the sounds of the woodland. One possibility is that the instruction 'traverso' in 'Che puro ciel' also holds good for the following piece. Alternatively, it is possible that Gluck (or his engraver) was merely careless about how he referred to a particular instrument: it is noticeable that in many of the early editions the terms 'hautbois' and 'oboe' seem to be interchangeable, so possibly the same is true of 'flauto' and 'traverso'.

It seems that Gluck's first obbligato flute part dates from *Orfeo*. The accompanied recitative 'Che puro ciel' shows a new style of orchestration, with the birdsong in the Elysian Fields realistically depicted in the accompaniment. It is scored for flute, oboe, bassoon, horn and cello (all solo) and strings.

For the first time in Gluck's works all the instrumental parts are completely independent and do not double each other (Ex. 2). Two years later, Gluck scored the aria 'Vous ressemblez à la rose naissante' in *La rencontre imprévue* (Vienna, 1764) for voice, obbligato flute and string accompaniment - the first example of such scoring amongst the works examined. Previously Gluck had scored for the flute in a much more limited way, often using it either to double the strings or to hold sustained pedal-notes.

In 1774 Gluck adapted *Orfeo ed Euridice* for Paris. The role of Orfeo, previously sung by a castrato, was transposed into the tenor range, Euridice's part was expanded and new dances and choruses were added. The orchestration was also altered, in particular with old-fashioned instruments such as the chalumeau being replaced with their modern Parisian counterparts. Little was removed



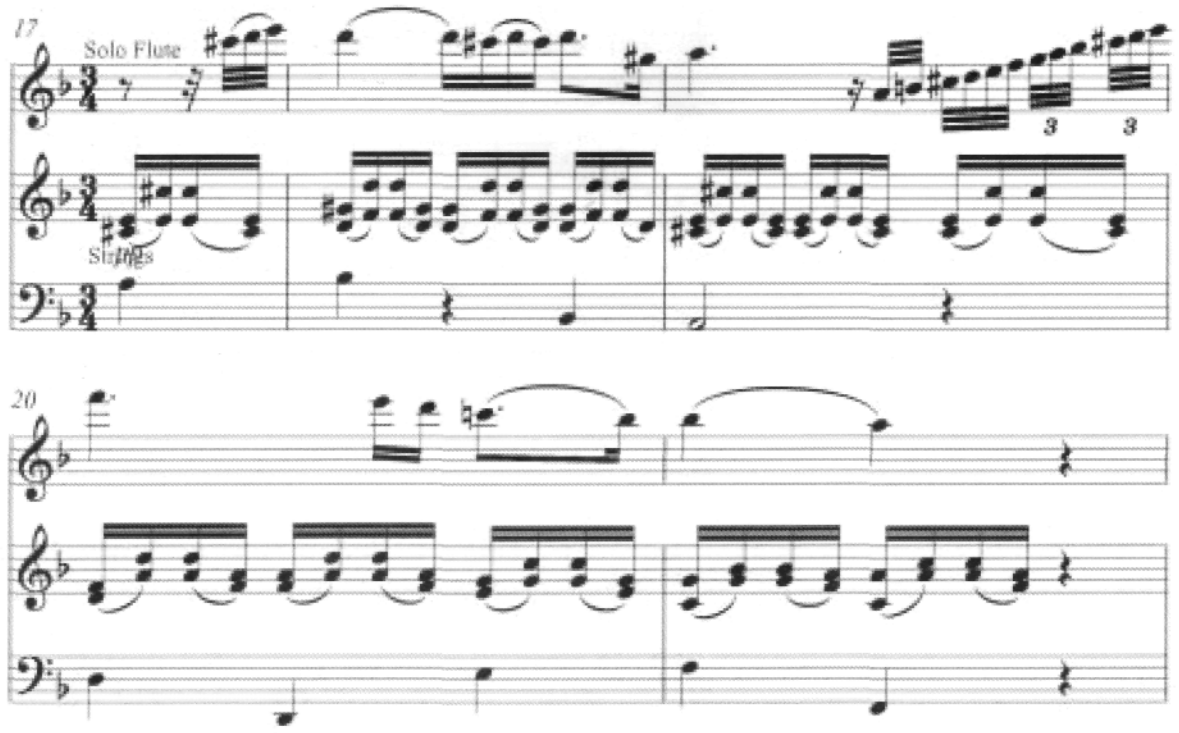
Ex. 2: C. W. von Gluck, *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Paris, 1764), Act II Scene 2, p. 71 (introduction to 'Che puro ciel').

from the original version. The Paris version, known as *Orphée et Eurydice*, gained much beautiful music but was less concise than the original, and the tightly-constructed harmonic scheme of the Viennese version was lost with the transposition of Orfeo's music.

Regarding the first *ballo* in Act II of *Orfeo*, it is a long-held conviction of Edgar Hunt's that 'the famous flute solo in Gluck's *Orfeo* [in Act II, scene 2, the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits'] was intended for the recorder and not the *traversa*, on the internal evidence of the music ... the piece fits the recorder better; and, in this use of the instrument, Gluck would have been following the old tradition of using the recorder for 'other-worldly' occasions.'[17] Hunt clarified his argument in 1979:

> Evidence for the use of recorders in this number from Gluck's *Orfeo* is as follows:
> (a) the range of the parts fits the recorder so perfectly.
> (b) the use of both forms of the minor scale in bar 8 of the lento which fall so well under the fingers when played on the recorder (the melodic form would suit the flute better at both octaves).
> (c) The theatrical convention that recorders were appropriate in contexts which included the supernatural.[18]

Hunt's idea has gained general currency among recorder players and is often quoted. For example, *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder* regards his case as 'persuasive'.[19] However, it appears that no-one has researched the matter properly. Little has been written on Gluck and the recorder apart from Hunt's writings, nor is there any substantial literature on the recorder after the late Baroque period. Anthony Rowland-Jones appears to take Hunt's hypothesis as proven fact, since he comments that the 'swan-song of the recorder, the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' in Gluck's *Orfeo* (1761) ... [is] a final proof of the association of the instrument with another world'.[20] In what is apparently the only article on the subject,



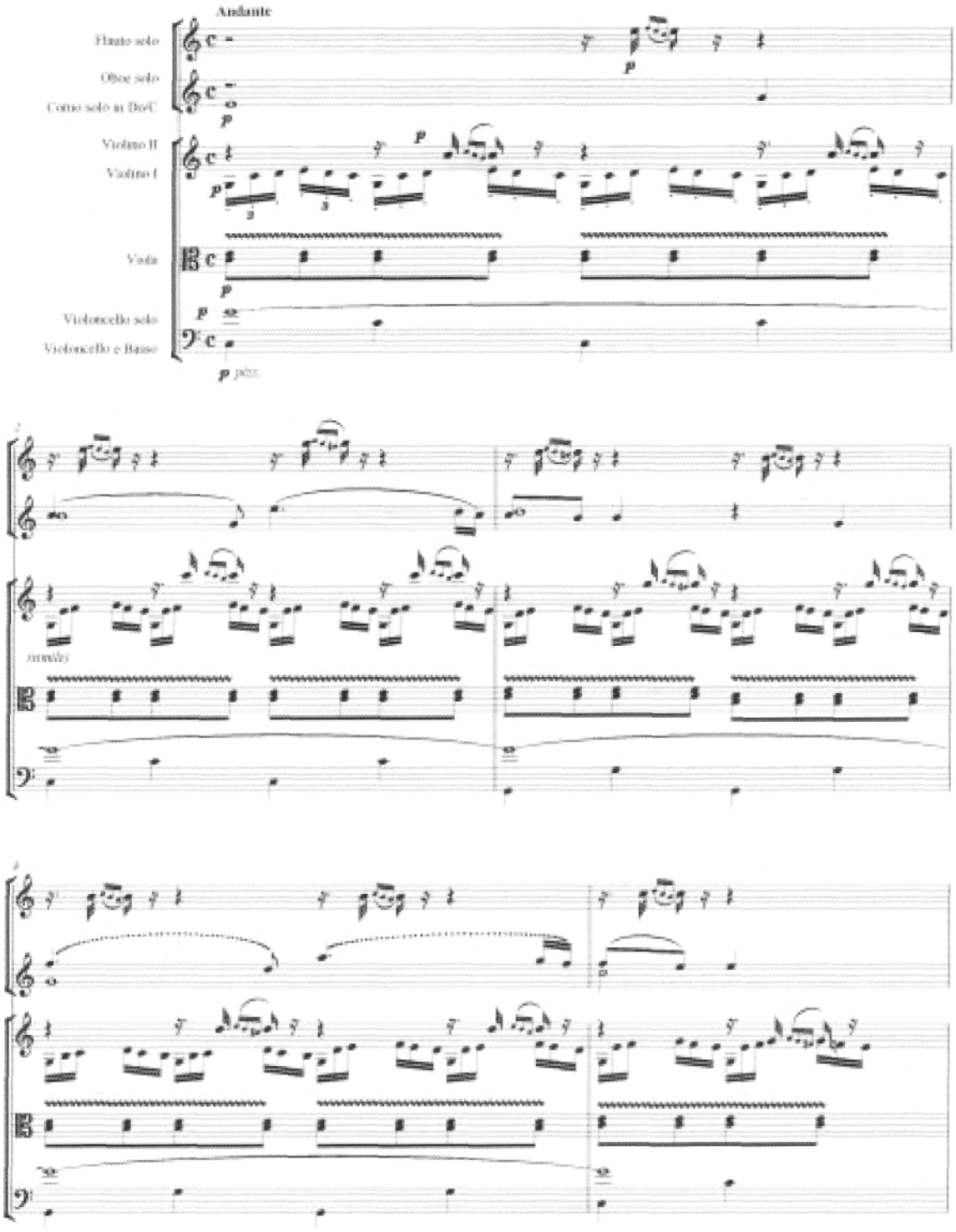
Ex. 3: *Orphée et Eurydice*, Act II, scene 2.

