

Gaspar Cassadó:

A study of Catalan Cello Arrangements and Cello Performance Style

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A Carlos: quien está conmigo siempre, tanto en las certezas como
en las dudas.

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Abstract

This thesis explores the legacy of Catalan cellist and composer Gaspar Cassadó (1897–1966). It provides a summary of his life and legacy, an analysis of his performance style and transcription style, and explores the implications of the findings for the related fields of Catalan and Spanish twentieth-century music, musical transcription and twentieth-century cello performance. The text is complemented with a CD containing recordings of cello works by Cassadó performed by the author of this thesis, as well as the first attempt to list definitively Cassadó's compositions, transcriptions and recordings, which are found in Appendices I–IV. Cassadó's performance style is analysed mainly through recording comparisons between him and a number of cellists connected with his cultural and historical background. The comparisons conclude that Cassadó, although displaying certain similarities with other cellists in the comparison, cannot truly be said to have belonged to a tradition or generation based solely on performance characteristics; instead more general aspects of approach, philosophy and influence exerted on other performers need to be taken into account. The discussion of his transcriptions includes a study of music transcription history and the related area of language translation, to provide a context for a number of case studies, analysing genres and styles within Cassadó's output. The study concludes that a definite attempt is perceptible on Cassadó's part to widen the concept of cello transcription as creative practice, as well as to approach the great historical exponents in the field, such as Franz Liszt. It also emphasises the unusual breadth in styles and types of his output. An additional commentary relates the author's own performance experience of Cassadó's works, especially with regard to performing several unpublished works and first-hand study with one of Cassadó's disciples. Some conclusions from this commentary include a number of interpretative details of possible use for the future performer of Cassadó's works, with the intention not to be prescriptive but rather to open up new and stimulating possibilities for the performances of this repertoire, keeping in mind Cassadó's own practice of using performances as a workshop to improve musical scores.

Notes

The music examples displaying original manuscripts by Cassadó are from the uncatalogued archive at Tamagawa University, unless otherwise specified.

The translations of quotations from published or unpublished sources from other languages into English are all by the author of this thesis, unless otherwise specified.

The recording tempi displayed in the recording comparisons have been counted by ear using a metronome and refer to the general tempo of a section, unless otherwise specified.

Although the names of some Catalan musicians, such as Pau Casals, Enric Granados or Lluís Claret, are known abroad in their Spanish forms (Pablo, Enrique, or Luis) this thesis will refer to them by the Catalan names, as they are generally referred to in Spain.

Chapter One

An introduction to Gaspar Cassadó's life and legacy

The figure of Gaspar Cassadó as composer, transcriber and performer is not widely known today and there are various explanations for this. First of all, Cassadó showed little interest in preparing his life work for posterity: he did not leave any texts regarding his musical beliefs or attitudes and he did not participate in extensive interviews or studies. He did not ensure the preservation of his manuscripts and notes, nor compile an inventory of them. Secondly, his life story was never written down either by him or by anyone close to him. Lastly, he had no children, nephews or nieces and he lived his life constantly on the move, travelling for concerts and teaching. As he expressed it himself in 1956: "I go through life a bohemian, in constant contradiction with myself" (Del Arco, 1956, n.p.). He married only a few years before his death, and his widow, the Japanese pianist Chieko Hara, eventually returned to her home country with most of his belongings. Furthermore, at the time of his death he was no longer at the top of the musical élite: although popular as a performer he was considered eccentric, somewhat old-fashioned, and as a composer he never saw the popularity that the solo *Suite*, *Requiebros* and *Dance de Diable Vert* enjoy today. In short, the bases for creating a foundation or other means of caring for his legacy were simply not there. Perhaps posterity was not of great importance to Cassadó. When asked in 1963 by a radio interviewer what he himself thought that posterity would have to say about Gaspar Cassadó, he replied: "Very little. We artists are like butterflies. When you die; that's the end" (Cassadó, 1963, *Barcelona radio*).¹

This thesis sets out to explore two main areas of Cassadó's musical practice: cello performance and transcription, with the aim both to contextualize his legacy historically and culturally, and to contribute to the field of knowledge of these two under-researched fields within twentieth-century music. The areas of cello performance and transcription have been chosen because of their centrality within Cassadó's musical profile, as well as for their proximity to my own musical practice as a cellist.

Given that Cassadó's career and legacy are not commonly known today, the first chapter of this thesis provides a context for the subsequent discussions by summarizing the most important aspects of Cassadó's influences, education and musical relationships as well as his recordings and his compositional activities. Chapters Two and Three use recording comparisons to discuss Cassadó's

¹ "Muy poco. Los artistas somos como... 'papillons'... Cuando se mueren, se acaba todo."

performance style through two different prisms: his cultural background and his historical context. A number of recordings by Cassadó are compared to recordings by Catalan cellists Pau Casals and Lluís Claret on one hand, and to the contemporary cellists Emanuel Feuermann and Gregor Piatigorsky on the other hand. Both chapters place Cassadó in a wider setting in order to identify performance style traits of historical and cultural origin as well as to establish Cassadó's influence on both Catalan cello performance and on twentieth-century cello performance.

Chapter Four and Five deal with Cassadó's transcriptions, first through analysing the historical and creative context of the transcriptions, and secondly through analysing the body of work through a number of case studies, discussing the genres and styles of the different pieces. The intention of the discussion is to place Cassadó's transcriptions within the history of transcription as well as discussing the concept of transcription as a creative practice with reference to Cassadó's style and body of work. The research also explores the connections between Cassadó's transcription practice and his practice as a performer.

The last chapter treats the practical side of the investigation in the form of a commentary regarding the interpretation of Cassadó's works, using the experience I have acquired through working with Catalan cellists, as well as from performing and recording different works by Cassadó, some still unpublished. This chapter is connected with Appendix I, containing a number of recordings of works by Cassadó.

Four additional items are included in the thesis in the form of appendices. The first is the above-mentioned CD containing recordings of part of the repertoire discussed in the thesis. The remaining three appendices are all first attempts at definitive compilations regarding different aspects of Cassadó's legacy: Appendix II lists his original compositions, Appendix III lists his transcriptions and Appendix IV lists his audio recordings.

This thesis has few, albeit well-conceived, predecessors in the field of researching Cassadó's music: the DMA thesis by Nathaniel Chaitkin on the relationship between Casals and Cassadó as well as aspects of Cassadó's different musical activities; the DMA thesis by Elaine Boda analysing several of his compositions; and the only publication so far dedicated to his life: the short biography by Mònica Pagès, published in Catalan and Spanish by Tritó Edicions in Barcelona (Chaitkin, 2001, Boda, 1998 and Pagès, 2000). Not only has the specific topic of Cassadó's legacy been subject to little previous musicological research, but in a broader perspective the fields of cello performance and Spanish twentieth-century music in general are under-researched

subjects. Given this state of affairs, the search for reliable primary sources has proved crucial for conducting a detailed investigation into any aspect of Cassadó's legacy. To the best of my knowledge there has been no previous research nor publication using the totality of the sources presented in this thesis, including the archive at the Museum of Education, Tamagawa University in Tokyo, donated by Chieko Hara's heirs, which holds the vast majority of Cassadó's legacy. The library at Accademia Chigiana in Siena holds letters, a few scores and notes; the Biblioteca de Catalunya holds an archive dedicated to his father, whilst Cassadó's disciples, friends and family provided vital additional information, especially regarding biographical details.

In order to establish an initial frame for Cassadó's musical practice, a presentation of his life and legacy, containing a summary of all dates and facts that are of importance for subsequent analysis, will introduce the thesis.

Gaspar Cassadó (1897-1966)

Cassadó was born into a musical and culturally cultivated Barcelonian family in 1897. In addition to a passion for music and art, Cassadó's upbringing also instilled in him a deep Catholic faith. His father Joaquim, a renowned organist and composer, was the dominant influence during Gaspar's childhood and took charge of his musical education, which started in the local church choir and included lessons with local cellist Dionisio March (Fernandez-Cid, 1999, p. 316). As a versatile church musician Joaquim was crucial in shaping Gaspar's view of music as well as in recognizing and promoting his son's talent early on.² Works by Joaquim were among the first that Gaspar performed in Barcelona's prestigious Palau de la música: in a concert in 1915 he performed Joaquim's *El títol, flaviol i l'escarbat* for cello and piano, alongside *Madrigal* by Granados and Grieg's Cello Sonata, but it is likely that he had been playing them in concerts even earlier.³ Joaquim's Cello Concerto was dedicated to Gaspar and was performed by the young cellist during the first Symphonic Cycle of Iberian Composers in Palau in 1921 with Barcelona's Symphonic Orchestra.⁴

The most crucial moment in Gaspar's career was undoubtedly Joaquim's decision to move to Paris sometime between 1907 and 1909 with Gaspar and his brother Augustí so they could study with Pau Casals and Jacques Thibaud respectively, funded by a

² The similarities with Casals, who was also deeply influenced by his father, the organist and choir master in the Catalan village of El Vendrell, are worth noting.

³ *Madrigal* is a transcription by Granados for cello and piano of his own piano work *Tonadilla No. 2*.

⁴ The cycle featured Gaspar in his father's Cello Concerto and in a cello concerto by the contemporary Catalan composer Enric Morera as well as Manuel de Falla performing as the piano soloist in his own *Noches de España*.

scholarship from the city of Barcelona.⁵ Legend has it that Casals was uninterested in teaching at this time because of his intense concert schedule, but changed his mind immediately after hearing the young Gaspar play (Pagès, 2000, p. 21). Although this account cannot be corroborated, Casals, in his thirties at the time, was certainly in the most intense period of performing of his career. According to Guillhermina Suggia's biographer Mercier, during the "Paris years" Casals "gave between 150 and 200 concerts each year" (Mercier, 2008, p. 24). Widely sought as a soloist, Casals toured Europe and South America, as well as the U.S. in 1901, 1904 – playing for Theodore Roosevelt – and in 1911. Additionally, the acclaimed piano trio he formed together with Jacques Thibaud and Alfred Cortot had its premiere in 1906 in Lille (Baldock, 1992, p. 68). Only two other students are known to have studied with Casals during this period: Guillhermina Suggia, Casals' partner, and Charles Kiesgin, reported to have studied with Casals from 1903 to 1909 (Baldock, 1992, p. 74). To study with Casals at such a young age and for such a lengthy period (at least five years) made a deep mark on Cassadó personally as well as musically, and the relationship between the two Catalans appears to have resembled that of a father and son. Cassadó tellingly spoke of Casals as his "spiritual father" and various comments indicate Casals' belief in Cassadó as not only his disciple, but his heir (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 233).⁶

As for technical matters, Cassadó was in the best possible hands. As a young student Casals had identified several deficiencies in standard cello technique and by the end of the century had started to implement various new elements regarding posture and the technique of both hands. The most fundamental change concerned the bowing arm, which Casals used in a flexible manner, freeing the upper arm which traditionally had been kept alongside the body. Related to this new and revolutionary use of the upper arm was Casals' idea of making the bow stroke from the scapula. Casals expressed it as coming from the centre of the body instead of each extremity, which translated as mainly using the back muscles and shifting the weight of the body depending on the stroke, signifying greater and more relaxed strength in the bow strokes (Alexanian, 1922, p. 15 and Baldock, 1992, p. 30). Two equally important technical amendments were connected with the left hand. Casals introduced wide stretches within positions, instead of the traditional manner of changing position frequently through slides, and

⁵ The precise date is unclear. Soler i Fonrodona gives the year 1907 (Soler i Fonrodona, 2002, p. 20) while Cassadó in a letter to the *New York Times* states that he started his studies with Casals in 1908, although he also says that he was nine years old, which would mean 1906 (Pagès, 2000, pp. 51–52). Pagès mentions the year 1909 (Pagès, 2000, p. 19).

⁶ As an example, Lluís Claret reports Casals as once answering the question of who the world's number one cellist was with the words: "The number two in the world is Cassadó" (Claret, personal communication, April 2011).

consequently almost eliminated the technical reason for portamento, or *glissandi*. In addition, Casals was one of the first cellists to use a prominent and frequent vibrato, later to be known as “continuous vibrato”.⁷ Cassadó’s adoption of these new modern technical features from Casals explains in great part the famous virtuosity that gained him the consideration of one of the best cellists of his generation. Laurence Lesser, who studied with Cassadó in the 1950s, comments on Cassadó’s strong hands which were “shaped something like Casals’, though they were bigger. He used an extraordinarily strong and clear articulation in the left hand, which he achieved by hammering the string, like Casals did” (Janof, 2001, online).

According to Cassadó himself, the musical legacy he received from Casals was without doubt the most important:

Expressive balance, absence of unnecessary portamentos, perfection when changing position, a rich palette of dynamics, timbre relations, a diverse vibrato, relaxation and freedom in the bow both in forte and in piano playing, gave him exceptional power and flexibility. Casals’ way of playing produced an inerasable impression from a musical point of view. The study of every piece meant a methodical work reaching the point of wanting to recreate the character of the music being studied. This on its own made him an unsurpassable cellist. (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 164)

We know very little regarding the repertoire Cassadó studied with Casals during the Paris years but the Bach Suites were without doubt a corner-stone in their lessons. Even forty years later the influence of Casals’ phrasings and fingerings are clearly audible in Cassadó’s recording of the Suites. His impression of a performance by Casals of Bach’s Suite No. 5 is explained in a long, interesting letter to Lev Ginsburg:

This unsurpassed interpretation had such a great impact on me that I rushed to him to congratulate him and say: “Maestro, the time has come when you must publish this suite in your edition.” “Do you really think”, he said with sorrow, “that if I could I wouldn’t have done it long ago?” At the time I could not grasp the essence of his reply. But now, when I became much older I understand my tutor well. Many essential moments of the interpretation cannot be fixed once and for ever, though a player must imagine them in his mind. But in the process of a performer’s interpretation there appears a new factor: inspiration, enthusiasm born of a moment. It is possible to assert that a great performer is

⁷ Unlike on the violin, where Kreisler is generally considered to have introduced continuous vibrato, on the cello there is no clear starting point. Casals, however, displays very early use of continuous vibrato in his recordings, as observed by Tully Potter regarding Casals’ early trio recordings (Potter, 2002, online).

an improviser at the same time. He never performs the same composition twice in the same way. (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 164)

The pre-war years in Paris involved many musical inspirations for the teenaged Cassadó in addition to Casals, the most obvious being the large circle of Spanish musicians who had left a culturally depressed Spain in hope of professional opportunities. De Falla and Turina from southern Spain and the Catalans Granados, Albéniz and Mompou were among those living in Paris during the first decade of the century. Through the pianist Ricard Viñes, close friend of Ravel, the Spaniards came in contact with not only Ravel but an entire French musical élite interested in exotic Spanish folklore, including Saint-Saëns, Satie and Debussy. There are not many records of the Cassadó family's stay in Paris, but it is certainly reasonable to believe that Casals, one of the main figures of the Spanish circle, would have introduced his young bright disciple to his colleagues, especially considering the many friendships and professional collaborations Cassadó enjoyed with the Spanish musicians living in Paris at this time, later in life. It has often been repeated that Cassadó studied composition with De Falla and Ravel but there is no actual record of this.⁸ It seems certain considering Cassadó's level in compositional technique that he enjoyed some kind of formal training during his upbringing, but whether it consisted in occasional advice from one or various great figures in Paris accompanied by study with his father or more formal study, is not known. Later in this chapter a brief discussion of Cassadó's works will show that he remained immersed in the musical world that had surrounded him as an adolescent, shaping his tonal language with elements from French impressionism and Spanish nationalism throughout his career.

The outbreak of the First World War cut the period in Paris short for the Cassadó family, and although they managed to escape the war a tragedy of a more personal kind followed their return to Spain: Augustí died during a typhus outbreak sometime between the autumn of 1914 and the beginning of 1915, only 21 years old. The First World War was the first of three wars which Cassadó lived through and which postponed what would surely have been the launch of an international career for the seventeen-year old cellist. Instead he remained in Spain, in contact with his maestro Casals – a man of great prominence and prestige in Catalonia – composing and performing when possible. We have already mentioned several concerts by Cassadó in the Palau de la música in 1915 and 1921, and Cassadó actually performed there as early as 30 December 1914. Another sign of Cassadó's increasing status as a

⁸ Marçal Cervera believes that Cassadó studied with Ravel, but admits that he has no source regarding this information (Cervera, personal communication, 15 June 2012).

performer in Catalonia is the fact that he was included in a concert featuring Arthur Rubinstein in Barcelona in March 1916. The end of the war meant not only the real launch of Cassadó's career but his definitive departure from Spain: although Cassadó would return frequently to perform, he would remain an expatriate throughout his life. Two musical horizons in particular opened up for the young cellist in the first years of performing abroad: Florence and Berlin. These two cities were connected with a new acquaintance who would become Cassadó's most important musical promoter: the pianist Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani, an Italian aristocrat married to a relative of Felix Mendelssohn and with influence in élite musical circles. The close friendship between Giulietta and Cassadó and the fact that Cassadó did not marry until after her death in 1957 caused some speculation regarding their relationship. Although not recognized officially, letters between Cassadó and friends testify to a close bond between Cassadó and the twenty-year older Giulietta. She undoubtedly appears to have been the most important woman in Cassadó's life until his relationship with Chieko Hara, and she was the dedicatee of several of Cassadó's compositions, including the Sonata in A minor for cello and piano published in 1925, *Quatre pièces espagnoles* for solo piano published in 1946 (both by Mathot, Paris) and the unpublished piece *Sonata Fiorentina* for solo piano.

Cassadó settled in Florence in the early 1920s and travelled regularly to Germany for performances, a dynamic that continued for most of his career. The period between the two world wars was the most intense and probably most productive in Cassadó's life. He performed together with Giulietta in Germany, Italy and Spain, published a number of his own compositions – both original works and transcriptions – and was involved in the foundation of the Accademia Chigiana in Siena in 1932 by one of his closest Italian friends, Count Guido Chigi Saracini. Cassadó performed at Count Chigi's palace from 1924 onwards, taught a popular cello class and brought high-profile colleagues such as Yehudi Menuhin, André Navarra and Pau Casals to give master classes at the academy. Cassadó was gradually acquiring his distinctive and lauded performance style during these years, seeking to escape from under Casals' dominant influence, which was casting a long-lasting shadow.⁹

His student Marçal Cervera describes Cassadó's style as "similar to Casals', but more open and romantic" (Cervera, personal communication, 6 April 2011). Elegance and nobility seem to be words often associated with his performances, noticeably words of

⁹ According to Alberto Passigli, once when friends were repeating to Cassadó that he was the new Casals he burst out: "No em faré Casals!" [I will not turn myself into Casals!] (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009).

both musical and personal connotations: Lluís Claret states that he was struck by the “elegance in Cassadó’s recordings” and his close friend Andrés Segovia mentioned his “aesthetic nobility” (Pagès, 2000, p. 85). One of his greatest weapons seems to have been a powerful stage-presence and charisma, making a great impression on the audience. As his friend Alberto Passigli described it: “Someone told Cassadó – you don’t even have to play [to impress] – just go on stage with your cello” (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009). This charisma seems to have been connected with a strong sense of conviction in his performances regardless of the repertoire or the context. During a conference the year after Cassadó’s death, Clemente Terni stated that:

Instinctively close to the most recent interpretation theories, not only musical ones, that allow multiple readings, he chose one, the one for that particular moment, and he made it stick to his soul like the skin to his body, in an act of faith that surrounded the whole performance.” (Terni, quoted in Pagès, 2000, p. 89)

Another defining characteristic of Cassadó’s performance style was his choice of repertoire, ranging from the standard sonatas and shorter show-pieces – typical for concerts of the early twentieth century – to new music, arrangements and little-performed works. Cervera assures us that “Cassadó played all kinds of music; he disparaged no repertoire” (Cervera, personal communication, 18 June 2010). Many of the works appearing in Cassadó’s concert programmes from the 1920s and 1930s remained fixtures in his repertoire throughout the years, some rarely performed today. Common sonatas included those by Beethoven, Chopin, Grieg, Hindemith, Locatelli, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Strauss and Vivaldi, and shorter works such as the variation-sets by Beethoven and *Pièces en Concert* by Couperin, edited by Paul Bazelaire. These were combined with a vast number of both transcribed and original lesser-known works such as songs by Vaughan Williams and Hamilton Harty, *Campanella* by Paganini, *Impromptu* by Borrás de Palau, *Introduction, Theme and Variations* by Weber, *Pastoral and Reel* by Cyril Scott or the *Duo Concertante* by Ferdinand Ries. Terni concludes that “one of the most peculiar characteristics of Cassadó the performer was his capacity to be a link between romanticism and later musical experiences, even the most questionable” (Terni, quoted in Pagès, 2000, p. 89). This can be applied to all aspects of Cassadó’s musical practice and also explains some of the criticism he received from the musical establishment.

Cassadó firmly established himself as a promoter of contemporary music during the 1920s and onwards, especially that from Spain. As the Catalan composer

Montsalvatge once put it, “it has been said that [...] there was no Spanish composer not writing a cello concerto for Cassadó” (Pagès, 2000, p. 74). Some early collaborations with Spanish colleagues include a performance of the *Allegro Appassionato* dedicated to Cassadó by Tomas Buxó Pujades (1882–1962) and the premiere of *Una meravellosa rondalla* by Francesc Pujol i Pons (1878–1945) (Kaufman, 2009, p. 99). In 1924 Joaquín Turina arranged his solo piano work ‘Jueves Santo a medianoche’ from the *Sevilla Suite*, dedicating it to Cassadó, and the cellist himself transcribed the ‘Canço i Dansa nr.1’ from Mompou’s work set *Cançons i Danses* the same year in collaboration with the author, publishing it with Universal Edition. Later collaborations include the transcription of the *Canzone et Pastorella* in 1934 by Ernesto Halffter dedicated to Cassadó, as well as the *Fantaisie Espagnole* by Halffter for cello and piano premiered in Madrid in 1953, also dedicated to the cellist (in this case posthumously). The Cuban-Catalan composer Joaquín Nin-Culmell worked together with Cassadó in the 1960s. The *Concierto según Anselm Viola* was a concerto transcribed for cello and orchestra by Nin-Culmell from the bassoon original and premiered by Cassadó in 1963. Cassadó also premiered Nin-Culmell’s solo Suite in 1965 at the Musikhochschule of Cologne (Kaufman, 2009, p. 100).

In Italy, Cassadó worked with some of the most important composers of the time: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895–1968), Ottorino Respighi (1879–1936), Alfredo Casella (1883–1947) and Luigi Dallapiccola (1904–1975). His collaboration with Dallapiccola was one of the most fruitful and long-lasting musical relationships of his career. Their first important collaboration occurred directly after the Second World War when Cassadó commissioned a solo work from Dallapiccola to help restore cultural activity in Florence. The result – *Chaconne, Intermezzo e Adagio*, a solo cello work in three movements – was finished in 1946 and premiered by Cassadó in Milan that same year. The work, which establishes firmly the serialism of Dallapiccola, was one of the composer’s first compositions to achieve success abroad and made its way into the standard repertoire of solo cello works. According to Raymond Fern in *The Music of Dallapiccola*, Cassadó significantly enhanced its success through his numerous performances of the piece abroad (Fern, 2003, p. 213). The origin of the second work that Cassadó commissioned from Dallapiccola – *Dialoghi* for cello and orchestra – is described by Fern at length: the two friends spent days at Dallapiccola’s house in August 1959 discussing “technical matters of cello playing” (Fern, 2003, p. 213).¹⁰

¹⁰ *Dialoghi* never reached the same popularity, which according to Fern was because “some were disappointed that, in his second work written for Gaspar Cassadó, Dallapiccola had not presented a work of the haunting beauty and poetry of “Ciaccona, intermezzo e Adagio”, which had been composed more than a decade earlier, while others had perhaps

Cassadó was as convinced about the excellence of *Dialoghi* as he had been about the *Chaconne, Intermezzo e Adagio* and in a passionate letter he thanks Dallapiccola for writing the work, telling him not to worry about the opinion of the “ignorant” public while also commenting on the “obsessive work” that the making the first recording of *Dialoghi* had entailed (Nicolodi, 1975, p. 95).¹¹

It must be admitted that a number of Cassadó’s collaborations with other composers achieved less than positive results. The enormous enthusiasm that Cassadó manifestly professed for contemporary music, whether the serialism of Dallapiccola or the post-romanticism of composers like Halffter, was contagious, and together with his performance virtuosity often convinced colleagues to engage in joint projects. However, Cassadó’s own compositional urge often resulted in unwanted or disconcerting suggestions during the composition process. The Catalan composer Narcís Bonet (b. 1933) who dedicated his Cello Concerto of 1961 to Cassadó, comments that Cassadó suggested a great many changes to the score, and adds that “some I accepted but some not because they did not concord with my style” (Bonet, personal communication, December 2012). Some composers were less understanding and several works are known to have been interrupted due to disagreement between the composer and Cassadó’s interferences in the creative process: the *Concerto libero* by Monsalvatge and *Variations sur un thème de Chopin* by Mompou are two examples. Other works encountered problems after the conception of the work, for example the *Concerto Galante* by Joaquín Rodrigo. The latter’s wife Victoria Kamhi comments on the genesis of the work, written in collaboration with Cassadó and premiered by him in 1949 with the Spanish National Orchestra. Although the conception of the piece had been the happy result of “the two friends working together until four in the mornings” and the premiere, according to Kamhi, a success, the next performance by Cassadó had a surprise in store for her and Rodrigo:

His concerto which at first had aroused such enthusiasm in Cassadó began to seem too long to him once he started to perform it. Neither reluctant nor lazy, Cassadó took scissors to the score, especially in the parts where the soloist didn’t play. Joaquín complained bitterly about seeing his work mutilated and his annoyance affected me. How would we get along with so many erasures when the time came to publish the work? This “little caprice” of Cassadó’s seemed a veritable heresy to us! (Kamhi de Rodrigo, 1992, p. 144)

hoped for a major realignment of the composer’s approach to serial composition. Both remained unfulfilled in the work that was heard at the time.” (Fern, 2003, p. 213)

¹¹ “Ti ringrazio di aver scritto questo pezzo per il Violoncello, che spero diventerà, col tempo, uno dei pezzi, nei programme, abligatoriamente [sic]. Tante per fare la ‘beffa’ al ‘dotto e ‘intelligente’ pubblico puzzone ed ignorante della Città...Eterna! Ole!”

Cassadó, in contrast to most other performers of his generation, seemed reluctant to act only as a performer in his collaborations with other composers. Perhaps it is not surprising that a musician so accustomed to combining composition, performing, arranging and editing in his own musical practice found it difficult not to join in the creative process. Unfortunately, here, as in other instances, Cassadó's unusual approach to music-making, although well-intended, caused friction and sometimes reproach.

In 1936 when the Spanish Civil War started, Cassadó had his first American tour, long sought after and symbolically significant. Among other things, he performed the Haydn D major Concerto with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by John Barbirolli with great success. After his debut as a composer in 1928 with the *Rapsodia Catalana* he now conquered the American stage as a performer and placed himself alongside the two main up-comers fighting to conquer the American cello scene – Emanuel Feuermann and Gregor Piatigorsky.

After the appearance of Casals on the world stage cello playing had changed, and a new level of virtuosity was present in the next generation of cellists of which Piatigorsky, Feuermann and Cassadó were the greatest exponents. Competition was tough, and for Cassadó it came naturally to experiment with the instrument as well as the repertoire and technique in these years. Cassadó performed on magnificent instruments, including the 1709 Stradivarius that allegedly once belonged to Boccherini, a gift from Juan Quintero (Del Arco, 1964, p. 23).¹² However, he still had the usual practical issues faced by any cellist: problems matching the volume of the symphonic orchestra when performing as a soloist, the unreliability of the gut strings and climate changes affecting the bridge of the cello. To improve the sound volume Cassadó tried various contraptions such as using metal screws to replace the string holder, metal bow hair, and he was the first cellist to use metal strings in concert. It seems that he worked together with different instrument makers on several experiments: Fernandez-Cid, for example, mentions a failed attempt by Cassadó and Barcelonian instrument maker Ignacio Fleta to adapt a fifth string to the cello, presumably for the performance of J.S. Bach's Suite No. 6 (Fernandez-Cid, 1999, p.

¹² Cassadó famously premiered six unpublished sonatas by Boccherini in 1964 on that very instrument. The fact that Boccherini himself ever owned that Stradivarius has, however, been denied in later years by Boccherini scholars (Tortella, 2009, online).

316).¹³ Laurence Lesser gives a detailed account of Cassadó's experiments at that time:

He had installed an extra strong bass bar and an adjustable fingerboard with an element like a skate key in the neck, so that he could raise or lower the fingerboard without ever having to change the bridge. This was a boon for people who travelled throughout the world and couldn't find good luthiers to work on their instruments. If he was in a place that was very humid, he could raise the fingerboard to compensate for the expanding bridge; if it was very dry, he could lower it. [...] He played with a big cork sleeve on the frog of his bow -- about an inch and a half in diameter -- so that when he gripped the bow he didn't touch the frog at all. He was trying to maximize his power and the cork gave him more leverage. Unfortunately, I feel this resulted in his tone sounding somewhat choked [...] He also had a contraption in place of the tailpiece that consisted of a steel frame to which were attached four three-eighths to half-inch diameter springs of different lengths so that each string could have an adjustable pressure. He believed that he could get more sound out of the instrument because the strings were allowed to vibrate more freely." (Janof, 2001, online)

Needless to say, most of these eccentric ideas were frowned upon, and there were also complaints that Cassadó's sound had worsened and was more brittle and metallic. One of few people to approve of his experiments was the famous accompanist Gerald Moore, who played with Cassadó in the 1940s:

Cassado's playing was full of ideas and originality. His instruments carried a strange mechanism that amplified the sound. Even in lyrical pieces, like *Après un rêve*, by Fauré, he would sit in front of the tail of the grand piano, which had the lid wide open, so that he could hear as much as possible of my sound. Some purists, that were actually admirers, mocked him for this little trick, it seemed to them that it altered the colour of the cello. But I have to confess I liked it. (Moore, 1962, p. 109)

Although instrument experimentation formed part of Cassadó's musicianship throughout his career, the recordings show a certain fluctuation, both regarding the results of, and the reaction to, the experiments. That there was also a pedagogical aspect included in Cassadó's experimentation, is hinted by viola player Enrique Santiago:

¹³ "Intento, fallido, junto con el lutier Ignacio Fleta, haber intentado adaptar al violonchelo una quinta cuerda".

I recall that for one of his students he made a contraption out of cork trying to accomplish a more natural position in the right hand. For the same student he also constructed a special “string holder” which was constructed with strong screws to obtain greater elasticity in the strings and greater sound volume. (Pagès, 2000, p. 77)

The musical results of the experiments were certainly questionable at times, but perhaps results were not the only thing on Cassadó’s mind. The constancy and continuity of all his different creative activities throughout his life suggest instead that the idea of searching and of constant movement were intrinsic aspects of his musical approach, as well as of his personality.

Without a doubt the most controversial aspect of Cassadó’s life was his political detachment from the Spanish Civil War and the Second World War. There is no question that a man of deep Catholic faith and in close contact with the musical élite and aristocracy of both Italy and Germany like Cassadó was in conflict with Spanish Republican interests, as some of his letters seem to imply.¹⁴ Nevertheless, Cassadó’s sensitivities naturally also conflicted with the other side: the anti-intellectualism, repression of minority-identities (such as the Catalan language) and racism, not to mention the many crimes committed during the long dictatorship. Whatever his inclinations would have been at the beginning of the wars, the Spanish and Italian long-term realities made him avoid political issues altogether. Unfortunately for Cassadó, in the aftermath of the Second World War many were quick to accuse, and he soon realized that his comfortable position in Florence and lack of resistance against the fascist government were enough to make him seem suspicious. The circumstances surrounding the letter by Diran Alexanian published in the *New York Times* in 1949, denouncing Cassadó as fascist collaborator during his second concert tour in the U.S., have been well explained and analysed by Nathaniel Chaitkin and do not need to be repeated here (Chaitkin, 2001, pp. 11–21).

