Rethinking Music

Edited by
NICHOLAS COOK
&
MARK EVERIST

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To ask such questions, let alone to try to answer them, is to step beyond the narrow boundaries of analysis and historical musicology as characterized by Kerman. Whereas Kerman envisaged and championed a musicology that went beyond positivism, he seems to have been unable to imagine what it might mean for theory to go beyond formalism; it is as if he saw some internal contradiction in the idea of theory and analysis being 'critical', let alone self-critical. But there is no such contradiction, and the present book provides ample demonstration of this. To take a single example, many of our contributors grapple in one way or another with the issue of musical autonomy. They attempt to locate the concept of autonomy in its historical and social context (Samson, Cusick, Fink, Treitler), probing the relationship between formalism and hermeneutics (Whittall, Burnham, Rink) or between analytical representation and experience (Maus, Cook, Dubiel). They assume neither music's self-sufficiency (as early proponents of formalism did) nor its lack thereof (in the manner of much of the New Musicology). Instead, they attempt to formulate the ways in which music operates autonomously, and to establish limits beyond which the concept of musical autonomy ceases to be viable or, at any rate, useful. In a word, they problematize the issue of musical autonomy. And in so doing, they problematize their own role as analysts and historians of music—albeit without lessening their commitment to their discipline.

There are widespread rumours (not all of them emanating from historical musicologists) of the death of analysis. If analysis is understood as Kerman understood it, as a discipline predicated on the blithe assumption of music's separateness from the rest of the universe, then the rumours may well be true. But a better way of expressing it is that, after a lengthy period during which it was preponderantly absorbed with issues of method and technique (in other words, with problems of its own generation), analysis is moving outwards to embrace the issues of value, meaning, and difference that increasingly concern other musicologists. Samson envisions the possibility that under these circumstances 'analysis as a separate discipline (though not as an activity) will lose its identity in a mesh of wider critical perspectives, its tools and practices drawn into and absorbed by those wider perspectives'. Maybe, then, musicology is absorbing analysis. Or maybe, as we broaden our reading of music from text to world, it is analysis that is absorbing musicology. It is hardly worth arguing the toss; in intellectual (though not, to be sure, in institutional) terms, it doesn't make much difference which way round you put it. And that is why we offer this book under a totalizing title that conveys the connectedness of all musical thinking and, of course, rethinking.

NICHOLAS COOK
MARK EVERIST

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Contributors

KOFI AGAWU is Professor of Music at Yale University. He is the author of *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* and *African Rhythm: A Northern Ewe Perspective.*

PHILIP V. BOHLMAN teaches ethnomusicology at the University of Chicago, where he also holds positions in Jewish Studies and Southern Asian Studies, and serves as a member of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies. Among his recent publications are *Disciplining Music: Musicology and Its Canons*, which he co-edited with Katherine Bergeron, and *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine 1936–1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II.*

STANLEY BOORMAN is a Professor at New York University, where he also directs the Collegium Musicum. He has worked primarily in the mid-Renaissance and in the history of music printing, has compiled the Glossary for the *New Grove Dictionary of Music Printing and Publishing*, and is completing a detailed bibliographical catalogue of the editions of Ottaviano Petrucci.

JOSÉ A. BOWEN is Director of the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM) at the University of Southampton; he is currently working on a book entitled *The Conductor and the Score: A History of the Relationship between Interpreter and Text.* He is also an active composer with experience in jazz and film, a nomination for the Pulitzer Prize, and commissions from Hubert Laws, Jerry Garcia, and the Allegri Quartet.

SCOTT BURNHAM, Associated Professor of Music at Princeton University, is the author of *Beethoven Hero*, a study of the values and reception of Beethoven's heroic style, and *Music and Spirit: Selected Writings of A. B. Marx* (forthcoming).

NICHOLAS COOK is Professor of Music at the University of Southampton. His publications range from aesthetics to psychology, and from Beethoven to popular music; recent books include a Cambridge Music Handbook on *Beethoven's Ninth Symphony*, *Analysis Through Composition*, and *Analysing Musical Multimedia.*

JOHN COVACH is Associate Professor of Music at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. He is co-editor of *In Theory Only* and has published widely on twelve-tone music, the philosophy of music, and rock music. He has co-edited a collection of essays entitled *Analyzing Rock Music*, forthcoming from Oxford University Press.

SUZANNE G. CUSICK teaches music history and criticism at the University of Virginia. Her recent publications include essays on Francesca Caccini, Monteverdi,

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Finding the Music in Musicology: Performance History and Musical Works

José A. Bowen

Fundamental questions are always the hardest, so perhaps it is not surprising if we avoid defining our terms before we begin. While it would seem essential to begin any study of musical works with the acknowledgement that they exist in a very different way from both performances (which are events) and scores (which are physical objects),[1] most of us assume that we and our audience know what we mean when we speak of a symphony or any other 'work'. After all, it doesn't help our credibility not to be able to define the very thing we are hoping to study. Still, I want to propose that the awareness of musical works as neither stable nor fixed phenomena does not have to be paralysing; rather, the fact that musical works change through both the creation and reception of performances presents us with a fundamentally new field of study.

In fact, it gives us too much to study: namely, all performances of all music, and it requires new tools and methodology. But then, musicology has been in a state of reinvention for some years now. In addition to offering a new, unexplored subdiscipline, the study of music *as* and *in* performance provides a context within which both the different branches of the 'new' musicology and the old and the new musicology can come together and talk about *music* once again. All this, however, is dependent on my contention that the history of performance is more than simply the history of performance practice.

I

Western music of the last two centuries is clearly more 'work-centred' than many other musics, and it comes as no surprise that ethnomusicologists and others who study more oral, 'event-centred' musical cultures have less trouble defining their terms.[2] For them, music is something that sounds. When there is

[1] Roman Ingarden's demonstration that musical works, scores, and performances are distinguishable and individual phenomena can be found in his *The Work of Music and the Problem of its Identity*, trans. Adam Czerniawski, ed. Jean G. Harrel (Berkeley, 1986), 9–23, 34–40.

[2] It would be interesting to write an event-centred history of Western music.

a musical work, a performance is an *example* of that musical work. Despite their predominance in Western music, scores are usually incidental to the production of music, and almost always post-date the musical creation. A score can be either a *sample* (a transcription of a single performance in all its particularity) or a *summary* (a unique, personal attempt to establish certain essential qualities for an idealized performance of the work). That is, a score can be a sample of only a single performance of a musical work or a summary of several actual or potential performances of the (presumably) same musical work. Similarly, in most of the 'pro-active' or 'prescriptive' scores of Western music, the score is an attempt to define the boundaries for future performances. In either case the score is a spatial representation of only *some* of the elements of the temporal phenomena we call music. Music is a sequence of sounds, each of which appears only in the present, and which, therefore, has no persistent physical existence. While the sound of a musical performance is fleeting, however, the musical work exists even when the performers are silent, and this continued existence is due to human memory. The ability to preserve a *sequence* of sounds and thereby generate music is unique to the remembering mind.[3]

Particular sequences of sounds (like musical works) are stored in the collective memory, which I call 'tradition'. Each performance, like every speech-act, is an attempt to mediate between the identity of the work (as remembered by tradition) and the innovation of the performer; musical performers are engaged in both communication of the work and individual expression. Each performance (and each score) attempts to include the qualities which the performer (composer or editor) considers essential to retain the identity of the musical work, along with additional interpretive or accidental qualities which are necessary to realize a work in sound.[4] If the listener's remembered version of the essential qualities differs from that of the performer, the listener may not categorize the performance as a performance of the musical work in question. This creates a problem, since the expectations of listeners can change rapidly. If Corelli were to reappear and perform his works in line with the most authentic expectations of eighteenth-century performers and listeners, changing the notes, he might today not even be recognized as playing the pieces he is said to have written.

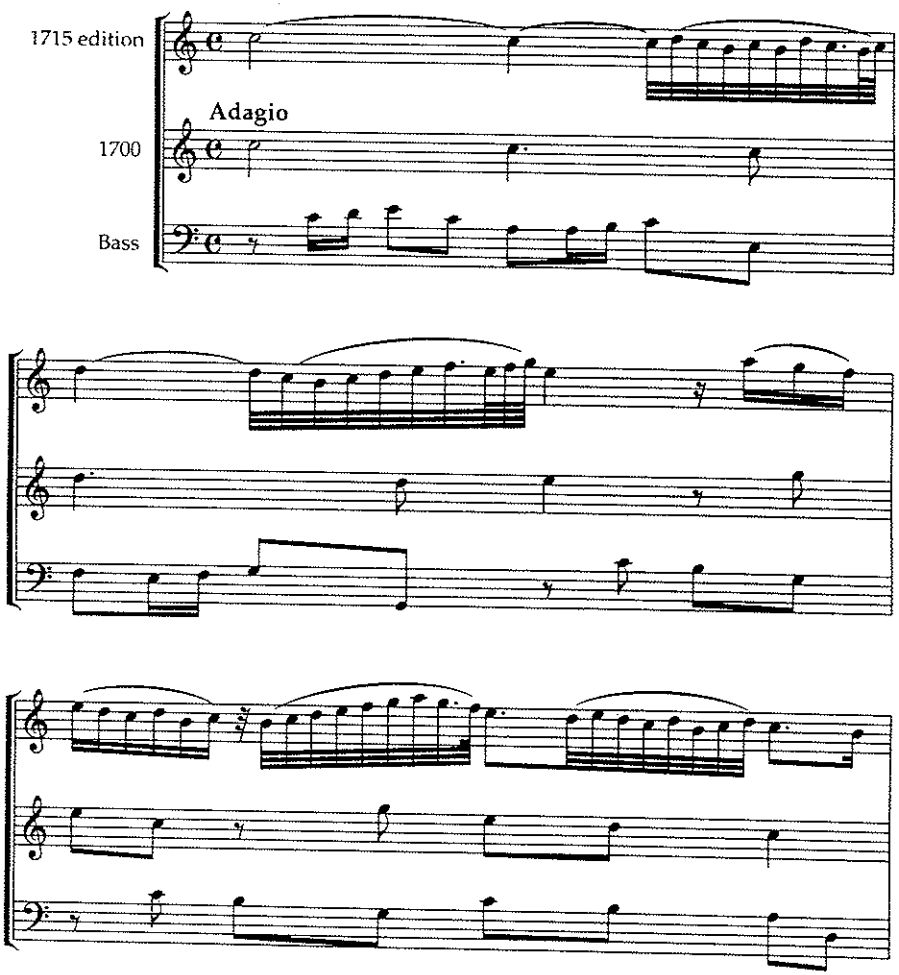
The gap between performances and scores was wider in the eighteenth century than it usually is today. Since all performers were trained in composition (so much so that the distinction between performers and composers was

[3] Hegel captured this notion in his pithy remark that 'the notes re-echo in the depths of the soul' (G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Art*, ed. H. G. Hotho (1835), trans. T. M. Know (Oxford, 1975), vol. 11, pt. III, sect. III, ch. II (Music), 3(a), p. 892). It is rather a paradox that music, to be music, must sound, but that, as only a series of sounds, it is not music. Music, in other words, is a perceived quality. Without the listener who remembers the last sound (which now no longer exists), there is only the sound of the present. A sound with no past or future is only a sound. For a sound to become music, it requires a past or a future which it can only acquire in the remembering listener. The distinction between sound and music is as much phenomenological as it is aesthetic.