Douglas Macmillan includes the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits', along with Hunt's argument, in a list of recorder music written after 1750.[21]

However, the works quoted all perpetuate at least one error: the music that Hunt's discussion centres around was not composed for *Orfeo ed Euridice* (Vienna, 1762), as Hunt seems to think, but for *Orphée et Eurydice* (Paris, 1774). The minuet in F major for two 'flauti' is included in the 1762 opera, but the section for *traverso solo* (including the harmonic minor scale forming the second part of Hunt's argument) was not added until the Viennese version of 1762 was altered for Paris in 1774. The original minuet remained unchanged, apart from the addition of the solo section, after which the first minuet is repeated. The above-quoted authors do not appear to have noticed this. Macmillan and Simpson give the date of the piece as 1762, while Rowland Jones dates it 1761. Hunt's theory, therefore, does not stand up to scrutiny. The date is important since the 'flute' writing in both versions of the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' can be compared with the other 'flute' writing in the operas. In *Orphée*, the rest of the flute writing is undoubtedly for the transverse flute: it frequently uses the low register down to d^1, three semitones below the lowest note of the recorder. Yet, it shares many of the characteristics associated with recorder music that are used by Hunt in his attempt to identify the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' with the recorder: the use of flat keys; the use of high notes such as e^3, f^3 and g^3 and the supernatural context. According to most of Hunt's arguments, therefore, the rest of the flute writing in *Orpheé* could equally well be recorder music, but this position is obviously untenable because of the range, which cannot be made to fit the recorder. It is time that Hunt's theory is refuted: too many books and articles have perpetuated his error.

The additional flute solo seems to have no precedent in Gluck's works. Accompanied by strings, it is perfectly written for the flute and makes effective use of the instrument's characteristic softness. Edgar Hunt's opinion to the contrary, the soft and slightly ill-defined tone of the Classical transverse flute is better suited to this music than the clarity and sharp attack of the recorder.[22] This piece is, however, not an easy one for a flautist playing a one-keyed flute, because of the extreme high notes and difficulties of key. Hunt was correct in this respect. It may be that Gluck was writing for an especially skilled flautist or that the multi-keyed flute was in use in Paris by 1774 (Ex. 3).

The difficulty of the flute solo in the Paris version of the 'Dance of the Blessed Spirits' makes the second major difference between the flute writing in the Viennese and Paris versions all the more surprising: in 'Quel nouveau ciel' the Paris version of 'Che puro ciel', the orchestration is considerably simplified and much less effective. This adaptation was prepared by Gluck for performances of the

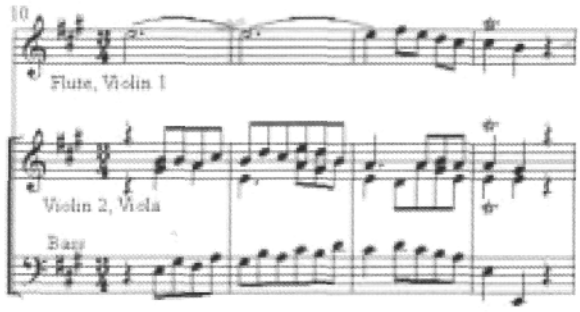


Ex. 4: *Orphée et Eurydice*, Act II.

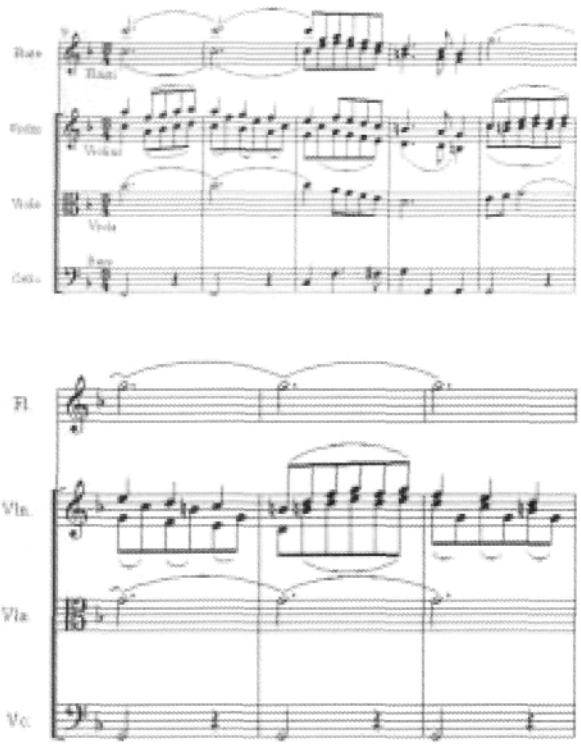
Viennese version of the opera in Parma in 1769.[23] It is unclear why Gluck retained it for Paris, but it is certainly a less evocative depiction of the scene, partly because the flute is scarcely used in its upper octave. It also mimics the motif played by the second violin rather than playing its 'bird motif' of the previous version, and the music is the poorer for this (ex. 4).

Arne's *Comus* as a Model for the *Ballo* for Flute and Strings in *Orfeo*

In 1738 Thomas Augustine Arne included a dance for flute and strings in his masque *Comus*, first performed at Drury Lane that year. Peter Holman has suggested to me that Gluck used this as the model for his *ballo* for flute and strings in *Orfeo* (Act II, Scene 2). *Comus* was a success, remaining popular for over sixty years.[24] Gluck arrived in London in late 1745. During his stay, which lasted some months, there were at least



Ex. 5: *Comus*, Act III.[27]



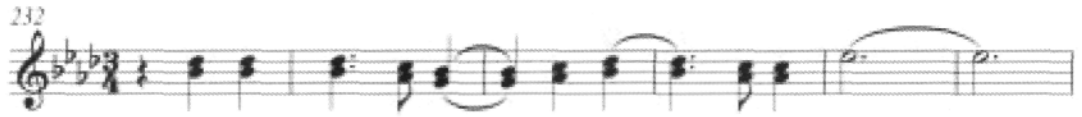
Ex. 6: *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Act II, scene 2.

four performances of the masque, two in December 1745 and one each in January and February 1746.[25] It is therefore possible that Gluck attended a performance; in any case, the score would have been available to him, since it was first published in 1740.[26] There seems to be no precedent for Gluck's dance in any of his earlier works, and there are striking similarities between it and the 'slow Dance expressive of the Passion of Love' in *Comus* (Ex. 5 and Ex. 6).