What is worthy of special mention is that Cassadó was most affected by the personal component of these accusations, given that his maestro Casals was endorsing the letter, something which has been suggested “really broke [Cassadó’s] heart” (Cohen, 1966, n.p.). In a letter to Pierre Fournier in July the same year he expresses his grief over the incident:

Dear Friend,

¹⁴ Cassadó comments in a letter to his friend Mompou on executions by the Republicans of mutual friends and that he hopes “Franco will put an end to the tragedy” (letter to Frederic Mompou, Florence, 13 February 1937, kindly provided by Mònica Pagès).

I have much appreciated your letter, especially at a time so disconcerting in my life when I am accused of certain crimes that I have not committed. And the saddest thing of all in this matter is that the most important element against me is my own *maestro*. That makes my defence, although just and logical, impossible, since with the *maestro* himself there can be no confrontation. You see in what situation I find myself. As you can imagine, after the horrible accusation by letter written to an “individual” in New York who has published it in the New York Times after my recital last season at the Town Hall, a disastrous opinion of me and an insufferable environment have been created and yet, in consequence, I have to remain impassive, since a just defence on my part will never arrive. Dear Friend, I thank you from all my heart for your proposal. At the moment I can't see anything clearly. Let's hope that time will bring justice and reveal the truth since perforce logic must always be victorious. I have suffered a great deal and I can assure you that my time in New York has cost me a little of my health. I know that the world is egocentric and evil, but I cannot understand what my maestro has done. That surpasses my ability to understand. Thank you again, dear friend and colleague and I ask that you accept my sincere friendship. Gaspar Cassadó. (Pagès, 2000, p. 52)

Cassadó replied to Alexanian's letter, but never could nor wished to defend himself in any serious way, and given Casals' position and influence in the U.S., the accusations cost Cassadó a shortening of his tour and possibly even the cancellation of a recording contract with Colombia (Chaitkin, 2001, p. 21).

Whatever the actual details of his concerts during the war, Cassadó was certainly not considered a collaborationist in Italy, where he was deeply involved in the 1944 peace celebration concerts in Florence and worked closely with the ardent anti-fascist Dallapiccola. One must conclude that Cassadó's character, both personal and musical, never quite fitted the expectations around him. His love for fine art and extravagant hat collection, his many friends in the aristocracy and his deep religiosity seem to have created a prejudice of arrogance and opportunism for which there is no real evidence. Descriptions of Cassadó's character by his friends time and again include expressions such as “pure” and “innocent”, perhaps to counterbalance these views. One of his best friends, Andrés Segovia, stated that “the soul of Cassadó was transparent as that of a child, without deposited in it any of the bitterness, disappointments or animosity of life that can muddy it” (Pagès, 2000, p. 85). Louis Kentner describes him as “natural, childlike, and innocent of all evil” (Kentner, 1966, n.p.). A famous obituary by Yehudi Menuhin poetically speaks of Cassadó as “all dove and no serpent” and specifically mentions the accusations against him:

He triumphed over life by a supreme dedication – the supreme integrity of the artist. He won hearts, not battles. His was an innocence which not only laid him open to some unfair accusations at the end of the war but also furnished him with no weapons with which to fight. His was a nature incapable of vindictiveness and when he found amongst those who misunderstood him some of his closest friends his only reaction was one of deep sorrow rather than condemnation. (Menuhin, 1966, p. 10 and 1996, p. 12)

Menuhin remained a friend of both Casals and Cassadó and was later instrumental in a surprisingly successful reconciliation between the two in 1955. At the instigation of Menuhin, Casals invited Cassadó to be a jury member for the 1956 Casals Competition and Cassadó invited Casals to Accademia Chigiana to teach a master class. In accordance with Cassadó's letter to Fournier, Marçal Cervera affirms that "there was never a negative word uttered against Casals" (Cervera, personal communication, 18 June 2010).

Cassadó waited ten years before returning to the U.S. after the debacle in 1949 but in other aspects his career was not severely damaged, and after some time he returned to touring, spending the 1950s conquering new territories such as Asia, Africa and South America. In these years he increasingly performed chamber music; for example, during the years 1956–1958 he gave a number of concerts with a young Alicia de Larrocha, performing work from his favourite performance repertoire as well as works commissioned by himself or dedicated to him, such as the *Partita* by Alexandre Tansman. According to a short interview in a Spanish magazine Cassadó made ninety performances in 1955 and had by then gathered a collection of sixteen violoncelli (Del Arco, 1956, .n.p.).

The 1950s was a happy decade for Cassadó in several aspects. Musically his chamber music projects were more successful than ever, including the trio he formed together with Yehudi Menuhin and Louis Kentner, and in 1958 he began a relationship with a Japanese pianist he had encountered touring Japan and who would become his wife in 1959, Chieko Hara. According to Alberto Passigli, Chieko told him how she had walked in on Cassadó practising the Schumann Concerto and "fell in love instantly" (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009). During the last eight years of his life they formed the *Duo Cassadó*, performing and recording at a high rate. There was no question of who was the dominant figure in the duo. Seventeen years his junior, Chieko made a great effort to adapt to Cassadó's repertoire, including learning a great number of Spanish works and, as she comments in a letter, memorizing the entire repertoire to achieve a good chamber music ensemble (Ishikawa, 2001, p. 231; quoted in Ando,

2010, p. 51). Alberto Passigli concedes that “Cassadó was very affectionate, but could be terrible in the rehearsals with Chieko. He would slap his bow on her fingers if he didn’t like something” (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009).¹⁵

Cassadó’s pedagogical activity was intensified during his later years. His work at the Accademia Chigiana in Siena was combined from 1958 with his appointment as cello teacher at the Musikhochschule in Cologne, where the international student input included cellists such as Marçal Cervera, Enrique Correa, Laurence Lesser, Pablo Loerkens and Benjamin Zander. Furthermore, in 1958 Cassadó, together with Alicia de Larrocha and his close friend Andrés Segovia, started the renowned International Chamber Music Courses in Santiago de Compostela, combining master classes, concerts and conferences every August. Various sources speak of Cassadó’s great involvement with his students at this time, in both time and energy. Enrique Correa tells us that “his dedication was complete; in his teaching there were no time limits or limits to his selflessness.” (Pagès, 2000, p. 79). Most describe Cassadó’s teaching style as focused mainly on musical matters; Alberto Passigli comments that “his lessons were almost exclusively on music. For him, technique was natural” (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009). Marçal Cervera states that “he spoke very little but played a lot – when he said something he was very direct”; and he also affirms that Cassadó believed so much in playing as part of teaching that “he wanted to publish a method with recorded examples because he believed the example to be the best teaching method” (Cervera, personal communication, 15 June 2012).

On the other hand, Cassadó seems to have been as strict a teacher as he was tough in chamber music rehearsals. Alberto Passigli describes him as “very severe to his students”, a sentiment shared by others, but he also offers an example of the positive side of Cassadó’s ambition – the preciseness of instruction: “he said that to play a phrase you need to examine it from all angles, like a sculpture” (Alberto Passigli, personal communication, June 2009). Cassadó’s own technical facility was surely one of the reasons behind focusing his lessons on musical matters. However, Elias Arizcuren suggests that Cassadó went through an evolution regarding his teaching approach, especially regarding technique: “shortly before his death, in Lisbon, he told me ‘Elias, now I have become a better teacher because I have come to understand the difficulties of my students’” (Pagés, 2000, p. 79).

¹⁵ In spite of this, Chieko later told Alberto Passigli that the eight years with Cassadó had been the happiest years of her life! (Passigli, personal communication, June 2009).

Cassadó died on 25 December 1966 from a second heart attack in a short period of time. A few weeks earlier a great flooding in Florence had destroyed the major part of Cassadó's art and instrument collection, causing him great distress and also additional strain on his health, since he participated in concerts to raise money for others affected by the flood. Cassadó had signed himself out of the hospital against the doctors' recommendation after a first heart attack only days before, to be able to travel to Spain to perform.

Cassadó's recording legacy

Cassadó's recording career is extensive, varied and presents a potentially excellent source of information regarding his performance style. However, many recordings have never been re-edited into modern formats and as a result some have virtually disappeared; this is especially true of recordings from the 1920s, but also of some later recordings. In general, a great part of Cassadó's recordings consists of shorter show-pieces, there are surprisingly few sonatas and larger works, even later in his career, but instead many recordings of cello concerti with orchestras. We know of no surviving recordings before 1927, when a group of short pieces with piano accompaniment appear. Among these earliest recordings we find versions of famous works such as Granados' *Andaluza*, Rubinstein's *Melody*, *Lied ohne Worte* by Mendelssohn and the Paderewski Minuet, among others. These recordings display creative use of portamento as well as more restrained interpretations than later versions, especially with regards to tempo.

The first recording of a longer work is the recording of Cassadó's own arrangement of the *Arpeggione* Sonata by Schubert which was recorded with the Hallé Orchestra under Hamilton Harty in 1929. During the 1930s Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani and Michael Raucheisen accompany Cassadó in the majority of his recordings of shorter works. The Haydn D major Concerto and the Dvořák Concerto were both recorded with the Berlin Philharmonic under Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt around 1935. One of Cassadó's many projects with Willem Mengelberg was the Concertgebouw's broadcast 'Hommage to Willem Mengelberg' in 1940, including the recording of Hans Pfitzner's Cello Concerto as well as another recording of the Concerto version of the *Arpeggione* Sonata. Unlike the first recording of the *Arpeggione* from 1929, this is probably one of Cassadó's best recordings, displaying beautiful sound, tasteful portamento and, more importantly, wonderful phrasing and musical flair, all in harmony with Mengelberg and the orchestra. A number of recordings of cello concerti together with the Bamberg Symphony Orchestra under Jonel Perea were produced in the

1950s: the Dvořák Concerto, the Haydn D major Concerto, the B flat major Boccherini Concerto, the Lalo Concerto and an arrangement by Cassadó of the Cello Sonata Op. 17 No. 5 by Vivaldi as well as Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Variations*, but they do not show Cassadó at his best. For some reason, the recordings on the Vox label, some of them recordings with Jonel Perlea, in general offer less inspired performances with certain sound problems. In part this can be explained by Cassadó's escalating experiments, or perhaps even increasing age, but the most important factor seems to have been the circumstances of each recording.

In 1951 Cassadó recorded Brahms' E minor sonata with Otto Schulhof at the piano, an illustrative example of Cassadó's perception of German romantic music. It is rich in contrasts of colour, tempo and accentuation, all perfectly controlled. It is also surprisingly restrained in the use of portamento but unfortunately there is a strange metallic ring to the cello tone. A few years later Cassadó made his one and only recording of the Bach Suites featuring the curious transposition of the E flat major Suite (No. 4) to F major. Cassadó displays many similarities to Casals' style of performing Bach in this recording; however, on occasions he plays in a more outwardly romantic manner, as well as displaying lighter accentuation and greater restraint in tempo. Similarly to the beginning of his recording career, during his last years Cassadó recorded an array of shorter pieces, this time with his wife Chieko Hara. His own compositions and transcriptions dominate the selection, including *Requiebros*, *Toccata* (à la Frescobaldi), *Allegretto Grazioso* (à la Schubert) and the transcription of *Intermezzo* by Granados. These recordings show some of the best chamber music playing of Cassadó's career, with a relaxed and improvisatory style, but again the colour of the cello sounds rather strained and metallic, probably related to the various contraptions on the instrument. Cassadó recorded several chamber music works together with Yehudi Menuhin and Louis Kentner during the late 1950s and 1960s: Ravel's Piano Trio in A minor, Schubert Piano Trio in B flat major and Mozart Piano Trio No .5 in E flat major. Another recording together with Yehudi Menuhin, this time of two of Mozart piano quartets with Walter Gerhardt on the viola and Fou Ts'ong on the piano, was released posthumously in 1967. In total, we know of 95 recordings by Cassadó, which are compiled in the complete Cassadó Discography in Appendix IV.

Cassadó, composing and transcribing

"Vienna" – Gaspar Cassadó tells us – "decided my musical career. I dreamed of becoming a composer but it was here that I understood that my true horizon was that of the cello". We inquire whether the maestro still feels any

melancholy for this lost calling. “Absolutely not! Composition, which still occupies some of my time between concerts, lessons and travel, cannot be more than a hobby any longer”.¹⁶ (Pagès, 2000, p. 67)

We do not know which visit to Vienna Cassadó refers to in this 1959 interview, but it is clear that although he liked to downplay the importance of his composing it remained an essential part of his musical practice throughout his life.¹⁷ Considering his busy concert schedule and intense teaching activity during most of his career, a strong impulse must have drawn him to, as Marçal Cervera describes it, “only sleep a few hours a night to get up and work on his scores early in the morning” (Cervera, personal communication, 18 June 2010). The exact extent of his output is still unknown because of the lack of proper cataloguing of his works, but we know of sixty original compositions and over eighty transcriptions of different kinds.

As we have seen, it is not certain whether Cassadó studied composition with anyone except his father, but what is apparent is that he actively explored a range of styles and genres during his youth. The earliest known published piece is a transcription: an arrangement for solo cello of Saint-Saëns’ interesting left-hand piano piece *Bourrée*, part of his *Six Études* Op.135, published by Durand Editions in Paris in 1912 by a fifteen-year-old Cassadó. However, the piece does not seem to have been frequently performed. During his first years in Florence a larger group of early works, both original compositions and transcriptions, was published by houses such as Schirmer, Union Musical Español and Universal Edition. Two cello sonatas of different styles appear in 1925: the Sonata in A minor (sometimes referred to as *Sonata Española*) from 1924, dedicated to Giulietta, and *Sonata nello stile antico spagnuolo*, dedicated to Conte Chigi Saracini. The former is a work in four movements drawing on Spanish folklore – *Rapsodia, Aragonesa, Saeta* and *Pasodoble* – and uses a developing, post-romantic idiom that explores both dramatic and comic sonorities. This work has all but disappeared from the cello repertoire while the latter, the *Sonata nello stile antico spagnuolo*, is still in print and is occasionally both performed and recorded. In this piece Cassadó writes in a neoclassical style, inspired by eighteenth-century music with much fainter Spanish inspiration. The popular Intermezzo from Granados’ *Goyescas* suite appears in 1923, ‘Canço i Dansa nr.1’ by Mompou in 1924, and in 1925 a set of

¹⁶ “‘Viena’ – ens diu Gaspar Cassadó – ‘va decidir la meva carrera musical. Jo somiava amb ser compositor però va ser aquí on vaig comprendre que el meu veritable horitzó era el del violoncel’. Volem saber si el mestre encara sent una certa melangia per la vocació perduda. ‘De cap manera! La composició, que encara ocupa algun temps entre els meus viatges, classes i concerts, no pot ser ja res més que un hobby’”.

¹⁷ It may have been the summer of 1932 when Cassadó was in Austria, composing his *Nocturns Portugais*.

transcriptions for cello and piano was published by Universal Edition including arrangements of *Arioso*, originally for harpsichord, by Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770), the famous Minuette from Boccherini's (1743–1803) String Quintet G275 and Étude by Martin Berteau (1700–1771) originally for solo cello. The set also includes three pastiches in the styles of famous composers presented as transcriptions: *Pastoral* (à la Couperin), *Allegretto Grazioso* (à la Schubert), *Toccata* (à la Frescobaldi). This was Cassadó's first and most significant publication hoax – interestingly some of these false transcriptions are still taken at face value.¹⁸ Cassadó's predilection for divergent compositional styles and genres, as well as for different types of transcription, was dominant from early on, certainly unorthodox, and often criticized by the musical establishment.¹⁹ A good example of the controversies that some of Cassadó's works aroused is his arrangement in 1930 of Schubert's *Arpeggione* Sonata, a work that at this time was not yet well-known. Cassadó transcribed the work into a cello concerto, substantially reworking the piano part, as well as adding new musical material. The work was a welcome contribution to the limited repertoire of romantic cello concerti and was for some time performed extensively. However, the work eventually encountered criticism because of the drastic alterations to Schubert's original and has hardly been performed since Cassadó's death.

Some of Cassadó's best known original works were published during this earlier phase of his career: the virtuoso show number *Dance de diable vert*, originally for violin and dedicated to Ferenc von Vecsey in 1926, *Sérénade* in 1925 and *La pendule, La fileuse et le galant* also in 1925, are all three still in print. This period also saw a great variety in genre within Cassadó's publications as the composer explored not only styles and types of works but different instrumentation, not all focused on the cello. Three string quartets, a piano trio, a number of shorter works for solo guitar and solo piano, works for piano and orchestra and a violin sonata dedicated to his brother Augustí, were all written during the late 1920s and early 1930s, and many of them also published. Furthermore, during these years Cassadó's career as a composer took an important leap forward due to two particularly important events. Firstly, his Cello Concerto, dedicated to Casals, was printed by Universal Edition and premiered by Cassadó, with Casals conducting, in Barcelona, 1926; and secondly, his orchestral work *Rapsodia Catalana* (1926) was premiered in New York by Mengelberg and the New York Philharmonic in 1928.

¹⁸ This subject will be treated in greater depth in Chapter Five.

¹⁹ A famous incident recounts the conductor Jonathan Sternberg bumping into Maurice Gendron, the former having mentioned that he had just seen Cassadó whereby Gendron retorts "So, what has he changed lately?" (Solow, 2001, online).

The piece that most cellists associate Cassadó with today, the solo Suite, was also published in 1926 but did not attract the same attention. In fact, until around twenty years ago it was hardly performed, including by Cassadó himself.²⁰ Considering the popularity of the work today, its absence in Cassadó's surviving concert programmes and among his recordings seems inexplicable, but Lluís Claret ventures the idea that the work was seen as more of a juvenile work by the composer (Claret, personal communication, April 2011).

The work consists of three parts: *Preludio-fantasia*, *Sardana* and *Intermezzo e Danza finale*. As with his cello sonatas and other works, Cassadó chose Spanish folk genres as inspiration for the Suite. According to Cervera, the main musical vision of Cassadó in the Suite was to depict three regions of his home country: Castilla y La Mancha (the centre of Spain), Catalonia (his home in the north-east) and Andalusia (the south) (Marçal Cervera, personal communication, 18 June, 2010). The first movement uses modal sonorities, with a first theme vaguely resembling the famous theme from the *Folies d'Espagne* by Marais, thus firmly placing us in an earlier Spain; Cervera even ventures that it is the Spain of Cervantes. The second theme is a cantabile version of the first with certain French impressionist colours, which seems to imitate the flute solo from Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloé*.²¹ The second movement is a *Sardana*, the folk dance *par excellence* in Catalonia and of definite socio-political importance. *Sardanas* are played by a genre-specific ensemble called *cobla*, normally constituted of wind instruments and double basses, which displays unique Catalan folk instruments such as the *tenora* and the *flaviol*. Cassadó showed some interest in this genre and wrote a number of *sardanas* for his friends to perform. A group of solo guitar works published by Berben Edizioni, and dedicated to his friend André Segovia, included *Sardana Chigiana* and *Preámbulo y Sardana* whilst in the *Quatre Pièces Espagnoles*, dedicated to Giulietta, he composed a *sardana* as the last movement. The *sardana* in the Suite displays unmistakably sardanastic details, such as the omnipresent rhythm of a crotchet and two quavers, as well as the harmonics in the introduction, which imitate the little *flaviol* flute. The third movement of the suite interchanges a slow *recitativo* section and a distinct rhythmical dance in double-stops, both greatly influenced by Spanish guitar technique and flamenco harmonies, two cornerstones of Andalusia's musical heritage.

From the late 1930s onwards, Cassadó's previously high pace of publishing works came to an almost complete halt. Although he manifestly continued to write all his life

²⁰ Janos Starker was one of its earliest advocates.

²¹ Ravel wrote this work between 1909 and 1912, coinciding with Cassadó's stay in Paris.

and some works of later dates appear in Cassadó's own concert programmes, few of them reached the publisher. Whether this was due to a lack of time or an explicit decision by Cassadó is not certain, but Cassadó's "Vienna decision" to concentrate on performing from around this period may have had something to do with it. Out of the many manuscripts found in archives, a great number are not only finished and written in ink, but also include performance instructions from Cassadó and/or his pianists, indicating that the author himself had taken the time not only to perform them, but also to pencil in corrections afterwards arising from the performances. The manuscripts convey a certain change in Cassadó's compositional pattern from the 1930s onwards, moving towards greater restriction in styles and types of works. The output increasingly consists of shorter works for cello and piano in Cassadó's post-romantic idiom, abundant in rhythmic detail, virtuosic elements and often with poetic titles.²² These were works that were easily included in Cassadó's own recital programmes, therefore presentable to the audience independent of publication, and their shorter scope made them perfect encores.

Regarding his transcriptions, not only Cassadó's extraordinary technique but his aesthetic ideas connected him with the virtuoso movement of the nineteenth century; in his later transcriptions Cassadó shows an interest in works by Liszt, the ultimate virtuoso performer and transcriber. Works like the *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2 and the 'Tarantella' from *Napoli* were arranged by Cassadó with the clear intention of transferring the bravura and virtuoso elements to the cello, and he also transcribed works that previously had been famously transcribed by Liszt, such as *La Danza* by Rossini. Most of Cassadó's arrangements are based on solo piano music, but occasionally he uses more complex pre-existing music as source, such as the opera *Der Rosenkavalier*, *An der schönen blauen Donau*, and concerti for piano or clarinet. Only on very few occasions does Cassadó arrange music with another performer in mind, the most famous example being his transcription of Boccherini's Cello Concerto No. 2 for guitar and orchestra with Andrés Segovia as the dedicatee. Within his body of work there are also a small number of transcriptions of a more pedagogical nature: shorter pieces for cello ensembles and for voice and string ensemble, all unpublished.

The later years of Cassadó's career saw him return to genres and types connected with his cultural heritage. Cassadó's interest in *sardanas* and general Catalan folklore from his early career is reborn in unpublished manuscripts like the *Sardana nupcial*, perhaps for his own wedding, a piece for *cobla* called *Llibertat* (1956) as well as a set

²² Some examples of titles are: *Acquarelli musicali*, *Pourquoi?*, *El relicario*, *Abbazia abbandonata* and *Rapsodia del sur*.

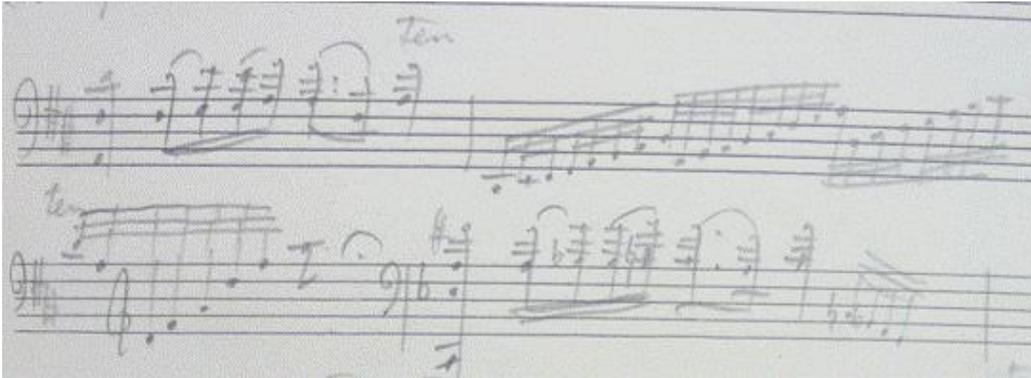
of shorter pieces called *Cançons de casa nostra*, based on Catalan folksongs. There is also in Cassadó's hand a certain *Canço Patriòtica* with strongly Catalanist lyrics – whether an arrangement, copy, or an original work is difficult to say. In his last years Cassadó, more often than not, uses some type of existing material for his creations, producing works ranging from clear transcriptions, to theme and variation works, to editing existing works in a creative way. These transcriptions also include versions for solo cello: after producing the solo Suite and the Bourrée transcription early in his career he later extended the list to include ambitious solo cello versions of the Étude Op. 27 No. 1 by Chopin, the Prelude No. 21 from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* by J.S. Bach, as well as a Handel pastiche in the form of a fugue. As later chapters of this thesis will show, Cassadó's transcriptions are magnificent examples of the interaction of different aspects of Cassadó's creativity, and deserve an analysis in depth to reveal all their divergences and nuances.

Finally, a lesser-known part of Cassadó's output, but of considerable interest, is his collection of concerto cadenzas, some traces of which are found in archives. There are handwritten copies of cadenzas for both the first and the third movement of the Boccherini B flat major Concerto, for the first movement of the Haydn D major Concerto and for the Schumann Concerto, all works that Cassadó performed frequently. It is not surprising that someone of Cassadó's musical profile with a passion for arranging music would enjoy writing his own cadenzas; it is instead surprising that more developed sketches of cadenzas have not been found, considering his great habit of annotating and copying scores.²³ Both Cassadó's virtuosic technique and talent for using pre-existing material find an outlet in this genre, which exhibits a number of common elements from Cassadó's performance style and improvisational ideas: double-stops for playing several independent voices, creative arpeggiatos and appoggiaturas, and an impressive use of the higher register, including great leaps over the instrument. As shown in Examples 1.1 and 1.2 below, the cadenza for the Haydn D major Concerto incidentally starts in a very similar way to Maurice Gendron's famous cadenza for the same movement. Today Gendron's edition of the Concerto is the standard edition among cellists, but since it was not published until 1954 it is difficult to know who came up with the idea for this particular introduction first.

²³ There are many examples of handwritten copies of other composers' works in Cassadó's hand, often filled with annotations. Presumably they were part of his preparation for concerts.



Example 1.1 Haydn, Concerto in D major, Cadenza by Maurice Gendron, bars 1–4.



Example 1.2 Haydn, Concerto in D major, Cadenza by Cassadó, bars 1–4.

Although many details of Cassadó's life and his musical philosophy are still unknown, it is clear that his creative curiosity and hard work ethic resulted in a wide range of different musical works (composed, transcribed, commissioned and dedicated), as well as an abundance of recordings. Noteworthy, also, is Cassadó's complete dedication to his instrument. The notable energy and enthusiasm he professed for music were almost exclusively directed at the cello, and not due to lack of time or talent (he is said to have been a proficient pianist) but from choice. Unlike Casals and Rostropovich, who conducted or played the piano, Cassadó, whether performing, transcribing, experimenting with the instrument, composing or teaching, firmly concentrated his efforts on the cello. In an interview, he admitted that "since my childhood I have loved music, especially the cello, and if I were to return, in another life, to this earth, I would become a cellist once again" (Cassadó, 1963, Barcelona radio).²⁴

The greatest cellistic influence in Cassadó's life, Pau Casals, will be addressed in the following chapter, which explores Cassadó's performance style in relation to his Catalan cultural heritage and his *maestro*.

²⁴ "Desde mi niñez he amado a la música y el violonchelo en particular, y pienso que si volviera en otra vida a esta tierra, volvería a ser violonchelista de nuevo".

Chapter Two

Gaspar Cassadó as Performer I: The Catalan lineage of cellists

Gaspar Cassadó, as a Barcelonian, a disciple of Casals and an influential teacher of Catalan cellists, plays an important role within cello playing in Catalonia. Whether or not there is a real, palpable and specifically Catalan tradition of cello performance is, however, yet to be established. Due to Cassadó's lack of recognition in later years the connection between Casals and other Catalan cellists has been overlooked and there are few clear stepping stones in the Catalan school apart from the master-disciple relationship between Casals and Cassadó. Casals has no clear predecessors and is often regarded as being largely an autodidact and creator of a new tradition or school whilst prominent modern Catalan cellists have studied abroad and therefore demonstrate a varied range of performance influences.²⁵ Up until now, the idea of a "Catalan cello school" has solely rested upon the fact that two of the greatest cellists of the century – Casals and Cassadó – shared a cultural heritage and that this heritage was manifestly of some importance to both of them as musicians. This chapter intends to identify Cassadó's place within this possible lineage of Catalan cellists from Casals onwards. First, this will take place through an introduction to the Catalan historical and cultural context, including Casals' origins and influences, and subsequently through a comparison of recordings made by Casals, Cassadó and the contemporary Catalan cellist Lluís Claret (b. 1951) to establish whether these cellists share any specific performance characteristics stemming from their common cultural heritage.

The Catalan cultural context

To talk about Catalonia as a separate cultural entity and describe Casals and Cassadó as Catalan rather than Spanish might seem a political statement but there are compelling arguments for doing so. Although Catalonia shares many cultural characteristics with other Spanish regions, it has had a partially independent development from the rest of the country for the last 200 years. Scholars such as Arthur Terry and Christine Arkininstall have pointed out that *modernisme* in Catalonia was separate in background and traits from Spanish *modernismo* and the years around the turn of the nineteenth century saw no less than three major movements: *renaixança*, *modernisme* and *noucentisme* (Terry, 1995 and Arkininstall, 2004). Generally speaking the *renaixança* was a distinctly Catalan neoclassical movement

²⁵ Casals' technique, when compared to cellists from the previous generation, was highly impressive. As cellist Steven Isserlis puts it: "the difference between Casals' early recordings and those of his immediate predecessors is startling" (Isserlis, 2011, online).

starting in the second third of the century, inspired by classical and medieval culture and “in contrast with the lethargy of other Spanish regions, a musical, artistic, literary and political wave of creativity swept every sector of society” (Conversi, 1997, p. 14). The Catalan version of modernism, *modernisme*, superseded *renaixança* in the last years of the century and displayed a more cosmopolitan nuance clearly inspired by Germany – especially Wagner – and France. *Modernisme* had a close connection to Paris and was more *avant-garde* and outward-looking in its approach than its Spanish counterpart since, for a number of reasons, Spanish musical society was stagnating during a time when the rest of Europe was in rapid evolution. *Noucentisme*, for Catalan cultural society, finally became the answer to what was an essentially romantic and somewhat chaotic *modernisme* in the beginning of the twentieth century. As Arthur Terry concludes, *noucentisme* was “a common, officially sponsored, cultural front with its basis in fixed institutions and with a corresponding stress on order and refinement” (Terry, 1995, p. 56).

In the field of classical music the different cultural developments in the nineteenth century were less important and occurred later in both Catalonia and the rest of Spain. Julian White writes that “the late development in Spain of symphonic Romanticism and Romantic nationalism reflects the essentially anachronistic nature of early twentieth-century Spanish music” (White, 1995, p. 79). White also gives the Catalan composer Felip Pedrell (1841–1922) credit for pushing musical progress in Spain forward:

Pedrell exhorted Spanish composers to compose (in the words of Joaquín Turina) ‘Spanish music geared to Europe’, revealing the double heritage of Spain’s popular and historical traditions on the one hand, whilst proposing a broadly European outlook on the other. (White, 1995, p. 79)

What must be remembered is that many composers of the so-called pan-Hispanic National Romantic style were Catalan – for example Pedrell, Granados, Albéniz and Mompou – which resulted in a paler distinction between Catalonia and Spain in classical music and has affected the cultural component within Spanish music, through to the twentieth century. It could be argued that Catalan musical culture in its role as a leader of the evolution of Spanish music absorbed national characteristics from across the country, which is probably true. Nevertheless, a more complete review reveals that Catalonia actually contained – and still contains – a far more complex musical reality. Firstly, the *flamenquista* (from Spanish folk music) musical culture, far removed from the musical élite, was highly popular with audiences. Secondly, a powerful Wagner-cult swept through Barcelona as a reaction against Spanish nationalist style at the turn of the century. As David George puts it: “late nineteenth and early twentieth-century

Barcelona was, indeed, a series of sometimes incompatible worlds: bourgeoisie and proletariat, left and right, neo-classicism and avant-garde” (George, 2002, p. 11). This combination of features was at the heart of Casals’ education and helped form his musical attitudes at the end of the nineteenth century. The connections, for example, between *noucentisme* and Casals’ views on the relationship between politics and music, and between global and local culture, are clear, as well as the link between *modernisme* and Casals’ connection with Paris and the *avant-garde*. Cassadó’s musical approach and cultural emotions, with a mix of pan-Hispanic, Catalan and German and French-inspired influences, were substantially different to those of Casals but we can conclude that they too are related to elements in Barcelona’s rich *fin-de-siècle* culture.