[4] Stanley Boorman makes a similar point in the previous chapter.

often virtually non-existent), a 'composer' could assume that any 'performer' could 'realize' not only a figured bass, which was an explicit shorthand, but a melodic line, which was an implicit shorthand. 'Graced' editions with sample realizations of the melodic line (at least in the case of slow movements) were provided for less experienced performers. Example 19.1 compares the original 1700 edition with Etienne Roger's 1715 edition of Corelli's Opus 5 Sonatas 'with ornaments added to the adagios of this work, composed by Mr. A. Corelli, and as he

Ex. 19.1. *Corelli, Opus V Sonatas: the original 1700 edition and Etienne Roger's 1715 'graced' edition 'with ornaments added to the adagios of this work, composed by Mr. A. Corelli, and as he performs them'.*



performs them'.[5] The accuracy of the supposed transcription or the authenticity of the attribution to Corelli (now widely disputed) is immaterial if we recognize this notation as only a sample or example of how the work might have been performed. Like a realization of a figured bass in a modern edition, the graced edition serves both a pedagogical and a practical function: it allows a performance by the totally uninitiated to take place (albeit as a simple re-creation of an already specified performance), and it serves as a model for future performances. Only the complete novice is expected to reproduce Corelli's performance literally, and the results are likely to be about as convincing as the literal reproduction of a dialogue in a beginning language textbook: 'How are you?' 'I am fine. My hovercraft is full of eels.' For those with an understanding of the particular rules of syntax and style, the sample dialogue or ornaments become only one of many possible variations on the basic phrase. We are not meant to reproduce it literally, but to produce our own individual version.

While each performance attempts to mediate between tradition and innovation, it in turn becomes part of the remembered tradition. It is easy for an interpretive or accidental quality to become an essential quality of the work for later generations, especially since the advent of recording technology.[6] That is what happens when the novice imitates Corelli's sample ornamentation exactly. The boundary between interpretive and essential qualities can and does change, and the new boundary is then enforced by tradition. Tradition is, therefore, the history of remembered innovation, and it defines a set of normative assumptions or essential qualities about the work which can change over time. Each performance, therefore, looks both backward and forward in time. In other words, each performance is simultaneously both example and definition of the musical work.[7]

The absolute distinction we attempt to make between the technical and interpretive aspects (that is, between the essential and accidental qualities) of a performance is a false one. How we play the work determines what we think the work is, as well as the other way round. In certain musical styles (jazz, Italian opera, eighteenth-century adagios, and perhaps even early plainchant) the interpreter is free to add or delete notes. We need to hear enough pitches to be convinced of the identity of the work, but if we hear *only* the traditional pitches,

[5] The title of Roger's edition reads: *Sonata a violino solo e violone o cimbalo di Arcangelo Corelli da Fusignano, Opera Quinta Parte prima. Nouvelle Edition où l'on a joint les agrémens des Adagio de cet ouvrage, composez par M. A. Corelli, comme il les joue*; quoted from Marc Pincherle, *Corelli: His Life, his Work*, trans. Hubert E. M. Russell (New York, 1956), 111.

[6] Cultures, religions, and languages routinely change and create symbols in this way: one generation's innovations (or even accidents) become the next generation's tradition. An arbitrary location, colour, food, song, tempo, or note can accidentally become associated with a ritual, and eventually become an essential part. Singing 'Auld Lang Syne' was once simply someone's innovatory idea of a nice addition to a traditional New Year's Eve celebration.

[7] A more complete version of this theory of musical works can be found in my 'The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and their Performances', *Journal of Musicology*, 10 (Spring 1993), 139–73.

the performance will be labelled 'derivative'.[8] Until recently, the same was true for most Western art-music; but recordings and a new performance aesthetic have limited a performer's freedom to change pitches in, for example, a Beethoven symphony. (It is worth remembering that conductors as recent as Toscanini and Furtwängler both made changes in notes quite frequently, and it was common in the nineteenth century.) While tradition may have established that the pitches in the score are now an essential quality for the performance of a Classical symphony, it remains unclear which of the other qualities (tempo, dynamics, timbre, instrumentation, orchestration, phrasing, and portamento, for example) are also essential and which are accidental. Various classifications have been made. Nelson Goodman argues, for example, that tempo is accidental (he calls it an 'auxiliary direction'), and that a performance at any tempo, however wretched, is still a performance of the work.[9] Composers, of course, define the essential elements on the basis of their own music's characteristics; Berlioz held that not only the orchestration, but the most minute details of instrumental timbre, were essential to the identity of his works. For Berlioz, the sound of a particular key of clarinet was an essential, not an incidental, part of the work: using standard B flat clarinets or valved horns (as is virtually universal practice today), he claimed, destroys the work.[10] (Is it possible, then, that a future generation will find Haitink and Harnoncourt as corrupt as Toscanini found Nikisch, and we now find Toscanini?)

While it might be easier to study the changing definition of the work by examining the pitch changes in the history of a jazz work or an opera aria, the interpretive qualities of a sonata or a symphony which we often call the nuances (and which may be more difficult to quantify) are just as real as those we have traditionally assumed are essential. While recent tradition has made pitch selection an interpretive choice in one genre (jazz, for example) but not another (classical symphony, for example), it is also clear that the difference between essential and accidental or interpretive qualities is defined, not given. If the sequence of pitches in a symphony is fixed, the way they are played is not. Unless we want to say that

[8] In Wittgenstein's terms, the set of performances which are said to belong to the same musical work are related by the concept of family resemblance (Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe (Oxford, 1953), § 67). Like a family portrait, a set of performances of a musical work reveals a set of shared characteristics, but no one member of the group need have all of the characteristics, and any two members may have nothing in common (i.e. there is no one essential family trait). To be identified as belonging to this musical work, a performance must have 'some' of the characteristics, but obviously not every combination of characteristics will do. Wittgenstein's example is a war, which has winners and losers, but is not a member of the class of 'games'. Similarly, trills are an expected addition to eighteenth-century adagios, but not every combination will leave the musical work intact. Conversely, a performance with no trills might be a bad performance, but few would doubt that it was still a performance of the work. This 'blurred concept' (ibid. § 71) precisely describes the state of a musical work: a group of performances related to each other by various combinations of characteristics.

[9] Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art*, 2nd edn. (Indianapolis, 1976), 185.

[10] Hector Berlioz, *A Treatise of Modern Intrumentation and Orchestration to which is appended The [sic] Chef d'orchestre*, trans. Mary Clarke (London, 1858); rev. edn. ed. Joseph Bennett (London, 1882), 256.

a musical work is a series of *pitches* (and not a series of *sounds*), we must ask if a symphony can change.[11]

Historically, the advent of the symphony signified a new ideal in the phenomenological status of music. In the eighteenth century, the composer was in charge of most performances, making the score a less important object, and music was, to a large extent, an *event*. In the nineteenth century, a new model of music as *work* evolved from Beethoven's 'finished' scores and the *letzter Hand* concept: the idea that an artist creates a final, fixed, immortal text.[12] As Carl Dahlhaus has pointed out, however, nineteenth-century musicians did not have a single aesthetic consciousness: composers like Rossini (from the opera-dominated South) continued to create unique musical events, while composers like Beethoven (from the symphonic-dominated North) began to create more permanent, fixed musical works, with composers like Liszt and Chopin usually somewhere in between.[13] Gradually, however, the idea of music as work (with the score as its inviolable sacred text) began to replace the idea of music as event (with the score as merely its blueprint).[14]

Musicology inherited both the aesthetic of music as work and the German symphonic repertoire to which it is best suited. Musicology has traditionally had difficulty with the 'music as event' genres (like jazz), and ethnomusicology has absorbed most of these genres.[15] Since ethnomusicologists have, in general, been less interested in Western art-music, Italian opera was long neglected by both. Rossini has recently made a come-back, but it is conspicuous that this has largely been driven by the new Rossini edition; the approach, in other words, is coloured by our (not his) desire for fixed texts. In musicology the first step is always to have a critical edition; our discomfort with the variable aspects of music largely explains why musicology has been reluctant to study performance events even as regards its central repertoire.

While performance practice has become an important subdiscipline for musicology, it has been treated as a study of something distinct from the individual

[11] In other words, if only the pitch relationships matter, then instrumentation does not; a transcription for kazoos leaves a symphony intact. If instrumentation does matter, then what about style? If we *need* to use violins to preserve the work, then what type of violins? What type of bow? What type of sound? If the sound of a work is important, then surely all works have changed. Even returning to the original instruments, in the original hall with the original audience and performers (if all this were possible), would still leave us in the dark about which qualities were essential and which were accidental.

[12] The title of the first edition of Goethe's complete works, e.g., is *Werke: Vollständige Ausgabe, letzter Hand* (Stuttgart, 1827–30). See also Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosphy of Music* (Oxford, 1992).