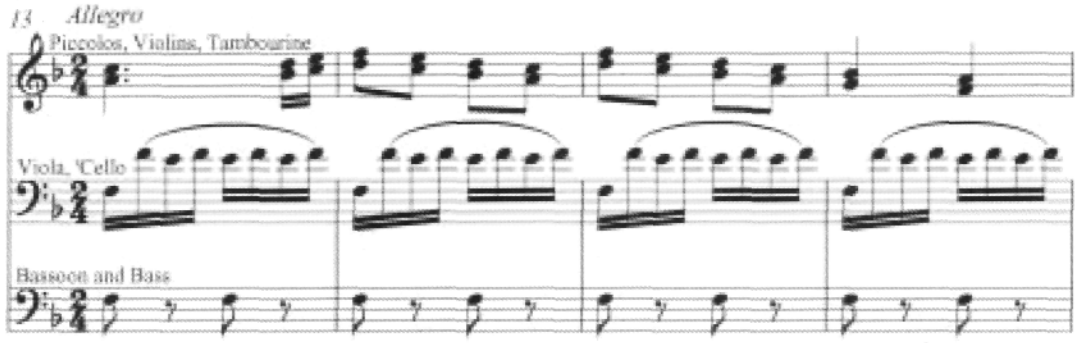
Gluck's dance is not 'expressive of the Passion of Love'; rather, it expresses the calm of the Elysian Fields after Orfeo has won his way past the Furies. As he does this out of love, however, the context is not so very different. If the dance in *Comus* is indeed the model for that in *Orfeo*, this unfortunately does not clarify whether the recorder or flute is more likely to be intended in the *Orfeo* dance. The sources for *Comus* are the version authorised by Arne and published as 'The Musick in the Masque of *Comus*' (1740), and a manuscript version probably copied from the scores used at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. In the published edition, the dance is in the three-sharp key of A major and uses the note f#^{1}, a weak note on the recorder; it is not unplayable on this instrument, but would be far better suited to the transverse flute. In the only manuscript, the dance is 'transposed into F'[28] according to the Musica Britannica edition. The recorder would be a likelier candidate for this version, if the range fits. Unfortunately, the edition gives no information on how the instruments are described in the sources.

Alceste (Vienna, 1767) and later works

Gluck's *Alceste* (Vienna, 1767) shows a sudden change in his writing for the flute; it is used twenty-six times. In the twenty earlier works examined, the instrument never appears more than seven times (*Don Juan*, 1761, and *L'île de Merlin*, 1758). This trend continues, though in succeeding years Gluck sometimes uses the instrument less frequently – in *Paride ed Elena* of 1774 it is only used four times and in *Orphée* of 1774 only six times. He also wrote such works as *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774) in which the flute appears twenty-two times and *Alceste* (1776) in which it is used thirty-two times. In almost all of these cases, the flutes are used alongside oboes and other wind instruments. The wind section for which Gluck was writing was by now much bigger, and seems to have contained more players specialising on particular instruments. As the flute is now so often used, it is harder to observe differences in the context of its use compared to other instruments. However, one thing stands out: the flute is hardly ever used in supernatural scenes (for example in both versions of *Alceste*, and in the Furies' scene in *Orphée*), or in scenes that are violent, disturbing or dramatic. For example, in *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774), the flute is silent for the most dramatic moments during Iphigenia's sacrifice scene, including Achilles' intervention. In *Armide*, the instrument is silent throughout Act III, the most dramatic in the opera, in which Armide calls upon demons to exorcise her love for Renaud. It seems that the flute was not thought suitable to express high drama. Instead it was used at



Ex. 7: *Alceste* (Vienna), Act II, scene 4 (flutes only).



Ex. 8: *Paride ed Elena*, Act V, scene 2.

calmer points or where the action moved more slowly. This is also true of Gluck's earlier works: in *Don Juan* (1761) the flutes are never used during any of the main dramatic incidents, such as the duel and the appearance of the statue. Rather, they appear during the less descriptive and less dramatic dances.

The technical challenges of the music are greater. The range required is extended upwards: *Alceste* (1776) and *Echo* (1779) both use a^3 and *Armide* (1777) uses b^3. Many more keys are used, minor almost as frequently as major; keys also contain as many as five sharps or flats (Ex. 7).

Within keys, chromaticism is far more frequent; modulation goes further. Nevertheless, the flute is still required primarily to double the violins or oboe. Despite the fact that Gluck required more difficult feats from the flautist, he did not for the most part treat the instrument idiomatically or use its capabilities fully. In the Viennese version of *Alceste* (1767), the flute is scarcely treated as an individual instrument: in the 130-bar overture it has one solo passage, based on an ascending scale of D minor, lasting for three bars. For the remainder of the overture the flute doubles the strings and oboes, and this is typical of Gluck's writing for the instrument almost throughout the opera. In one passage, though, Alceste sings of her love for Admeto to a plain string accompaniment interspersed with a quaver-crotchet flute motif. The instrument's association with love is at its clearest here. Finally, it is also worth noting that the flute is used twice in F minor, for instance in the chorus 'Così bella'. The tone produced by the instrument, unless it was a keyed flute, would be very dull. However, it is appropriate for this chorus: the people's joy in Admeto's recovery has turned to sorrow on realising it must be achieved at the expense of Alceste's life. Such a key was never used in the laments for Admeto.

The Transverse Piccolo in *Paride ed Elena*

A dance towards the end of *Paride ed Elena* (1770), and its repetition (to which Amor sings a short aria), includes Gluck's first undoubted use of the transverse piccolo. The instrument is known to have been in use since the 1730s (Michel Corrette, around 1735, refers in his treatise to 'petites Flutes Traversieres a l'Octav'),[29] though it was little used orchestrally prior to its use by Gluck (Ex. 8).

Throughout *Paride ed Elena* Gluck differentiates musically between the civilized Trojans and the barbaric Spartans. The use of the piccolo, though scarce, seems intended to suggest the exoticism of the Spartans, as with the *piffero* and the Turks in *La rencontre imprévue* and *Le cadi dupé*. It is clear that the instrument intended is a transverse piccolo rather than a descant recorder or other flute-type instrument: at this stage the term flauto did definitely refer to a transverse flute. This can be seen from the large amount of contemporary music for *flauto* that can only be for transverse flute, judging from the range used. By inference, therefore, *flauto piccolo* referred to a transverse piccolo; this is borne out by the range which would not fit, say, a descant recorder.

Gluck's Use of the Recorder

The flutes used in Gluck's operas are not exclusively transverse: a few of the indications of *flauti*, especially

in his earlier works, might be for recorders. Unfortunately this issue is obscured in the *Sämtliche Werke* as the editors of the older volumes (some of which are fifty years old) tended to alter the designations used in the principal sources. Probably this was for the sake of clarity and consistency at a time when there was less awareness of the significance of words such as *flauto traverso* and *flauto*. Details of where this is done are given in the critical reports to the later volumes, but not in the earlier ones. For example, the flute parts in the contredanse 'Mon systême est d'aimer le bon vin' in *Le diable à quatre* (Laxenburg, 1759) fit the recorder well in terms of range and key, but it is unclear whether *flauto* was the original designation.

Echo et Narcisse (Paris, 1779) contains Gluck's only definite use of recorders, during an air requiring *flûtes à bec* (Act I). This is unusual because the date is late for recorder music and because the opera was composed for Paris, where the recorder declined in use earlier than in England and German-speaking countries. However, *Echo et Narcisse* is on an antique and pastoral theme to which the recorder is well suited; the opera was a failure for this reason. The air for which the recorder is required is in a typically suitable context: Echo, on a hillside in front of Cupid's altar, begs Cupid's help as she suspects that Narcissus is unfaithful. Unfortunately, the recorders are not required to play anything substantial or particularly idiomatic, but only required to double the violins in the range f^1 - $b\flat^2$: a lower tessitura than that to which they are ideally suited. However, though it is short and unelaborate, the piece is important because few works are known to have been written for the recorder after 1750, and many of these are by lesser composers than Gluck.[30] Despite the interest in late recorder music, this piece does not appear to be referred to in any of the relevant literature (ex. 9).