Casals’ influences

Cello performance in Catalonia – and in Spain – before Casals is an unknown story. Casals might not have been the autodidact that is sometimes claimed, but he did not have a clear precursor or cello tradition to which to refer. What seems certain is that a local and respected cellist, Josep García, was his first cellistic impression, inspiration and guide. García must have been a good performer since Casals, who heard him play in his village El Vendrell as a small boy, described how “there was something so tender and beautiful and human – yes, so very human – about the sound” (Kahn, 1974, p. 35). García would later teach Casals, although it seems as though Casals acted as his own teacher from early on, as Bret Smith asserts:

Recalling his first lessons at age 12 in Barcelona, he states "although I followed the classes quite diligently, I started revising (the teacher's) instructions, and as soon as I got home I created a technique of my own." (Smith, 1996, online)

Casals later continued his studies for a couple of years in Madrid with the cellist Tomas Breton as well as with the violinist Jesus Monasterio (1836–1903) – a key figure in modern Spanish string performance, and according to Lev Ginsburg “Casals always remembered Monasterio with high respect” (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 145). The time in Madrid constituted the final stage of Casals’ studies – the cellist made the first attempt to establish himself professionally in Paris as early as 1895, moving there definitely in 1899, but did not receive any further musical instruction.

Casals, Cassadó and their disciples

As we saw in the introductory chapter, the personal relationship between Cassadó and Casals, although manifestly very close, went through some major difficulties over the years. However, the continued deep influence that Casals had on Cassadó seems to have lasted throughout his career with different performance traits and attitudes passed on to him from his teacher. The sample of recordings for the recording comparison in this chapter offers some excellent examples of the main characteristics of Casals' performance style, such as expressive intonation (*justesse expressive*), agogic accents, big stretches in the left hand and free movement of the bowing arm. The recordings also illustrate how these were largely adopted by Cassadó but often used and thought of differently. An interesting aspect is that Cassadó was one of only a few students to study with Casals while the latter was still performing intensely himself, which must be taken into account regarding Casals' pedagogical style. Other Catalan cellists know Casals' teachings either through Cassadó, which is the case with Marçal Cervera (b. 1928), one of Catalonia's most important cello pedagogues, or through Casals' brother, the well-known violinist Enric Casals. The latter is true of Lluís Claret (b. 1951), the most international of current Catalan cellists who is included in the recording comparison in this chapter. Claret only met Pau Casals on a few occasions but studied chamber music for years with Enric Casals with whom he developed a close friendship. Incidentally, Claret states that he intended to study with Cassadó after his study with one of Cassadó's disciples, but that Cassadó passed away before these plans could become a reality (Claret, personal communication, April 2011).

Survey of Recordings

Nineteen recordings by Casals, Cassadó and Claret of four musical works have been used for this comparison. The recordings range from 1915 to 2006 and all four works are connected in a specific way to the performers.

- 1) *Requiebros* (1929) by Cassadó is a showpiece often played and recorded by the composer. It was dedicated to Casals who both performed and recorded it as well.
- 2) *Intermezzo* (1915) from *Goyescas* by Enrique Granados is a transcription for cello and piano made by Cassadó of an orchestral interlude from the opera. Over the years it has become more frequently performed than the opera itself.
- 3) *Après un rêve* (1877) by Gabriel Fauré is here used in the form of a transcription for cello and piano made by Casals which is still played and recorded by cellists today.

- 4) Prelude (1720s) by J.S. Bach is the Prelude from the G major Suite with the first known recording being that of Casals in the 1930s. Casals is also thought to have been the first cellist to have performed the Suites in their entirety in concert.

The musical works were chosen from a necessarily limited sample of works recorded by all three cellists on the basis of providing a sense of counterpoint, firstly between two Catalan pieces (relatively unknown) and two non-Catalan and fairly standard pieces, as well as between two original works and two transcriptions (one by Casals, one by Cassadó). For further details of the recordings, see the Discography to this thesis, pp. 246–253.

The comparison is divided into five headings: Edition, Tempo/Rubato, Rhythm/Accentuation, Portamento and Timbre.²⁶ However, the sections of Rubato and Rhythm proved partly inseparable and over-lapped to a certain extent.

Gaspar Cassadó, <i>Requiebros</i>	
Pau Casals/Blai Net	1929
Gaspar Cassadó/Michael Raucheisen	1935
Gaspar Cassadó/Gerald Moore	1947
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1961
Lluis Claret/Seon-Hee Myong	1993

Table 2.1 Recordings of *Requiebros*.

²⁶ This section includes an analysis of vibrato, but also other timbral features such as sound attack and colour.

Enric Granados, Intermezzo from <i>Goyescas</i>	
Pau Casals/Edward Gendron	1925
Pau Casals/Nikolai Mednikoff	1927
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1961
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1962
Lluís Claret/Seon-Hee Myong	1993

Table 2.2 Recordings of Intermezzo.

Gabriel Fauré, <i>Après un rêve</i>	
Pau Casals/Albert Charles Baker	1915
Casals/Nikolai Mednikoff	1926
Gaspar Cassadó/Giulietta von Mendelssohn- Gordigiani	1935
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1962
Lluís Claret/Seon-Hee Myong	1993

Table 2.3 Recordings of *Après un rêve*.

J.S. Bach Prelude	
Pau Casals	1938
Pau Casals	1954 (live)
Gaspar Cassadó	1957
Lluís Claret	2006

Table 2.4 Recordings of Prelude.

In addition, a number of other Catalan and non-Catalan recordings of the same pieces are referred to throughout the discussion.

Edition

When considering differences in approaches to the score between recordings made over such a wide time span, there are obviously vast changes in style and attitude to consider. The way Casals would address a new score in the 1920s differs in a number of ways from how Claret addresses a score today. Detailed changes of pitch, changes from *pizzicato* to *arco* or even the rearrangement of whole sections were deemed legitimate, at least for a musician of the status and authority of Casals, while performers today generally prefer to avoid changes of that type. Needless to say, a work like *Requiebros* or *Intermezzo* – contemporary Catalan music – would be open to more changes than a Bach suite, especially for performers like Casals and Cassadó who, for example, knew Granados personally. In conclusion, even if both Casals and Cassadó partially changed their approach to the written text gradually during their careers following the general trend, there is a clear generation gap between Casals and Cassadó, and cellists born after the 1920s.

Another detail to consider in this particular comparison is that Casals made the earliest recordings of all the four pieces compared here, not only among the recordings in this sample but most likely in general. It is therefore logical to assume that they might have served as a reference for other interpretations. Moreover, in *Requiebros* and *Après un rêve* Casals' recordings preceded the published score which raises the question of which text was used for his versions, and whether his interpretations influenced in any way the final published score. On the other hand, Cassadó himself – and his three recordings of *Requiebros* spanning over 27 years – provides the perfect example for studying changes in performance practice over time.

It would be simplistic to say that Casals and Cassadó's generations approached the scores of other composers less carefully or more erratically than modern performers. The recording sample, including Casals and Cassadó's recordings of music they themselves wrote or transcribed show rather the opposite; their attitude to the musical text remained consistent to their musical ideal while their idea of "faithfulness" to the score was adapted to the genre and the composer. Casals and Cassadó share many elements of editing through interpretation, a clear indication that this was the praxis of the time and a marker of care and responsibility towards the music.

The editorial changes can be divided into three main groups: reductions, alterations, and additions, each with partially different connotations. The changes are concentrated in the two Catalan works, with only minimal changes to *Après un rêve* and none to the Bach Prelude, concurring with the differences in the performer-composer relations and with stylistic ideas. Casals and Cassadó both omitted certain elements from the published score in their recordings. The clearest example of reductions is found in Casals' recording of *Requiebros* from 1929 which includes a diametrically different recapitulation. In Examples 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3 we can see three separate sections from the original score that follow on from one another in Casals' version, excluding sixteen bars of original music. Instead, Casals' version displays a bridge with several bars forming a succession of harmonies to lead over the gap between bar 82 and bar 96, as shown below in Example 2.4. After bar 82 there is a bridge bar in the dominant key of A major, leading to *tempo primo* in bar 88, and in bar 90 the harmony is changed to F sharp major harmony by sharpening the two a':s in the bar, leading directly to bar 102 (Example 2.4). Casals also changes the key of the middle section from G minor to E minor. Casals' recording predates the published score of 1931 by two years so it is possible that it displays an earlier version of the recapitulation. However, one of Casals' students – the American cellist Thaddeus Brys who recorded *Requiebros* in 1996, plays an almost identical version to that of Casals and writes in the CD booklet that he is performing “the version that Casals arranged” (Brys, 1998, n.p). He further notes that “Casals felt that the contrasting middle section in E minor would sound more effective in G minor. To accomplish that key change Casals altered the original music slightly – and I believe very successfully” (Brys, 1998, n.p). Whether Casals taught this revised version to other students is not known.

The image shows a musical staff in 3/8 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation consists of a series of eighth notes, some with accents (>) and some with slurs. Above the staff, there are markings for 'a tempo' and a 'V' symbol. Below the staff, there are dynamic markings: 'cresc.', 'ff con fantasia', 'f', and 'mp'.

Example 2.1 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 82–84, *con fantasia*.

Handwritten musical score for the first system of Example 2.5. The score is written on four staves: vocal line, piano right hand, piano left hand, and a second vocal line. The tempo markings are *a tempo* and *accel.*. Dynamic markings include *mf*, *cresc. molto*, *f*, *ff*, and *f con anima*. The vocal line includes the lyrics "ten, ten, ten." and a red handwritten note "sola parte". The piano part features complex chordal textures. A handwritten note "Volta 2a" is visible at the bottom right of the system.

Handwritten musical score for the second system of Example 2.5. The score is written on four staves: vocal line, piano right hand, piano left hand, and a second vocal line. The tempo markings are *a tempo* and *poco rit.*. Dynamic markings include *f con anima*, *f con ampiezza*, *dim.*, and *p*. The vocal line includes the lyrics "ten, ten, ten." and a red handwritten note "calmo". The piano part features complex chordal textures. A handwritten note "Volta 2a" is visible at the bottom right of the system.

Example 2.5 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 95–107, Cassadó's own copy.

It is not the same rearrangement but it seems to serve partly the same purpose: to omit the repetition of part of the main theme during the recapitulation. Cassadó's change, unlike Casals', was probably a change of heart arising from repeated performances. A more practical change is the simplification of the piano part in bars 38–39 that is present in all three recordings, seen below in Example 2.6.



Example 2.6 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 38–39.

In the Intermezzo Cassadó makes a reduction to his own transcription connected to the balance between piano and cello. In Example 2.7 we can see that in the first five bars Cassadó cuts out the piano part and in bars 6–13 he does not play the cello part from the printed score.

Musical score for Example 2.7, showing the piano and cello parts of Cassadó's Intermezzo, bars 1-13. The score is divided into two sections: Moderato and Allegretto mosso. The piano part is marked 'f' and 'ben marcato e quasi pizzicato'. The cello part is marked 'f pizz.' and 'dim.'. The score includes handwritten annotations such as '1 2 1 3 1 2 3 2' and '5 7' under the piano part.

Example 2.7 Cassadó, *Intermezzo*, bars 1–13, Cassadó's own score copy.

Both changes are clearly meant to achieve comfortable ensemble playing, solving the difficulty in the first bars of both instruments achieving identical phrasing and attack and in bars 6–13 the difficulty in the piano part in achieving a *marcato forte* without drowning out the cello *pizzicati*. A less invasive example of reduction is the omission of the double-stops in bars 80–81 in *Intermezzo*, which are particularly uncomfortable to play (Example 2.8).



Example 2.8 Cassadó, Intermezzo, bars 79–82, Cassadó's own score copy.

Cassadó and Casals both omit them in their recordings and they are not alone – Janos Starker also omits them in his recording from 1968. Reductions to the score are the kind of editorial changes that have disappeared most decisively from cello performance practice in the last sixty years and it is therefore not surprising that Claret does not apply any reductions to either of the works.

Regarding more regular alterations to the published score, these are more often musically orientated than technically driven and in this sample include three types: register changes (moving the music one octave higher or lower), changes from *arco* to *pizzicato* or vice versa and lastly pitch changes (other than an octave). Casals plays an octave higher than written in the published score on a number of occasions in both Catalan works, mostly single notes at the end of phrases and also changes the key for one of the sections of *Requiebros*. Cassadó does not change registers as much, but regarding changes from *pizzicato* to *arco* he coincides with Casals' recording in a few places, for example in the end chords of both the Catalan works, which also include pitch changes. In Example 2.9 we see how Cassadó's exchanges the harmonic for a note in the low register, while Example 2.10 presents another of his score copies without any changes, and Example 2.11 shows the change to a higher harmonic in Casals' recording.



Example 2.9 Cassadó, Intermezzo, last three bars in Cassadó's own copy (cello part).



Example 2.10 Cassadó, Intermezzo, last three bars in Cassadó's own copy (original piano part).



Example 2.11 Cassadó, Intermezzo, last three bars in Casals' recording.

Pitch changes other than octaves are generally much rarer for both Casals and Cassadó and usually consist of smaller details, such as in bars 7 and 22 in Casals' recording from 1926 of his own transcription of *Après un rêve* by Fauré. Example 2.12 shows the former passage, in which Casals plays a g instead of the first b flat. These pitch changes are noticeably not present in his earlier recording from 1915.



Example 2.12 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, bars 5–8, transcription by Casals.

The additions to the score are the most interesting since they refer to the most creative part of the editorial changes and display the personal musical approach of each performer. Casals shows a couple of interesting examples of this, one of which concerns the final bars of the *Requiebros* where there is a revision of the harmonic progression, rhythm and musical structure in both the cello and the piano part, while adding double-stops (Example 2.13 shows the original score, while Example 2.14 shows Casals' revision). He also adds pizzicato double-stops at the end of the first phrase of the piece each time it appears.

Example 2.13 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, last six bars of the published score.

Example 2.14 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, last six bars, an approximation of Casals' recording.

In the Intermezzo Casals' additions have a clear Hispanic flavour. In both his recordings he adds a series of broken chords in the pizzicato bars 6–13 replacing the simple triad movement, giving a guitar-like sound. Example 2.15 gives us the original score, while Casals' additions are shown in Example 2.16. He also adds triplet appoggiaturas to the long note in bars 56–58, with added double-stops at the beginning of bar 60 (which Cassadó also plays) shown in Example 2.17. The difference between

the two recordings by Casals, from 1925 and 1927 respectively, is that in the later recording he plays the appoggiaturas more slowly (Examples 2.18 and 2.19).



Example 2.15 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 6–13, published score.



Example 2.16 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 6–13. An approximate transcription of Casals' recording from 1925.



Example 2.17 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 55–60, published score.



Example 2.18 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 55–60, Casals' recording from 1925.



Example 2.19 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 55–60, Casals' recording from 1927.

Cassadó and Claret also employ these appoggiaturas (playing them in a similar way to Casals' 1925 recording) and in fact it is actually the only clear example of pan-Hispanic style through editorial changes that all three performers in the comparison share. Considering the generational gap and change in musical attitudes, details such as the appoggiaturas in bars 57–59 acquire the colour of personal choice on Claret's part and of consciously referencing back in time; in this case to Casals' recording which Claret

confirmed he knew.²⁷ Non-Catalan recordings tend to not display these additions. The generational gap between Claret's recordings and those of Casals and Cassadó is most obvious in the Catalan works due to the number of editorial changes in earlier recordings. *Après un rêve*, with its straightforward transcription and simpler structure shows much less variation across the sample. As a matter of fact, the vast distance of seventy-eight years between Casals' and Claret's recordings is hardly audible in the interpretation of the text. Casals' first recording predates his published score by almost thirty years, but, apart from the odd note change (bars 7 and 22) present in his second recording from 1926, his transcription seems to have been fixed for a long time before publication and the most noteworthy element is the freshness of Casals' performance heard nearby a century later.

Even the recordings of the Bach Prelude, as we will see, come across as more similar, due to fewer editorial changes. The great differences between how Bach was played seventy years ago and how it is played today are well-known, but it should be noted that one of the three recordings in the sample – Casals' 1938 recording – is something of a "Performance *Urtex*": virtually no cellist has escaped its influence. As expected, the interpretations of Cassadó and Claret reference back to Casals (perhaps the idea of playing the suites as a Catalan cellist is especially inspiring) through details in tempo and phrasing that will be discussed later. As to editorial aspects there are no surprises: Cassadó and Casals were using the editions available at the time that all used Anna Magdalena Bach's copy as source, and Cassadó follows many of Casals' bowings, displaying a tendency towards legato bowing and longer slurs.²⁸ Claret offers a more modern take with some H.I.P.-inspired aspects such as airy and light *détaché* bowing.

Tempo/Rubato

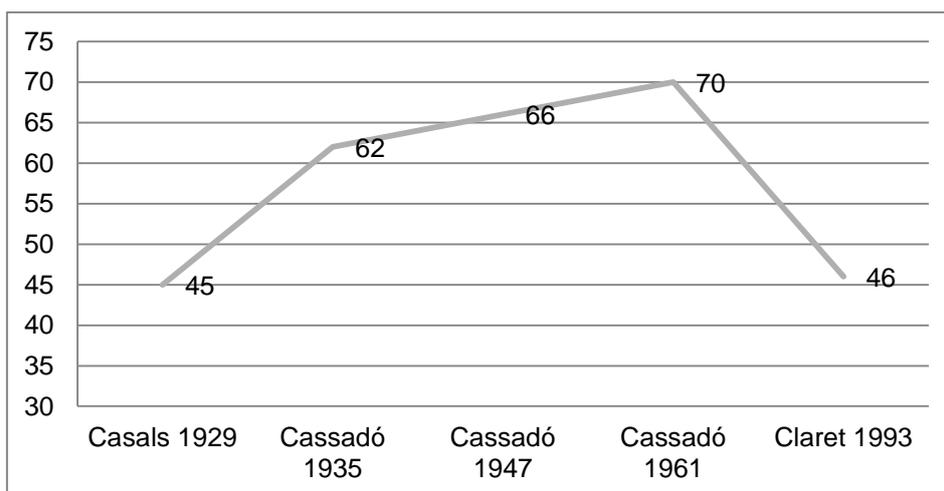
Historical evidence and contemporary experience demonstrate that tempo is among the most variable and contentious issues in musical performance (Brown, 1999, p. 282).

However, even given its elusive character, it is constantly and exhaustively analysed by musicologists maybe more than any other element in the hope of receiving straight

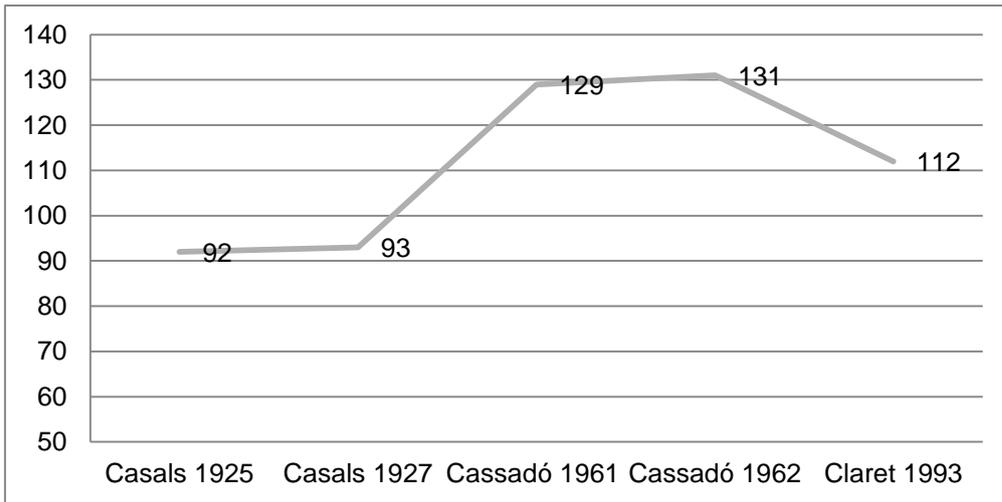
²⁷ Claret stated he knew Casals' recording of *Intermezzo*, but not the one of *Requiebros*, when recording himself, and that he had only heard one of Cassadó's three recordings of *Requiebros* (Claret, personal communication, April 2011).

²⁸ There is no surviving autograph of the Bach Suites but there are some editions, such as the two ones by Bärenreiter (1988 and 2000), that gather a number of known sources and offer simultaneous readings of them. It is also interesting that Dimitry Markevitch claims that "Casals himself, after I had shown him the Kellner and Westphal copies and my edition, changed, at his great age, his bowings" (Markevitch, 2000, online).

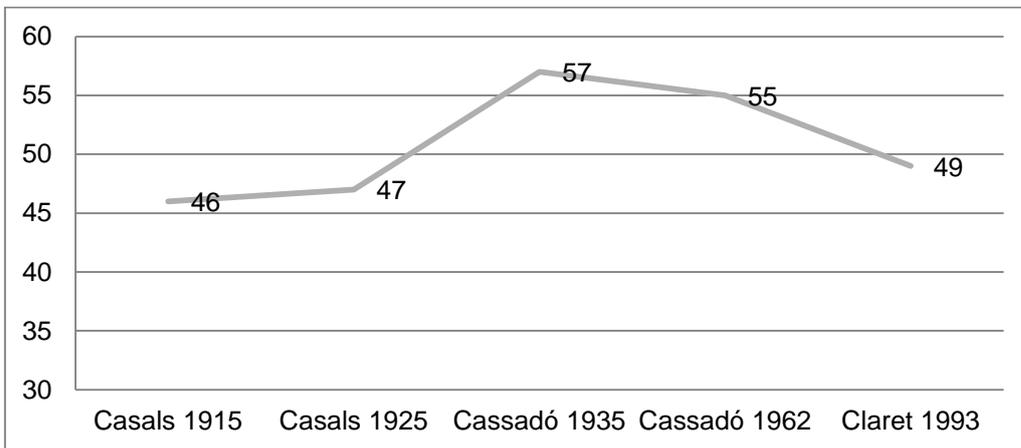
answers and unequivocal numbers. The problem is that, as Dorottya Fabian comments, “most have attempted to examine it by itself, as if tempo was some extramusical, independent entity” (Fabian, 2003, p. 99). Tempo is hardly a straightforward matter, especially when comparing performances over a wide timespan. To assert an average pulse or tempo in recordings from the 1920s or 1930s can be a difficult task: a medium pulse must sometimes be calculated from mediating between high points and low points, and it is an artificial pulse that is never actually perceived. As David Milsom asserts, many of the recordings “reveal performances so heavily infused with tempo flexibility that they are hard to assess from the point of view of metronome marks” (Milsom, 2003, p. 162). This is important to remember when observing the numbers for the present recording sample. The metronome marks in the graphs below are hardly more than a point of departure for discussion and must be used in context with all other elements. All four graphs display the average tempi for the exposition of the main theme for the works and follow a chronological order, in order to visualize possible trends over time.



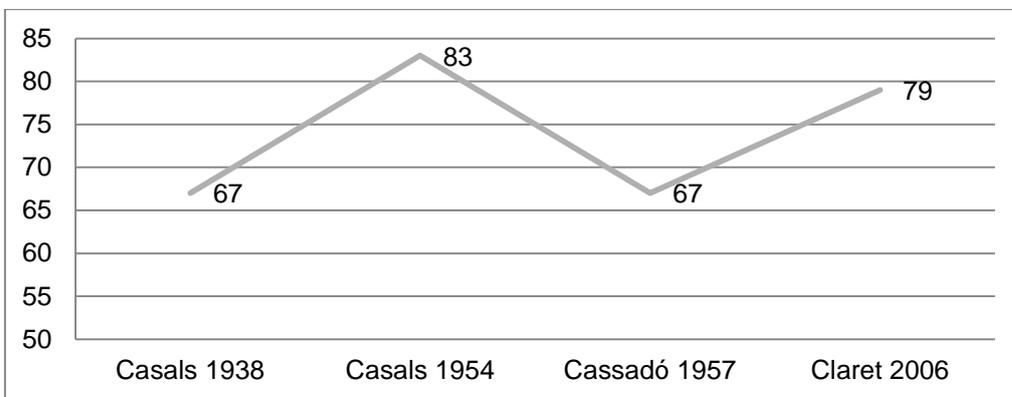
Graph 2.1 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, approximate pulse (bpm) per dotted crotchet for the main theme.



Graph 2.2 Granados, Intermezzo, approximate pulse (bpm) per crotchet for the main theme.

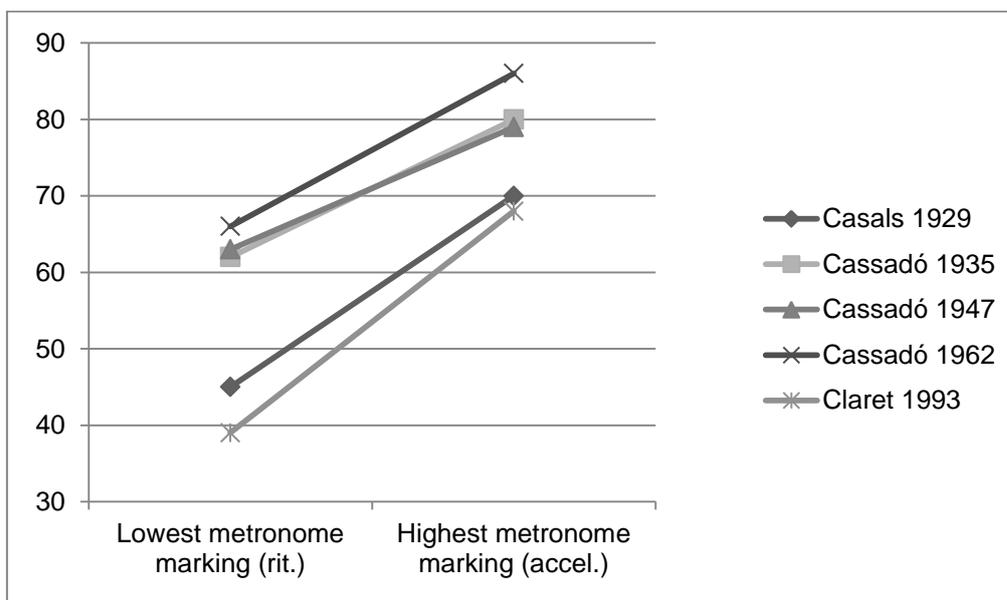


Graph 2.3 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, approximate pulse (bpm) per crotchet for the main theme.



Graph 2.4 Bach, Prelude in G major, approximate pulse (bpm) per crotchet for the first 8 bars.

The general tendencies that emerge from these graphs are that Cassadó maintains the fastest main pulse, Casals the slowest and Claret somewhere in-between. This is especially true of the two Catalan pieces where Cassadó's versions are all noticeably quicker (with all the differences in character that this includes) while in *Après un rêve* the difference in tempo between the three is less accentuated. Claret falls almost in the middle between Casals' and Cassadó's tempi in *Intermezzo* and *Après un rêve*, while his tempo is practically identical to that of Casals in *Requiebros*. In the Bach Prelude there is a more peculiar tempo connection between the recordings in the sample: Cassadó's recording from 1957 is identical in main tempo to Casals' 1938 recording, while Claret's recording comes close to the tempo of Casals' 1954 live recording. When looking beyond the main pulse, towards rubato and the *accelerandi* and *ritardandi* further nuances appear, as Graph 2.5 of the pulse in the exposition of the main theme from recordings of *Requiebros* shows below.



Graph 2.5 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, pulse (bpm) for bars 9–19.

Interestingly, of the three cellists in the recording comparison Claret has the widest range of rubato with a twenty-nine beat difference between his slowest and his fastest pulse in the bars shown in the graph. Casals has a similar range, twenty-five beats, while Cassadó, even though his *accelerando* is the quickest, only has a range of between sixteen and twenty beats. The distribution of rubato is the clearest generational sign: Cassadó has the fastest *accelerando* while Claret has the slowest *ritardando* in the sample. This is in accord with the perception that modern recordings – if they use rubato as an expressive element at all – display rubato almost entirely on the slow side, and only very reluctantly use *accelerando* as an expressive means. As

Joel Lester asserts, “rubatos faster than a movement’s basic tempo have been frowned upon in recent decades as ‘rushing’” (Lester, 1999, p. 48). Claret’s version of *Requiebros* clearly emphasizes more the *ritardandi*; however, where there is an *accelerando molto* marked in the score in bar 18 Claret reaches a high point of sixty-eight beats in his pulse. Casals’ 1929 and Cassadó’s 1935 recordings both have clear *accelerandi*, but almost no *ritardandi* at all, not even in bar 16 where there is a *molto ritardando* marked in the score, implying that both cellists deemed *accelerando* more useful expressively than *ritardando*.

Casals said of rubato that “it is in itself such a natural means of expression that one could almost think of music as being a perpetual rubato” (Corredor, 1956, p. 185), an idea that probably should be read more as favouring an intuitive approach to tempo and rubato rather than as promoting unsteady *tempi* or extreme tempo changes. The changes in perception and use of tempo and rubato have constituted a major issue in both musical performance and musicology over the last 80 years. The most important change is that, as David Milsom states, “in the second half of the twentieth century musical time has been seen more as a disciplining element of the musical texture than a constituent of expressive performance” while the first third of the century “saw musical time as an elastic constituent of expressive playing” (Milsom, 2003, p. 149). It is therefore of little use to listen to a 1920s rubato with the same ears as one uses for a rubato of the twenty-first century. The *perpetual rubato* of Casals is just as filled with agogic accents, half pauses, breaths and other subtle changes as it contains sharp *accelerandi* and *ritardandi* – the subtle changes are precisely what contrast most against later performances.²⁹ It is the perpetuity of the *perpetual rubato*, so to speak, that stands out when compared to modern performances. According to Ginsburg “Casals saw an analogy between his *justesse expressive* and rubato in tempo” (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 161) and this also speaks for subtle and organic alterations.

Après un rêve offers a marvellous example of Casals’ organic rubato, and its evolution. Whereas Casals’ first recording in 1915 is quite straight, the second version recorded ten years later offers an interpretation that seems to have matured over time with details such as notes at the end of the bars being expressively rushed (bar 22 and 29) and slight *ritardandi* in the first half of the bar being followed by *accelerandi* at the end of the bar, such as in bar 27 (Example 2.20).

²⁹ This will be discussed in the section on rhythm and accentuation

The image shows two staves of musical notation for Example 2.20, Fauré's *Après un rêve*, bars 22-32. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of two flats. It features several triplet markings. Red arrows point to specific notes, and green arrows point to others, indicating instances of Casals' rubato.

Example 2.20 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, bars 22–32 with the instances of Casals' rubato marked with arrows.

Two final tempo details deserve special attention; the first is the consistently faster tempi that Cassadó uses in the two Catalan pieces. Cassadó increases the tempo noticeably over the years in his performances of *Requiebros*, which suggests that the tempo is related to the issue of repeated performances. Performers know that increasing the tempo can also be a natural effect of performing a piece a great number of times, just as enhancing rubato can be, although there is no scientific evidence to confirm it. Cassadó, like a number of other performers, displays both these elements in repeated recordings.³⁰ The interesting thing is that in general few recordings of *Requiebros* and *Intermezzo* come even close to the *tempi* Cassadó uses: out of fifteen recordings compared, only three reach above 60 bpm approaching similar tempi to Cassadó's earlier recordings, and none equals his 1961 tempo of 70 bpm.³¹ The score apparently suggests a much slower tempo to the average performer than Cassadó himself preferred, even to Catalan musicians with an awareness of national style: Claret curiously plays at just about exactly the same speed as Casals recording which he had not heard when he recorded the piece, much slower than Cassadó's 1947 recording speed which with he was familiar. One possibility is, of course, that the many nuances marked in the score and the high density of different rhythms together invite a slower tempo. However, this does not explain Cassadó's faster tempo in *Intermezzo* which has a much lighter text to interpret. There is also a sense of drive and direction in Cassadó's versions of these pieces that adds to the actual sensation of speed, implying that the speed was linked to personal performance style and taste, especially since Cassadó's two versions of *Intermezzo* – the live recording from 1961 and the studio recording from 1962 – display almost exactly the same tempo, urgency and drive. Regarding tempo in these pieces then, Cassadó shows a clear difference in perception compared to Casals, Claret and most contemporary cellists.