[13] Carl Dalhhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1989), 9–10.

[14] See my *The Conductor and the Score: A History of the Relationship between Interpreter and Text from Beethoven to Wagner* (forthcoming).

[15] I would also venture that musicology has projected the concept of music as work backwards in time to genres and periods where it is largely inappropriate. Corelli, one imagines, would care more about the performing conditions, the unique style of the performer, the response of the audience, the sound of the instrument, and the overall impact of the performance than the critical edition upon which it was based. For performer-composers like Corelli and Rossini, the integrity of the performance was more important than the integrity of the work.

musical work, and few scholars have studied the changes in performance traditions for specific works. Those who have, have assumed that performance practice was a study separate from the study of the musical work itself.[16] What *I* am suggesting is that we study the performance tradition of a musical work not as a separate discipline, irrelevant to the immutable work, but as the history of the changing definition of the work itself. The study of the performance tradition of a musical work *is* the study of the musical work.

II

In additional to *why*, however, it has been unclear *how* musicology could study performance tradition. The first answer is simply to listen. Amateurs and critics, more than academic musicologists, have long concentrated on their listening skills; but there are numerous scholars, record and concert reviewers, and knowledgeable devotees who know and study performers as well as works. Harold Schonberg, Joseph Horowitz, and Barry Millington, to name only three, bring together a depth of knowledge about both repertoire and performers in their work.[17] Robert Philip and David Breckbill also deserve recognition for the first studies of early twentieth-century performance style based on recordings.[18] These studies, and many more, are useful and informative, and they have taken a great stride from the subjective appraisal of quality (a typical, even essential, part of review writing) to a more scholarly interest in the analysis of the difference between styles. Future studies will build on their foundation.

Many of these studies, however, go no further than general observations. Critics especially have concentrated on identifying a few typical qualities of a performer's or a period style. Too often, statements about Toscanini and his fast tempos, for example, are simply repetitions of critical lore, and not the result of research. (Toscanini's performances at Bayreuth, for example, are some of the longest and slowest on record.[19]) But even the better studies, which are often

[16] Most of these scholars also want to prescribe a return to a particular, 'correct' interpretation thought to be somehow based on an earlier or original one. The current loyalty to the original performance practice of the piece (the new concept of 'authenticity') has replaced the previous loyalty to the composer's intentions (the old concept of 'fidelity'). Both claim to be loyal, one to what the composer wanted, the other to what he got. Authenticity is concerned with the external sound, while fidelity was more concerned with the internal spirit. The early history of this dichotomy is traced in my paper 'Mendelssohn, Berlioz and Wagner as Conductors: The Origins of the Ideal of "Fidelity to the Composer"', *Performance Practice Review*, 6/1 (Spring 1993), 77–88.

[17] Harold C. Schonberg, *The Great Conductors* (New York, 1967); Joseph Horowitz, *Understanding Toscanini: How he Became an American Culture-God and Helped Create a New Audience for Old Music* (New York, 1987); Barry Millington and Stewart Spencer (eds.), *Wagner in Performance* (New Haven, 1992). All of the authors cited here have produced copiously, and these references represent only single examples from their large publication lists. A complete bibliography of performance analysis is forthcoming in the first issue of *Music in Performance* (Oxford).

[18] Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style: Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900–1950* (Cambridge, 1992); David Breckbill, 'Wagner on Record: Re-evaluating Singing in the Early Years' in Millington and Spencer (eds.), *Wagner in Performance*, 153–67.

[19] Egon Voss, *Die Dirigenten der Bayreuther Festspiele* (Regensburg, 1976).

repertoire- or instrument-specific, have had difficulty getting past general observations. Robert Philip is right when he says that there is generally more portamento and more tempo fluctuation in early recordings; but there are, of course, individual performers and performances which do not conform to these generalities. We need to know when and why these devices were applied, and especially why they occur in some pieces but not others. In order to engage in more specific analysis, we need to study the recorded repertory more comprehensively and to develop new methodology for doing so.[20]

Although less well known to both musicologists and the general public, there is also a large body of work on performance by music theorists, cognitive scientists, and psychologists. Eric Clarke, Manfred Clynes, Bruno Repp, Alf Gabrielsson, and many others have demonstrated that many variations in nuance cannot only be measured, but also perceived.[21] Combining computers and MIDI equipment with recent research in neurophysiology, these scholars are rapidly constructing a coherent account of how the brain creates and perceives musical expression. While it might seem anomalous to use machines to measure what we might not otherwise hear, it is worth recalling that Czerny maintained that 'there is a certain way of playing melodious passages with greater tranquillity, and yet not perceptibly slower, so that all appears to flow on in one and the same time, and the difference would only be discovered by a reference to the beats of the Metronome'.[22] It seems unavoidable—desirable in fact—that future research in this field will continue to seek measurable quantities in musical performance. In fact, the short-term goal is to develop empirical methods which will allow us to discover the objective correlates of what is a generally perceived phenomenon.

While ostensibly interested in the same subject, these two approaches (the critical/historical and the cognitive) are actually quite disparate in their methods and objectives, and many musicologists will feel uncomfortable with both. On the one hand, the general descriptive studies are (often unfairly) confused with CD ratings, which usually seek only to justify or explain a particular response to

[20] Philip, e.g., concludes that the trend he has noticed to slower tempos is a general one (*Early Recordings*, 35). It is not. Although Philip surveyed an enormous number of recordings (but usually only a few for each piece), he did not listen to the complete recorded history for any work. For the limited number of pieces for which I have done this (see Bowen, 'Tempo, Duration and Flexibility: Techniques in the Analysis of Performance', *Journal of Musicological Research*, 16 (1996) 111–156), no such trend is apparent. Some pieces are speeding up, some are slowing down, and most have a relatively stable spread of tempi throughout their recorded history. Looking at ten or even twenty performances from the 80+-year history of recordings of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 gives a very different picture from looking at over 100.

[21] See e.g. Eric F. Clarke, 'Imitating and Evaluating Real and Transformed Musical Performances', *Music Perception*, 10 (1993), 207–21; Manfred Clynes, *Music, Mind & Brain: The Neuropsychology of Music Perception* (New York, 1982); Bruno Repp, 'A Constraint on the Expressive Timing of a Melodic Gesture: Evidence from Performance and Aesthetic Judgement', *Music Perception*, 10/2 (Winter 1992), 221–42; Alf Gabrielsson (ed.), *Action and Perception in Rhythm and Meter*, Publication of the Swedish Academy of Music, 55 (Stockholm, 1987).

[22] Carl Czerny, *Über den richtigen Vortrag der sämtlichen Beethoven'schen Klavierwerke*, facs. ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna, 1963), 87. English trans. quoted from *On the Proper Performance of all Beethoven's Works for the Piano*, facs. ed. Paul Badura-Skoda (Vienna, 1970), 83.

a single recording; musicology (especially in America) has traditionally shunned this overtly 'subjective' criticism. On the other hand, we are often equally suspicious of scientific-looking 'data'. (Music psychologists and cognitive theorists have not helped with terms like 'microstructure' and 'cybernetics'.[23]) While the method of one seems to offer no evidence (only opinion), the other offers 'evidence' but not of an overtly musical nature. The aims also differ: reviewers are interested in making an aesthetic judgement, while cognitive research uses music as a means of gaining insight into perception and the human brain, and we rarely learn much about the musical works which appear as the manifest subjects of enquiry.

Given musicological suspicion of both subjective observation and objective numerical analysis, it is no wonder that this area has remained largely untravelled by musicologists; all available options appear to be blocked. Upon further inspection, however, this suspicion is perhaps neither such an unreasonable nor unrealistic position. While few would claim that a musical performance can be entirely reduced to numbers, we still want objective and quantifiable information which allows the perception that we are studying the most ineffable qualities of heard music. (We may dislike the idea that a musical performance could be reduced to its component acoustic parts, yet we feel perfectly comfortable reducing a musical composition to its component pitches.) With a growing number of scholars experimenting with a variety of methodologies, it should eventually be possible to combine the best features of these two approaches to music performance: to combine detailed empirical data with an analytical view of the entire interpretation.

There are, however, a number of practical steps which must precede this final stage. First, there needs to be an increase in the production and distribution of discographies. At the moment, the first stage for any project in the analysis of recorded music is a discography. While there are an increasing number of performer and institution discographies, there are still very few complete discographies for composers and individual works.[24] Where discographies do exist, they are often hard to find, and also vary in quality, format, completeness, and reliability. Discographies should include all recordings of a particular group, composer, work, performer, or institution and offer complete information for each recording (date, place, personnel, original matrix numbers, alternate takes, and company numbers for all issues in all formats); but this is often not the case.[25] Furthermore, since different scholars will want to search for different

[23] The latter is from the title of a recent symposium, 'Cybernetic Paradigms of Musical and Theatrical Performance', held as part of the annual meeting of the International Institute for Advanced Studies in Systems Research and Cybernetics, 16–20 Aug. 1995 in Baden-Baden, Germany.

[24] While it is possible (but not easy) to do a complete discography for a performer who has finished his or her career (although new reissues of old recordings will force updates), it is much harder to stay current with any work in the current repertoire. Since the publication of my discography of Thelonious Monk's 'Round Midnight', *Journal of Musicology*, 10 (Spring 1993), 169–73, there have been dozens of new recordings issued.

[25] For examples of excellent discographies, see those by Jerome Weber which have appeared in the Association for Recorded Sound Collections (ARSC) journal. What goes in a discography also varies with the given repertoire,

types of material, cross-references of various kinds are necessary: one should be able to find recordings with reference to each of the items of information in each entry.[26] This is hardly a trivial task to contemplate before beginning the real research.

Although CD reissues present problems of reliability (has the engineer chosen the right speed for playing early 78s, and is the information about the original recordings accurate or even included?), the collection and study of old recordings has never been easier.[27] There is more material in print now than at any other time in the history of recording, but this bonanza is usable only if there is sufficient discographical information to verify which recordings are which. Even given a complete discography, however, the task of securing reliable copies of all recordings is again hardly non-trivial. Most sound libraries collect specifically for breadth, not depth; many libraries might aim to have all the Handel operas available, but few would aim for all recordings of Brahms' First Symphony.