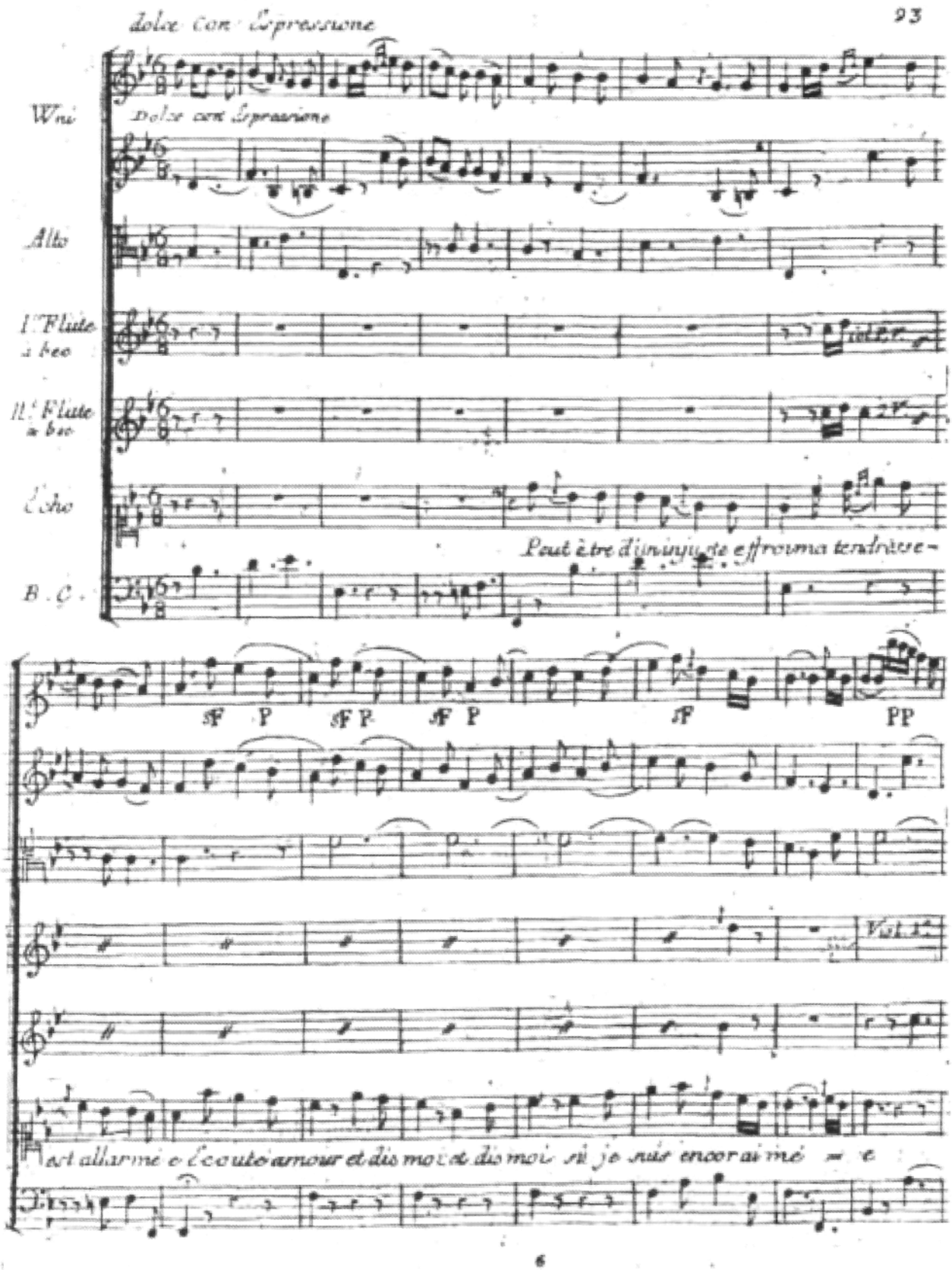
Conclusion

It is important to remember that not all of Gluck's 'flute' or 'piccolo' music was intended for the transverse flute or piccolo, and that this may not always be clear (as a result either of twentieth-century editorial practices or carelessness and confused nomenclature on the part of Gluck and his contemporaries). It seems that Gluck scored for a recorder only once without doubt, in *Echo et Narcisse* (Paris 1779). However, Gluck's operas were composed over a forty-year period, at the beginning of which the recorder was a popular instrument. It seems unlikely that a composer would ignore an instrument while it was popular and score for it only after it had become unfashionable.

Further study is needed to determine how representative the pieces examined are of Gluck's work. For example, how does the context in which flutes are used compare with that in which, say, oboes are used? It is also necessary to remember that the music here examined does not by any means represent all of Gluck's music for flute. The sample is small, especially from his earlier operas, and is likely to be skewed in some way.

There remain many aspects of Gluck's flute writing still to be studied. The present study is based largely on Gluck's later works, because they are more accessible. The transverse flute was certain to predominate at this stage; in his earlier works this is less likely to be the case. Any further study would have to cover the wind-players with whom Gluck worked (especially those in Vienna and Paris), the flutes and recorders available in these cities, and the use of flutes of all sorts in large-scale works throughout the eighteenth century. Only when this is completed will we gain a more thorough understanding of Gluck's writing for flute instruments, and the place of these instruments in the contemporary musical scene.

Fiona Smith is a recorder player and a recent graduate of the BMus course at the University of Leeds. *She is grateful to Peter Holman for his encouragement and advice in the preparation of this article.*



Ex. 9: *Echo et Narcisse* (Paris, 1779), Act I Scene 4, p. 93.

NOTES:

1 A. Powell, 'Flutemaking in the Late Eighteenth Century' in J. G. Tromlitz, *The Keyed Flute*, ed. and tr. A. Powell (Oxford, 1996), pp. 177-218. See also A. Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven and London, 2002), pp. 111-112.

2 J. G. Tromlitz, *The Keyed Flute* [*Ueber die Flöten mit mehrern Klappen*], ed. and tr. A. Powell (Oxford, 1996), pp. 67-69.

3 J. G. Tromlitz, pp. 67-69.

4 This section draws on the following: B. A. Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford, 1991); D. Heartz, *Haydn, Mozart and the Viennese School* (London and New York, 1995); and B. A. Brown and J. Rushton, 'Gluck, Christoph Willibald, Ritter von', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 21.03.03), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

5 W. Metcalfe, 'Dolce or Traverso?' *American Recorder*, 4 (1965), pp. 3-6, and D. Lasocki, 'Vivaldi and the Recorder', *American Recorder*, 9 (1968), pp. 103-107.

6 H. M. Linde, 'The Simultaneous Use of Recorder and Flute by Baroque Composers' *Recorder and Music Magazine*, 2/9 (1968), pp. 281-282.

7 B. Haynes, 'The Decline: a Further Scrutiny', *American Recorder*, 2 (1968), pp. 240-242.

8 See J. Majer: *Museum musicum theoretico practicum* (n.p., 1732, 2/Nuremberg, 1741), ed. Becker (Kassel, 1954), cited in R.Griscom and D. Lasocki, *The Recorder: A Research and Information Guide* (Second Edition) (New York, 2003), p. 536. Majer suggests the fingering 013457, which is difficult to play and is only approximate in intonation.

9 H. Cardanus, *Writings on Music*, tr. and ed. Miller (Rome, 1973).

10 Ibid.

11 Christoph Willibald von Gluck, *Sämtliche Werke* (Kassel, 1951 -).

12 A. Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven, 2002), p. 37. See also H. Mayer Brown and G. Ongaro, 'Piffaro', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, ed. L. Macy (accessed 22.06.04), <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

13 L. Meierott, *Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der kleinen Flötentypen und ihre Verwendung in der Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1974), p. 250, tr. F. Smith.

14 Ibid., pp. 250-251, tr. F. Smith.

15 See introduction.

16 In the *Sämtliche Werke* this possibly important distinction is relegated to the critical commentary.

17 E. Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music* (London, 1962), p. 95.

18 *Orchestral Studies for Recorder*, E. Hunt (ed.) (London, 1979), editorial note.

19 A. Simpson, 'The Orchestral Recorder', *The Cambridge Companion to the Recorder*, J. M. Thomson (ed.) (Cambridge, 1995), p. 102.

20 A. Rowland-Jones, *Recorder Technique* (London, 1959), p. 23.

21 D. MacMillan, 'The Recorder in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries', *The Consort*, 39 (1983), pp. 281-282.