³⁰ Recordings of the Bach Suites by Casals, Maisky and Bylsma are good examples.

³¹ Recordings of *Requiebros*. main pulse (bpm) per dotted crotchet: Starker (1968) 50, Scano (1998) 59, Gerhardt (1999) 59, Michel (2000) 57, Mungia (2003) 41, Khoma (2006) 54, Nancu (2006) 56, Bloemendahl (2006) 41, Isserlis (2006) 62, Jimenez (2008) 50, Atapine (2009) 59, Fox (2009) 59, Mircheva (2010) 62, Maisky (2011) 56 McDonagh (2012) 65.

The second tempo detail worth noticing is the interesting relation of *tempi* in the Prelude from J.S. Bach's G major Suite. Casals' tempo in his well-known recording from 1938 is referenced by Cassadó, who had studied the suites with Casals and clearly retained elements from those lessons in his interpretation that he used when recording the suites in 1957. By then, however, Casals had increased the tempo of the Prelude considerably from the original of 67 bpm to 80 bpm in his live recording from 1954 much in same way as Cassadó increased his *tempi* in *Requiebros* over time. Later in his life, Casals expressed discontent with the tempo of the suites in his 1938 recording; according to Lev Ginsburg, he would have liked them "at least one tone sharper in order to hear the liveliness that was lost during the mechanical recording" (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 160). It is not clear whether this means that Casals usually played quicker than in the 1938 recording or that he simply changed his interpretation over time. It is difficult to state whether or not there has been a tendency in later years towards faster tempi in the Bach suites, even though it is often said that modern recordings generally are slower since the fastest notes in the text are now considered the reference mark. As Robert Philip states "modern taste insists on careful control, particularly of acceleration. This goes with a requirement that every detail should be considered and clearly placed" (Philip, 1992, p. 36). But as Mark Katz points out, referencing a larger study: "José Bowen's study of tempo and duration in hundreds of twentieth-century orchestral recordings shows no decisive change in tempo over the course of the century. In fact, some works have gotten faster over the decades" (Katz, 2010, pp. 38–39). When examining some high-profile recordings of the Suites from the last decades, only two are slower than Casals' 1938 version, eight have a faster pulse while seven recordings are in the range between Casals' 1938 recording and his 1954 version.³² The great baroque cellist Anner Bylsma, for example, plays more slowly than Casals in his 1993 recording (49–54 bpm), while his earlier 1979 version is close in tempo to Casals' 1954 version (80 bpm), just as Claret's recording (79 bpm). It would appear that Casals' change towards faster tempo is part of a larger-scale quickening of tempo in the interpretation of the Bach suites, with all the individual nuances that apply. Casals could even have been an influence in this direction, given his authority on interpreting the Suites.

³² All the Bach recordings, ranging from the slowest to the quickest main pulse (bpm): Bylsma (1993) 49-54, Wispelway (1990) 65, Mörk (2005) 72, Kirshbaum (1993) 74, Tortelier (1982) 76, Maisky (1985) 77, Bylsma (1979) 80, Ma (1997) 83, Rostropovich (1991) 90, Maisky (1999) 102.

Rhythm/Accentuation

Rhythm, at first sight, seems to be the optimal starting point when searching for national and cultural fingerprints in performances since it is a musical element with the capability to single out national colours in a particularly distinctive manner. Nevertheless, it has to be said that the aspect of rhythm most useful for analysis in a performance is the alteration of written rhythms. Therefore, what is principally analysed regarding rhythm is tempo rubato – as rhythm alteration – and rubato is often difficult to separate from accentuation. The discussion in this thesis separates a discussion of larger-scale rubato – analysed in the previous section on tempo – from the closer note-to-note perspective, which is considered here. Starting with the recordings of the two Catalan pieces there are two rhythms in particular that stand out in the way that they are played: the dotted quaver and the quaver triplet. This makes sense when looking at pan-Hispanic musical rhythms such as the *bolero*, where the most predominant feature is the triplet, or other rhythms such as *habanera*, *clave* or *merengué* that are all structured around dotted rhythms and were used by Catalan and pan-Hispanic composers during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It would be reasonable to expect that these rhythms would carry certain performance traditions with them.

The older recordings show a much more conscious treatment of these rhythms than recent recordings. In other words, Casals and Cassadó accentuate and interpret rhythms differently and more freely than later cellists, both Catalan and non-Catalan, much in the same ways as we have seen in the section on tempo and rubato. As David Milsom puts it, in the early twentieth century “the philosophy behind rhythmic interpretation was quite different to today – note texts being the *guidelines* for a performer’s caprice and not a blueprint for reproduction” (Milsom, 2003, p. 176).

Starting with the dotted rhythm, there are some clear differences seen in the opening bars of Granados’ Intermezzo, seen in Example 2.21. Both Casals and Cassadó in their various recordings heavily emphasize the quaver after the dotted crotchet, playing it late, clearly prolonging it and marking heavily the accent.



Example 2.21 Cassadó, Intermezzo, bars 1–5, Cassadó's copy of the score.

Claret, in his 1993 recording, like other contemporary cellists, tends to play this rhythm straighter and in tempo.

In *Requiebros* there is a repeated dotted rhythm about which, according to Marçal Cervera, Cassadó was particularly concerned. "He didn't want a marching rhythm here. The semiquaver must be emphasized and fully played out" (Cervera, personal communication, 18 June 2010). In all three of Cassadó's recordings these rhythms are played emphasizing the semiquaver, there is a clear accent and even a relaxation of tempo in these bars, presented in Example 2.22. On the contrary, Casals' version of this rhythm is more march-like, with a harsher accent and there is a clear tendency to overdotted all the rhythms in this section, with the tempo moving forward rather than relaxing. Claret in his recordings stays somewhere in between, but also slightly overdots the dotted rhythms.



Example 2.22 Cassadó, *Requiebros* bars 51–55.

Cassadó's indication in the score is "*con suono energico*", so it is easy to understand why many performers would play the section pressing forward and not relaxing the tempo as Cassadó himself does. Furthermore, even though Cassadó in this particular case was worried about the rhythm sounding march-like, the standard praxis of dotted rhythms elsewhere in the recordings is playing the note after the dotted note slightly late and accentuated. Therefore, it is natural that Casals and even later performers to a certain extent would use the same concept in this section as well. In *animando poco a poco* for example, the dotted rhythm at the end of bar 81 is played very late, almost in connection with the following note. It is heavily accentuated by Cassadó in all three of

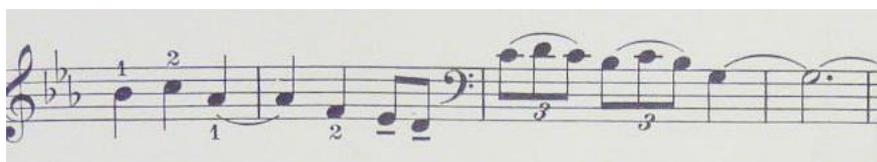
his recordings, although more so in the recording from 1961 than in that of 1935, seen below in Example 2.23.



Example 2.23 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 77–81.

Casals plays it similarly; however, the effect is not the same as he plays at a slower tempo. Claret plays the rhythm more in time, with only a slight overdotting and the demisemiquaver quite pronounced.

As to the second rhythm at hand – the triplet – there are a couple of clear examples in Granados' *Intermezzo*; most obviously the semiquaver triplet in bar 4, previously observed in Example 2.21. Cassadó in both live and studio recordings plays the triplet emphasizing and prolonging the first note notably, and so does Casals. Interestingly, Casals follows the written rhythm more closely than Cassadó overall in this first phrase with just two exceptions: the dotted rhythm mentioned earlier, and the triplet. While the dotted rhythm sets the whole tempo slightly off track, the triplet usually stays fairly well in tempo in the studied examples but changes shape, roughly becoming a semiquaver followed by two demisemiquavers. Other similar examples include bars 71 and 85 where two groups of triplets appear together (seen in Example 2.24). Here, as we can observe in Example 2.25, the first note of the first triplet is the most accentuated and prolonged, with the following notes all progressively quicker, except for the small push and slight prolongation that is given the fourth note of the bar.³³



Example 2.24 Granados, *Intermezzo*, bars 83–86 as notated.

³³ Cassadó has this section marked “recit.” in his own score, which indicates well his vision of rhythmical freedom here.

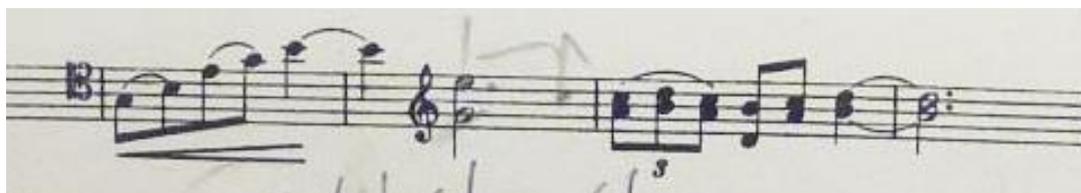


Example 2.25 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 83–86, an approximation of the rhythms in Casals' and Cassadó's recordings.

According to Marçal Cervera this kind of accentuation was typical for earlier cellists, but he did not perform it himself, considering it somewhat old-fashioned (Cervera, personal communication, 18 June 2010). Examples 2.26 and 2.27 from two different score copies, show another case of changes of rhythm involving triplets, found in bars 79–82. Once more Cassadó's own copies of the score present clues to his interpretation, especially the score copy that is worn from frequent use, which displays a dotted crotchet and quaver pencilled in the second bar, seen in Example 2.27. In both Cassadó's and Casals' recordings the minim in bar 80 is cut short; in Cassadó's recording there is a quaver before the triplet, the triplet is played at almost the double tempo, and the dotted minim is prolonged substantially, seen in Example 2.28. Finally, Example 2.29 presents Casals' version where the triplet is played almost as a semiquaver triplet before the first beat in bar 3, displacing the whole figure by one beat.



Example 2.26 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 79–82, Cassadó's own copy with little usage.



Example 2.27 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 79–82, Cassadó's more worn copy.

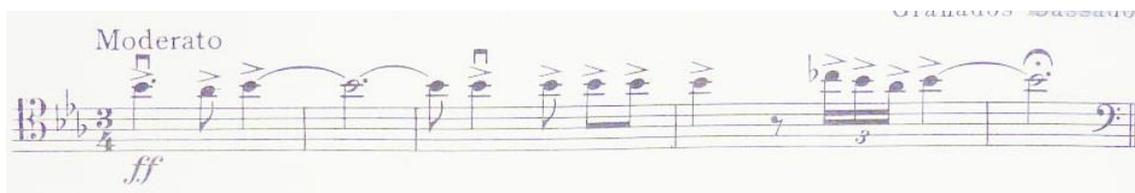


Example 2.28 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 79–82, an approximation of Cassadó's 1962 recording.

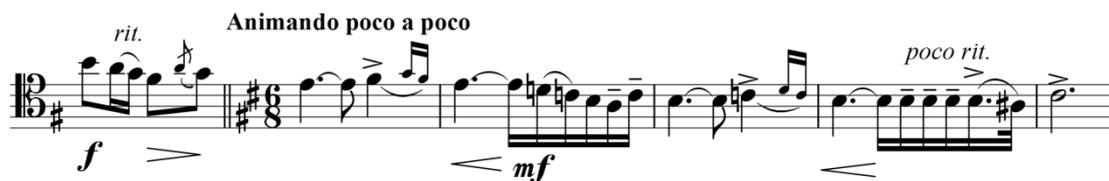


Example 2.29 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 79–82, an approximation of Casals' two recordings.

In all later recordings, however, the rhythms are performed almost exactly as written. From the examples found here, and considering that both Cassadó and Casals dislocated the triplet in one way or another, it would appear that a triplet on the strong beat was less convincing in pan-Hispanic music for performers of an older generation. Both the dotted rhythm and the triplet prove to be good markers of performance culture since modern cellists are generally meticulous with these rhythms. Indeed, no recording after those by Cassadó displays the same rhythmical nuances to any greater extent. This includes modern Catalan cellists, such as Claret. The notion that the way older Catalan cellists played these rhythms could be part of a larger standard Spanish performance style dating back centuries is supported by Maurice Esses, who quotes the seventeenth-century theorist Correa Arautxo advocating a type of rhythmic inequality, reminiscent of the French tradition of *notes inégales*, “that consists of performing notated triplets by prolonging the first note and shortening the last two notes. Correa describes this method, as playing with the gentle tilt (*ayrezillo*) of *proporción menor*” (Esses, 1992, p. 291). The triplet is a naturally prominent feature in most Spanish folk music, and it is feasible that the culture of performing this rhythm developed within a wider Spanish culture. There are a few other examples of rhythms with Spanish colour in *Intermezzo* and *Requiebros*: one is the three or four repeated short notes before a dotted rhythm or a triplet, typically played irregularly and accentuated. Examples 2.30 and 2.31 show us both these rhythms: in *Requiebros* we find this feature in *animando poco a poco* in bar 81, discussed above and in *Intermezzo* we find it in the first phrase before the triplet, bars 3–4.



Example 2.30 Granados, Intermezzo, bars 1–5.



Example 2.31 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 77–82.

Cassadó emphasizes the cultural flavour in both these places by prolonging the first of the short notes slightly, then rushing towards the dotted rhythm/triplet while accentuating the notes strongly. Casals does something similar, however, without using as rapid an *accelerando* as Cassadó.

Another detail is the expressive *recitativo* feeling present in particular places of high musical interest. The same *animando poco a poco* section mentioned before is a good example of this. Before the bar cited above with the repeated semiquaver and the dotted rhythm (Example 2.31), there are three bars which are performed in a variety of ways, depending on the generation and culture of the performer. Cassadó develops his interpretation over time, from a more steady and gentle version in 1935 to a faster and more volatile approach in 1961. The basic concept, however, stays the same: he slows down the tempo on the second note of the first bar, plays the grace notes very late, then pauses before the second and third notes, and on the b, in bar 80, while speeding up on the last two notes of the bar, seen in Example 2.32. The last three notes form a rough demisemiquaver triplet played in a Spanish manner.



Example 2.32 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 78–81 (top); an approximation of bar 79 in Cassadó's 1961 recording (bottom).

The pattern is partly repeated, whilst pushing the tempo forward in the following two bars. Casals plays the section at a slower tempo and more legato but uses the same pattern. This section has an intrinsic Spanish rhythmical structure and speech-like characteristics that require the kind of interpretation realised by Casals and Cassadó. These characteristics seem to speak to Claret as well, since he offers a similar

rhythmical pattern in his 1993 recording. In most non-Catalan recordings this pattern is not followed which consequently means the section sounds less Spanish. A similar concept can be applied to bars 24–27 of the same piece, marked *con fantasia*, where the performance culture of Casals, Cassadó and others implies an even larger number of idiosyncracies. As we can see in Example 2.33, Cassadó performs the rhythm increasingly freely over time in his recordings, while Casals has a more modest approach, but they both share a similar pattern of rhythmic changes. Other performers display other types of small changes in rhythm, with Claret interpreting the rhythms in these bars in a more notationally accurate way.

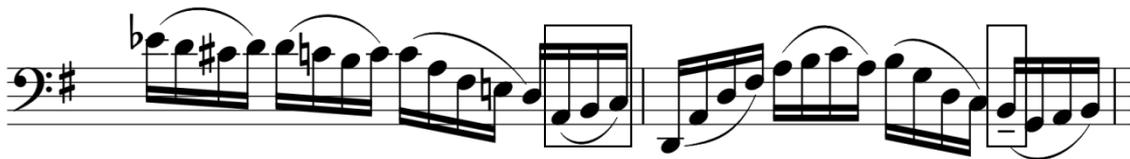
Example 2.33 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 23–25 (top); and an approximation of bar 24 in Cassadó's 1961 recording (bottom).

Reviewing the recordings of the Bach suites, it is undoubtedly Casals' 1938 recording of the G major Prelude that deserves the greatest attention regarding accentuation. What is interesting is that his articulation is highly personal and does not follow a straight pattern or tradition. Casals uses small irregularities and emphasizes certain notes to bring out hidden melodic lines, as in Example 2.34, or to bring certain intervals closer together, playing them like “semi double-stops” for a fuller harmony, as in bar 8 (Example 2.35). Some accents are surprising at first sight: for example the emphasis he puts on the first B in bar 25 which must be meant as the continuation of the A–B–c in the previous bar (Example 2.36).

Example 2.34 J. S. Bach, Prelude, bars 29–31, with accentuations in Casals' 1938 recording.



Example 2.35 J.S. Bach, Prelude, bar 8 (top); and an approximation of the same bar in Casals' 1939 recording (bottom).



Example 2.36 J. S. Bach, Prelude, bars 24–25, with accentuations in Casals' 1938 recording.

The melodic line brought out by Casals in bars 29–31 is interesting since cellists normally bring out the first note of the bar. Casals' line makes more sense, both considering the beat that is being emphasized as well as the end of the melody, which in Casals' version ends nicely with an *f–e–f*–figure. Casals, although he often changed fingerings and bowings, as we have seen through Cassadó's testimony, kept most of these rhythmical patterns in his live recording from 1954 – although the first eight bars are played straighter – so they seem to have been carefully thought through. Although he keeps many of Casals' indications of bowing, dynamics and so on in his 1957 recording, Cassadó only mirrors a few details in accentuation such as bar 8, whilst in general he follows a more strict pattern of rhythms. This may have to do with the difference in musical climate due to the twenty years that passed between the two recordings, but it probably also has to do with Casals' particularly close relationship with the suites. Unsurprisingly, Claret displays a modern approach to accentuation in the suites with clear and regular rhythms.

Portamento

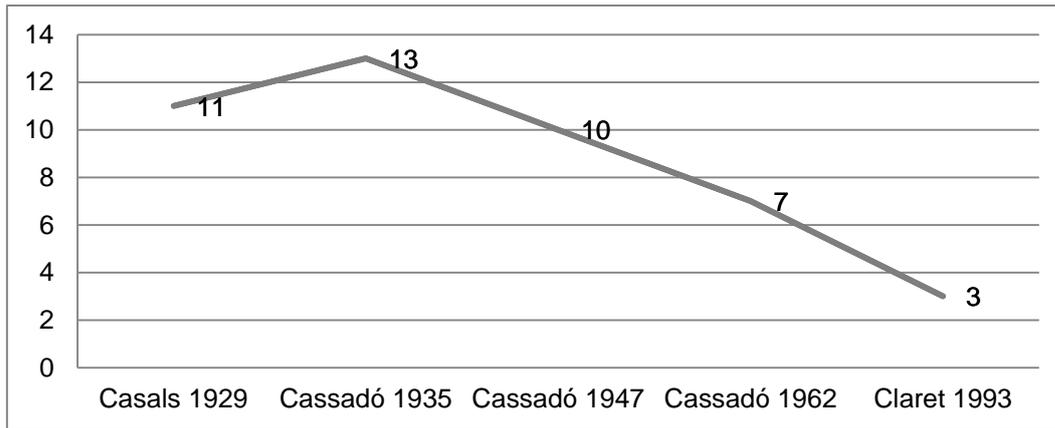
It just seemed to go out of fashion. Quite suddenly. People didn't talk about it, you know. It just happened. (Adrian Boult, in Haynes, 2007, p. 52)

Portamento, once one of the most important means of expression in string performance, practically disappeared with the advent of continuous vibrato and is hardly

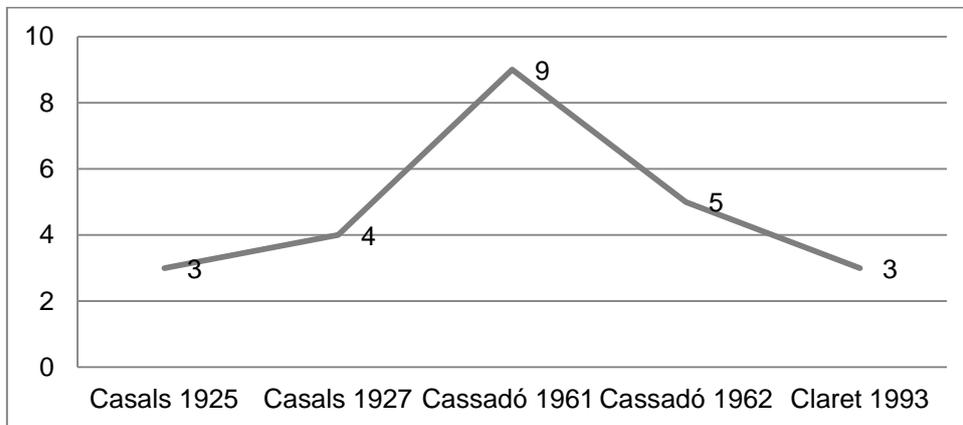
audible in modern day performance, although whether or not it happened as quietly as Adrian Boult suggests is open to debate. In modern string performance culture it is often understood that one should avoid glissando unless specifically indicated in the score, although the trend might be turning again now, well into the twenty-first century.³⁴ Clive Brown speaks of two connotations of the word portamento, “a smooth connection of one sound with another [...] either simply as legato or as linking of different notes by a more or less audible slide” (Brown, 1999, p. 558). Today the term is used mainly with the latter meaning – an audible slide – often considered more of a technical mistake than an interpretative choice. When observing portamento in earlier recordings, these offer a rich field of expressive nuances in performance and, in the repertoire at hand, there are many interesting examples in the recordings by Casals and Cassadó.

Regarding the quantity of portamento in performances there are few surprises, except perhaps for the scarcity of Casals’ portamento in the three selected passages below (Graphs 2.6, 2.7 and 2.8). One has to take into account that in the early twentieth century portamento was generally used by cellists for most shifts between positions, more so than by violinists due to the greater distances between positions on the cello. For example, George Kennaway states that the great nineteenth-century cellist Grützmacher even used portamento “to a note preceded by a rest, by a staccato note, or by a note on another string (sometimes an open string)” (Kennaway, 2009, p. 160). Casals must therefore have been considered at least moderate in his use of slides in the 1910s and 1920s. The graphs below show a clear, but not wholly consistent curve from more to less use of portamento over the years. In the case of the Intermezzo, the aspect of different approaches to a live versus a studio recording probably explains the divergence in slides between Cassadó’s two recordings, but the reason behind the increase in slides between Casals’ first and second recordings, in both *Après un rêve* and Intermezzo is less obvious. What is clear is Casals’ conscious placing of the slides, since they are all repeated in his second recordings and executed in a very similar way.

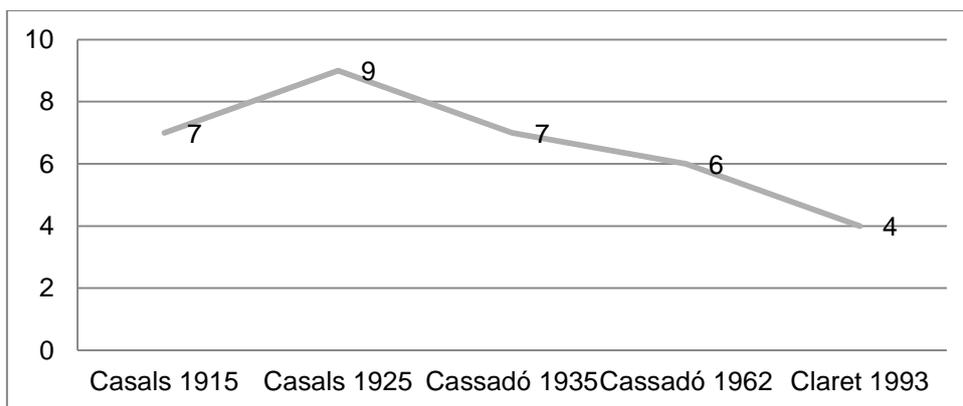
³⁴ The violinist Arnold Steinhardt from the Guarneri Quartet pointed out back in the 1980s how “many students are afraid to make a glissando, they believe that it may be considered bad taste or in some ways laughable. Even when they finally hazard one, they hardly make any at all” (Blum, 1987, p.46).



Graph 2.6 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, Portamenti, Bars 30-50.



Graph 2.7 Granados, *Intermezzo*, Portamenti, bars 63-96.



Graph 2.8 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, Portamenti, bars 2-15.³⁵

³⁵ The Bach Prelude hardly displays any slides and is therefore excluded from this comparison.

String portamento is commonly divided into three categories: single-finger portamento, 'B portamento'/'B shift' (sliding with the beginning finger then stopping at the destination note with another finger) and 'L portamento'/'L shift' (changing finger at an intermediate note, then sliding with the last finger).³⁶ 'B' and 'L portamento' are sometimes called early and late slides respectively.

The most commonly used slides by all three performers here are single finger and 'B portamenti', which both create a similar sound effect. The 'L portamento' has sometimes been considered more problematic, at least by theorists, since the change of finger at the intermediate note can be rather audible and thus provoke a more distinctive shift with a certain sigh-like quality.³⁷ As an example of the change in aesthetical tendencies during the course of the twentieth century we have Cassadó's three recordings of *Requiebros*. In his first recording from 1935, three of his thirteen slides sound like 'L portamento', while by 1961, in his live recording of the same piece, there is only one slide that sounds like it could be a late slide. On the other hand, his two recordings of *Après un rêve* paint a different picture. Even though the portamenti in Cassadó's second recording from 1962 are far more subtle, he has kept a couple of tasteful but very deliberate 'L portamenti', and even added one in bar 31. Casals, in his recordings of the three pieces under discussion, seems to have used very little 'L portamento', even though his recordings are all earlier than Cassadó's first recording. It is clear that Casals was careful, not only with the quantity of portamento, but also with the type he used, even at a time when the use of slides among string players was much more frequent.

As previously mentioned it is the different qualities and nuances of the portamenti in these three recordings that make for the most interesting comparison. Starting with the earliest recordings of the two Catalan pieces by Casals, it immediately becomes clear that Casals has a personal and different way of using slides here. In bars 35–36 in *Requiebros* the first interval in the bar, between the f' and the b' is much more comfortable to play with a slide. Casals, however, does not use portamento there, but instead slides in the following bar between the first two notes there (Example 2.37).

³⁶ Carl Flesch explains this division well in his *The Art of Violin Playing* from 1930.

³⁷ David Milsom quotes a treatise by H. Schröder from 1887 where it is said that "In the French school [...] this perverted mannerism is often customary and beloved but we ourselves absolutely cannot approve of it" (Milsom, 2003, p. 93) and George Kennaway comments that "Cello methods that discuss portamento in the nineteenth century concentrate on the B–shift although in practice the L–shift was often used" (Kennaway, 2009, p.140).

Here there is *a priori* no technical reason to slide, but the effect is an expressive *dolce*.



Example 2.37 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 35-36 with Casals' portamento.

Through this section of *Requiebros* Casals varies his slides depending on the occasion. Examples 2.38 and 2.39 show how in bar 39 the slide to the first note is a slight push on the same pitch as the following note, resembling a grace note, while in bar 44 it is a small emphasis moving down in pitch slightly and then up to the following note.



Example 2.38 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 38-40 with Casals' portamenti.



Example 2.39 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 43-45 with Casals' portamenti.

In *Intermezzo* there is a similar lack of portamento where fingering would seem to suggest it, but instead a few portamenti are placed at times where Casals is seeking a certain expressive effect, like in bar 75 for example, which is displayed in both his recordings (Example 2.40).



Example 2.40 Granados, *Intermezzo*, bars 73-76, with Casals' portamento.

In *Après un rêve* we find an example of a very melodic use of portamento in bars 5–6 where Casals, in both his recordings, emphasizes the change from b natural to b flat by sliding between the c' and the b natural in bar 5 and then repeating the same motion between the c' and the b flat in bar 6, which brings out wonderfully the change in the downward progression (Example 2.41). Meanwhile, other performers do not slide in these places, as seen in Example 2.42, which shows Cassadó's portamenti.



Example 2.41 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, bars 5-6 with Casals' portamenti.



Example 2.42 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, bars 5-6 with Cassadó's portamenti.

There is a vocal character to the nuances and details of Casals' portamento, something which can be related to Kai Köpp's recent research on the relationship between string portamento and vocal portamento, showing the presence of different vocal sliding concepts in early violin editions (Köpp, 2012, n.p). Kennaway also speaks of this feature and writes regarding Grützmacher that "his portamento is fundamentally vocal in character – there are evident parallels with early vocal recordings such as those by Adelina Patti, especially the small 'preparatory' slide at the beginning of a phrase" (Kennaway, n.d, online). Cassadó manifestly inherited Casals' way of using slides for expressive interpretation although he did not explore the nuances of portamento to the same extent as Casals. In the recordings under discussion, Casals and Cassadó generally use portamento in different places; however, neither of them places the slides where fingering alone would explain them. In bar 42 of *Requiebro* Cassadó, in all three recordings, uses portamento one note before Casals, creating a slightly different expressive effect, and in bar 46 Cassadó similarly slides one note before; however in his three recordings the slide is a bit different each time: shorter or longer, more or less intense (Example 2.43).



Example 2.43 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 46-47 with Cassadó's portamenti.

In both *Requiebros* and *Intermezzo* Cassadó uses small slides to emphasise the first beat of the bar on repeated occasions, sometimes sliding more and sometimes simply prolonging the note, for example in bars 31, 39–40 of *Requiebros* and in bars 69, 71, 74, and 83 of *Intermezzo*. The few occasions where Casals and Cassadó coincide in their portamento are on these first beats, visible below in Examples 2.44 and 2.45.



Example 2.44 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 38-40, Cassadó's recording from 1947.



Example 2.45 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 38–40, Casals' recording from 1929

The most obvious example where they differ is in bar 31 of *Après un rêve*, where Casals has marked *sans glisser* in the score, to avoid a potentially ugly octave-wide slide between the *f*' and the *f*'₁, as seen in Example 2.46.



Example 2.46 Fauré, *Après un rêve*, bars 30-31.

Cassadó is very careful in his first recording, where only a soft slide at the very end of the interval can be heard, while in his 1962 recording he does a very elegant but clearly audible 'L portamento' in this bar, disregarding the instruction. As we have mentioned, Cassadó's slides are much more prominent in the live recording than in the studio version in the *Intermezzo*, which can probably be traced to Cassadó's experience of

recordings at this time and of the effect of repeated listening on some expressive features such as the portamento. It is obvious that Cassadó's portamento over the years became less frequent and less prominent – the 'L portamento' appears less – and it is possible that he pursued a cleaner, neater interpretation when he was in the studio, influenced by the tendencies of the time. Claret's recordings of the same works forty years later naturally contain many fewer portamenti, and even the portamenti present are less prominent, less audible and mostly of the single finger type. Of the four slides in the passage of *Après un rêve*, only one is a clear slide in bar 10 while the others are smooth and very delicate. The few places where Claret uses slides are often similar to Cassadó's recordings, for example on the first beats of bar 69 and 71 of *Intermezzo*, seen in Example 2.47.



Example 2.47 Granados, *Intermezzo*, bars 68-72 with portamenti present in Claret's recording from 1993 as well as in Cassadó's two recordings (1961 and 1962).

In *Requiebros*, interestingly, where the type of passage with continuous big shifts invites portamento, Claret hardly uses any slides at all but he does a clear portamento at the end of bar 40 where neither Cassadó nor Casals slides, observed below in Example 2.48.