These problems are most pressing in the study of individual works, whereas for studies of specific artists and periods these initial stages are less problematic. (One can probably say something cogent about Karajan's conducting style without listening to every single one of his recordings.[28]) Similarly, studying an artist, style, or work which appears on only a few recordings makes completeness an achievable goal.[29] While a performance history of a single work involves an enormous amount of preliminary work, however, it also has enormous advantages.

First, having a relatively complete history in sound allows for the detailed tracking of changes in the performance tradition.[30] Only if all performances are considered can it be known for certain that a particular tradition originated with a specific performer. Second, a large selection of performances allows for the

and it is by no means clear that a single best format can be devised. See Michael H. Gray, 'Discography: Its Prospects and Problems', *Notes*, 35/3, (Mar. 1979), 578–92, and Martin Elste, 'Evaluating Discographies of Classical Music', paper presented at the IASA Conference, Vienna, 1988.

[26] Given that it is rare to find publishers willing to reproduce all the adequate indexes and the need for periodic updating, discographies might best be preserved on data bases. Further information is available from the Centre for the History and Analysis of Recorded Music (CHARM) at the University of Southampton, England. See http://www.soton.ac.uk/~musicbox/charml.html.

[27] It is equally clear that with the ever-increasing number of previously unreleased live recordings, no discography or performance study will ever be complete.

[28] In an earlier study, I attempted to analyse a limited number of conductors' approaches to Mozart symphonies, and then to determine if the same traits manifested themselves in recordings of Beethoven. See José A. Bowen, 'A Computer-Assisted Study of Conducting', in Eleanor Selfridge-Field and Walter Hewlett (eds.), *Computing in Musicology* (Menlo Park, Calif., 1994).

[29] For his book *Early Jazz: Its Roots and Musical Development* (London, 1968) Gunther Schuller was able to listen to every single jazz recording made before about 1930. It is barely conceivable that he was able to do this for his next book, *The Swing Era: The Development of Jazz, 1930–1945* (London, 1989). But surely even he won't attempt this for his anticipated book on Bebop and Cool jazz.

[30] As has been noted, no performance history, even for a twentieth-century work, can ever be complete; there are always missing live performances. Live performances, however, are heard by a limited audience, and it is recorded performances which carry the greatest authority for most works. See my forthcoming 'Mahler, Authenticity and Authority'.

separation of period style from individual innovation. A researcher with only a few recordings from the 1950s, for example, will be unable to tell if the new performance traits observed reflect (1) the style of the individual conductors, (2) the style of the period or a national style, (3) the style of the orchestra, (4) an unusual recording session, or (5) a change in the performance tradition of the particular piece. This is particularly problematic in the case of the earliest recordings, where often only a single recording exists: the 1913 recording of Beethoven's Symphony No. 5 by Artur Nikisch is surely characteristic of his personal conducting style, as well as the style of the day and some specific traditions in the performance of Beethoven's Fifth. Sorting out the difference between period, geographic and national styles, work-specific performing tradition, and individual innovations becomes a great deal easier when there are multiple recordings for each geography, orchestra, conductor, period, hall, and performance condition.

Finally, more recordings equals more data, and hopefully more reliable conclusions. This is especially true for the generalizations about performance style which are so often made: 'Pieces slow down as they become more familiar', for instance—or, for that matter, 'Pieces speed up as they become more familiar'. Really large surveys, of course, are limited by human memory, a problem which computers don't share. While computers can't yet 'listen' to music, they can store a great deal of information about performances, and for statements about large-scale trends they are more accurate than human observation. The specific trade-off with numerical data is, in fact, that while we obviously lose something in the translation of musical observations to numbers, we gain the ability to handle large amounts of information. While there may be a suspicion that numerical data can only lead to generic conclusions, ironically, numerical data often lead to extremely tangible, specific conclusions.

Figure 19.1 presents four graphs from the recorded history of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.[31] The first (*a*) demonstrates that it now seems to take less time to perform this part of the movement than in previous years.[32] Not only is this not evidence that all pieces, or even all first movements, are speeding up; it is not even evidence that *this* movement is speeding up as a whole. While it is mathematically true that tempo and duration are inversely proportional, human performances always employ (whether intended or not) some degree of tempo fluctuation. Figure 19.1*b* demonstrates that the average initial tempo (taken after the opening fermatas) has been fairly constant over the eighty-year recorded history of the work.[33] The average closing tempo (Fig.

[31] Each dot represents a performance, and in all cases they are plotted by year. The line is a linear regression which is the computer's attempt to find a trend; 100 per cent accuracy would result if the line passed through all the dots. For more on this see my 'Tempo, Duration and Flexibility'.

[32] The changing practice of repeating the exposition has been factored out of this graph by considering only the time required to complete the initial performance of the exposition.

[33] There has been a slight increase of tempo, but not enough to be statistically siginificant (simply look at the data rather than at the line drawn), and certainly not enough to account for the magnitude of the duration change.

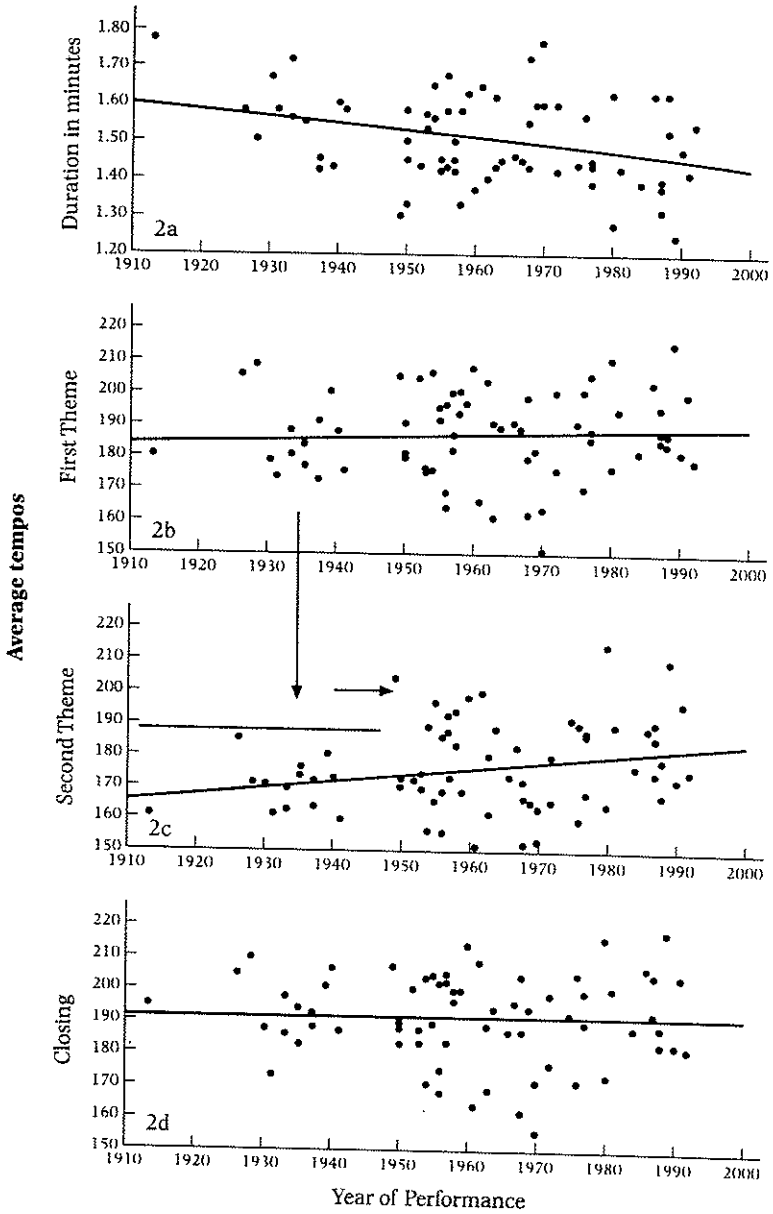


Fig. 19.1. Recordings of Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, first movement, exposition. *a*. Duration in minutes versus year of performance. *b*. Average initial tempo of the first theme versus year of performance. *c*. Average initial tempo of the second theme versus year of performance. *d*. Average initial tempo of the closing theme versus year of performance.

19.1*d*) is even more level, and has even fallen off slightly. The missing ten seconds or so have come from a dramatic increase in the speed of the second theme.[34] Figure 19.1*c* demonstrates that before the late 1940s, all the recorded performances followed the long nineteenth-century tradition of slowing down for the second theme.[35] After World War II, at least some conductors began to perform this material at a similar tempo to the opening material. While the tradition of slowing down for the second theme has by no means been entirely eliminated, a new tradition has gradually increased the average tempo, and so reduced the time needed to perform this section.

Traditional analysis often investigates the structure of a movement by the proportional weight given to themes and keys, and its typical unit of measure is the bar. While it is not clear that duration alone is the perceptual unit, this change in the performance tradition does affect the proportions of the movement. There is, therefore, no way to study *the* structure of a musical work; the structure of the music will vary depending on who is performing it, when, where, and for whom. We can, however, study the *changing* structure of the music in performance. What is crucial, then, is the recognition that musical works are inseparable from unique, individual performances. To say that musicology is interested in the objective musical work while criticism is interested in the subjective musical performance is to create a false dichotomy. Musicology's interest in musical works overlaps with criticism's interest in the individual performer and psychology's interest in how the human brain creates and perceives musical nuance. But musicology also brings an interest in history and in the analysis of works; the musicology of music in performance is the study not only of performance practice, perception, and reception, but of the individual *history* of each musical work.

In order to study the changing musical work, it is necessary to understand changes in performance practice, ideology, and expectations. While scores, reviews, memoirs, handbills, programmes, and music society records are familiar musicological territory, recordings need to be added as another important source of documentary evidence. Graphs and numerical data are neither necessary nor superfluous for the musicological study of music in performance; we don't need figures in order to make useful statements about performance history, but at the same time we shouldn't avoid statistical data when they can be gathered. The goal in the study of recordings is not to replace words, but to combine detailed description from careful listening with whatever quantification is possible and appropriate. The future will surely bring the ability to quantify more details about more recordings, but it is likely that a single musical 'sound example' will still be worth a thousand graphs.