22 E. Hunt, *The Recorder and its Music* (London, 1962), p. 95.

23 P. Howard, *C. W. Von Gluck: Orfeo* (Cambridge, 1981), p. 81.

24 R. Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1973), p. 180.

25 *The London Stage*, 1660-1800, A. Scouten (ed.), 3, 1729-1747 (Carbondale, Illinois, 1961).

26 *The Musick in the Masque of Comus* (London, 1740), cited as primary source in T. Arne, *Comus*, ed. J. Herbage, *Musica Britannica*, 3 (London, 1951).

27 Arne, *Comus*, ed. Herbage.

28 Ibid.

29 M. Corrette, *Methode pour apprendre aisément à jouer de la flute traversiere* (Paris and Lyon, no date but probably soon after 1735), p. 11, quoted in D. Higbee, 'Michel Corrette on the Piccolo and Speculations Regarding Vivaldi's "Flautino"', *Galpin Society Journal*, 17 (1964), pp. 115-116.

30 MacMillan, 1983.

UNMASKING THE EARLY MUSIC PERFORMER

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NICK WILSON

Introduction

There is no disputing the fact that early music performers are a special breed of musician. Their particular enthusiasm for the repertoire, engagement with musicological, historical and cultural scholarship, and over-riding concern for performance practice, to say nothing of their specialised mastery of the 'tools of the trade', bear witness to this. However, beyond the anecdotal accounts that arise from the highly subjective experience of performing early music with fellow musician friends and colleagues, there has been little detailed research on this group of performers (both as amateurs and professionals). We know relatively little about who these musicians are, how they gain professional employment, what are the specific parameters of the specialised training required, indeed, what types of performance early music musicians are actively engaged in. This short article reports on one part of a doctoral programme of research that provides some preliminary answers to such questions and begins to unmask the early music performer personae.

A postal survey of members of the National Early Music Association (NEMA) was undertaken in September 2003. Over 1,500 letters were sent out to professional, semi-professional and amateur members in the UK. This included a mixture of early music performers, instrument-makers, and those undertaking a number of other related early music activities. In addition, several of the leading early music orchestras administered the survey to their players. A total of 566 responses were received, representing a 35.5% response rate. Of these, a total of 538 complete and useable questionnaires were obtained, of which 480 were from performers and 58 from instrument makers. This article focuses only on the responses from performers.

Why now?

2003 marked the 30th anniversary of the founding of two of the country's most respected period instrument ensembles - the Academy of Ancient Music and The English Concert. Coincidentally, 1973 was also the year that the *Early Music* magazine was first published. Thirty years on, we are at a particularly auspicious time to undertake a reflective journey on the early music movement and its functioning in the UK.

Overview of performance activity

Early music performance takes place across the country at a wide range of levels. Over half the respondents questioned were, according to their self-assessment, either professional or semi-professional (see Figure 1).

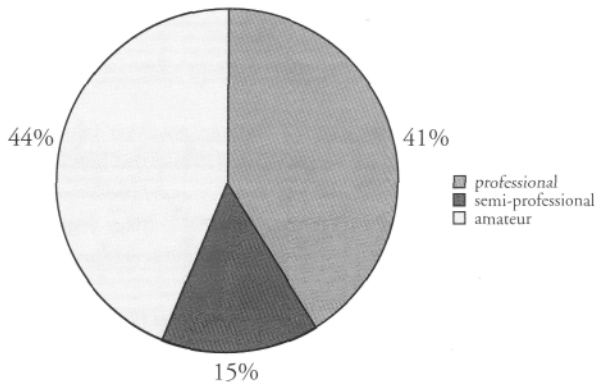

Figure 1: Professional status of early music performers

Of course, assessment of professional status depends on the personal perspective taken. There is a world of difference, one would suppose, between the professional activities of the few on the world's great stages, and the convivial evening get-togethers of the enthusiastic amateur. Easy broad-brush stereotypes should be avoided here, however. High standards of craftsmanship and musical prowess do not necessarily lead directly to market approval (and vice versa). As such, professionalism and actual earnings from early music performance are not directly linked. Respondents were asked to state whether they had ever been paid for performing early music – and, indeed, how much. It is worth noting that two-thirds (67.1%) had been paid for early music performance. This implies that almost one third (30.1%) of amateurs have also received payment for early music performance (however modest – as discussed further below).

Turning to the question of what type of performance is actually being undertaken, the survey revealed that nearly half of all early music performers play a woodwind instrument or sing (47.7%). However, there are clear differences here between professional and non-professional performers, with the highest proportion of professionals playing strings

(29.1%) as opposed to just 9.1% of amateurs. While the professional early music musician has all but monopolised the Baroque repertoire in mainstream concert halls, there remains a minority of performers who devote their time to Renaissance and medieval repertoire and instruments (18.2%). In the next section we begin to explore further the type of individuals involved in these different activities. But first, we turn to consider the motivations that lie behind any active involvement with early music performance.

all respondents considered 'opportunities at university (or music college)' to be their greatest influence in developing an active involvement in early music, compared with just 2.7% at school. When considering professional performers the influence of a university or music college education is even more pronounced, with more than one quarter (25.5%) citing opportunities at university as the greatest influence on their active involvement (compared with 23.5% citing 'music making with friends').

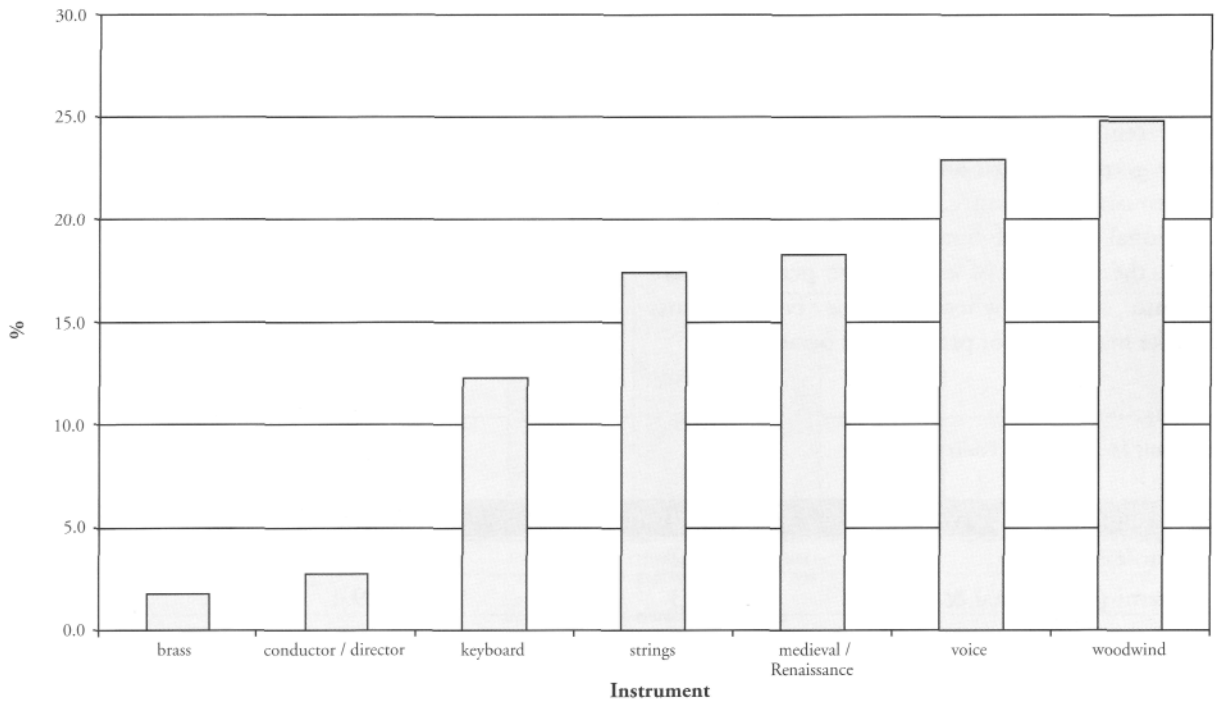

Figure 2: Musical instruments played by all early music performers

What influences an active interest in early music?