Example 2.48 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 38-40, Claret's recording from 1993.

The slide is easy to avoid by different fingering if desired and the bar is marked *piu intenso* so this appears to be an expressive portamento. It is Claret's personal choice and maybe a reference back to the expressive portamento era.

The study of portamento offers some of the best examples of Casals' innovative expressive style, although the influence on later Catalan cellists has been almost completely diluted. It is not an exaggeration to say that in the recordings discussed no two *portamenti* by Casals are exactly the same, and as Robert Philip states; "Casals uses portamento to underline the progress of the melody in a way which seems entirely

natural, though no other cellist has ever used the device in quite the same way” (Philip, 1992, p. 165). Casals’ influence in changing how cellists used the portamento is explained by Carl Flesch, here quoted by Ginsburg:

Casals in practice showed his colleagues the difference between unavoidable and only technical glissando and expressive and necessary glissando (portamento). That’s why [...] their playing is less whining, more flexible, less sentimental and more pure. (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 162)

Casals was an important influence regarding cleaner and smoother playing, with his new left-hand technique which included greater shifts and “hammering” the string with the finger for a clearer attack, and it actually seems ironic that Casals, the maximum exponent of expressive portamento use, indirectly led the evolution away from portamento.³⁸ The reason for his disciples not using expressive portamento to the same extent is surely to be found here: with the new left-hand technique they felt less need for it. From the recordings used here it appears that Cassadó inherited Casals’ interest in portamento as means of expression but, following the tendencies of his time, discarded pursuing its nuances to the same extent as his maestro and instead moved towards less and less varied portamento use. However, compared to other students of Casals’ he was certainly seen as a true advocate of portamento. Guilhermina Suggia, by contrast, went as far as to state that:

The cellist should endeavor to rid himself of the susceptibility to make noises. It is quite extraordinary how few there are who can play without making noises. A noise is not music; neither can a simple musical phrase be beautiful which contains any sound other than a beautiful sound. (Mercier, 2008, p. 10)

Timbre

Vibrato is normally the first part of tone colour to be analysed in string players but the timbres of the cellists in this comparison have other aspects worthy of study such as sound attack and the general characteristics and colour of the tone. These elements, admittedly, are more elusive and often difficult to articulate without resorting to highly subjective ideas.

The additional difficulties in comparing timbre in recordings with such vast recording technological differences are obvious. As many recording reviews attest, timbre is normally the aspect to suffer most from differences in recording circumstances and this

³⁸ Ginsburg describes Casals’ left hand technique in the following way: “Sound attack, a firm ‘fall’ of the fingers on a string (with light pizzicato)” (Ginsburg, 1983, p. 162).

is especially important when comparing the timbre in modern recordings with that in pre-electrical recordings. In addition to changes in recording technology, the invention and use of steel strings has brought with it a noticeable difference in colour between cello playing of the early twentieth century and contemporary performance. Cassadó was reportedly the first soloist to use steel strings in concert, according to R. Caroline Bosanquet “as early as the twenties” (Bosanquet, 1999, p. 203) and by the 1950s the practice was highly extended with the most prominent soloists on the world scene such as Piatigorsky, Fournier and Rostropovich switching. However, many performers from the older generation never changed over to steel strings and it has remained a question of taste to some extent up until now.³⁹ Casals seems to have stayed with gut strings throughout his career, and there is at least one note signed by Casals where he asserts that he “would never dream of using steel strings” (Casals, 1956, online). Steel strings not only change the general colour of the instrument, they also invite changes in bowing technique since they are resistant to harder strokes and sharper attacks – both incidentally trademarks of modern string playing. Gut strings, being less resistant, were less suited for this new approach and as Robert Philip comments: “it was not just gut strings but also the low elbow and more delicate grip which made string-playing at the beginning of the century less assertive and sharp-edged than modern playing” (Philip, 1992, p.98). So in this sense, although Casals never switched to steel strings, his new ideas on cello technique evolved during the next generation together with the implementation of the steel string.

Opinions on timbre are many and varied when it comes to the Catalan performers in the comparison. Casals’ rather famous sound is often described as velvety, round and golden – “high-viscosity” – as Richard Taruskin once called it (Taruskin, 2009, p.68). He is complimented for his “romantic shadings in tone” (Cowling, 1975, p.167) and for an “upper tone so pure, so lustrous, that it seems scarcely to belong to the cello at all” (‘Destinn and Casals’, 1915, p.18). David Blum even goes so far as to assure that “those who heard Casals will forever be haunted by the quintessential purity of his tone” (Blum, 1977, p.137). Cassadó is said to have an “even-grained and eloquent tone” as well as a “lean, focused tone”.⁴⁰ In a *Saturday Review of Literature* from 1955 it is even said that “Cassadó takes after his countryman and erstwhile master Casals in favoring a tone, pure and thin” (‘Recordings in review’, 1955, 42). Claret is often thought to have a particularly warm tone, while *The Strad* finds it “silvery” (Denton,

³⁹ Among cellists today we still find cases of performers using gut strings, one being the renowned Dutch cellist Peter Wispelwey.

⁴⁰ ‘Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Lalo: Cello Concertos/Cassadó, Perlea’ (anonymous review, *The Gramophone*, 1960, online and Woolf, 2004, online).

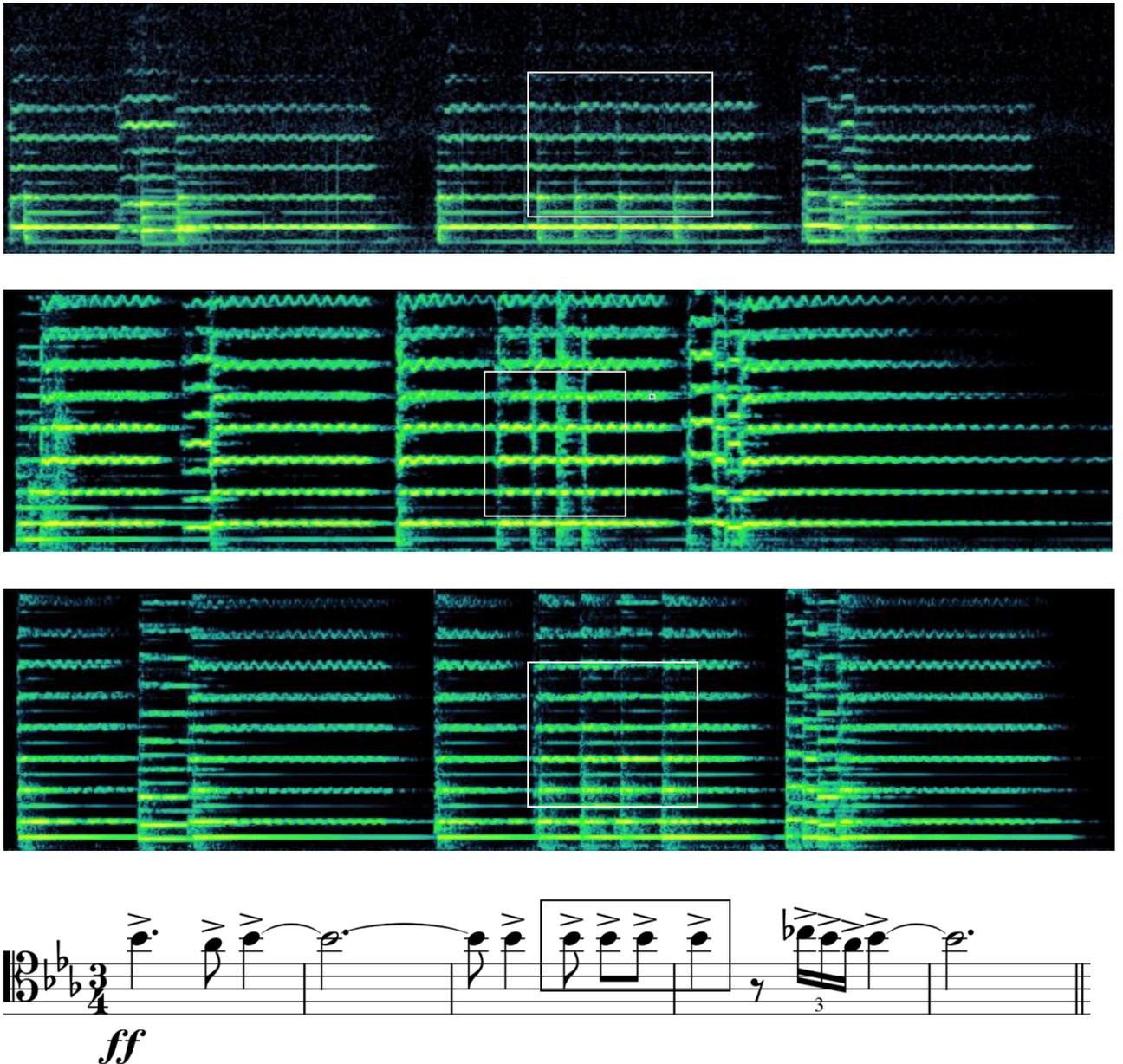
1998, online). One must conclude that the adjectives used in recording reviews often say more about current taste and aesthetics than about the actual timbre in the recording at hand. But differences in colour between the recordings are clear and abundant and cannot be confined to questions of technology. If we organize the recordings from the sample according to their dates, there are three major groups: one comprising recordings before the 1940s, one group with recordings between 1947 and 1962 and one group with recordings from 1993 to 2006. Six of the recordings in the study were made before the 40s: all four of Casals' recordings made between 1915 and 1939 and Cassadó's first recordings of *Requiebros* and *Après un rêve* from 1935. It is true that they all share a similar timbre: a round sound with soft edges, slightly dark in colour and with a somewhat toned-down vibrato. However, there is a perceivable difference between Cassadó's recordings and those of Casals in that Cassadó's sound appears slightly more focused and sharp. This may be because of the metal strings, but it could just as well be a question of performance style.

The second group comprises four recordings by Cassadó, ranging from 1947–1962: the live versions of *Intermezzo* and *Requiebros*, the Bach suites and the second *Requiebros* recording display striking differences in recording quality. The live recordings display a rather coarse and centred sound, with a metallic ring to them, which could mean that Cassadó was using not only metal strings here, but one of the metal gadgets with which he was famous for experimenting – the metal string holder, metal bow hairs or one of his inventions for raising his bridge. The two recordings of *Intermezzo* offer a good comparison of live versus studio sound since they were produced just one year apart. The timbre, very focused and slightly metallic, is a little bit coarser in the live recording, but otherwise surprisingly similar to the studio recording which simply offers a clearer and bigger sound, due to the microphone being placed close to the cello. The 1947 version of *Requiebros* by Cassadó on the other hand is similar in sound to Casals' 1929 recording with its focused vibrato and the softer, darker sound, more so than his 1935 recording. An important detail are the noticeable changes in timbral qualities between Cassadó's recordings, probably in part the result of his different experiments with the cello, in part due to technology, but very possibly including a component of choice and taste as well. Cassadó's changes are interesting since Casals, for example, does not display this level of variation in sound in this sample.

The last group of recordings by Claret from 1993–2006, show some similarities between Cassadó's sound and Claret's regarding the Catalan works. Apart from the huge difference in recording quality, Claret has a more silvery ring to his sound: it is

rounder, but has a definite focused, clear quality and projects in the same way as Cassadó's later recordings. When comparing the timbre in the Bach Suites this perceivable similarity in colour includes Casals as well. In a time when many recordings of the Suites opt for a very sweet and *dolce* sound, the recordings in the sample all share a certain type of coarseness and bite to the tone. It seems that all three of the cellists favour an approach where the focus lies heavily on the melodic progression, the flowing motion or perhaps even the atmosphere instead of pursuing the most *dolce* timbral quality.

Apart from general tone colour, the second variable, the attack of the bow on the string, is the most crucial, since it is one of the most personal characteristics of a cellist and there are constant opportunities to note the differences between the three performers in the recordings discussed. The Catalan works are particularly appropriate for comparing the attacks, as is shown by the spectral visualization of the beginning of the Intermezzo by each of the cellists below, as shown in Example 2.49. The spectrograms are helpful for the demonstration of a number of timbral details. We can appreciate, for example, how the loud and noisy attack with a light swing by Cassadó translates into the waves having less clear beginnings with more variation, since he goes deep into the string, emphasizing the beginning of many notes such as strong beats or musical highpoints. In particular the triplet at the end comes across as uneven and noisy. Casals also puts a swing and rhythmical pulse to many attacks, but they are often softer since he is generally playing the repertoire at a slower pace which can be inferred from the soft ends of the waves on the spectra. Claret – as most modern performers seeking clarity and a clean bowing technique – has a much less audible attack and many notes actually appear straight on without a clear beginning attack. As to be expected the spectra show very clean and even attack in the sound with little variation between them.

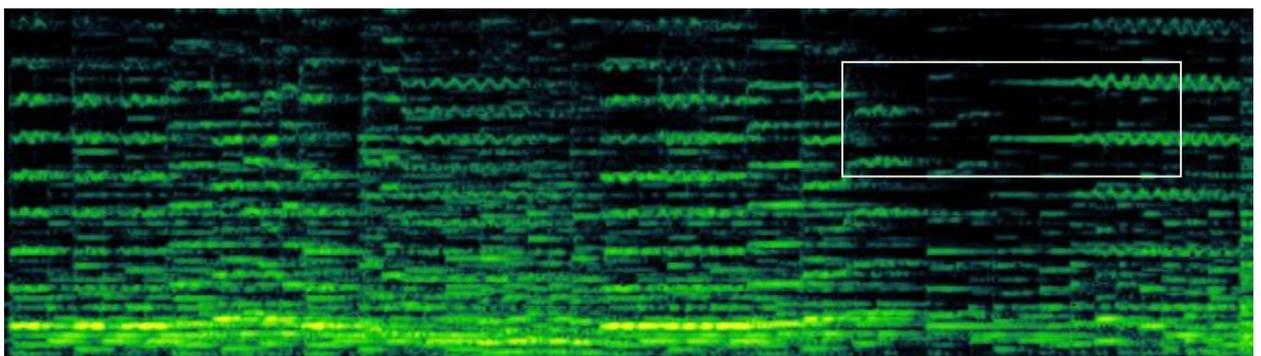
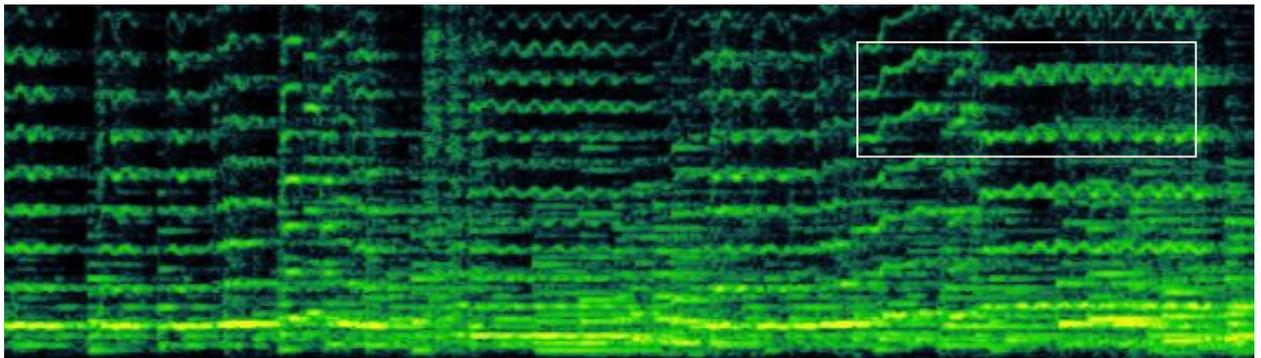
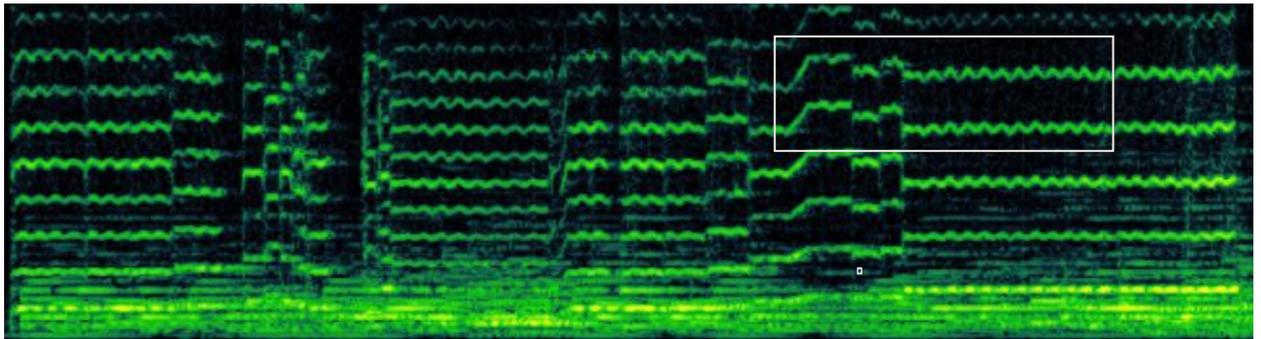


Example 2.49 Granados, *Intermezzo*, bars 1-5, spectrogram. Casals' 1925 recording (top); Cassadó's 1962 recording without piano accompaniment (middle); and Claret's 1993 recording (bottom).

In the recordings of *Après un rêve* the most discernible difference is the change over time in the attack. Casals' and Cassadó's first recordings have more emphasized attacks with a little more speech-like quality, while in Cassadó's second recording the toning down of the *portamenti* has been accompanied by slightly cleaner and less emphasized attacks. Claret's recording represents the next step with a very modern, smooth connection of notes and almost inaudible bow-change. In the Bach Prelude there is a similar panorama. Claret, with his modern-styled airy and fast *détaché* bowings does not lean on the beginning of the notes the way Cassadó, and especially

Casals, do. The final aspect of timbre to consider, vibrato, is surprisingly less crucial in this comparison since the three performers all have a very similar type and frequency of vibrato, so much so that a detailed comparison becomes superfluous. Casals often made comments about continuous vibrato and he was known, as Ginsburg points, to oppose “the point of view of the musicians who considered that to play with a feeling meant vibrating every note” (Ginsburg, 1983, p.159). Even so, Casals certainly belonged to the group of performers in the beginning of the century who regarded vibrato as a crucial part of their playing and as we remember, is often considered to have promoted continuous vibrato. Robert Philip even comments that “of all the string players who lived through the change from the traditional to the modern approach [to vibrato] the one who most succeeded in combining the virtues of the old and the new styles was the cellist Casals” (Philip, 1992, p.105). There is a significant continuity to his vibrato in recordings as early as in 1915, and in later recordings the vibrato has as important and constant a presence as in Claret’s recordings made almost 90 years later. As with his portamento there are nuances to his vibrato, both in width, speed and prominence, prompting Philip to admit that “unlike most players, whose vibrato makes the tone sound homogenous, [...] Casals uses vibrato to make his tone seem even more varied in character than it could have been without vibrato” (Philip, 1992, p.106).

Regarding portamento, however, only part of his original musical concept was passed on to his disciples and fellow Catalan cellists. Cassadó’s recordings display a similar continuity of the vibrato but less variety in its use which might not be so surprising given that Cassadó was experimenting more on the other end of sound adjustment by means of the volume and brilliance of tone with his different gadgets and changes of strings. However compared to modern players – who like Claret use vibrato as a base colour in their sound – Cassadó has a less consistent, more changing vibrato. Cassadó’s wide and slightly uneven vibrato is clearly evident in the spectrogram of bars 20–23 from *Requiebros* in Example 2.50. We also see how the beginnings of Casals’ notes are varied, with some smaller differences in his vibrato to each note, although it is a continuous vibrato. The spectrogram also shows how Casals has a rounder colour, with less bite and coarseness compared to Claret and especially since Cassadó’s attacks to the note are rougher. As for Claret’s vibrato it is more focused; this is especially evident in the last bar.



Example 2.50 Cassadó, *Requiebros* bars 20–23, spectrograms. Casals' 1929 recording (top); Cassadó's 1961 recording (middle); and Claret's 1993 recording (bottom).

In the Bach Suites, the difference in vibrato between Claret, Casals and Cassadó is much more important, but for more obvious reasons, related to the changes in musical attitudes throughout the twentieth century. Even though Claret does not have a strict H.I.P.-approach to the Suites, the vibrato in his recording is much more restrained than in the recordings of Casals and Cassadó, which display a similar use and amount of vibrato as in the Catalan pieces and *Après un rêve*.

Conclusions

Throughout this chapter we have analysed the extent to which Casals was truly an *avant-gardist* in string performance at the beginning of the twentieth century. Both he and Cassadó lived through and adapted to what was a time of great change in performance culture and Casals led the evolution in cello performance in features such as vibrato and portamento. However, discerning what traits in their styles are Catalan is a complex matter for various reasons. If any characteristics are to be considered Catalan, they should appear in a number of Catalan players, and we have seen that is difficult to affirm since so few Catalan cellists were disciples of Casals and Cassadó. Some qualities in vibrato, portamento and rhythms are shared between Casals and Cassadó, although many of them appear to be generational markers, rather than cultural ones. A small number of performance details are partially shared between all three cellists in the comparison, including accentuation features in the Catalan repertoire, tone similarities in the Bach Prelude and similar tempo choices on several occasions. Of these, the accentuation features seem particularly Catalan since they are generally not found in non-Catalan recordings. Nonetheless, what emerges from the comparison is that the performance style of Casals did not get passed on to modern Catalan cellists to any great extent through Cassadó. Characteristics such as portamento and rubato, for example, display too deep generational differences to show clear national connections.

It is generally thought that national styles amount to little within twentieth-century performance style due to the variety of influences available globally; however the interesting nuance in the Catalan case is that the most important of those global influences was also Catalan: Casals. Some traits have been suggested by Catalan cellists themselves as distinctive: Claret states that “Casals and Cassadó had their nobility in common. Their vibrato was not as open and flashy as that of a Russian or a Frenchman, it was more constrained. The Catalan style is expressive, but with moderation, and more contemplative” (Claret, personal communication, April 2011). Cervera, regarding Cassadó, said that “all of us who knew Cassadó were convinced that the greatness of his art was profoundly rooted in his humanity” (Pagès, 2000, p. 76). Another comment by Claret refers to his Catalan identity: “to me being a Catalan cellist is about coherency: that is what Casals means to me – coherency”. These comments touch on a more indirect part of the cultural connection, which in the Catalan context seems to be the most important. There appears to be a strong bond between the Catalan cellists due to their cultural heritage and their sense of belonging to a Catalan tradition, even though the performance tradition may only actually exist to the

degree it wants to exist, paraphrasing Jim Samson's comments on Chopin that "Chopin was a Polish nationalist to the extent that he intended, and was heard, to be" (Samson, 1985, p.100). It seems clear that Casals not only changed cello performance style praxis, he also changed the concept of being a cellist – in particular the idea of being a *solo cellist*, connected to the study of the Bach suites and to an idea of introvertism and intellectualism. For Catalan cellists, this idea is linked with another strong concept still present today in Catalan culture: that being a Catalan cellist involves more than being Catalan and playing the cello. There is an extra-musical quality derived from Casals that Cassadó and the other Catalan cellists hint at – we remember Cassadó calling Casals his spiritual father.

The truth is that the strength of Casals as a national symbol in Catalonia today, still undeniable, has less to do with his performance career than with his political position and known philosophical profile. The comment by Tomas Mann that Casals "is allied to a rigid refusal to compromise with wrong, with anything that is morally squalid" is a testament to the high ethical profile of the cellist.⁴¹ The idea of Casals as morally incorruptible has perhaps faded somewhat after his death, with some of his decisions being questioned as demonstrated in the introductory chapter, but at a more emotional level Casals remains a strong model. It is significant that so many comments regarding both Casals and Cassadó use words like humanity and nobility, ambiguously open for both artistic and ethical meanings. Whether consciously or not the musical and the ethical somehow become united for Catalan cellists, bringing an unprecedented philosophical factor to the idea of being a cellist. In other words, the Catalanity of Casals runs deeper than performance characteristics can show and has resulted in a legacy and tradition of its own. Cassadó's place in this scenario has been of some dispute. The traditional view gives us Casals as the *non plus ultra*-Catalan while Cassadó seems less strongly attached. But a deeper look into Catalan culture tells us differently.

As seen in the introduction of this chapter, Catalonia has had some cultural particularities resulting in a great variety of cultural movements around the turn of the last century, of which Casals and Cassadó tapped into different parts. Montserrat Guibernau in her book on Catalan nationalism mentions four approaches to the Catalan multifaceted cultural reality, still valid and commonly used: *essencialisme*, *pactisme*, *españolisme*, *cosmopolitisme*. What these attitudes reflect are positions regarding Catalonia's relations with Spain and the world. Casals is a true *essencialista*,

⁴¹ This expression is from a letter by Mann to Casals, quoted in Kirk's biography of Casals (Kirk, 1974, p. 557).

connecting his Catalonia with democracy and freedom, with some resentment towards Spain. The most traditional of Catalan attitudes has historically been *pactisme*, which is classic Catalan pragmatism based on a classical merchant culture that lives through pacts and agreements with everyone around them, while *españolisme* refers to the part of Catalan society that feels more connected to the rest of Spain. Cassadó, on the other hand, the travelling polyglot, is a natural cosmopolitan, with an attitude that as Guibernau states, “is a primarily intellectual attitude that defends a view of the world in which ethnic, linguistic and national differences cease to act as barriers to human communication and cooperation” (Guibernau, 2004, p. 28). In conclusion, although Cassadó was not a *catalanista* in the same way as Casals, his human attitudes and approaches were just as deeply rooted within Catalan culture and he was, in the same way as Casals, described by his colleagues and disciples in terms with ethical connotations, in his case related to innocence and purity.

The conclusion must be that the Catalan tradition of cello performance was defined not so much through clear performance characteristics as through a musical attitude connected to a higher degree than most cello traditions with extra-musical values. Furthermore, Casals and Cassadó were both implicated in different ways in the formation and maintenance of these values.

Chapter Three

Gaspar Cassadó as Performer II: The Evolution of Cello Performance in the Early Twentieth Century

In the 1920s there were three young Turks in the cello world – Piatigorsky, Feuermann, and Cassadó. They knew that each was a great player and they were a bit jealous of each other's successes – Laurence Lesser. (Janof, 2001, online)

While the previous chapter revealed details regarding the cultural context of Cassadó's performance style, the historical context for his performance career is crucial for evaluating his influence on cello playing more widely. Performers are often described as belonging to a certain generation of a particular tradition or idiom, just as they are often portrayed as belonging to certain "schools", yet we also acknowledge that great performers have their own personal and inimitable style. This chapter explores the extent to which Cassadó belonged to a certain generation of performers by comparing Cassadó's performance style with the other two most relevant cellists of his generation, Emanuel Feuermann and Gregor Piatigorsky. The comparison centres on a discussion of recordings by the three performers, using the same categories as the recording comparison in this previous chapter. To contextualize the recording comparison, an introduction to cello performance in the early twentieth century as well as to the musical profiles of Feuermann and Piatigorsky will precede the comparison.

It is worth pointing out that maintaining a professional career as a cellist at the beginning of the twentieth century was significantly different from today. The cello, conceived as a smaller bass instrument with an extensive register but an awkward size, has always had to juggle its identity between being considered a bass and a melodic instrument, more often perceived as the former than as the latter. Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the cello gradually expanded its role, starting with what Peter Allsop calls a first "emancipation of the cello" occurring during Haydn's time, when the distribution of melodic material in works for string quartet became more equalized (Allsop, 1999, p. 167). Nevertheless, at the beginning of the twentieth century the cello was still not considered as a solo instrument at the same level as the violin and the piano, even after nineteenth-century cellists such as Duport, Grützmacher and Franchomme had accomplished great advances in technique. There was a lack of repertoire and there had been no Liszt or Paganini on the cello to break the last barrier into the high virtuoso sphere. Cellists were generally chamber musicians or orchestral players, and the prospects of making a living as a cello soloist

were grim, not to say non-existent. The changes in cello performance, bringing a first generation of virtuoso cellists to the world stage by the late 1920s, could therefore be considered as little less than revolutionary. The lion's part of these changing circumstances can be attributed to a single musician: Pau Casals and his far-reaching influence on cello playing. As his student and partner Guillermina Suggia expressed enthusiastically:

The end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century has in Pablo Casals the greatest of all, the one that carried to a much higher degree the cello technique; and it will be due to him that the cello will take rank, not only by the side of the violin, but as the first bow instrument there is. (Suggia, 1920, p. 107)

Casals' crucial contribution to the progress of cello technique has already been noted in the previous chapter and, as we recall, included freeing the movement of the right upper arm, introducing large stretches in the left hand and using a prominent – later to be called continuous – vibrato. By 1910 Casals was a world celebrity, travelling intensively and influencing both younger and older colleagues through performances and lessons. After Casals, a generation of ambitious and inspired cello virtuosos came, all following Casals' performance model to some extent and particularly successful in transforming cello playing from the 1920s through the 1940s were the aforementioned Piatigorsky (1903–1976) Feuermann (1902–1942) and Cassadó. Although other cellists would soon follow in the soloist path, Feuermann and Piatigorsky were Cassadó's closest competition both in age and in career paths. Although a solo cellist in the 1940s did not have the same amount of work as a solo violinist and income was far from what Menuhin or Kreisler made, for the first time a market had opened with concerts, prestige and careers for solo cellists.⁴²

The biographies of Cassadó, Feuermann and Piatigorsky are testament to how differently performer careers were started a century ago and a particularly interesting aspect is the weak influence that great performance schools had for all three players. Cello performance had been dominated by two major schools – the Germanic and the French – during the previous two centuries with great players and pedagogues such as from Romberg and Dotzauer to Grützmacher and Klengel on one side and Duport and

⁴² Annette Morreau states that Feuermann's pay from the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1941–42 was \$500 for two concerts while Menuhin made \$2250, also for two concerts. She also asserts that "it was rare for concert promoters and orchestras in America to present a solo cellist more than once a season (Morreau, 2002, p. 337). American cellist Orlando Cole states that Feuermann had "only twelve engagements the year he died. Piatigorsky was also struggling to get his career going" (Janof, 2002, online).

Franchomme on the other side. The new generation of virtuoso cellists in the early twentieth century, however, came from more “peripheral” backgrounds: Cassadó from the south, Feuermann from the centre-east and Piatigorsky from the far east of Europe. Furthermore, of these three performers, only Cassadó had a clear disciple-maestro relationship with someone from the previous generation, and his teacher, Casals, had himself a peripheral background similar to the Russian Davidov school or the Hungarian Popper school – schools created by a single excellent performer not attached to a preexisting tradition of performance excellence. Feuermann and Piatigorsky both studied with Julius Klengel in Berlin but did not profess to be his disciples or to adhere to a Germanic tradition, nor were they portrayed as such by others.⁴³ Indeed, as will be discussed further into the chapter, there are reasons to suggest that the evolution of Feuermann, Cassadó and Piatigorsky was more motivated by the general progress in cello technique and the fierce competition between the three, than by teachers. As Daniel Leech-Wilkinson asserts: “research has found – unsurprisingly – that the influence of peers tends to be stronger than that of teachers” (Leech-Wilkinson, 2009, p. 256).

The recording careers of Feuermann and Piatigorsky

Feuermann and Piatigorsky share some biographical details which give them an apparent proximity: both were Jews, studied with Julius Klengel, made the journey from Germany out west during the Nazi expansion in Europe, and finally emigrated to the United States. Apart from these facts, however, their careers, styles and sympathies could not have been more divergent.