Like late nineteenth-century musicology, the study of music in performance now needs catalogues of source material (discographies) and new tools to decode those source materials. In both cases (early manuscripts on the one hand, recordings on the other) the requirement is a technique for analysing the data in verifiable ways and new terminology to describe the resulting conclusions in prose. Guido Adler's charter of a search for compositional style also has its correlate in the search for performance style. The study of musical performances, however, involves an additional layer. First, there is the general style. While this breaks down into a host of period, geographic, and national styles, they all deal with general traits (like the slowing of the second theme or the use of portamento) which can be applied to a variety of pieces. Second, there are the traditions which become attached to specific works (substituting horns for bassoons in the recapitulation of the opening movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, for example.) Finally, there is the individual innovation which happens within the parameters designated by the first two levels. The analysis of musical performance, then, begins with discography, involves the differentiation between style, tradition, and innovation, and seeks quantification when it is useful and possible.

[34] The average tempo for the second theme represents the average tempo of bars 59–93. The average tempo for the first theme was taken from bars 25–55, and for the closing section from bars 94–121.

[35] See José A. Bowen, *Rubato and the Second Subject: A Performance History* (forthcoming).

III

What should performers make of this research? On the surface, it would seem that modern musicians are deeply interested in performance practice; the early music movement has fostered a continued interest in earlier period performance styles. But our commitment to the importance of performing works using the performing conventions of their day is decidedly mixed.[36] As in the Corelli example above, we still have to choose between attempting to mimic the external aspects of the style (as is axiomatic to the recent study of contemporary theory and ornamentation guides), and trying to recreate the more internal aesthetic of variation, individual expression, and spontaneity. We do not, of course, have to choose one or the other, although it would seem logical that creative expression would flow from an understanding of period styles and conventions. Eighteenth-century specialists, however, tend to go only half-way, learning a great deal about the theories and techniques of the creative role of the performer, but refusing to actually adopt the most authentic role: that of composer/performer. Given the plethora of specialists who are skilled in both the theory and practice of earlier eras and our belief that performance style is essential to a musical work, there is remarkably little music-making which imitates both the external sound and the internal philosophy of earlier performers.

[36] For all our lip-service to the composer's intentions, when was the last time someone played a Mozart symphony with the forty violins, ten violas, six cellos, ten double basses, and double winds which he considered ideal! (See *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, trans. and ed. Emily Anderson, 2nd edn. ed. A. Hyatt King and Monica Carolan (2 vols., London, 1966), ii. 724.)

Many performers claim that they do not listen to recordings while they are learning a new work; they want to take the information directly from the score. (A member of the National Sound Archive in London has, however, confided that some prominent artists come in more often than they would like it to be known—under assumed names.) This is a needless precaution, as most of us have been conditioned not only to the basic compositional conventions, but to the performance style of our parents' records long before we began to play an instrument. When we remember a favourite piece of music, we remember it in a familiar performance style, and very probably in a particular familiar version. (Long before I could read a score of Dvořák's Eighth Symphony, I was 'imprinted' with George Szell's recording of it. Today, when I 'read' the score, I still 'hear' his phrasing, dynamics, and even the rather inglorious sound of the Cleveland Orchestra string section.)

Not unlike speaking in our native language, the relization of a score in (imagined or real) sound is a rather transparent process to those who practise it frequently. Intellectually we realize that the process is highly conditioned and operates by the use of a large number of conventions; we recognize that to other people we speak with an accent. To our ears, however, our style of speech or performance seems natural, and it appears that it is everyone else who speaks with the accent. Early recordings, therefore, offer us a wide range of other accents.

At first, of course, we are confronted with a wide range of foreign-sounding performance practices; they sound quaint and mannered. Our imitation of them at this stage sounds artificial, and to native speakers is a cause for some hilarity. (Dick Van Dyck's cockney accent in the Disney film *Mary Poppins*, for example, is considered quite a hoot in Britain.) As with accents, some people adapt better than others. After years in a different country or region, accents do change, and the same can happen after immersion in a new performance style. The first realization when we begin to study earlier performance styles, and in some ways the most important, is that our pronunciation is neither natural nor absolute. We realize that many of the 'rules' which we take for granted—like 'Don't speed up when you get louder', or even 'A minim is twice as long as a crotchet'—are simply conventions which were drilled into us at an early age. (These conventions essentially define our home 'style', and they are invisible, like the rules of grammar, to the native speaker.) Not just Furtwängler, but Weingartner, Richard Strauss, and Toscanini too, all considered speeding up the music a little as it got louder a 'natural' part of music-making.[37] And at first hearing, tempo variations in early recordings can seem so extreme that minims really do sound like crotchets.

A special case is the piano-roll recording of Debussy's tenth prelude 'La Cathédrale engloutie' from the first book of Preludes (1909–10) made by Debussy himself.[38] In bar 7 of this performance, Debussy speeds up considerably at his direction *Doux et fluide*—so considerably that he seems to be playing minims at the speed he was playing crotchets. In bar 13, where the music returns to that of the opening, Debussy returns to his initial tempo. It happens a second time at bar 22. This time there is no expression mark, although Debussy's tempo doubling follows the fastest rhythmic section of the piece (marked *Augmentez progressivement (sans presser)*—'progressively louder without hurrying'). This too suggests that it was common in Debussy's day to get both faster and louder at the same time. Debussy returns to his initial tempo at the end of the piece, where the music is marked *Dans la sonorité du début*.

What are we to make of all this? There are two possible conclusions. One is that it seemed normal to Debussy that different performances would involve different tempo fluctuations: one *naturally* added them to a performance. On this account, hearing Debussy play the piano is not unlike hearing a poet read his work: the poet is not reading the poem with an accent because we must always hear the poem in that accent, but simply because that is how he speaks. From other performances we can confirm that this is simply the way Debussy plays. Yet even for Debussy, or any pianist from his era, these particular tempo changes seem extreme. Since Debussy is also the composer of the work, there is a second possibility: that he played it the way he wanted it, and simply wrote it down incorrectly. (Any pianist/composer understands the difficulty of correctly notating what he or she has played, and that of learning one's own scores from notation.) If this were the case, however, one would expect someone—any editor who heard the recording, for example—to have said something to Debussy, or at least to have corrected the score. For an editor of the period, however, it was natural for a performance to have tempo variations which were not written in the score: even in 1910 it was clearly recognized that a score is not a complete set of instructions, and a performer is not simply an executant. In recent editions, however, a footnote has been added: 'The direction ♩ = ♩ should appear over the barline between mm. 6 and 7; it should be cancelled by the direction 𝅗𝅥 = ♩ over the barline between mm. 12 and 13. (This faster tempo in mm. 7–12, and later in mm. 22–83, can be heard on Debussy's piano-roll recording of this prelude.)'[39] That the score must now be changed to match Debussy's performance is a symptom that, for the modern editor, a good score will allow only one rendition; that is the current 'natural' relationship between score and performance. Likewise, only a modern player would think of literally imitating the

[37] See José A. Bowen, 'Can a Symphony Change? Establishing Methodology for the Historical Study of Performance Styles', in *Der Bericht der Internationaler Kongreß der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung: Musik als Text* (Freiburg, in press).

[38] Debussy: Early Recordings by the Composer (Bellaphon CD 690-07-011).

[39] This is the footnote as it appears in the 1989 Dover edn. (which is a reprint of the 1964 Moscow edn. ed. K. S. Sorokin). The author of this footnote is unknown, but it is surely based upon the new complete edition (*Œuvres Complètes de Claude Debussy*. Sér. I, Vol. 5: *Preludes*, ed. Roy Howat with Claude Helffer (Paris, 1985), where the minim = crotchet direction is added directly to the score. See also Roy Howat, *Debussy in Proportion: A Musical Analysis* (Cambridge, 1983) and Charles Burkhart, 'Debussy Plays *La Cathédrale engloutie* and Solves Metrical Mystery', *Piano Quarterly*, 65 (1968), 14–16.

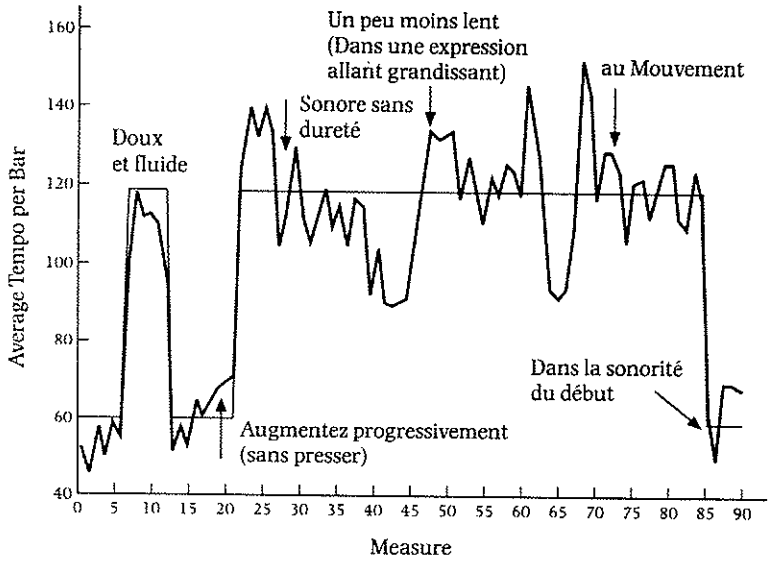


Fig. 19.2. Tempo map for the piano-roll performance of Debussy's 'La Cathérale engloutie' by Claude Debussy in 1913. The average tempo per bar is plotted for each measure. The straight lines gives the tempo relationships as suggested in the new edition.

nuances of another performance, which is what the new indications on the score suggest.