We know from other studies (and the phenomenon of childhood prodigies) that an interest in classical music is cultivated relatively early in childhood development. It is self-evident that the appreciation of music is dependent upon access to it as a listener (and then as a performer). Growing up in an environment which cultivates an understanding of the classical musical 'language' is an important feature of future involvement (either as a listener or as a player). However, there is clearly more to it than this when it comes to an active involvement in early music. Respondents were asked to state what they regarded as the greatest influence in developing their active involvement in early music. One quarter highlighted the importance of music-making with friends. With so much early music repertoire being of a chamber-style, this does not come as a surprise. It was also apparent, however, that the specialist nature of early music does often not emerge until relatively late in the young performer's development. 15.8% of

While some performers do come to early music relatively late on in their lives, it appears that most professional early music performers who studied at music college or university made up their minds to work in the classical music field in general by the time they enrolled. Two thirds of professionals (67.3%) 'intended to have a career in classical music'. This compares to just one quarter (23.5%) who 'intended to have a career in early music performance'. Of course, for many musicians the distinction between classical music and early music is a somewhat misleading one. Elsewhere, qualitative interviews with early music professionals have served to reinforce an 'inclusivist' view of early music that rejects any ghettoisation from the classical music mainstream.

In the light of the above data, it is worth noting that more performers are currently teaching early music performance in schools (11.9%) than either universities or music colleges (9.2%). What impact this will have on professional (and amateur) early music performance, is likely to be of great significance for its future.

Table 1: Occupational Status of Parents

Occupation[a]	Mother %	Father %
Managerial and professional	47.1	78.1
Administrative and skilled	11.0	14.0
Other occupations	2.9	5.0
Housewife	30.4	-
No response	8.5	2.9

n=480

[a] = categories re-code listed occupations according to the Standard Occupational Classification 2000 (SOC 2000)

What type of people are early music performers?

To the extent that the family environment is a major factor in giving children and young adults a 'way in' to early music performance, it is useful to consider the occupational status of both parents. As shown in Table 1, the majority of early music performers are born into families where one or both parents undertake managerial or professional occupations.

Table 2: Early Music Study by Professional Status

Professional status	Part-time	Private
Professional	12.2	31.6
Semi-professional & amateur	28.3	29.4

N=196 professionals and 297 semi-professionals and amateurs

This profile is even more marked for professional early music performers, with 59.7% having managerial or professional mothers and 81.6% managerial or professional fathers. Such findings are consistent with mainstream sociological thinking on the importance of 'life chances'. Bourdieu (2002), for example, describes early music (e.g. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*) as representative of the highest level of 'legitimate taste', being "appreciated by those fractions of the dominant class that are richest in educational capital" (p.16).

Reflecting more widely on diversity within early music performance, we can note that there appears to be a more or less equal distribution of male and female performers (49.6% compared to 50.2% over all performers surveyed). The proportion of women to men involved in professional performance is slightly higher (53.1% compared to 46.9% male).

While there appear to be few barriers to professional employment for women (over and above more general barriers to female employment), there can be no denying that early music performance remains an almost exclusively white and middle-class activity. Only 4 out of the 480 respondents were of an ethnic minority background. Despite 'cultural diversity' representing a corner-stone of UK cultural policy (see ACE, 2003) and the ever-greater numbers of British-born ethnic minorities 'breaking out' of their traditional employment opportunities, it seems unlikely that this proportion will change significantly over the years to come.

Higher Education and the early music performer

We have already noted the potential importance of educational capital. To the extent that early music performance demands a specialised knowledge of the cultural, social and musicological background to particular musical repertoire, one might also suppose that the educational attainment of those involved is higher than average. This does appear to be born out by the findings of this survey.

Half of all respondents (50.8%) had attended university. This rises to two-thirds of all professional early music performers (66.3%). Over one-third of these (38.8%) studied at either Oxford or Cambridge. Interestingly, three quarters of those individuals who classified themselves as 'semi-professionals' (n=70), had attended university. It was more likely that those attending university were male (57.6% male compared with 44.2% of females). Not surprisingly, perhaps, many of these respondents studied music while at university (49% of those who studied).

In the past, specialised training in early music performance appears to have lagged behind the

developments in the profession in the early 1970s. Nevertheless, training at a music college appears to have been an important route to a career in early music. Three quarters of professionals (72.4%) studied performance at a music college. Overall, the highest proportion of early music performers surveyed studied at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, in London (n=41). Less than half most early music performers, however, it would be impossible to sustain a modest living on the earnings from early music performance alone. From the analysis of professional early music performers only, the average earnings over the last 12 months (up to September 2003) were circa £9,500. However, the distribution of actual earnings suggests that most individuals earned less than this (see Figure 3).

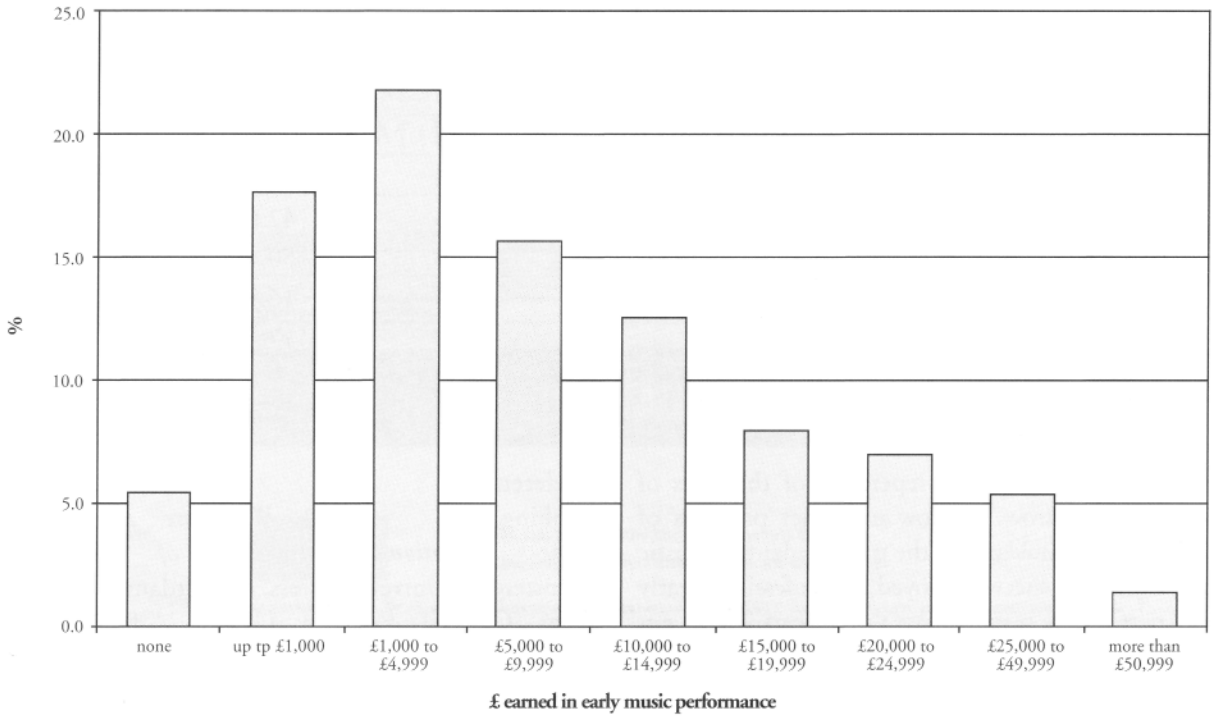

Figure 3: Earnings from early music performance in last 12 months

(44.9%) the professional early music performers studied early music on a full-time course in the UK, however.

It is interesting to note that while a higher proportion of professionals than semi-professionals or amateurs studied early music full-time, when it comes to part-time study in the UK, this finding is reversed (see Table 2). There is little difference between professionals and non-professionals in terms of their take up of private early music instruction in the UK.

Notwithstanding the importance of training in the specialist field of early music performance, it is interesting to note that one in five professionals (20.9%) have never studied 'early music' per se.

How much do professional early music performers earn?

Artists' markets in general have been described as 'winner takes all' markets (see Abbing, 2002). In other words, large amounts of money are earned by only a very small minority of individuals. The early music movement over the last 30 years has unquestionably made a few individuals very rich. For

What has changed over the last 30 years?

To the extent that the early music movement was in its infancy in the late 1960s / early 1970s, we might expect to see some significant shifts in the profile of the early music performer over the last thirty years. The findings of the survey bear this out quite clearly. Table 3 highlights some of the key trends that have emerged.