Feuermann (from Kolomiya, currently part of Ukraine) seems to have been deeply marked by growing up together with his brother Sigmund who was a great prodigy on the violin.⁴⁴ Feuermann was a prodigy himself – he enjoyed little formal training at a higher level and only studied two years with Klengel before he was appointed Grützmacher’s successor at Cologne Hochschule aged sixteen.⁴⁵ In 1929, Feuermann succeeded Hugo Becker as cello teacher of Berlin Hochschule, but after being fired by the Nazis he emigrated to the United States and finally taught at the Curtis Institute from 1938 until 1942. Feuermann recorded a surprising number of works considering

⁴³ To illustrate this, we have the anecdote told by Mischa Maisky about Rostropovich recommending him a teacher from the French school: “This is really difficult. Maréchal is dead. Fournier doesn’t teach. Navarra teaches much too much. Tortelier is a genius but a bit too crazy for you. Gendron, hmmm, it’s not that good anymore. You know what? The best French I can recommend is Piatigorsky” (Janof, 2007, online).

⁴⁴ Sigmund, however, never made the transition to mature musician and ended his career while in his twenties.

⁴⁵ The Grützmacher referred to here is Friedrich Grützmacher the younger (1866–1919).

his premature death at the age of 42 and the idea of equalizing the cello's technique to the technique of the violin can be heard clearly in recordings of works such as the *Zigeunerweisen* by Sarasate. His student George Neikrug states that "Feuermann was listening to violinists all the time, he didn't listen to cellists" (Morreau, 2002, p. 282) and the cellist of the Guarneri Quartet, David Soyer, comments that:

Feuermann's playing was, I think, greatly influenced by his association with Heifetz; he tried to carry over something of Heifetz's style over to cello playing. "Think of a good bow arm", he would say. It will normally not be that of a cellist but of a violinist. Let's try to do what the violinists do. (Blum, 1987, p. 103)

Among Feuermann's recordings there are a considerable number of shorter pieces performed with pianists such as Michael Taube and Frieder Weissmann, the Brahms Double Concerto with Jascha Heifetz and concerti by Haydn, Dvořák and D'Albert. From the first released recording from 1921 to the last live recordings in 1941, a significant evolution in Feuermann's performance style takes place, which, considering his age – he was 18 at the first recording and 41 at the last – is perhaps not too surprising but of great interest when analysing his career. Feuermann is considered by many as the greatest of all virtuoso cellists, as exemplified in this comment by Laurence Lesser, disciple of Piatigorsky and Cassadó, comparing Feuermann and Cassadó:

First of all, he [Cassadó] was at the very highest technical level on the instrument of anybody I have ever encountered. I never heard Feuermann live, but I think that in a great many ways Cassadó was his equal. In the cello profession we generally speak about Feuermann as the *ne plus ultra*, instrumentally speaking, and I'm not going to dispute that, but Cassadó was quite exceptional. (Janof, 2001, online)

Nevertheless, Feuermann occasionally suffered from the negative connotation of virtuosity and was accused by some of placing technique over musicality. Hugo Becker is quoted stating that "Piatigorsky's talent lies more in the direction of the emotional, Feuermann's in that of dexterity" (King, 2010, p. 30). Others display more caution, like Laurence Lesser, who comments that "In general, anyway, I think one must be very careful about pigeon-holing people. You can't say that Feuermann was just a technician any more than you can say Szigeti was just a musical player" (Janof, 2001, online). Feuermann's choice to record *Zigeunerweisen* and other typical showpieces might have fed criticism but it is difficult to see why his recordings of classical master works such as the Dvořák or Haydn Concerti would have been considered musically inferior to those of Piatigorsky or Cassadó.

Piatigorsky (from Yekaterinoslav, Ukraine), like Feuermann, had little formal training during his upbringing. He was elected principal cellist at the Bolshoi Theatre, but fled to Germany via Poland after disagreement with the regime. A couple of lessons with Hugo Becker were arranged in 1921, but Piatigorsky was not satisfied and instead sought out Julius Klengel in Berlin, who became his only long-term teacher. After years of playing at cafés or in silent movies to pay the rent in Berlin he was spotted by Fürtwängler and hired as principal cellist of the Berlin Philharmonic where he stayed until 1929. Just as with Feuermann, the Nazi threat caused him to emigrate to the United States where, incidentally, he became Feuermann's successor at the Curtis Institute and later taught at UCLA and University of Southern California.

Piatigorsky's recording legacy is extensive and pluralist, including piano trios with Heifetz and Arthur Rubinstein, motion pictures, documentaries, concerti by Dvořák, Saint-Saëns, Walton and Schumann, Tchaikovsky's *Rococo Variations* as well as a great number of sonatas and short pieces. A whole 43 years elapsed between the first recording in 1925 and the last. Piatigorsky confessed to have been inspired by Hubermann and Szigeti as a young man and counted Fürtwängler, a great help in his early career, as his greatest influence, thus showing a clear predilection for musicians with intuitive and improvisatory profiles.⁴⁶ He himself was often portrayed as a "natural" and "refined" player, who, in the words of Orlando Cole "didn't force his instrument, and he didn't have a big sound, which might surprise some people" (Janof, 2002, online). Laurence Lesser states that:

Of all the teachers I had studied with, with the possible exception of Cassadó, Piatigorsky was the most natural player. He would hold a cello in his hands and it wouldn't cross your mind that he actually had struggled to learn how to play it because he was so beautiful to watch. (Janof, 2001, online)

However, Piatigorsky has been the object of some controversy over the years, particularly regarding his vibrato, an aspect that will be thoroughly discussed here in the recording comparison. It seems that some deterioration in his playing during later years made his reputation suffer and we can hear for example already in recordings such as the 1960 version of Fauré's *Élégie* that there is a clear difference both in speed and general use of vibrato from earlier recordings.

⁴⁶ Piatigorsky, regarding Fürtwängler, stated that "I was young and perhaps I idealized him somewhat, but his influence had been perhaps the most significant in my musical life" (Piatigorsky, 1965, online).

The influence of Casals

The one significant role-model that all three cellists shared was Casals. Despite the fact that Piatigorsky and Feuermann never studied with him, they both considered him their most substantial cellistic inspiration. Casals's career and technical changes were so ground-breaking that virtually no cellist during the first half of the twentieth century escaped their influence. Feuermann, quoted by Prieto, stated that:

No one who has heard him play can doubt that a new period for the cello began with him [...]. He has been an example for younger cellists and he has demonstrated [...] that to listen to the cello can be an extraordinary artistic delight. (Prieto, 2006, p. 248)

Piatigorsky explains his first meeting with Casals in his autobiography, *Cellist*, and how Casals' positive attitude towards his nervous playing on one occasion had surprised him:

He reacted with sudden anger. He rushed to the cello. "Listen!" He played a phrase from the Beethoven sonata. "Didn't you play this fingering? Ah, you did! It was novel to me...it was good... and here, didn't you attack that passage with up-bow, like this?" He demonstrated. He went through Schumann and Bach, always emphasizing all he liked that I had done. "And for the rest," he said passionately, "leave it to the ignorant and stupid who judge by counting only the faults. I can be grateful, and so must you be, for even one note, one wonderful phrase." I left with the feeling of having been with a great artist and a friend. (Piatigorsky, 1965, online)

In practice, Casals' omnipresent influence signified that certain performance characteristics like portamento or vibrato, passed on by Casals to Cassadó, were also quickly adopted by Feuermann and Piatigorsky, something the recording comparison in this chapter will show in more detail.

As already mentioned, an important aspect of the careers of the new cello virtuosos in the 1920s and 1930s was the sense of competition between the three performers. Until the late 1930s, all three cellists lived and worked mainly in Europe and thus were competitors for a limited number of solo engagements with orchestras and chamber music concerts. The competition between Piatigorsky and Feuermann seems to have been especially fierce and to have resulted in strained relations. The general account of affairs describes Feuermann as a man of "difficult character" and prone to negative comments regarding his colleagues while Piatigorsky is described as more naïve but resentful towards Feuermann. There seems to have been a certain imbalance in roles

from the beginning as a result of Piatigorsky's financial difficulties. Piatigorsky himself remembers with unease seeing Feuermann in the audience at the cafés where he played in order to pay the rent, and a supposed preference by Heifetz towards Feuermann would also have been painful.⁴⁷ Piatigorsky downplays the tension in his autobiography, only mentioning Cassadó and Feuermann once and in a positive light:

I spent much time with my friends, fellow cellists. We met privately, played together, discussed music, and attended each other's concerts. Cassado, Eisenberg, Feuermann, Foldesy, Garbousova, Mainardi, Marechal – all had qualities to generate my enthusiasm. (Piatigorsky, 1965, online)

Nevertheless, Feuermann's disciple Bernard Greenhouse asserts that "I had a nice friendship with Piatigorsky, but no real study with him. He resented the fact that I was working with Feuermann. Said so too. They were not great friends" (Smith, 1998, online). It certainly appears that Piatigorsky had a better relationship with Cassadó than with Feuermann, since according to Laurence Lesser he went so far as to recommend that Lesser go to study with Cassadó in Cologne (Janof, 2001, online). Furthermore, in Piatigorsky's own work *Variations on a Paganini Theme*, written in 1946, the composer dedicated one of the variations to Cassadó, but none to Feuermann. The piece includes fourteen variations, each dedicated to great contemporary performers, including Casals, Heifetz and Kreisler; the omission of Feuermann seems to be a clear statement. Terry King talks of Piatigorsky's innocence – "unaware of the depth of Feuermann's hostility" – in what seems to be a rather subjective account of affairs by his friend Földesy, while Feuermann's friend the cellist Joseph Schuster asserts that Feuermann "was the kindest, most magnanimous person I have ever known" (King, 2010, p. 52 and Morreau, 2002, p. 50). What does seem apparent is that Feuermann was more open regarding the competition among colleagues and made several statements about them. In a personal letter Feuermann speaks of himself as having earned the status of "first cellist" instead of "one of three cellists" – presumably referring to Cassadó and Piatigorsky (Morreau, 2002, p. 18). Furthermore, regarding the cello hierarchy in the US in the early 1940s he said:

One thing seems certain, that I stand as the first in my line. The over-powering shadow of Casals is non-existent here and as Cassadó has pretty much come down in the world, there only remains Piatigorsky who, talented as he is, in many respects is lacking in quality." (Morreau, 2002, p. 337)

⁴⁷ Some assert that Heifetz considered Feuermann the greatest cellist ever, refusing to play with another cellist for eight years. Nevertheless, he later had a long and successful piano trio with Piatigorsky, with whom he performed and recorded extensively for over thirty years (Gollin, 2010, pp. 159–150).

Survey of recordings

In order to establish a clear comparison of performance style traits between the cellists, as well as to assert Casals' influence, the sample of recordings in the comparison is primarily focused on works of which recordings by all three performers are available, and particularly where two recordings by each performer are available. The only work recorded twice by all three performers is the Dvořák Concerto – it was actually recorded three times by Cassadó – while the Bourrée in C major by J.S. Bach and *Kol Nidrei* by Max Bruch were recorded once by each performer (Tables 3.1, 3.3 and 3.4). Other works recorded twice are *Abendlied* Op. 85, No. 12 by Schumann in the case of Feuermann and *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns in the case of Cassadó. *Le Cygne* was also recorded at least five times by Piatigorsky of which three versions are included here (Tables 3.2 and 3.5). Two repeated works in Cassadó's recording career will not be included in the comparison: the live recording of Intermezzo by Granados, does not add anything different to the parameters discussed here, and a second recording of *Andaluza* by the same author is unfortunately impossible to locate. In addition to this main bulk of recordings, other works recorded by two of the three performers, or in some cases recordings by other performers, will be included to widen the analysis. One thing to keep in mind is that not all recordings have the same purpose or circumstances. Virtually all of Cassadó's recordings were made in the studio and issued by record companies, with the exception of a few live recordings. Piatigorsky and Feuermann, both of whom lived in the US, additionally made radio and TV broadcasts, and Piatigorsky played in motion pictures. The type of recording adds nuances to questions regarding quality of sound, purpose of the recording and therefore to the musical decisions. For further details on the recordings, see Discography of this thesis, pp. 246–253.

Antonin Dvořák, Cello Concerto	
Emanuel Feuermann/Berlin State Opera/Michael Taube	1929
Gaspar Cassadó/Berlin Philharmonic/Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt	1935
Emanuel Feuermann/NOA/Leon Barzin	1940
Gregor Piatigorsky/ Philadelphia Orchestra/ Eugene Ormandy	1946
Gaspar Cassadó/Austrian Symphony Orchestra/Hans Wolf	1951
Gaspar Cassadó/Pro Musica Orchestra/Jonel Perea	1956
Gregor Piatigorsky/Boston Symphony Orchestra/Charles Munch	1960

Table 3.1 Recordings of Cello Concerto by Dvořák used for the comparison.

Camille Saint-Saëns, <i>Le Cygne</i> from <i>Le carnaval des animaux</i>	
Emanuel Feuermann/Michael Taube	1928
Gaspar Cassadó/Michael Raucheisen	1935
Gregor Piatigorsky/Valentin Pavlovsky	1941
Gregor Piatigorsky/Ralph Berkowitz	1950
Gregor Piatigorsky/NBC Symphony Orchestra/Donald Voorhees	1951
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1962

Table 3.2 Recordings of *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns used for the comparison.

Max Bruch, <i>Kol Nidrei</i>	
Emanuel Feuermann/Berlin State Opera/Frieder Weissman	1930
Gaspar Cassadó/Clarence Raybold	1931
Gregor Piatigorsky/Philadelphia Orchestra/Eugene Ormandy	1947

Table 3.3 Recordings of *Kol Nidrei* by Bruch used for the comparison.

J.S. Bach, Bourrée from Suite in C major	
Emanuel Feuermann (Live)	1939
Gregor Piatigorsky (video footage)	Ca 1952
Gaspar Cassadó	1957

Table 3.4 Recordings of Bourrée by J.S. Bach used for the comparison.

Robert Schumann <i>Abendlied</i> Op. 85 No. 12	
Emanuel Feuermann/unknown	1922
Emanuel Feuermann/Michael Taube	1927
Gaspar Cassadó/Willie Hammer	1930

Table 3.5 Recordings of *Abendlied* by Schumann used for the comparison.

Gabriel, Fauré <i>Élégie</i>	
Gaspar Cassadó/Bamberg Symphony Orchestra/Jonel Perea	1960
Gregor Piatigorsky (Broadcast Bell Telephone hour)	1960
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1962

Table 3.6 Recordings of *Élégie* by Fauré used for the comparison.

Enric Granados, <i>Andaluza</i>	
Gaspar Cassadó/unknown	1927
Emanuel Feuermann/Michael Taube	1930

Table 3.7 Recordings of *Andaluza* by Granados used for the comparison.

Enric Granados, Intermezzo from <i>Goyescas</i>	
Gregor Piatigorsky/Ralph Berkowitz	1950
Gaspar Cassadó/Chieko Hara	1962

Table 3.8 Recordings of Intermezzo by Granados used for the comparison.

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, <i>Lied ohne Worte</i> Op. 62, No. 1	
Gregor Piatigorsky/Karol Szeleter	1929

Table 3.9 Recording of *Lied ohne Worte* by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy used for the comparison.

Edition

It is a well-acknowledged fact that many aspects of editions are determined by the performance culture of the time and are therefore shared by these three performers.

Piatigorsky, Feuermann and Cassadó all transcribed music, played music transcribed by others and sometimes thought it necessary to add, change or cut out certain notes, note values, harmonies and rhythms in scores according to the performance occasion. An example of different practices used by the cellists in treating transcriptions is found in *Andaluza*, by Enric Granados (also called *Spanish Dance No. 5*), a piece originally for piano. Feuermann and Cassadó both make certain adjustments in their recordings, but from somewhat different angles. In his recording of 1927 Cassadó plays Casals' transcription of the piece, seen in Example 3.1. Cassadó follows Casals' version for the most part, but makes some adjustments of his own; he adds pizzicato chords (bar 21), grace notes and uses different registers (in bars 21–31 he plays an octave lower while he plays an octave higher in bars 48–55).

The image displays a musical score for Example 3.1, Granados' *Andaluza*, bars 19–23. It is presented in two systems. The first system shows the original piano score (treble and bass clefs) and two cello transcriptions. The top transcription is labeled 'Casals' recording 1927' and the middle one is 'Cassadó's recording 1927'. The second system shows the original piano score with a treble clef and a bass clef, and a cello transcription with a treble clef. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and chords.

Example 3.1 Granados, *Andaluza*, bars 19–23.

Feuermann instead chose to use the violin version by Fritz Kreisler from 1915 in his recording from 1928. This was the time when cello playing was breaking barriers and Feuermann was, as we have mentioned, committed to the idea that cello performance should be as technically demanding as violin performance, making a point of

performing violin virtuoso pieces and decorating already demanding pieces with virtuosic details. Nevertheless, Feuermann also proves to be conscious of the instrumental particularities of the cello by not including all of the virtuosic embellishments included in the Kreisler version and choosing instead to include some elements from Casals' transcription, as shown in Example 3.2. He omits the added grace note placed inside the main theme by Kreisler, he does not play the double-stops in bars 15–17 and he lets the piano play bars 19–21 alone. This particular grace note in the Kreisler version is taken from the piano part; however it makes a very different impression on its own in the violin part.

Example 3.2 Granados, *Andaluza*, bars 3–5.

Transcriptions provide particularly good examples of the editorial changes employed by cellists: another example is the recording in 1950 by Piatigorsky of the Intermezzo from *Goyescas*, also by Enric Granados. As we remember, Cassadó made the famous transcription for cello and piano, but Piatigorsky in his recording displays a version which includes some of the amendments Casals made to the score in his 1925

recording, shown in the previous chapter. p. 38, such as the pizzicato arpeggiato chords in bars 6–13, shown below in Example 3.3.

The image shows two staves of musical notation for Example 3.3. The top staff is Cassadó's transcription, and the bottom staff is Casals' added pizzicato chords. Both staves are in 3/4 time, key of B-flat major, and feature dynamics of forte (f), dim. (dim.), and piano (p). The top staff shows a melodic line with accents and dynamics. The bottom staff shows chords with pizzicato markings and dynamics.

Example 3.3 Granados, *Intermezzo*, bars 6–13, Cassadó's transcription (top); and Casals' added pizzicato chords (bottom).

As in Feuermann's recording of *Andaluza*, Piatigorsky demonstrates how the influence of Casals was present even when cellists performed transcriptions by other contemporary cellists. The reasoning behind some amendments, especially regarding cuts, is difficult to discern. Feuermann's recording of *Kol Nidrei* from 1930 cuts out the first six bars of the orchestral introduction, shown below in Example 3.4, which is neither a great time-saver nor musically motivated.

Adagio ma non troppo

The image shows musical notation for Example 3.4. It includes a bass clef staff at the top and a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) below. The tempo is *Adagio ma non troppo*. The dynamics are *pp* (pianissimo). The notation shows the first six bars of the introduction of the piano version of Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*.

Example 3.4 Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, the first six bars of the introduction of the piano version.

That any piece could be subject to editorial changes, even a classic like the Dvořák Concerto, is evident from Cassadó's 1935 recording of the work. Cassadó added some double-stops in bars 132–135, probably to emphasize the moment of musical tension, shown below in Example 3.5.

Example 3.5 Dvořák, Cello Concerto, first movement, solo cello part, bars 132–135 (top); and Cassadó's 1935 recording (bottom).

The fact that Cassadó does not keep the added double-stops in his third recording of the Dvořák in 1956 is one of a number of examples demonstrating the performer's awareness of general tendencies which resulted in fewer and less intrusive amendments. Sometimes the circumstances in which a piece was recorded played a role in the editorial decisions, as with Piatigorsky's recording of *Élégie* by Fauré with the NBC Symphony for the Bell Telephone Hour in 1960. Piatigorsky shortens the piece significantly, presumably due to time restrictions, by omitting the repeats of the main themes: bars 9–12, 26–32 and 48–50 are cut out.

One can conclude that in editorial questions all three cellists were influenced by Casals' style at the same time as they manifested personal choices, all of which were to be expected during that era. Piatigorsky shows less initiative in this sense while Cassadó's style appears more connected to his own transcription practice, favouring cellistic practices such as double-stops and wide changes in register, and Feuermann shows influence of violin virtuosity with higher pitches and embellishments.

Tempo/Rubato

Performers from the first decades of the twentieth century often seem to employ surprisingly brisk tempi in fast music, while they slow down the same amount or more than modern performers in slower sections. Scholars like Robert Philip and David Milsom have investigated tempo changes in recordings from the first half of the century, establishing that earlier recordings indeed have different tempo ranges than modern recordings in a number of cases. Robert Philip, comparing recordings of the Beethoven Violin Concerto, asserts that "early recordings very often reach much faster maximum tempos than the modern recordings. The lyrical passages are not consistently slower than in modern performances, but the high speed of the vigorous passages creates greater contrast" (Philip, 1992, p. 17). Milsom finds evidence for both

slower and faster recordings and remarks that “taken as a whole, the corpus of recordings examined here suggests that extremes were possible at both ends of the spectrum, in comparison to today” (Milsom, 2003, p. 164).

A comparison of recordings by Cassadó, Feuermann and Piatigorsky over the course of their recording careers does not identify a shared approach to tempo. As we recall, Emanuel Feuermann left us with two versions of the Dvořák Concerto, one studio and one live recording done twelve years apart, as well as two recordings of *Abendlied* Op. 85, No. 12 by Schumann, transcribed by the Russian cellist Davidov, recorded five years apart, thus hinting at what kinds of change occurred in his performance style over time. In his second recording of the Dvořák Concerto, Feuermann plays more slowly – 95 bpm for the presentation of the main theme compared with 100 bpm in 1928 – but since his tempo in 1928 was unusually fast, he is still playing considerably faster than Cassadó and Piatigorsky in 1940. The most crucial detail here is the parallel reduction of rubato in the second recording, especially the accelerandi which lead to a couple of rather extreme tempo peaks during the first movement in Feuermann’s 1928 recording. As will be discussed later in this chapter Feuermann’s use of accelerando was rather exceptional and not shared by the other two cellists. In his two recordings of *Abendlied*, there is an opposite movement in tempo. The first recording from 1922, by a teenaged Feuermann, displays a slower tempo than the second recording from 1927, when Feuermann was twenty-four years old, which also comes across as more elaborate an interpretation. It would appear from these examples that Feuermann at the beginning of his recording career displayed more extreme tempi on both sides of the spectra and then progressed towards more moderate tempo choices. This idea is in accordance with general performance trends, although a greater sample would make possible more certain conclusions. Graphs 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 below display clearly the changes in tempo over time, in the Dvořák Concerto and *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns, respectively.

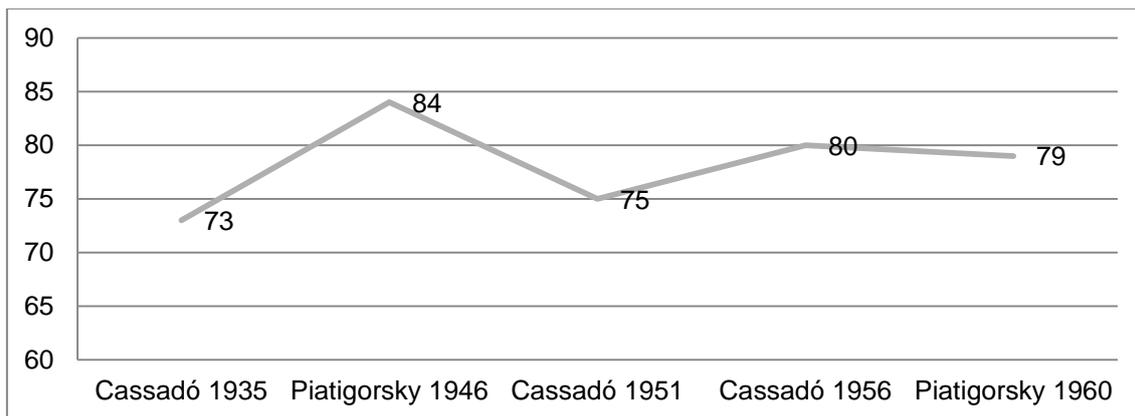
In the case of Piatigorsky, we again have access to repeated recordings of two contrasting pieces: the Dvořák Concerto and *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns. Piatigorsky plays more slowly in his second recording of the Dvořák, while *Le Cygne* undergoes important tempo changes in both directions over the years, as shown in Graph 3.3. From this sample, any general tendencies in his playing regarding tempo are difficult to assert. Nevertheless, in the biography by Terry King, Piatigorsky himself touches on the subject, stating that “it’s true that the tempo with age does change and in some areas slows down” (King, 2010, p. 277). Piatigorsky’s two recordings of the Dvořák Concerto, from 1946 and 1960, show a small decrease in speed over time: 84 bpm

versus 79 bpm for the opening theme, as presented in Graph 3.1. Interestingly, though, the later recording under Charles Munch and the Boston Symphony Orchestra displays a much wider range of rubato than the earlier version with Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra, contradicting the idea of greater contrast in earlier recordings. One particular ritardando, for the *tempo primo* in bar 128, with the repetition of the theme an octave higher, stands out as exaggerated. Piatigorsky starts the theme at only 74 bpm, clearly more slowly than the beginning and then drops to 72 bpm during the next few bars (Graph 3.2). In comparison, his first recording in 1946 displays a steady 90 bpm for the *tempo primo* which is a faster tempo for this section than for the opening theme – something common in recordings of the concerto. Given that there are only fourteen years between the recordings and that both were made after the great change in string playing of the 1920s and 30s, the difference between the two versions appears to stem from personal taste. The slower and more volatile approach of 1960 might have been a change of heart by Piatigorsky, but could also have to do with differences in recording situation or different musical criteria by the two conductors, Ormandy and Munch. Munch is depicted as less than strict in keeping up a beat by the pianist Eugene Istomin, and as having “a less sure sense of tempo” by David Cairns; perhaps this played a part in Piatigorsky’s tempi choices for the second recording (Gollin, 2010, p. 417 and Cairns, 2003, p. 143).

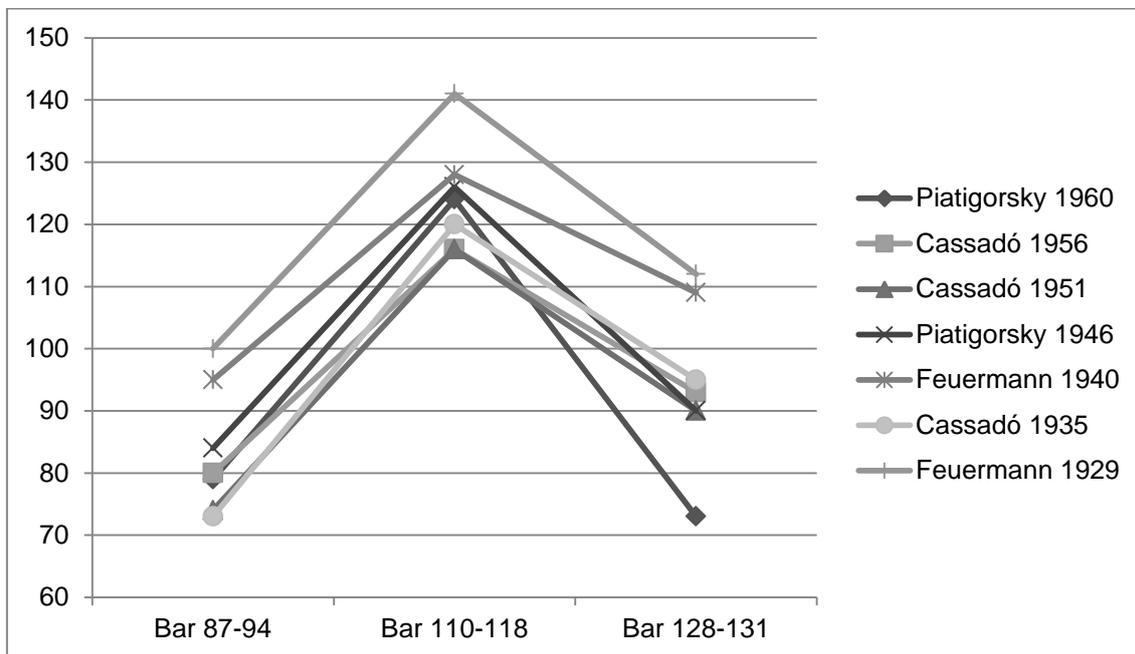
Piatigorsky made several recordings of Saint-Saëns’ *Le Cygne*, including an early recording from 1927, a recording in 1941 with Valentin Pavlovsky, one for the motion picture *Carnegie Hall* in 1946, various with Ralph Berkowitz, and another with the NBC Symphony Orchestra in 1951. The earliest recording available for this comparison, from 1941, is faster than the last known recording from 1951 but the recording from 1950 with Berkowitz is by far the fastest (Graph 3.3). The *Le Cygne* recordings, as a group, show a rather volatile tempo approach on Piatigorsky’s part; however, extra-musical recording circumstances – which include recording for motion pictures and live radio shows – probably also influenced the tempo choices.

Cassadó’s recordings show a tendency for his performances to become quicker over time, and in the previous chapter we discussed the three recordings of his own *Requiebros* that contained a wider rubato range in the 1960s than in the 1930s. Comparing his two recordings of the *Élégie* by Fauré from 1960 and 1962, the first is also slightly slower, although both are from the later period of Cassadó recordings. Regarding his three recordings of the Dvořák Concerto, from 1935 and 1956, there is substantial and heavy rubato in the earliest recording making it more difficult to find a main pulse, but there seems to be an increase in tempo, from 73 bpm in the first

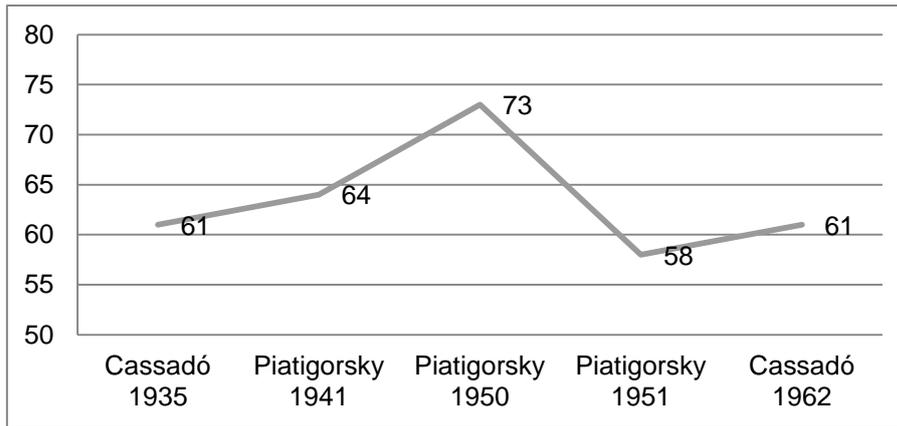
recording, to 75 in the second and 80 in the third recording (Graph 3.1). The rubato in this section acts like a clear time marker; it is used in a more sudden and rash way with greater ritardandi in the first recording. In other instances Cassadó shows a remarkable consistency in tempo, for example in his two recordings of *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns, recorded in 1935 and then in 1962 (Graph 3.3). The tempo and the rubato are near-identical, including the tempo of the piano introduction, played by Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani the first time and Chieko Hara the second.



Graph 3.1 Dvořák, Concerto, Pulse (bpm) for the main theme of first movement.