If we look more carefully at Debussy's performance of his own work, however, we can see that his performance is more subtle than simply twice as fast between bars 7–12 and 22–83. Figure 19.2 is a tempo map of this performance.[40] The straight lines indicate what we might expect from a performance which rigidly adhered to the performance instructions in the new editions. Debussy's performance is anything but rigid, and we can make three general observations about it. First, Debussy is not only generally flexible in his treatment of tempo, but he uses tempo to realize his emotive performance directions. Hence the doubling of speed at the direction *Doux et fluide* (tender and fluidly) and a gradual accelerando in response to *Peu à peu sortant de la brume* (gradually emerging from the haze) at bar 16. Second, Debussy does this even when he has warned other players not to do it! At bar 20, Debussy writes *Augmentez progressivement* (progressively louder) but then adds in parenthesis *sans presser* (without hurrying). This implies that the first direction without the parenthetical remark would produce rushing from some players, and, despite his own warning, Debussy

[40] Each beat in each bar was tracked three times, and the beats for each bar were averaged to produce a single average tempo per bar. All three trials were within ± two beats of each other at all points (i.e. an average tempo of 82 guarantees that the actual tempo is somewhere between 80 and 84).

makes a distinct accelerando both before and after his *sans presser* notation. Third, Debussy uses tempo to structure his performance; he makes a tempo change at every structural junction, and shapes virtually every phrase with tempo fluctuation.

If we are going to correct the score to follow his performance, we need to include many more directions. *Un peu moins lent* ('a little more slowly'), at bar 47, seems clear enough, but apparently Debussy also forgot to place a ritard (or *un peu lent*) in bar 42. (It is also unclear what *un peu moins lent* means in the context of his performance. This part is faster than the immediately preceding section, which has been slowing down, but not as fast as the initial tempo of the section.) *Peu à peu lent* should be added in bar 58 before the climax, followed by *rapprochant* in bar 66. Then there is a clear *più mosso* implied by Debussy's playing in the last four bars. But of course that still doesn't specify everything we can see in Figure 19.2. The real problem with re-marking the score to match the performance is not that it alters Debussy's sacred text (Debussy has already provided ample evidence that we should feel free to personalize our performance), but that there is simply no way to even begin to notate the complex nuances of Debussy's performance. While we can notate the broad strokes, there are essential characteristics of Debussy's interpretation that elude our grasp.

New technology, of course, gives us a way to capture and disseminate Debussy's performance; with piano rolls and CDs, the world no longer needs to rely on descriptions of performances. Similarly, Figure 19.2 demonstrates that graphs can be very useful in clarifying what is going on in a single performance. But while the graph does allow us to notate Debussy's nuances of tempo, it still leaves a riddle for the performer. What makes Debussy's performance unique is the way he changes the tempo in every phrase and in virtually every bar. (The graph indicates this nicely with all the up and down zigzags.) Debussy performs this piece in a rich nineteenth-century accent. The real problem is not how to notate this accent, but what to do about it. Here, scholars and performers have somewhat different goals and interests. If recordings by Beethoven were suddenly found, they would be of tremendous scholarly and general interest, but they would hardly signal the death of modern performances of Beethoven's music. It might be hard to compete for a while (although one would suppose that Karajan would still occur in larger letters than Beethoven), but performers would continue to make recordings and give concerts. It remains to be seen, in five or fifty years, if there is anyone secure enough not to play Debussy *à la Debussy*.[41]

What lessons, then, should performers learn from recordings by composers? The string portamenti in Elgar's own recordings, the tempo fluctuation in Debussy's, and the vibrato in Stravinsky's are all part of the external

[41] Ultimately the problem with performing Debussy *à la Debussy* is that it is utterly pointless. If the goal of a performance is to exactly mimic an *Urtext* recording, then why not simply play the *Urtext* recording and forget the concert? The point of live music is that it is always different.

performance tradition. According to current performance ideology, the goal is to replicate as nearly as possible the external sound of the original performance. If we think it important to perform Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven using period instruments played in the style of the day, then the same should apply to Elgar and Mahler. But for some reason, perhaps because we have to listen to Elgar's own performances and not simply a re-creation made in our own image, we feel more comfortable dismissing the performance style of the Elgar recordings *as* performance style and not including it in our modern re-creation. Surely we should be consistent; if performance style is crucial to the work, then it should be just as crucial for Elgar and Debussy as it is for Mozart—or, to put it the other way round, if it is not crucial for Elgar and Debussy, why should it be for Mozart?

Faced with a performance, a musician has a number of choices. First is a choice about the role of performance: is a performance meant to be a re-creation or a new independent creation? A performer can deliberately choose to recover old ground or to explore new territory. Performers in different styles and genres routinely make different choices. Jazz players, who need to create new sequences of pitches for each performance, tend to think of each performance as an opportunity for new expression. Classical musicians, by contrast, are taught an aesthetic of re-creation, which appears (but certainly isn't) more natural than the opposite approach. As Richard Taruskin has emphasized, for a performer interested in the new, the modern interest in early performance styles proves a boon, and certainly its popularity is a reflection of how both audiences and performers long for something different. Early recordings often present us with new (to us) ways of performing old pieces. This can make the performer's job a bit easier. More importantly, however, these studies of performance deepen our awareness that other styles exist and that our conventions of interpretation are merely that: conventions. Examination of older recordings demonstrates that there are other interpretive parameters, which have in most cases now been closed (like tempo fluctuation). Increasing the range of possibilities makes it easier to say something new, and performances are one of the ways in which we learn new things about old pieces. Debussy's piano roll, and the preceding analysis of it, demonstrate not an absolute standard for the modulation of tempo, but rather the amount of variation which is possible. We should use recordings to open parameters, not to close them.

The rediscovery of previous performance styles also makes the performer's job a bit harder. Previous performers simply played in the only style they knew, but tailored the individual expression to their own taste. Composers today still enjoy this mixed blessing. Performing (or for that matter composing) in an earlier style creates two sets of difficulties. First, the performer must choose a performance style, which will provide a palette of expressive devices—portamento in some eras, not in others. As was demonstrated above, this is not easily done. It takes time to acquire the right accent, especially when learning a foreign tongue. The

second stage, however, is even more problematic. All too frequently modern players simply try to re-create a 'style' without engaging in the expressive conventions. It is not unlike the problems of acting in a dramatic play in a language you do not speak. You can learn to pronounce the words, but your performance will be wooden if you do not learn what they mean and also how they mean it; that is, you can learn a song text in Hungarian, and know what it means, but still not be able to 'speak' the meaning properly. A good accent is not sufficient. Even imitating all the nuances of a previous great performance is not enough. A direct imitation of the external sound is hollow, and misses the point. The reason for Corelli's ornaments or Debussy's tempo changes is that they personalize the performance; another performance in the same style would still be different. For music of all ages, the performance style is simply a guide to the expressive devices (that is, the space allocated for individual innovation) of the period. But without learning to speak the language, these expressive devices will be meaningless. This is equally true of Mozart and Mahler. We should not attempt to emulate the performance style without learning the conventions of expression.

IV

There is plenty of scope, therefore, for music in performance as a subdiscipline. While the lack of discographies (roughly akin to catalogues of source material and manuscripts) presents a burden to any new field, the possibilities for future studies are enormous. (And the 'texts' for this field are by no means limited to audio recordings; the use of film or marked scores has hardly been explored.) While the aims of critics and cognitive theorists, as discussed above, should not necessarily be excluded, the goals of musicological enquiry fall between them in two broad categories.

The first is the study of style. Most studies to date fall into this category, and have attempted to identify and analyse a specific performance style. This may be repertoire-, genre-, or instrument-specific, and may deal with a single artist, an institution, a period, or a region. All these should include a historical dimension, because all individuals and groups change over time. Bruno Walter, for example, seems to have had a different style after World War II, especially when he conducted American orchestras; and any style analysis of Walter must take into account this stylistic change. One of the large issues here is the disentanglement of individual styles from schools, periods, and other factors. Does Furtwängler sound different in the studio than in concert? Are opera singers more affected by the production, the director, or the conductor? Do pianists play differently in their own countries, or in competitions? (All this, of course, has its parallel in the classical musicological study of compositional styles.) At a recent meeting of the American Musicological Society there was much discussion over whether or

not the students of students of Chopin played with enough similarity to be considered a 'school'.[42] This is an excellent subject for both future research and further discussion of the problems addressed here.

The second is the study of traditions or performance histories of individual works. While the two studies are inextricably linked, this second study focuses on the oral histories which ultimately carry musical works to audiences. In addition to all the period, individual, regional, and institutional styles which stand between us and the score, each musical work seems to acquire its own personal history—a performance tradition. This is most readily apparent in Italian opera; while it is possible for any competent singer and pianist to read through a Schubert song (even one unknown to either or them) without having to stop, it is virtually impossible to do this for a Puccini aria. If, on the other hand, one knows a Puccini aria from performances and recordings, the printed score can often look rather foreign.[43] Unlike most instrumentalists, who attempt to learn a work directly from the score, singers have long recognized the importance of the accompanying oral tradition. No singer would dare go to an audition for *Il barbiere* or *Tosca* without knowing the performance traditions and the standard 'interpretations'; it is part of knowing the piece. These traditions occur in instrumental music as well, and they change. Understanding what and where they are will help us to understand not only the reception of works, but how our perception of works in turn changes future perceptions of them.

While there has been a great deal of interest in *Urtexts*, authentic performance styles, and the whole idea of returning to what composers heard, insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that audiences have always encountered works not through scores, but through performances. If we want to discover what lies at the core of a work, we cannot simply go to the score, for our own perception of the score is guided by current period style. We can reach an earlier conception or hearing of the work only by peeling away the outer layers of performing tradition: precisely, that is, by understanding the history of performance which has accumulated around each work. The aim is not to get back to the 'work itself', but to understand our own and previous generations' contributions to it. Ultimately, then, performance histories tell us a great deal more than simply the history of performance practice. Since our interaction with a musical work is always mediated by performance, understanding how the history of performance affects how we perceive the work is essential to our understanding of what the musical work *is*. Musical works change as they gather a body of performance and reception history around them (or, as Albert Einstein would have

[42] This discussion followed a paper delivered by Jeffrey Hollander entitled 'The Changing Interpretive Paradigm for the Chopin Berceuse, Op. 57: A Comparative Performance Study' at the 1994 annual meeting of the AMS in Minneapolis.