A fuller analysis of the story behind these trends will have to wait for a more substantive account elsewhere. However, it is worth noting the apparent 'professionalisation' of early music performance over time. This is linked to greater options to specialise in music performance in general, both in terms of cultural acceptance of music performance as a career option, and in relation to the many opportunities that exist for specialised study at music colleges. It is also worth noting the potential polarisation of the professional baroque or classical player versus the amateur or semi-professional medieval or Renaissance specialist.

This highlights two poignant ironies. Firstly, without the ground-breaking performances of

Table 3: Summary early music performer profile by age of respondent

Early music profile	% per cent	Age of respondent	
	Under 40 (n=87)	Between 40-60 (n=242)	Over 60 (n=141)
Professionals	81.6	46	10.1
Studied early music (F-T)	59.8	19	5.7
Not studied early music	12.6	34.3	47.5
Been paid for early music performance	93.1	76	35.5
Studied at music college	74.7	35.1	14.2
Intended to have career in classical music	60.9	34.7	11.3
Intended to have career in early music	27.6	11.6	2.8
Hold regular position with early music ensemble	56.3	36.4	4.3
Undertake paid work on or with modern instruments	73.6	42.6	11.3
Male	37.9	50.4	55.3
Play a medieval or Renaissance instrument	11.5	16.5	22.7
Play a stringed instrument	29.9	17.4	9.2n=480

medieval and Renaissance repertoire of the likes of Dolmetsch, Munrow, Morrow and other 'pioneers' of the early music movement, the unprecedented artistic and commercial success enjoyed by professional early music performers over the last thirty years would not have been possible. Yet it appears that this success may have been at the expense of such repertoire, if the falling proportion of those playing medieval or Renaissance instruments is to be believed. Secondly, the proliferation of specialist courses has taken place because of the commercial success of the early music movement (in the face of little or no state support). Arguably there are now more talented and highly trained early music performers than ever before. Unfortunately, evidence from qualitative interviews suggests that there exist fewer opportunities for many such performers, fresh out of music college, than there were in the early 1980s. Many of the lessons of the early music movement are being learned by mainstream orchestras (see, for example, Sir Roger Norrington's 'pure tone' recordings with the Stuttgart Radio Symphony). In such a climate, it is interesting to speculate on the nature of a similar survey ten years from now. This might display early music performance as being pulled ever-further in two contrasting directions – increasingly mainstream at one end, and increasingly specialist at the other. Much depends, of course, on the pioneering spirit of the next generation of early music performers.

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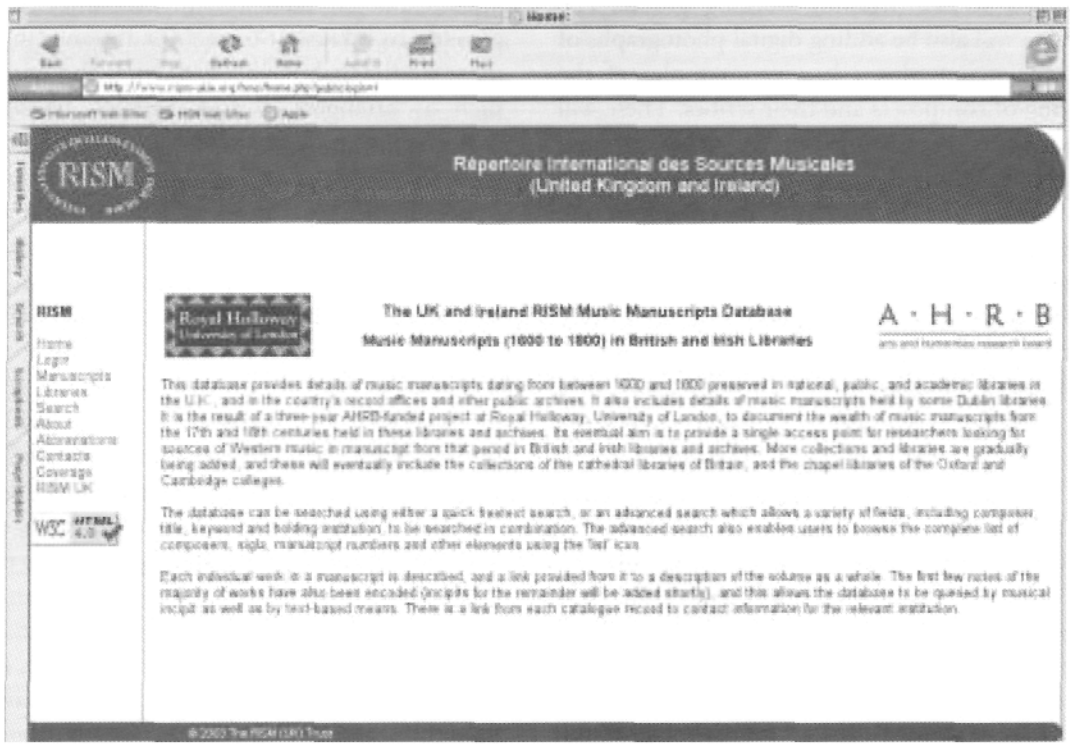
New RISM database launched

SANDRA TUPPEN

A new database containing detailed descriptions of 17th- and 18th-century music manuscripts preserved in libraries and archives in the U.K. and Dublin was launched at the beginning of June, at www.rism.org.uk. It is the result of a three-year research project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB), and was compiled by staff at Royal Holloway, University of London, in conjunction with the RISM (UK) Trust and the British Library.



The database forms just one element of the larger effort by the RISM organisation (Répertoire International des Sources Musicales) to trace and document both printed and manuscript music in libraries and archives around the world and to bring lesser-known sources of music to the attention of researchers and performers. RISM was formed just over fifty years ago with the aim of documenting surviving sources of music dating from the earliest times through to about 1850, and it has published, over the years, a series of catalogues covering different groups of material, which, thus far, have appeared mainly in printed form. However, its international catalogue of 17th- and 18th-century music manuscripts, known as RISM Series A/II, is being created electronically, and this will allow users to make more complex searches of the data than are possible with a printed catalogue.

The new RISM (UK and Ireland) database at www.rism.org.uk, which is free to view, currently includes descriptions of nearly 30,000 pieces of music preserved in 17th- and 18th-century manuscripts in the British Isles. This data is also being added to the international RISM A/II database, to which more than 30 other countries are also contributing. An interim version of the international database is available on subscription, both on a CD-ROM with the title 'Music manuscripts after 1600' and via the web at www.nisc.com. The UK and Ireland database will be maintained in parallel with the international database, so that free public access to the information on British and Irish sources of manuscript music can be guaranteed.

The UK and Ireland database contains details of manuscripts held not only in large institutions such as the British Library and the National Libraries of

Scotland and Wales, but also in smaller collections, many of which, not being specifically music-related, may be overlooked by researchers as potential locations for unique source material; such collections were found in county record offices, city archives, and some university and public libraries. Later this year, the team of cataloguers at Royal Holloway will begin work on a new phase of the project: documenting music manuscripts in cathedral and chapel libraries, and the libraries of the Oxford and Cambridge colleges. Country house and other private collections will also be explored (where the owners will allow researchers access to their archives). The coverage of music manuscripts in Ireland - currently limited to libraries in Dublin - will be expanded in collaboration with a newly-formed RISM (Ireland) working group. The project team will also be adding digital photographs of some of the manuscripts, showing examples of the handwriting of composers and their scribes. These will allow immediate comparisons to be made between manuscripts stored hundreds of miles apart.

Many of the manuscripts described in the database had not been catalogued in any detail before now; the cataloguers who worked on the project sometimes spent weeks tucked away in library storage areas sorting through piles of uncatalogued material. This situation applied as much to music in the larger libraries as in the smaller ones. One such collection was that of the Madrigal Society at the British Library, a large body of 17th- and 18th-century copies of madrigals belonging to that Society. This unique group of manuscripts, built up in the 18th and 19th centuries, shows how the Italian madrigal was disseminated in England in that period, and in some cases 'sanitised' with more respectable, English words. Many of the pieces of manuscript music that the British Library acquired in the first half of the 20th century had not been individually itemised either, and their details are now fully searchable, as are those for the 17th- and 18th-century music manuscripts in the Henry Watson Music Library in Manchester.