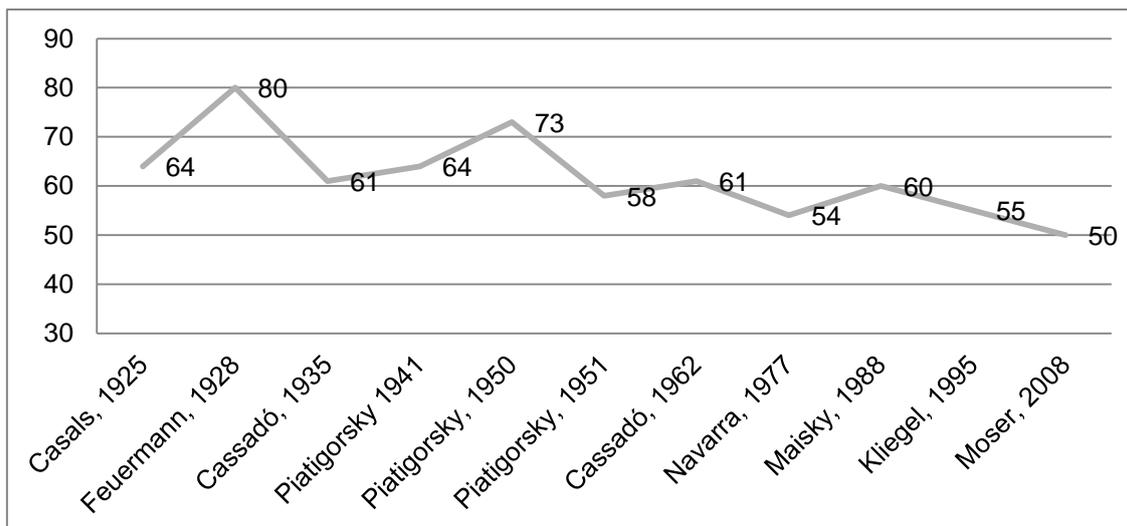
Graph 3.2 Dvořák, Concerto, Pulse (bpm) Recordings of first movement.



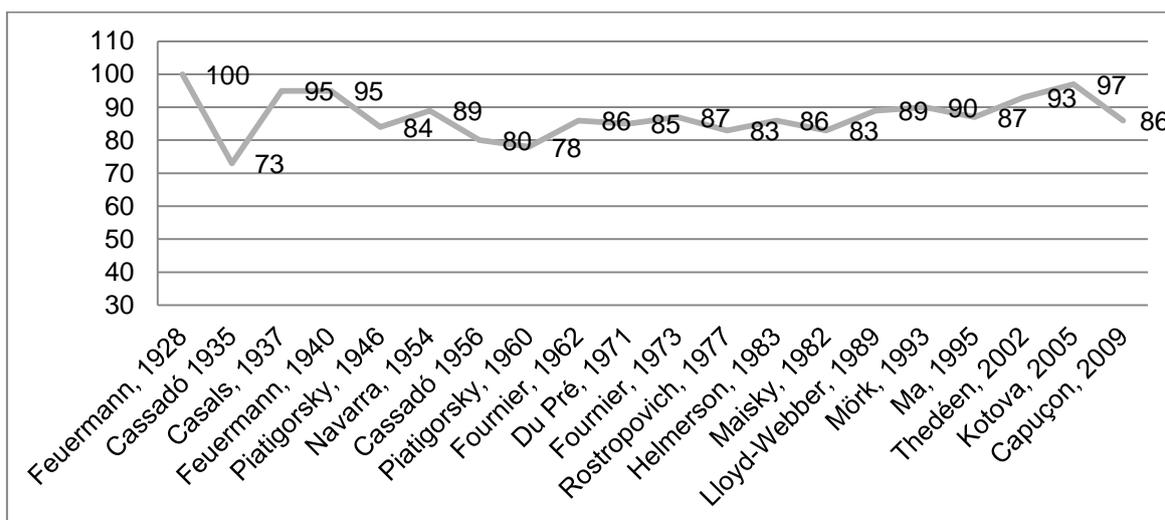
Graph 3.3 Saint-Saëns, *Le Cygne*, Pulse (bpm) for the main theme.

In sum, Piatigorsky and Feuermann display examples of both slower and faster tempi in the repeated recordings, while Cassadó shows an increase in tempo. Any general tendency for recordings in the first half of the twentieth century regarding tempo seems therefore impossible to conclude from this limited sample. Furthermore, Piatigorsky uses a more volatile and extreme rubato in the later recording of the Dvořák while Cassadó and Feuermann tend to use steadier tempi in repeated recordings. In addition, the fact that both Feuermann's recordings of the Dvořák are earlier than Piatigorsky's recordings of the piece makes the comparison more difficult. There is an interesting relation in tempo between the recordings by Cassadó and Feuermann: Feuermann avoids extremes in his rubato in the second recording of the Dvořák Concerto from 1940, but he is moving from the other end of the spectrum and thus goes toward slower tempi and freer ritardandi. The recordings of *Abendlied* exhibit the same effect but from the opposite angle: Feuermann's first recording from 1922 is slower than Cassadó's recording from 1930 while his second recording from 1927 displays an increase in tempo. The result is a considerable closing of the tempo gap between the two cellists in both works. As a matter of fact, the graphs above clearly show a reduction of differences between the three cellists over time in both general tempo and rubato.

Interestingly, when comparing recordings of the same works by the three cellists with more recent recordings, the difference in tempo is smaller than expected. In the case of *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns there is a slight tendency towards slowing down over the course of the twentieth century, shown in Graph 3.4, with the newest release of the sample, by Johannes Moser in 2008, being the slowest. But as we can see, the Casals recording from 1925 put side-by-side with Mischa Maisky's recording made sixty-three years later shows only a negligible difference in tempo.



Graph 3.4 Saint-Saëns, *Le Cygne*, pulse for main theme in a selection of recordings 1925–2008.



Graph 3.5 Dvořák, Cello Concerto, pulse for the main theme, first movement (bars 87–102) in a selection of recordings 1929–2009.

When comparing the first movement of the Dvořák Cello Concerto, seen in Graph 3.5, we see even less tempo difference between older and newer recordings. The greatest tempo gap is between Feuermann's recording from 1928 and Cassadó's recording from 1935 – 100 bpm versus 73 bpm – while the vast majority of performers stay between 80 and 90 bpm. From the two graphs we can also discern a certain tendency in tempo over time in the Dvořák Concerto: a standard tempo around 85 bpm seems to have been popular for a period of time, with a slight movement towards faster tempi in later years. What is not visible in the graphs is the nuance of rubato: recordings from

the 1970s and onwards provide a range of beats, rather than a single beat marking. This indicates a *tempo rubato* without a fixed centre beat. Older recordings, even when their rubato is more exaggerated, seem to adhere more to the notion of “recovering lost time” when playing rubato, returning to a centre of pulse. The idea of *accelerando* and *ritardando* as balancing each other within the overall tempo in nineteenth-century performance is thoroughly explained by, among others, David Milsom, who quotes Casals stating that “time lost on expressive accents being placed on the last note of a group, or on the highest note, is to be regained by the intervening notes” (Milsom, 2003, p. 152). The gradual change in approach in the earlier part of the twentieth century is also commented on by Robert Philip, who remarks that “the idea of balance was at the root of a controversy about tempo rubato in the early twentieth century” (Philip, 1992, p. 39). The reason for controversy seems to be connected above all with the growing hesitance to use *accelerando* – later considered as ‘rushing’, which in consequence led to the tempo not returning to *tempo primo* after each *ritardando*.⁴⁸ *Accelerando* appears to be the tempo feature to have undergone the greatest decline in use, which partially explains why early recordings can strike us as excessively fast even when the general tempo is the same as in newer recordings.

The decline in the use of *accelerando* is also connected to the already mentioned topic of high tempi in Feuermann’s recordings. Both *Le Cygne* and the Dvořák Concerto are pieces that have been performed extensively over a long period of time and the idea of a natural tendency towards homogeneity among cellists through mutual feed-back is not to be excluded. Feuermann’s recordings are clearly far removed from that general tendency in tempo because of his extensive *accelerandi*. As we have seen, during his career both quick (Casals) and slow (Cassadó) performances were made of the Dvořák Concerto and the exceptionality in Feuermann’s tempi lies instead with his tendency to push the tempo in fast sections and to speed up towards climaxes. Brinton Smith observes, comparing recordings of the Dvořák Concerto by Feuermann, Casals, Piatigorsky, Rostropovich and Yo-Yo Ma, that:

The difference comes with Feuermann's gradual *accelerando* during the technically challenging passage work in the measures prior to 5, which leaves him at a significantly faster tempo than the others.[...] This illustrates a tendency seen frequently with Feuermann. In climactic passages which are also technically demanding, while other cellists often slow slightly to accommodate the passage work, Feuermann tends to accelerate, giving the

⁴⁸ “Rushing, which is strictly forbidden in Modern style, was apparently cultivated as an expressive device by the Romantics”, as Bruce Haynes puts it (Haynes, 2007, p. 60).

impression of breathless excitement and daredevil risk taking. (Smith, 1998, online)

Part of the explanation could lie with Feuermann's extraordinary technique and especially with his light and quick left hand and not with the idea of *accelerando* itself, which as we know was an accepted expressive feature among performers at the time of his recordings. Given that all three cellists in this comparison would have considered it natural to use *accelerando* expressively, perhaps the only difference is that the specifics of Feuermann's technique allowed him to pursue this notion to an unprecedented level.

Finally we can establish from these graphs that since the recordings of the Dvořák Concerto lean more towards quicker tempi at the end of the spectrum, while in the case of *Le Cygne* the tendency is to slow down, no conclusion of a general tempo trend in either direction can be established from this sample.

Rhythm/Accentuation

Although not in quite so obvious a way as tempo rubato, the use of rhythm and accentuation went through certain changes during the first decades of the twentieth century, rubbing off on the three cellists in this comparison and resulting in certain shared rhythmical qualities in their interpretations.

In a canonical piece such as the Dvořák Concerto this becomes especially clear, since over time certain details of interpretation have been repeated, following the sort of consensus among performers that was identified in the previous section on tempo. The exposition of the first movement of the Dvořák Concerto, a great outlet for experimenting with tempo rubato, rhythm and phrasing, provides an example of this consensus. From the first interpretation until now, over a hundred recordings have been made, each one adding weight to the interpretative canon. Certain tempo and rhythmic interpretations have become standard; Example 3.6 shows an approximation of these elements, such as playing the first set of double-stops in bar 90 more slowly, the second set of double-stops in bar 94 with some *accelerando*, and bars 97–98 with more *accelerando*, which is followed by a *ritardando* towards bar 99. The trills starting in bar 103 are also often played with *accelerando*.

Quasi Improvisando

f risoluto *ff*

fz fz fz fz fz fz fz fz

ff *fp*

fp

Example 3.6 Dvořák, Concerto, first movement, bars 87–102 with “classic” rubato marked with arrows.

Frequently, the exposition is played with a great deal of rhythmical idiosyncrasy, rubato and using a heavyweight, smooth legato accentuation. Instead, earlier recordings by Casals, Feuermann and Cassadó display stricter and sharper rhythms, less heavy rubato and drier, lighter accentuation. Piatigorsky’s two recordings both show more fluctuation, with quick changes in tempo, stretched rhythms and a great deal of the phrasing that is used today, although his tempi are slower than most modern recordings. One must therefore conclude that Piatigorsky either kept his performance style in tune with the evolving performance canon of the Dvořák or that he himself exerted influence on its rhythmical shape – possibly both. Rostropovich’s recording from 1977 with the London Philharmonic under Carlo Maria Giulini is a good example of this performance model, while his student Mischa Maisky offers probably the most exaggerated example in his recording with the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra under Leonard Bernstein in 1989. In contrast, both Feuermann’s recordings and Casals’ recording from 1937 display quick semiquavers, while the crotchet is almost double-dotted and the beat is steady throughout the section starting at bar 132 (see Example 3.7). Cassadó’s and Piatigorsky’s different recordings all offer something of a middle way, with a slower pulse and more *recitativo* feeling, but with the semiquavers played in strict time and in a similar way in both bars. When the theme returns an octave higher, the pattern is generally repeated, with Casals playing the semiquavers almost as demisemiquavers, Feuermann keeping the tempo, whilst performers over the years have played more slowly and with more of a *recitativo*-feel.



Example 3.7 Dvořák, Concerto, first movement, bars 132–135.

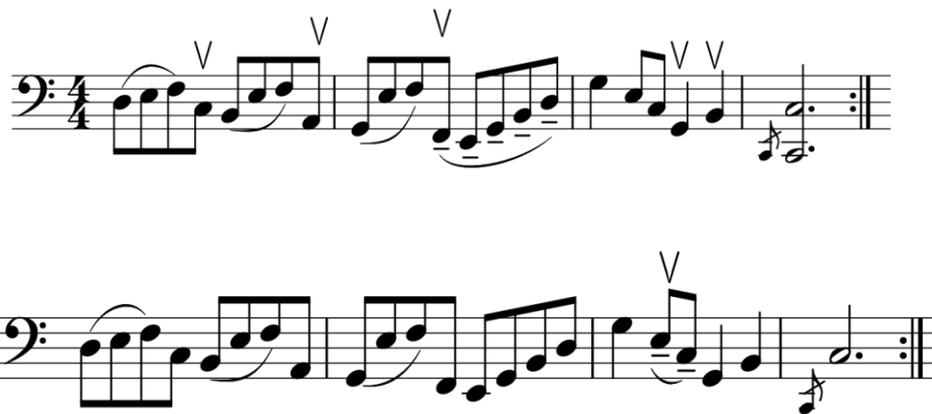
Comparing other recordings by our three cellists we find more detailed examples of differences in accentuation, such as between Cassadó and Feuermann in recordings of *Abendlied* by Schumann. As we have seen, Feuermann recorded this piece twice, first as a teenager in 1922 and then again in 1927, the two recordings differing remarkably in approach giving testament to Feuermann's progress as a cellist. The accentuation in his first recording is not especially pronounced, and together with a rather slow tempo and frequent portamento, it seems slightly unfocused (Example 3.8). In his second recording from 1927, Feuermann draws a much more dramatic and pathetic atmosphere, with enhanced rhythmical exactitude and wide crescendi and diminuendi accompanied by sigh-like gestures at the high points such as in bar 6 or bar 8.

Example 3.8 Schumann, *Abendlied*, bars 6–8. Feuermann's 1922 recording (top); Feuermann's 1927 recording (middle): and Cassadó's 1930 recording (bottom).

Example 3.8 shows how Feuermann adds speech-like emphasis to the phrasing with the accentuation being slightly sharper and quicker in his second recording, while Cassadó has a smoother approach, with more general flow, slightly faster tempo and softer rhythms with less edge to them. In bar 8, for example, Cassadó reaches the high

point more progressively with a long crescendo, following a broader line, while Feuermann builds it more intensely, with a sudden crescendo on the d'' semiquaver and landing with great emphasis on the quaver d''. In fact, Cassadó's recording falls somewhere between the two Feuermann recordings in terms of drive and intensity in accentuation.

A comparison of recordings of the first Bourrée from Bach's C major Suite by Piatigorsky and Cassadó provides equally striking differences in accentuation. Piatigorsky, in his undated video recording from the early 1950s, has quite a heavily weighted approach, accentuating most notes, and uses *détaché* bowing to enhance the beats.⁴⁹ This together with a rather slow pace, 69 bpm, results in a sturdy and rustic Bourrée. Cassadó uses much lighter legato bowing with longer phrases, providing a suppler version; his bow changes are intended to be silent which, together with a faster tempo, make for a very different kind of dance. In the last four bars of the dance the difference becomes especially clear. Piatigorsky plays all four last quavers in bar 26 as heavy portamento up-bows connected with the last quaver of the previous bar and plays the last note as a long double-stop with the lower C first, as an accentuated grace note, visible in Example 3.9. Cassadó plays this much lighter, with a mix of legatos and *détaché* bows and playing the double c quickly in the last bar, staying only on the higher octave c for the remaining beats.



Example 3.9 J. S. Bach, Bourrée in C major, bars 25–28 with bowing re-constructed as heard in Piatigorsky's ca. 1952 recording (top); and Cassadó's 1957 recording (bottom).

In conclusion, Cassadó, in both these examples as well as in some other instances throughout the recordings, seems to have a lighter accentuation than either Feuermann

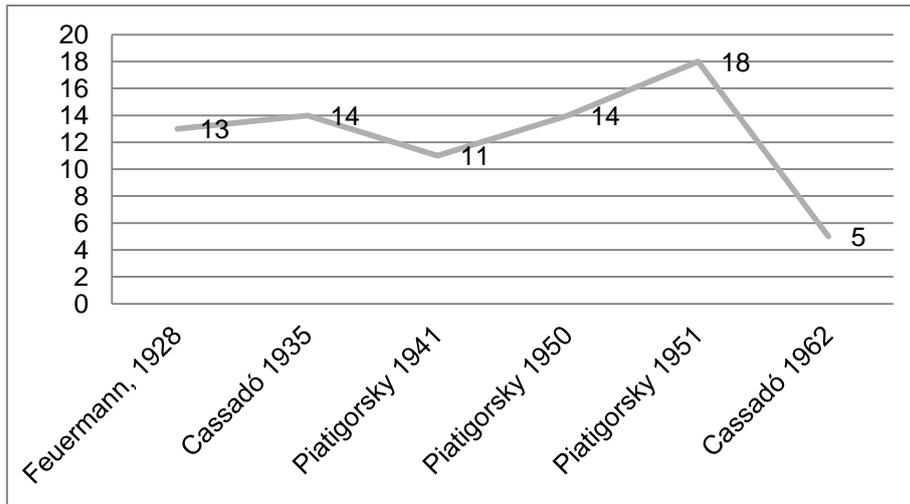
⁴⁹ The Video footage where Piatigorsky plays this Bourrée – a KULTUR recording together with Heifetz – seems to be from 1952 or around that year. The recording was most certainly made before 1955-56, since Piatigorsky is playing on a different cello from his famous 'Batta', which he acquired in those years.

or Piatigorsky. Piatigorsky's playing in many instances is more heavily weighted, using bow pressure and vibrato to enhance accentuation, while Cassadó uses more legato, aims at less audible bow strokes and accentuates over longer phrases. Feuermann, with his crystal-clear left-hand technique, has an even more light-weighted accentuation than Cassadó but he is also more prone to sudden accents, nuance changes and tempo changes. Cassadó, then, appears to be the least extreme of the three in this sample, regarding his accentuation choices.

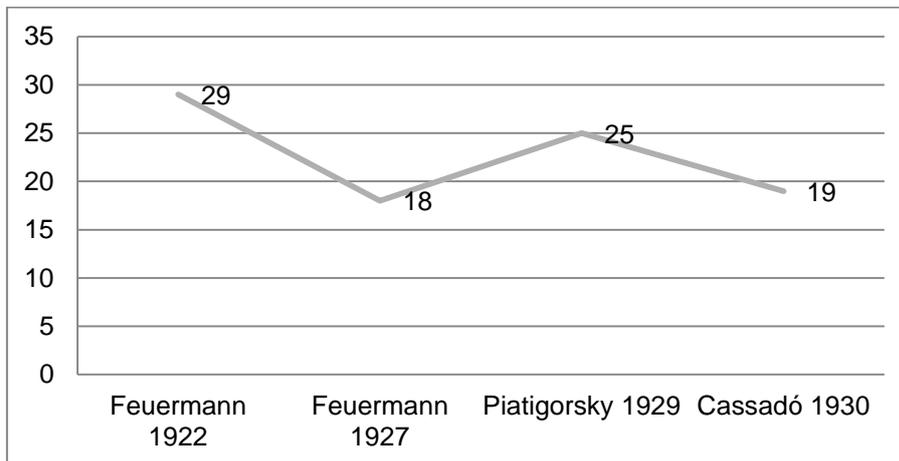
Portamento

Early recordings offer a testament to a time when portamento was considered crucial to a performer's expression, and show us the variety and nuance of this feature displayed in string playing in the first third of the twentieth century. Feuermann, Piatigorsky and Cassadó were all formed as musicians in a musical tradition where portamento was a natural part of string playing, and they all saw portamento slowly disappear. Their own approach to portamento, in effect, changed and the recording comparison confirms a reduction in their use of slides over the years. However, not only do the nuances in use and style of portamento differ between the three cellists but also their respective approaches over time.

In the 1920s and 1930s all three cellists used a considerable and similar number of audible slides. As seen in the following graph, Cassadó and Feuermann display a very similar number of slides in their recordings of *Le Cygne* by Saint-Saëns from 1935 and 1928 respectively, seen in Graph 3.6. More curious are Piatigorsky's much later recordings of *Le Cygne* from 1941, 1950 and 1951 which show not only more portamento than the others, but an increase in portamento during these years. Nevertheless, the fact that the 1951 recording is a broadcast, and therefore initially not intended for repeated hearings, should be taken into consideration. In addition, Graph 3.7 includes a recording by Piatigorsky of *Liede ohne Worte* No. 25 by Mendelssohn gives a hint as to how very frequent his portamento was at the beginning of his career. A clearer case of reduction in portamento is shown in the recordings by Feuermann of *Abendlied*, where the earlier recording displays a total of twenty-nine slides while a few years later only eighteen audible portamenti were left.



Graph 3.6 Saint-Saëns, *Le Cygne*, number of portamenti in recordings.



Graph 3.7 Number of portamento in recordings of *Abendlied* by Feuermann and Cassadó, and in the first twenty bars of *Lied ohne Worte*, Op. 62, No. 1, Mendelssohn in Piatigorsky's 1929 recording.

In these graphs a significant decrease in the number of portamenti can be appreciated, although it is certainly not a straight line. Piatigorsky changes his portamento style at a slower rate and in a somewhat contradictory way while Feuermann has a clear and pronounced decline in his portamento use. Cassadó seems to reduce significantly the number of slides at a faster rate than the other two, or at least this is hinted at in Cassadó's recordings of *Le Cygne*. Twenty-seven years elapsed between the two versions, and Cassadó's second recording in 1962 exhibits practically a third as many slides as the first time around. It is important to note that among the five slides Cassadó played in the second recording, two were not present in the first version; the small slide he gives to the b in bar 7, probably due to a finger change, and the

portamento he plays in bar 22, b to a. This shows the expressive aspect sliding had for Cassadó. It still seems to have been a creative process for him in 1962 even though he had felt the necessity to significantly reduce the frequency of the portamento at that point. When compared to Piatigorsky's recordings of *Le Cygne* from 1941, 1950 and 1951 the contrast is clear; all Piatigorsky's versions exhibit considerably more portamenti (eleven, fourteen and eighteen slides respectively) although the difference in tempo, which affects the aspect of portamento, must be considered. As previously noted, it is also reasonable to believe that Piatigorsky would have conceived the broadcast from 1951 as a performance rather than a recording made for endless repetition and that he adapted his use of portamento accordingly. On the other hand, there is a clear increase in tempo and use of portamento between the recordings from 1941 and 1950 which has no obvious connection to recording circumstances, suggesting that Piatigorsky changed his performance approach for more than one reason.

Performers themselves often tend to speak out against heavy use of controversial features such as portamento, rubato or vibrato, depending on the historical moment, without necessarily following their own advice. Casals, for example, who pioneered a much more intense and continuous vibrato, stated that "When you hear all the time a beautiful vibrato – well, you've had enough!" (Blum, 1977 p. 134). Significantly, although recordings by Feuermann, Piatigorsky and Cassadó overall show a similar decrease in the use of portamento, the three performers voiced different opinions on the matter. Feuermann, according to David Soyer, defended portamento fiercely. When asked by Soyer as to why he chose to slide so much, Feuermann replied that "I slide", he said, 'because I'm not playing the clarinet, I'm playing the cello. When I put my fingers down I'm not just covering holes. The slides give a sense of fluency and a vocal quality. Try singing a phrase and not sliding and see how far you get" (Blum, 1987, p. 102). Piatigorsky seems to have been cautious, according to Stephen Kates and "very concerned about rhythm and shifting without unintended slides" (King, 2010, p. 232) marking the difference between "unintended slides" and "intended slides", the second being a musically expressive feature and thus allowed. Much to the contrary, Cassadó in the later stage in his career advocated against portamento, using a similar analogy to woodwind instruments as Feuermann had done twenty years earlier, but to the opposite end. Laurence Lesser recalls that:

When he first met me, Cassadó told me that he had been known as the "Kreisler of the Cello" as a young man because of his liberal use of portamenti (audible slides). He said that he didn't play that way anymore because he had

come to the conclusion that "if an oboe can play beautifully without a glissando, we should be able to too." He therefore had completely renounced portamenti in his playing. (Janof, 2001, online)

As to the recordings, the most interesting differences in the performers' use of portamento lie in the individual style and shape of the slides. In a similar way to the recording comparison in Chapter Two, the 'L portamento' again seems to have been the first slide to disappear. Taking Cassadó's Dvořák recordings from 1935 and 1956 as examples, there is a sequence of falling 'L portamenti' in bars 22–23 and bars 28–29 of the second movement in Cassadó's 1935 version that is not present in the 1956 version (Example 3.10).

Example 3.10 Dvořák, Concerto, second movement, bars 21–29. Portamento in Cassadó's 1935 recording.

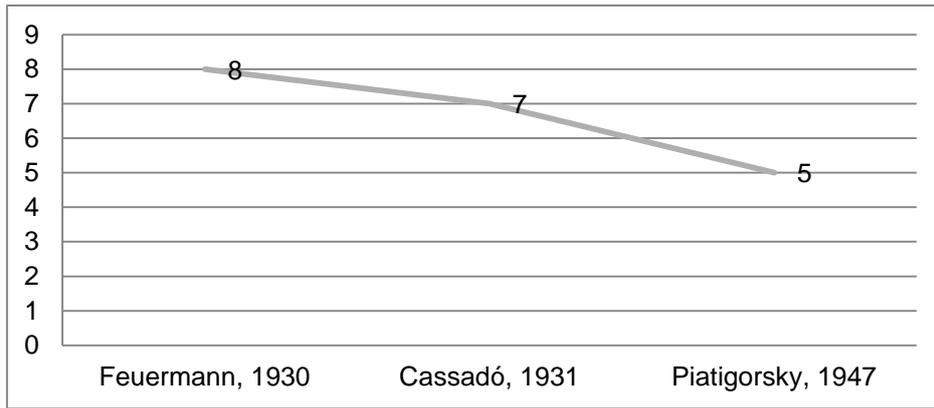
Similarly, in his 1930 recording of *Abendlied*, Cassadó uses a number of 'L portamenti' throughout the piece, resulting in more prominent slides, while Feuermann only uses a few 'L portamento' in his first recording and plays none in his second recording from 1927. We find similar trends in recordings of *Kol Nidrei* by Feuermann (1930), by Cassadó (1931) and Piatigorsky (1947). Cassadó displays a couple of "late" downward slides while the other two seem to use only the single-finger, or "early" slide. Piatigorsky seemed to have used more 'L portamento' earlier in his career, as in the 1929 recording of *Lied ohne Worte* for example, where a number of 'L portamento' with audible "sigh"-qualities can be perceived. In later recordings from the 1940s onwards he seems to use only the single-finger or 'B portamento', while Feuermann seems to have avoided 'L portamento' in recordings from as early as 1925. Indeed, it seems that Feuermann may have changed his portamento significantly at the very beginning of his recording career, between 1922 and 1924. According to Annette Morreau "Recordings from 1921–22 [...] reveal the young cellist influenced by an older generation of playing, harbouring many features of the old style, including lugubrious slides and slow vibrato" and she adds that "by 1924 a change is already evident" (Morreau, 2002, p. 298). Regarding two recordings of the Chopin Nocturne in 1922 and 1927 she comments

that “in the 1922 recording, from the opening sixth, the slides are prominent, heavy and laborious”, while in 1927 the slides are much more subtle (Morreau, 2002, p. 298). This would support the idea that technical slides were part of Feuermann’s performance style as a young cellist, but that he chose to avoid them from a rather early stage. The two recordings of *Abendlied*, of which the first was from precisely this crucial period in Feuermann’s career, confirms this notion, with the slides not only being much more frequent in the first recording, but slower, and less precise.

Apart from the type of portamento, the choice of interval is another interesting nuance displayed in these recordings. As seen in Example 3.11, even though the amount of portamento is similar, only about half of the slides in the previous graph coincide between Feuermann’s and Cassadó’s recordings of the *Abendlied* and could be possibly attributed to technical issues of the left-hand or convention. In bar 14, for example, Feuermann slides between the two first notes of the bar in both his recordings, while Cassadó slides the last two notes, emphasizing the semitone progression g flat g natural a flat. The result is two musically very different phrases.

The image displays three staves of musical notation for Schumann's *Abendlied*, bars 13-15. Each staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat), and a 4/4 time signature. The notation shows a sequence of notes: a whole note G-flat, followed by a quarter note G, a quarter note A-flat, a quarter note G, a quarter note F, a quarter note E, and a quarter note D. Slides (portamentos) are indicated by curved lines connecting notes. In the top staff (Feuermann's 1922 recording), a slide connects the first two notes (G-flat and G). In the middle staff (Feuermann's 1927 recording), a slide also connects the first two notes (G-flat and G). In the bottom staff (Cassadó's 1930 recording), a slide connects the last two notes (G and A-flat).

Example 3.11 Schumann, *Abendlied*, bars 13–15. Feuermann’s 1922 recording (top); Feuermann’s 1927 recording (middle): and Cassadó’s 1930 recording (bottom).



Graph 3.8 Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, bars 1–14. Number of Portamenti in recordings.

In *Kol Nidrei*, Cassadó displays a different use of portamento from the two other cellists, both concerning the location and the type of the slides, as shown in Graph 3.8 and Examples 3.12, 3.13 and 3.14. In his recording from 1931 he uses two very audible ‘L portamenti’ in the second bar of the main theme, acquiring a certain sighing quality where there is no need for slides through fingering demands, while he omits sliding in places where the interval invites glissando, such as g’ to c” in bar 17 (Example 3.12). Feuermann on the other hand displays fewer clear ‘L portamenti’ and instead, in Example 3.13, shows a great number of small glissandi towards the arrival on strong beats, such as in bars 12 and 18. Piatigorsky here follows the expected trend and displays significantly fewer slides in his much later recording from 1947 (Example 3.14).

Example 3.12 Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, bars 9–20. Slides in Cassadó’s 1931 recording.

Example 3.13 Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, bars 9–20. Slides in Feuermann's 1930 recording

Example 3.14 Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, bars 9–20. Slides in Piatigorsky's 1947 recording.

Similar conscious musical choices are shown by all three cellists in recordings of *Le Cygne*. In bars 22–23 there is a falling motion, which runs as a sequence four times, with the fourth time changing the interval. As seen in Example 3.15, the performers on different occasions choose to emphasize or shape the phrase in different ways.



Example 3.15 Saint-Saëns, *Le Cygne*, bars 22–23. Slides in Piatigorsky's 1951 recording (top); Feuermann's 1928 recording (second); Cassadó's 1935 recording (third); and Cassadó's 1962 recording (bottom).

All three performers had their own natural way of using portamento as a musically expressive device; at times their sliding seems more intuitive, at times technically necessary but often thought through beforehand. Cassadó follows the general tendency to slide less over time, but, in other aspects, his style diverges slightly from the style of portamento that Feuermann and Piatigorsky display. His use of the 'L portamento' and especially his choices in musical phrasing seem to divert from Feuermann and Piatigorsky, in particular when sliding in sequences and in places of harmonic importance. As we saw in the previous chapter, this is connected to his studies with Casals, whose profound and intricate style of portamento has already been discussed. Both Feuermann and Piatigorsky seem to blend musical slides with slides due to fingering or bowing, even as their slides become more subtle over the years and they vary less the type and style of their portamento. Cassadó, in comparison, appears especially conscious regarding its use.