[43] Similarly, if one has learned to play Debussy's 'La Cathédrale engloutie' by ear, from Debussy's recording, or like George Gershwin by imitating the physical movements of a piano roll, the score would seem terribly lacking in its representation of the work as you know it. This is routinely the case with the sheet music of jazz and pop standards.

it, it may be we, not the works, that change, but we will never be able to tell the difference). If there is such a thing as the 'work itself', it is fully embodied and inseparable from its performance and reception.

All this analysis will also benefit performers and musical performance. It may help both to demonstrate where the interpretive levels of freedom are (and have been), and to free performers from the illusion that there is such a thing as a neutral (or natural) performance style. If all performance involves stylistic conventions, then an awareness of these conventions will allow performers to choose from a wider array of possibilities.[44] This new research will make performers aware of other levels of expression, and enable them to master not only new accents, but new languages.[45]

This research, in turn, should be guided by the needs and understanding of performers. Part of the researcher's job is to convey to performers what nuances are introduced and why. As in the introduction of many Eastern musics to the West, it is the *sounds* of a new musical style that make the initial impact; but later, as the inner workings of the music are better understood, the new musical *principles* also begin to have an effect. While the sounds of early recordings convey a different accent, they also convey a different system of expression. In order to fully understand another performance language, we need to understand both the stylistic possibilities and their meaning.

This means that the study of music in performance offers a common ground, where 'new' and 'traditional' musicology can meet. The recognition of musical works as changing traditions cuts both ways. For those who study individual performances, it means the realization that not all nuance is due to individual choice. Any study of music in performance needs to distinguish between the general *style* of the period, the specific *traditions* of the musical work, and the individual *innovations* of the performer. In other words, some of the nuances of performance are dependent upon what and when, not just who. Similarly, those who study works need to recognize that they also cannot afford to neglect the what, when, and who of performance. Any analysis of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony needs to consider that the proportions of the first movement have changed due to changes in performance practice. In this case, however, the change in performance practice is not specific to Beethoven or the Fifth Symphony; it is a general change in performance style, largely motivated by a new performance ideology. Both the specific performance practice of slowing down for the second theme and the general practice of using gradual tempo changes

[44] Surely we would all benefit if we could simply free performers from the illusion that there is a single correct performance style, and especially from the notion that it is universally applicable, as Roger Norrington seems intent on insisting. Note his recent attempt (9 Apr. 1995, Royal Festival Hall, London Philharmonic Orchestra) to 'cleanse' Mahler's Fourth Symphony.

[45] In many ways, then, this new form of analysis fulfils the traditional role of analysis, which is to articulate the moments in the piece where choices are required, to propose questions which the performer (not the analyst) must answer. It has always been the task of analysis to discover the moments of articulation in a piece of music, but not to prescribe what performance nuance should be used to mark these points.

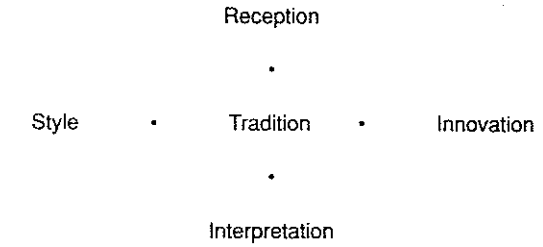


Fig. 19.3. The specific performance traditions of individual musical works provide an intersection between the elements of performance practice and the study of hermeneutics and reception: that is, between the what and the why of performance.

as an expressive or interpretive device have gone out of favour as a result of a new doctrine: that performances without tempo changes added by the interfering performer allow the work to 'speak for itself'.

It is also possible, however, for the individual traditions of a musical work to be altered. Here the performance traditions of the musical work form a nexus for the forces of both performance practice and meaning. In the history of performance practice, work-specific traditions stand between period style and individual innovation. In the history of hermeneutics they mediate between the reception of the work and its interpretation (see Fig. 19.3). In other words, the performance practice history intersects with the hermeneutic history.[46] Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, for example, was not always associated with a fateful or heroic military victory, and in what follows I shall demonstrate that this change in meaning is connected to a change in the performance tradition of the piece.

The hermeneutic history of this symphony is scattered among a variety of reviews, programme and liner notes, textbooks, scholarly writings, and music guides. Even a brief glance at these materials will demonstrate that by the second half of our century the fate and victory associations have become virtually universal: 'The music takes fate by the throat immediately, and by the last movement wrests from it a tremendous victory.'[47] Earlier interpretations, however, focused on neither fate nor heroism, but on love. For D'Indy it was love of country, and for Grove it was love of Theresa Brunswick.[48] For Berlioz the symphony expressed Beethoven's 'secret sorrows and his pent-up rage' over a lost

[46] Of course, not all changes in performance practice are tied to a hermeneutic change. Some, like the tradition of slowing down the second theme in a sonata-allegro movement, have fallen away because of a change in the generic performance practice ideology. Other changes are the result of individual musical innovation: virtually all of Karajan's personal mannerisms were imitated by legions of younger conductors.

[47] Liner notes for Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, Solti, Chicago Symphony Orchestra (London LP: CS 6092, 1971).

[48] For Grove, the two themes of the first movement represented the 'fierce imperious composer' and the 'womanly, yielding, devoted girl' (Sir George Grove, *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* (London, 1898; repr. New York, 1962), 155–6.

love.[49] Hoffmann, on the other hand, heard only endless longing (*unendliche Sehnsucht*). True, he did hear 'a brilliant shaft of blinding sunlight penetrating the darkness of night' in the Finale, but he never mentions victory, and was careful to point out that the lasting impression is not even one of stability: 'The heart of every sensitive listener, however, is certain to be deeply stirred and held until the very last chord by one lasting emotion, that of nameless, haunted yearning.'[50] Then again, an anonymous critic in 1852 heard 'tears of joy and such emotions of pleasure, as may be supposed to have arisen in the breast of Columbus when he first observed the light that revealed the existence of the land he had so long and so ardently sought for'.[51] Even Schindler heard only 'a marvelous union of pathos, majesty, and grandeur'.[52]

In the twentieth century, however, hardly anyone can withstand the temptation to read the move from minor to major in the Finale as a victory. For some it remains a psychological victory: 'The blaze of sound coming out of a sort of "aural fog" symbolizes a psychological victory over the composer's deafness.'[53] For others it is artistic victory: 'Artistic victory is his, and he displays the dead body of his mortal enemy by bringing back the corpse of the bridge passage.'[54] Especially in the second half of the century, the symphony becomes 'a great moral drama. . . . He would fight destiny to victory, he resolved, and achieve reconciliation with the world . . . the struggle finally took finished form as the C minor symphony. . . . Beethoven's great symphony was thus a monument to an ordeal.'[55] Crucial to this ordeal is the victory over fate which is no longer 'the cold impersonal law of things indifferent to Man, but an active enemy'.[56] By the middle of the century, there is convergence of meaning, and it is declared to be universal:

> [T]he Fifth is clearly patterned on a moral program capable of a single broad analysis. Each has termed the 'enemy' according to his own philosophical bent, from 'monster,' 'fiend,' 'forces of evil' to a malign Providence. All have viewed the contest as moving from abject despair and helplessness through prayerful truce to savage defiance and victory.[57]

[49] 'The first movement is devoted to the expression of the disorded sentiments which pervade a great soul when prey to despair' (Hector Berlioz, *A Travers Chant* (Paris, 1862; repr. edn.), *A Critical Study of Beethoven's Nine Symphonies*, trans. Edwin Evans (London, 1954), 63.

[50] E. T. A. Hoffman, 'Review of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony', *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 12 (4 and 11 July 1810), trans. Martyn Clarke in David Charlton (ed.), *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer, Music Criticism* (Cambridge, 1989), 247.

[51] *The Musical World* (London), 17 Apr. 1852, p. 248.

[52] Anton Felix Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew him*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill, NC, 1966), 147.

[53] Antony Hopkins, *The Nine Symphonies of Beethoven* (Seattle, 1981), 152.

[54] Charles Burr, liner notes for Beethoven Symphony No. 5, Eugene Ormandy, Philadelphia Orchestra (Columbia LP: ML 5098, 1957).

[55] Louis Biancolli, quoted by Charles Burr, liner notes for Beethoven Symphony No. 5, Bruno Walter, Columbia Symphony Orchestra (Columbia LP: ML-5365, 1958).

[56] Robert Bagar and Louis Biancolli, *The Concert Companion: A Comprehensive Guide to Symphonic Music* (New York, 1947), 36.

[57] Ibid.

In the second movement, the second theme first occurs on the clarinets and bassoons at bar 23 in the tonic key of A flat. After a hushed diminished chord suddenly becomes a loud augmented sixth, the theme is heard again at bar 32 in C major on the trumpets and horns. For virtually every commentator, this second passage has some extra-musical meaning. At the very least, it reminds everyone of the Finale, where the brass will again emerge from a pianissimo harmonic fog and blast a fanfare in C major. Not surprisingly, nineteenth-century critics heard only a 'stately passage'[58] or 'broad masses of light'.[59] Grove heard 'martial' music;[60] but again, by the end of World War II, this music became 'triumphant'[61] or 'a sure victory sign'.[62] For Joseph Krips it indicated that 'we must not abandon hope'.[63] If the symphony has come to symbolize our victory over Hitler, then this passage is the 'call to action that presages the mood and key of the finale and psychologically brings hope and confidence in the eventual outcome of the struggle'.[64]

How does all this translate into performance? Despite Beethoven's complete lack of any marking to change the tempo, even the most rigid performance sectionalizes the piece with tempo changes. Everyone, for example, slows down for the cadence figures between the first and second themes (bars 7–22). Similarly, virtually everyone slows down as Beethoven modulates from the soft clarinets and bassoons in A flat to loud trumpets and horns in C. In nearly all performances before World War II and the V-for-victory interpretation, however, the C major version of the theme is faster than the A flat version. After the war the opposite trend became popular, with the C major version going slower. This can be demonstrated by calculating the difference in tempo between bars 23–6 (the first occurrence of the passage on clarinets and bassoons) and bars 32–6 (the second occurrence, this time with trumpets and horns in C major). In Figure 19.4, this value (positive if the performances gets faster in the second occurrence, negative if the performance gets slower in the second occurrence) is plotted against the year of recording.