The city and county record offices revealed several hitherto unknown sources of 17th- and 18th-century music. In Cheshire and Chester Archives, for instance, are anthems dating from the first half of the 18th century, some of which have not been traced to other sources. In the Surrey History Centre at Woking, the cataloguers discovered a 17th-century book of keyboard music containing pieces by the German composer Gerhard Diessener, and a version of Purcell's 'Sefauchi's farewell', a piece written to mark the departure of the castrato Giovanni Francesco Grossi, otherwise known as 'Siface', from England in the 1680s.

The last piece is in tablature; the scope of this RISM database excludes music in tablature (there are other RISM catalogues devoted to such material), but where a manuscript volume contains music both in standard notation and in tablature, a brief description of the tablature section is included.

The database is not concerned exclusively with 'art' music: details of manuscripts of Scottish traditional music held at the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh have just been added, and it is to be hoped that the collections of traditional music here and in the national libraries of Wales and Scotland (for which cataloguing work is ongoing), will be made available to a wider audience through this database.

The database can be searched using the normal range of search terms that one would expect in a music catalogue, such as composer and title. It is also possible to browse it to see, for instance, a list of all those individuals associated with the manuscripts, such as arrangers, former owners, librettists, and performers. The 'Advanced Search' allows a range of fields to be searched either alone or in combination. It is possible, for example, to search for manuscripts held by a particular library, or for sonatas for a particular combination of instruments in a certain key. A subject index enables researchers to look for works of a certain type, such as 'funeral music' or 'drinking songs'.

While recording this bibliographic information, the cataloguers also transcribed the first few musical notes of each piece; these were then encoded in the so-called 'Plaine and Easie' code used by RISM, and software was integrated into the system to display the opening bars of the piece on screen in ordinary music notation. At the same time, a separate search engine was developed to allow users to make a 'tune search' and to bring up all instances of a particular melody that appear in the database. To make a tune search, users type in the letter-names of the first eight or nine notes of the tune, in any key, following the guidelines in the accompanying 'Help' screen. Given the melodic and rhythmic variations that can often appear in manuscript sources of a piece, it was decided that rhythms should be excluded from the search parameters, and that the search engine should not exclude melodic lines that differ very slightly from the phrase typed in by the user. The search engine therefore ranks the results of the search with exact melodic matches first, followed by close, but not precise, matches. In this way, small variations in the melodic line (for instance, examples of a tune with and without ornamentation) will not be rejected. The search engine will also search for the melody in any key, unless the user chooses to restrict the results to pieces in one key.

Where a work is just one of many pieces in a volume, there is a link from it to a description of the

volume as a whole. Information on the ownership history of the manuscript (if available) and a description of its physical appearance may be found there. It is also possible, via another link, to see what else is in the volume. Finally, there is a link to a page of contact details for the institution holding the manuscript, with email and website addresses where available, allowing users to make direct contact with the library or archive concerned in order to make arrangements to view the manuscript or obtain a reproduction.

The database is very much an ongoing project, and more discoveries will hopefully be made as work progresses, and as anonymous pieces are compared with others in the database using the tune search facility. The database is designed so that it can easily be updated as new sources and attributions come to light, and therefore feedback and input from users will be welcomed. It is to be hoped that the database, as it grows, will be useful both to performers and to those researching music of this period, and that it will ultimately encourage both the preparation of new editions and the exploration of some lesser-known repertoire in performance.

Sandra Tuppen is manager of the RISM (UK and Ireland) Music Manuscripts project at Royal Holloway, University of London. She is also a curator of music at the British Library.

A new Early Music Festival for the North

8-10th October 2004.
Clothworkers' Centenary Concert Hall,
The School of Music,
The University of Leeds

Following the refurbishment and reopening of the elegant Clothworkers' Centenary Concert Hall, the University of Leeds Concert Series present their first Early Music Festival in an exciting programme aimed at developing a new audience for early music.

Thanks to an ambitious collaborative programme with the Instituto Cervantes (the Spanish Cultural Institute) the festival will be offering a varied programme of internationally acclaimed artists performing music which reflects the historic cultural links between England, Spain and the New World during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Festival opens on Friday evening with the young Spanish gamba player, Patxi del Amo, in a recital of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish music featuring the viola da gamba. He will be joined by Eligio Quinteiro on theorbo, and Peter Holman playing harpsichord and organ. This recital will offer a rare chance to hear music familiar to Philip II and III by Ortiz, Kapsberger, Selma y Salaverde, Butler and Falconiero, as well as anonymous works.

Saturday evening will feature a visit from the choir and orchestra of Ex Cathedra, led by their dynamic director, Jeffrey Skidmore, performing Latin American Baroque liturgical music. The programme, entitled *Sun, Moon and All Things*, builds on the success of the ensemble's previous venture into this fascinating and lively repertoire, which combines influences from Europe and the New World, including music of the Inca and Aztec peoples. The programme will consist of music for vespers for choir and orchestra.

The 450th anniversary of the wedding of Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor will be celebrated in a programme of separate workshops for adults and children. The North East Early Music Forum are organising a day workshop with Dr Clive McClelland of the School of Music at the University of Leeds for singers and players of Renaissance instruments. The music will include Spanish and English mass and motet settings from contemporary sources. This will be followed by a Family Concert on Sunday afternoon when pupils of Shakespeare Primary School will join the York Waites in a programme devised by Cathy Dew of the National Centre for Early Music and Tim Bailey of York Waites. The performance will offer an opportunity to hear some of the secular music associated with the courts of Philip II and Mary Tudor.

For further details of the Festival programme, ticket prices, accommodation, etc., send a stamped DL SAE to the Festival Administrator, The School of Music, The University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT or see www.leeds.ac.uk/music and follow the links to events.

Dr Terence Pamplin

1941-2004

Having been a participant in the 1977 conference "The Future of Early Music in Britain", Terry Pamplin was closely involved in the creation of NEMA, the organisation that ultimately sprang from it. At the inaugural meeting in October 1981, he was elected to the Steering Committee which was to create the Association and its constitution, and at the first AGM in December of the following year, he was elected to the new Council. One of the priorities of the new Association was to follow up the challenges laid down at the earlier 1980 conference on Education and Early Music, and Terry was one of the four Council members appointed to examine the state of early music education in this country and make recommendations for future NEMA action. An interim report was presented to the next AGM in January 1984 and the committee were given the go-ahead to complete the work and publish a full report for general circulation within the world of music education. This was eventually launched in the summer of 1985, Terry contributing his own chapter on the education of early instrument makers.

Meanwhile, Terry had taken over from Philip Shirtcliff (who had contributed his own stimulating paper to the 1977 conference) as head of the Department of Musical Instrument Technology at the London College of Furniture (later to become part of London Guildhall University). One of Terry's pet projects was to follow up Philip's observation that "there is room for a Henry Ford lute or a Marks and Spencer viol" by exploring the development of simple plans for instruments that could be made in school workshops, and particularly by initiating a Schools Viol Project at the College, under Michael Goater, to design and produce a treble viol at a production cost of under £100 which would be musically and visually acceptable. Sadly, these ideas never reached any fruition. However, in October 1985, the College of Furniture played host to a one-day conference on the subject of the baroque guitar, involving makers, scholars and performers - the organisers were Terry and the late June Yakeley, fellow NEMA Council member and baroque guitarist.

In 1983, NEMA's founder and first Chairman, John M Thomson, returned to his native New Zealand, and without his driving zeal NEMA entered a period in the doldrums. Little was going on, apart from the activities of the Education Sub-Committee, which gave every appearance of the tail wagging the dog. Eventually, when the AGM of 1985 saw several of the Officers of the Association withdrawing due to other commitments, their places were taken by members of the Education Committeee. Terry himself continued as an ordinary Council member, but in 1990 when I stood down as Deputy Chairman, he allowed himself to be put forward as my replacement, and held the post until the end of his second term of office in 1995. At this point he withdrew from the running of NEMA in order to pursue his academic studies and complete his PhD - a well-earned break after a continuous involvement of some 14 years with the Association.

Simon R Hill
Deputy Chairman of NEMA 1985-90
Secretary 1991-96

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