[58] For Hoffmann it was simply the 'stately passage in C major' (*Musical Writings*, 245).

[59] Professor Thomson of Edinburgh characterizes the brass in C major as 'broad masses of light which burst at intervals from the brass instruments' (*Musical World* (London), 1 Apr. 1841, p. 195).

[60] Grove: 'very loud and martial' (*Beethoven*, 162). See also anonymous notes to Beethoven Symphony No. 5, Felix Weingartner, London Philharmonic Orchestra (Columbia 78: M 254, 1933): 'fanfare-like in outline'.

[61] 'A second subject is announced with a triumphal entry of trumpets and drums' (liner notes, Beethoven Symphony No. 5, Hans Swarowsky, Sinfonia of London (Liberty LP: SWL 15003, 1957)).

[62] 'The second theme begins ruminatively in A-flat but suddenly brightens to a triumphant C major, a sure victory sign' (Neville Cardus, liner notes for George Szell, Cleveland Orchestra (Epic LP: LC 3195, 1956).

[63] Joseph Krips, liner notes, ed. Frederic V. Grunfeld, Beethoven Symphonies, Joseph Krips, London Symphony Orchestra (Murray Hill LP: S-2694, 1960). Also, 'the second of these themes, marked by rising triad figures, points forward to the victory theme of the finale' (Uwe Kraemer, trans. John Coombs, for a Special Gala Concert for Prisoners of Conscience, with the profits going to Amnesty International, Beethoven Symphony No. 5, live recording by Leonard Bernstein, Bavarian Radio Symphony Orchestra (DG LP: 2-DG2721153, 1977).

[64] 'He contrasted it with another lyrical tune, at first in the same key of A flat but, after a moment's hesitation, suddenly blazing out in a C major call to action that presages the mood and key of the finale and psychologically brings hope and confidence in the eventual outcome of the struggle' (liner notes for Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, Solti, Chicago Symphony Orchestra (London LP: CS 6092, 1971).

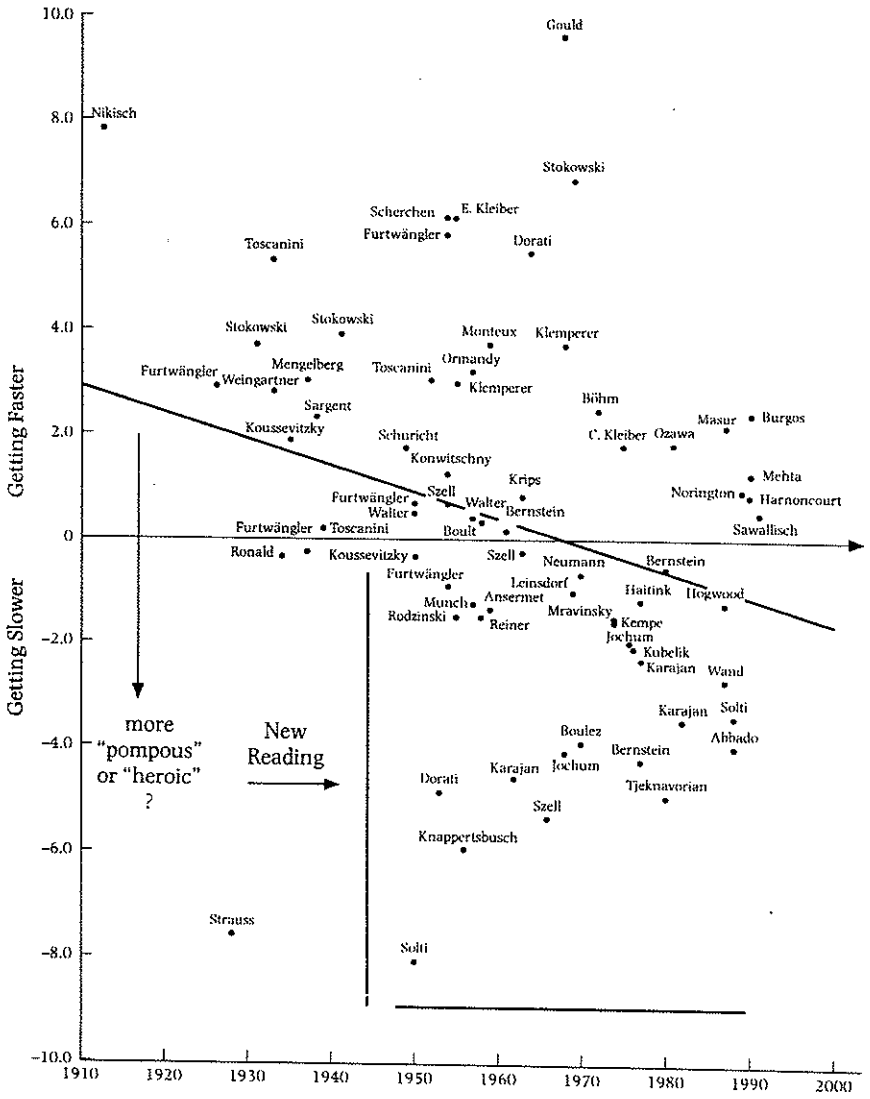


Fig. 19.4. Beethoven, Symphony No. 5, second movement. The difference between the average tempo in bars 23–6 (where the second theme occurs on clarinets and bassoons) and the average tempo in bars 32–6 (where the same theme occurs on trumpets and horns) is plotted against the year of the recording, and the conductor is labelled next to the dot which represents the performance. Dots on the centre line with the arrow represent performances which employ the same tempo for both passages. Dots above the line represent performances which get faster for the second passage, and those below represent performances which get slower. (The degree of increase or decrease is given in beats per minutes (i.e. tempo marks).)

In his book on performing the Beethoven symphonies, Weingartner warned 'against robbing the magnificent C major passages of their freshness by allowing the speed to slacken with the idea of producing a pompous effect'.[65] Before World War II, the passage was considered stately or bright, but there was no association with heroism or victory. With the exception of Strauss, whose problem is that he plays the first occurrence of the theme too fast, we can see from Figure 19.4 that everyone seems to agree with Weingartner; slowing the passage down to emphasize its martial character makes it 'pompous'. The dominant reading before the war, then, is to increase the speed slightly for the C major passage. After the war, with victory certain and the meaning of the symphony established as the triumph of man against a hostile enemy, a new reading and a new performance style emerge: the C major passage now slows down. The clarification of the 'meaning' of the symphony has brought about a change in the way we play the music. Either the dominant performance style has changed in response to a new interpretation, or what sounded 'pompous' before the war now sounds 'heroic'.

In 1970 Glenn Gould admitted that he avoided much of Beethoven's music because it was 'rather heroic in attitude and all rather triumphantly tonal'.[66] As it turns out, Gould's piano performance is at the most extreme 'unheroic' end of the spectrum. With regard to Beethoven, both Gould's attitude and performance practice belong to the first rather than the second half of our century. This seems to be the case for most of the conductors included here; that is, there seems to be a connection between what you think the piece means and how you play it. The study of performance traditions, therefore, provides a link between performance practice and hermeneutics.

Here, then, the new interests in cultural studies and performance practice intersect with the most traditional questions and repertoire of Western musicology. Investigating performance styles is a natural extension of the initial charter of examining compositional styles. Indeed, it provides an opportunity to integrate the analysis of compositions with an understanding of how they were performed and perceived. Discussions of how individual innovation is affected by period style, and of how styles and even works change, demonstrate how musicology can be both cultural and historical at the same time. In this context, for example, we see that authority has always been an issue in musicology. No one doubts that both the work and the myth surrounding Beethoven's Ninth Symphony cast an immense shadow over the compositional style of the nineteenth century; why should we doubt that Toscanini or Karajan cast an equally large shadow over the performance style of this one? In both cases the authority is

[65] Felix Weingartner, 'On the Performance of Beethoven's Symphonies', trans. Jessie Crosland, in *Weingartner on Music and Conducting* (New York, 1969), 132.

[66] Glenn Gould, 'Admit it Mr. Gould, You Do Have Doubts about Beethoven', *Globe & Mail Magazine* (Toronto), 6 June 1970, repr. in liner notes, Beethoven Piano Sonatas, Glenn Gould, piano, vol. 1 (Sony CD: SM3K 52638, 1994), 9.

dependent on market forces, visibility, and reputation, as well as intrinsically musical qualities. In both cases, influence (or what we might now want to call 'market penetration') can be gauged by sales (sheet music arrangements for one, records for the other, and performances for both) and by imitation from other artists. The study of performance histories offers insight into the study of authority and a mechanism by which musicology can analyse 'works' in a cultural context.

Methodologies are as varied as the repertoires studied, and they are likely to become even more widely divergent as further experiments are made. While some methodologies will prove more successful than others, it can only be to the good to have the widest possible range from which to choose. It will be especially interesting to compare studies of the same repertoire made by scholars using different methodologies.[67] A key issue will be the relationship between empirical data and descriptive analysis (in other words, between individual qualities and the whole interpretation). Methodologies will also be partially determined by aims. While the infusion of objective standards of verifiable evidence will be good for music criticism, the problem of creating criteria for evaluation could be equally good for musicology. If evaluation of performances is required, based perhaps on how well a performance exemplifies a particular analysis of the piece, then surely evaluation of analyses is also required. Music in performance simultaneously allows an injection of new materials and a chance to re-evaluate old ones. My argument, therefore, is not that musicology should abandon any of its current methodology or goals, but that it should now also bring to bear on its problems an understanding that music is heard, analysed, and even conceived in terms of individual, period, and geographic performance styles, of work-specific traditions, and individually innovative performances. Finally, the study of music in performance is not simply another new, alternative approach; rather, it offers a common ground where analysis, cultural studies, hermeneutics, and performance practice meet.

[67] I have tried in vain to discover a cognitive and critical study of the same work.