Timbre

Comparing the timbre in recordings from this period is less awkward than in the previous chapter since the recordings cover a much narrower time gap. Therefore, even if the recordings still vary as to the technological means, there are easily distinguishable timbral nuances differentiating the three performers that are due to

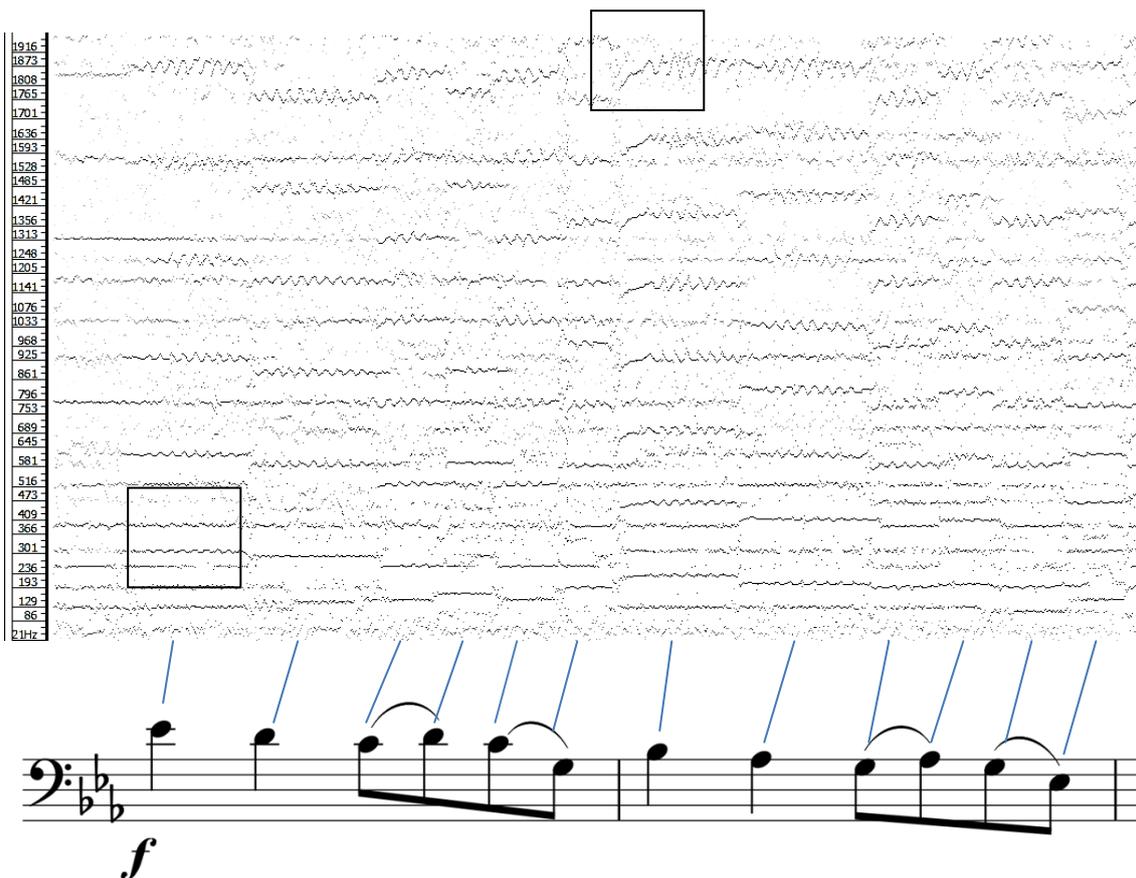
personal style. Important factors here are the experiments Cassadó made with the set-up of the cello, which resulted in great sonorous changes between his recordings. His timbre in most recordings is bright, even piercing and on some occasions brittle or metallic, especially in later recordings, such as those made with his wife Chieko Hara in the 1960s. This issue is also related to the question of strings and the possibility that Cassadó could have combined steel strings, steel bow hairs and steel string holder in one and the same recording, details unfortunately unknown to us.

Feuermann has a softer edge to his sound in some recordings than both Piatigorsky and Cassadó, again possibly due to the choice of strings. While Cassadó made all his recordings from the 1940s onwards with steel strings, being their earliest known advocate, neither Piatigorsky nor Feuermann warmed to the idea. Piatigorsky reluctantly changed to steel strings later on, adapting to current trends, or, as he dramatically put it, “to live among wolves one must howl like a wolf” (King, 2010, p. 267). Feuermann, according to his student Mosa Havivi, started using an A steel string when they became available, but kept gut on the other strings (Smith, 1998, online). In some instances, such as the beginning of his recording of *Le Cygne* in 1928 or in the lower register in some parts of his 1930 recording of *Kol Nidrei*, Feuermann’s timbre is lighter in colour than that of Cassadó and Piatigorsky. Whether this is due to the timbre of the instrument, bowing technique, or perhaps recording circumstances, is more difficult to say, but reviews support the notion of Feuermann’s sound being mellow or warm rather than brilliant. One review, collected by Annette Morreau, describes his sound as “remarkably warm and mellow in texture, not indeed massive, but full and far carrying” (Morreau, 2002, p. 90). Piatigorsky was sometime said to have a full sound, often explained through physiological factors given he was very tall, and sometimes not (see discussion p. 76). According to Battey, he was known for his “electric sound” (Battey, n.d., online). Nevertheless, the biggest timbral difference between the three is in the characteristics of their vibrato. Although all three cellists had a modern approach, considering vibrato as “giving life to the tone”, they employed different ideas on the quality of the vibrato.

Piatigorsky’s style of vibrato has been frequently commented on over the years and has been described as “narrow” and “superficial”.⁵⁰ In this comparison there are certainly passages in Piatigorsky’s recordings where the vibrato comes across as narrow, and, more importantly, it is slightly irregular in its quality as it sometimes ends or starts halfway through a note. Piatigorsky himself said that “the vibrato seems more

⁵⁰ This is stated, among others by Brinton Smith (Smith, 1998, online).

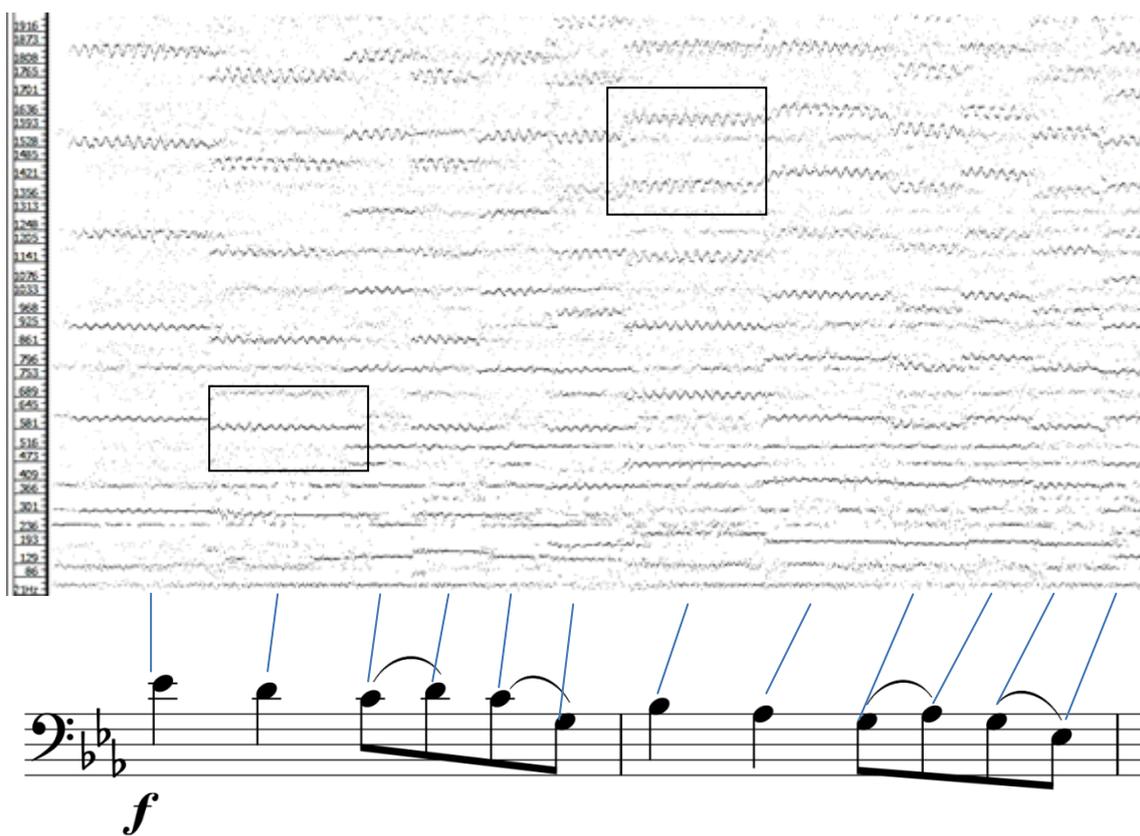
or less to me like human faces. People are born with a certain type of vibrato, just as they are born with a certain face” (King, 2010, p. 261). From this statement one could make the assumption that Piatigorsky did not believe in the vibrato as a changeable musical feature, but rather a fixed personal attribute, just like having large fingers. But more likely he meant that a cellist’s vibrato is highly dependable upon personal style and character, therefore remaining fairly similar over time. His own vibrato contains definite variations in its depth and speed and we find a good example in his broadcast recording of Fauré’s *Élégie* from 1960. Although the beginning is highly marked by a fast, narrow and somewhat intermittent vibrato, especially bars 1–2, there are other sections where his vibrato grows wider, slower and more regular, such as bars 15–17. The narrow and subtle quality in Piatigorsky’s vibrato therefore cannot be considered as something omnipresent in his performance style, although it certainly is prominent. Piatigorsky does appear to have adapted his vibrato less to the changes in register and nuance in his recordings of Fauré’s *Élégie* than most cellists. While it is common to play bars 23–28 with a more focused, slow vibrato due to the low frequency of the notes, Piatigorsky uses a similar style of vibrato throughout the exposition, which in bars 23–25, for example, sounds murky and unfocused. In the spectrogram below, shown in Example 3.16, we see how the wave line in the lower frequencies is very narrow and how some notes begin with a slide and without vibrato, for example the first note in bar 3 (boxes will be used in the following examples to highlight key points described in the text).



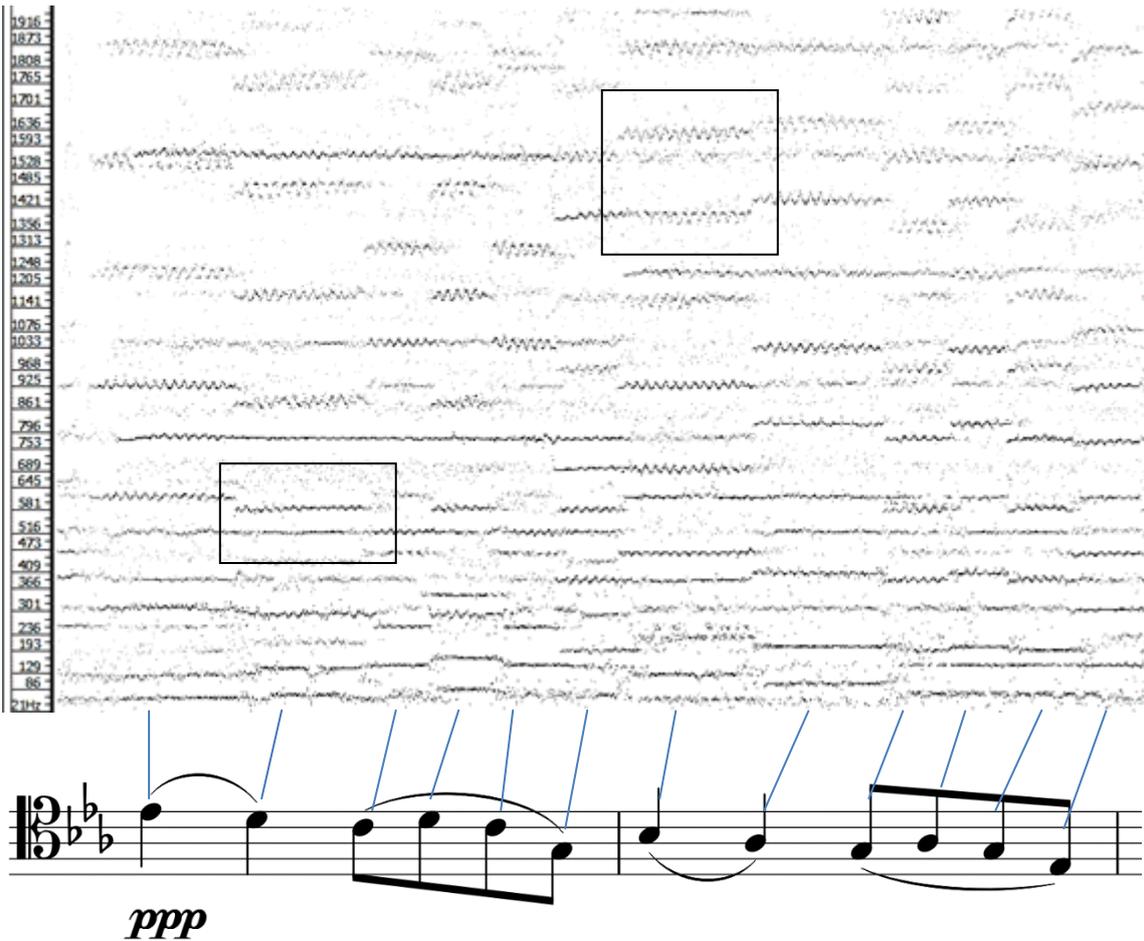
Example 3.16 Fauré, *Élégie*, bars 2–3, Spectrogram of Piatigorsky's 1960 recording.

In contrast we see in Example 3.17 how Cassadó in his 1962 recording displays an even vibrato in the low frequencies and potent high harmonics with wide wave lines in these same bars, while in bars 18–19 (Example 3.18) the high harmonics are less bright, giving a more muffled colour, and the vibrato has faster and more narrow pulsations, all to show the change in character in the *pianissimo* section.⁵¹

⁵¹ In the Piatigorsky broadcast this repetition of the theme is omitted and therefore cannot be compared.

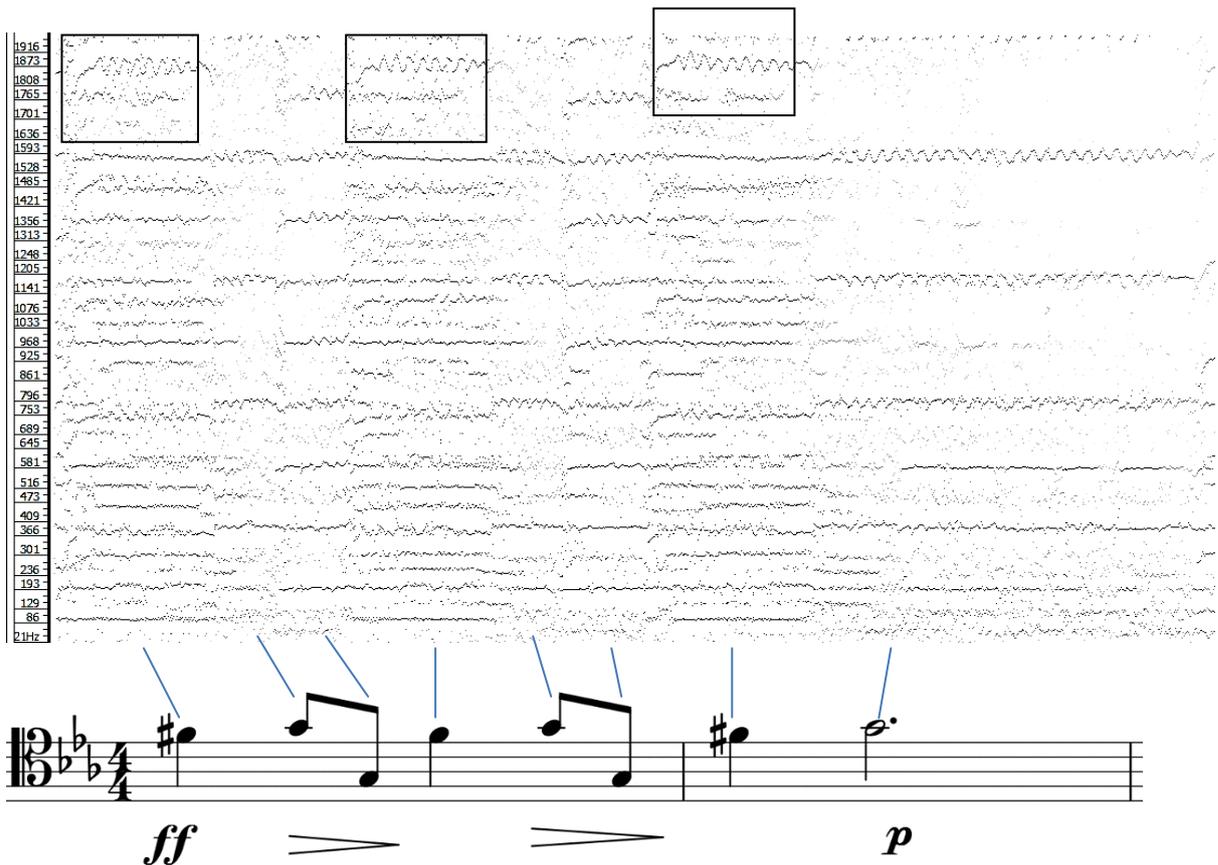


Example 3.17 Fauré, *Élégie*, bars 2–3, Spectrogram of Cassadó's 1962 recording.



Example 3.18 Fauré, *Élégie*, bars 18–19, Spectrogram of Cassadó's 1962 recording.

Instead, as shown in Example 3.19, Piatigorsky displays an uneven vibrato, starting half-way through the note, seen in the spectrogram below in bars 16–17.



Example 3.19 Fauré, *Élégie*, bars 16–17, Spectrogram of Piatigorsky's 1960 recording.

Feuermann generally displays a moderately fast and wide vibrato in most of his recordings, with a regular vibration throughout the notes. Comparing recordings by Feuermann, Piatigorsky, Ma and Rostropovich, Brinton Smith states that “what is clearly noticeable, however, is that [Feuermann’s] vibrato begins exactly with the sounding of the note, whereas for the other cellists, the vibrato begins, to varying degrees, after the note has begun to sound” (Smith, 1998, online). Feuermann’s vibrato in this sense does have something of the virtuoso quality that his left-hand technique displays in general, but does not seem too prone to changes spurred by musical demands.

All three cellists show a certain evolution in their vibrato over time. Casadó displays slightly wider and more relaxed vibrato in his third recording of the Dvořák Concerto in 1956, compared to his 1935 recording. Piatigorsky has a less clearly articulated vibrato which seems to trail off more quickly in the first movement of his later Dvořák recording in 1960 than in his 1946 recording. In both cases the changes are possibly related to age, experience, even perhaps getting accustomed to recording techniques. Feuermann appears to have made various changes to his vibrato over the years, since in the early twenties he displays a slower pulsation in his vibrato in accordance with the older tradition. He seems to have achieved his seamless, and extremely even, fast

vibrato a couple of years later, and after a peak in speed he then started to moderate slightly the pulsations, displaying a slower vibrato in his second recording of the Dvořák Concerto from 1940.

Conclusions

Early recordings are often said to display a greater range of approaches than modern ones, due to a less global musical environment allowing performers to be more independent in their musical choices. This sample is in accordance with that notion and paints a picture of highly personal takes on all the musical features of the works, though a number of general similarities linking the first virtuoso generation together can also be perceived. The notion of virtuosity on the cello had an impact on choices of repertoire and prompted a continuous evolution in the technique of all cellists, stretching beyond the ever-present Casals. A rapid evolution towards less portamento and a continuous vibrato is present in all three performers and to a certain degree coincides in time, as well as a growing consciousness regarding recordings and their impact. An interest in arranging and editing works came naturally to them but they all limited changes to the score as the years went by in accordance with more broadly based changes in musical tendencies. All these general traits are consistent enough throughout the sample to be regarded as generational rather than personal characteristics, even though the detailed execution of them varies greatly. As with the Catalan cello school, Cassadó's generation of cellists is connected through their main attitudes more than the practical result in their performances. Although all three performers show a variety of tempo changes in repeated recordings, Cassadó is more prone to increases, Feuermann moves towards less extreme tempi, and Piatigorsky often slows down. Similarly, although they all have a musical component to their slides, their vision of musical portamento is highly individual as is the way that their portamento changes over time. Timbre has emerged as the aspect with the clearest divergences between the three, with Piatigorsky's irregular and often shallow vibrato as the opposite to Feuermann's fast and smooth one, while Cassadó displays more changes to his use of vibrato between recordings. Furthermore, Feuermann kept a mellow gut-string sound throughout his career while Cassadó experimented with a wide range of metal gadgets to improve the sound volume. Cassadó was surely influenced by his contemporary colleagues, but probably more through the constant competition and its possible effect on repertoire choices or career decisions than by the actual performance styles of Feuermann and Piatigorsky, who both had personalities sharply contrasting with his own. One must agree with Fabian and Onroy's conclusion regarding early violin recordings that:

All in all, it appears that when a particular era is examined in detail (e.g. the 1950s), individual differences may outweigh the significance of possible period trends: general approach to bowing, phrasing, shaping of rhythm, tempo choices, and even vibrato and portamento differed across the recordings [...]. (Fabian and Onroy, 2009, p. 38)

It seems that, no matter how clear the general trends that they followed, the result in their performance in a close-up was usually different and sometimes even opposed.

A surprising discovery when comparing later recordings by Feuermann, Piatigorsky and Cassadó with recordings by modern cellists is that they are also remarkably close to modern taste and style. If one leaves the parallel emergence of historically-informed performance to one side, traditional cello performance appears to have changed a lot less in the last fifty years than in the first half-century, considering how little the later recordings of the cellists in this comparison have aged. In fact, the recordings in this chapter provide something of an audible picture of the last great performance revolution on the cello and its end result seen through a small sample. Scholarly research on early recordings by cellists has yet to reach the breadth and magnitude of research conducted on the violin or the voice. However, it seems clear that the fact that cello performance underwent such fundamental technical progress at the same moment as recordings became widely available allows us to listen to something of an “audible map” of a part of string performance evolution, something of no little importance in searching for clues regarding nineteenth-century string technique.

Chapter Four

Cassadó as Transcriber: the Historical and Conceptual Precedents within the Culture of Musical Arrangement

This chapter sets out the context in which Cassadó worked as a transcriber, first through exploring the historical circumstances concerning musical arrangement, and secondly through a discussion regarding the concept and nature of musical transcription as a creative practice. A brief overview of nineteenth-century transcription will explore the relationship between the phenomenon of string virtuosity and transcription, especially with regards to Paganini. Furthermore it will deal with the issue of genre, comparing cello transcription with piano transcription, as well as initiating a discussion regarding the parallels between the great transcription figure Franz Liszt and Cassadó – this will connect with a comparison of works by the two authors in the following chapter. Some preliminary conclusions regarding Cassadó’s role within music transcription history, and within transcription as musical practice, conclude the chapter. In Chapter 5, the discussion framework from this chapter is used for a number of case studies regarding different transcriptions and works by Cassadó, seeking to analyse in depth his practice as transcriber, bringing forth details and aspects of his arrangements that are of particular interest, while comparing them to the original works that they were based on, and to other transcriptions of those same works. Cassadó’s transcriptions have not been the subject of previous scholarly research. Chapters Four and Five are in this sense also conceived as a presentation regarding the genre, form and style of Cassadó’s transcription practice as well as the first preliminary analysis of the process of Cassadó’s writing, the role of transcriptions within his practice, and the connections between his transcriptions and with the wider field of transcription research as a whole.

The historical context

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, then, the time was ripe for an age of virtuosity and even for a radical change in its nature. (Samson, 2003, p. 71)

To understand Cassadó in his role as a musical transcriber one has to examine the evolution in transcription during the nineteenth century that led to the first cello virtuoso generation, of which Cassadó was a part. As we shall see, Paganini in his virtuosic performance revolution, and Liszt, in his role of connecting virtuosity with transcription, both had a crucial influence on how Cassadó developed this transcription activity, as did the evolution in cello performance. The nineteenth century was already in 1826 depicted as “the arranging age” in *The Harmonicon* (‘Foreign Musical report’, 1826, p.

170), and there are various reasons why transcription occupied a major role in music-making during this time, all to be found within the dynamics of musical performance. The emergence of *Hausmusik*, with its appetite for transcriptions of new orchestral music, as well as the creation of a musical canon which prompted repeated performances, were two major factors. For composers and performers, transcribing had always formed part of their musical activity, but now a certain profiling among musicians crystallised a type of transcriber more specialised and conscious than before: the virtuoso performer-transcriber. The concept of virtuosity linked to the performer-transcriber is not one of instrumental pyrotechnics alone, but rather relates to a musical attitude linking together high-profile performance and composition; the virtuosity lies in the merging of these activities just as much as in how to perform them.

The relationship between the musical work and the virtuoso performer is not as straightforward as the often claimed opposition between virtuosi and “work-orientated” performers would have us believe. The virtuoso has the technical and musical means to explore his relationship with the score in any possible direction and does not have to stay within a single narrow approach in his music-making. As Lydia Goehr comments “many performers – and Liszt was exemplary – thus aimed to be both great virtuoso and great *Werktreue* performers at the same time” (Goehr, 1998, p. 171). It seems plausible that it was precisely the interest in exploration that ignited the close relationship between transcription and virtuoso performance, rather than a lack of interest in maintaining the original score; transcribing appears to be an obvious route to engage with the music from various perspectives. Transcription proved the perfect ally for virtuosi searching for music to perform since it expanded the horizon of possible repertoire to include almost any music. With the need for works as personalized as possible to showcase particular talents, the virtuoso could receive repertoire commissioned or dedicated by other composers, but it was logical for virtuosi to have found creating their own virtuosic material more effective, by composing or transcribing themselves for their own performances. Practical, artistic and intellectual needs were all part of the virtuoso transcriber phenomenon. As Mark Mitchell describes it: “for virtuosi themselves the transcription represents not only an attempt at synthesis and a loving act of creation and criticism in its own right, but a potentially, even often, elevated category of art” (Mitchell, 2000, p. 19). The nineteenth century saw the creation of an enormous number of works in this genre, a great many by pianists like Sigismund Thalberg, Anton Rubinstein and Franz Liszt, with the piano evolving into the virtuoso instrument above others as the century ran its course.

Jonathan Dunsby, in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* argues:

And although it is easy to tend to be dismissive of the 'shallow' it must always be remembered that the cult of virtuosity [...] was a resource on which deep-thinking composers could and did draw. One only has to look at the techniques employed in some of Brahms's piano arrangements to begin to imagine what it might have been like to hear him improvising at parties, and to realise that serious music like the *Paganini Variations*, still regarded as technically difficult even for the greatest piano athletes, found essential nourishment in the developments of the popular repertory, just as was to be the case in such austere later territory as the Debussy *Études* of 1915. (Dunsby, 2002, p. 512)

Paganini and string performance

Among nineteenth-century virtuoso transcribers we find rather few string musicians and even fewer cellists. The obvious advantages of the piano in terms of register and polyphonic possibilities were crucial as well as the evolution of the instrument's technique. While the cello would have to wait for the twentieth century and Pau Casals to achieve its peak in virtuosity, virtuosity on the violin took a huge leap with the appearance of Nicolò Paganini (1782–1840): “the demon of the violin”.⁵² Paganini engendered a revolution in virtuosic performance and, as Jane O’Dea highlights, “it was Paganini who inspired Schumann, Chopin and Liszt to create musical works that displayed and exploited almost to its extreme limits, the sounding resources of the pianoforte” (O’Dea, 2000, p. 62, notes). Paganini’s legend was crafted from the extraordinary reception of his concerts and the impression he made on the audience became a model, often unreachable, for subsequent performers. The many names (magician, charlatan, Mephistopheles etc.) used to describe Paganini are clear examples of the *impossible* or *inhuman* perceived in his performances. Liszt, for example, is known to have exclaimed to his pupil Pierre Wolf: “what a man, what a violin, what an artist! Heavens! What sufferings, what misery, what tortures in those four strings!” (Walker, 1983, p. 174).⁵³ Key to achieving this impression was not only technical control and musical sensibility but a careful monitoring of the style of the compositions and transcriptions performed, resulting in a narrow profiling of repertoire. “He had a performance repertoire of around twenty pieces, and rarely played works written by anyone else”, as Metzner comments (Metzner, 1998, p. 127). An important

⁵² Kawabata suggests that “it was not only the violinist's eradication of technical difficulties that suggested occult forces at play, but also the spectacle of striking the violin with the bow and making it “cry” that helped people imagine him as a demonic figure.” (Kawabata, 2007, p. 8)

⁵³ Kawabata enumerates all the labels in the article “Virtuosity, the Violin the Devil ... What Really Made Paganini ‘Demonic’?” (Kawabata, 2007, p. 23).

detail to note here is that Paganini, just like a piano virtuoso, often performed without accompaniment, something almost inconceivable for a touring violinist today. Paganini was not a transcriber *per se*, (although he did write an extensive number of theme and variation works) but he was one of the first composer-performers on the violin to gain a reputation foremost as a virtuoso performer and only secondly as a composer – today it is usually his Concerti No. 1 and No. 2 as well as the 24 Caprices that are performed. More importantly, he was a major inspiration and, as far as virtuoso performance is concerned, a predecessor for the generation of virtuoso transcribers led by Liszt. As Kawabata expresses it “he epitomized the figure of the ‘Romantic artist’ (as many have claimed) not through his compositions, understood as unperformed abstractions, but by embodying virtuosity as a performance aesthetic” (Kawabata, 2007, p. 23).

The inspiration Paganini provoked resulted in a number of works by composers such as Brahms, Liszt, Schumann, Lutosławski and Rachmaninov, among others.⁵⁴ The fact that almost all of these works were modelled upon violin solo works is not an unimportant aspect: in transcription, enlarging is a noticeably more uncommon and uncomfortable practice than reducing. The existence of so many transcriptions of Paganini solo violin works must therefore be seen as another testament to the violinist’s capacity to inspire. The influence of Paganini on cello performance practice was equally great, and during much of the nineteenth century the greatest performers – Piatti, Franchomme, Grützmacher, Dotzauer – searched to improve the technical possibilities of the cello, *per se* a more uncomfortable medium. Furthermore, transcription has historically been a necessity among cellists, due to lack of repertoire, and Cassadó in his practice rests on a solid and extensive tradition in his role as transcriber-cellist.

Transcribing for the cello

As is clear from the discussion above, transcribing for a melodic instrument is quite distinct from transcribing for the piano. Reducing is the most common transcription practice – transcribing a symphony for the piano for example – but works for melodic instruments which are unable to produce more than implied harmonies force the reduction even further. In many cases transcriptions for cello are duo transcriptions including piano accompaniment, meaning the transcriber must choose how to divide the music between the instruments at every moment, not to mention the question of choosing registers. When transcribing for a melodic instrument alone, the obvious

⁵⁴ There is a poetic ring to the fact that so many variations works have been modelled upon original works by Paganini who himself wrote so many variation works.

technical issues will force the transcriber to exclude chamber music, orchestral repertoire and much of the music for solo piano as well. In the particular case of the cello some special characteristics should be noted. On the positive side the register of the cello is rather wide compared to most other melodic instruments (four and a half octaves) and the possibility of double-stops enables a more harmonic structure. On the negative side a large portion of the cello's register is below the middle *c* on the piano, which creates certain sonorous problems, especially when matching it with an accompanying piano. The nineteenth century saw a rise in cello transcription, just as in most instruments, featuring two musicians at the front line, the German Friedrich Grützmacher (1832–1903) and the Frenchman Auguste Francomme (1808–1884). Francomme is today primarily known as the dedicatee of Chopin's Cello Sonata and for his collaboration in the *Grand Duo* and *Polonaise Brillante*, but he also transcribed and edited various works by Chopin and others – for example he edited the *Mazurka* in F minor after Chopin's death.⁵⁵ Francomme's transcription style is clean and simple and his editions are generally very constrained considering the time; nevertheless his works are technically demanding. Francomme also composed original works, but he seems to have separated his composing from his transcribing almost completely since there is not much trace of his own compositional style in the transcriptions. Among works that are still used by cellists we find his pedagogical *Études* Op. 35 and *Caprices* Op. 7. Considering that Francomme was active during the earlier part of the nineteenth century the technical demands in, for example, his transcription of the Chopin *Étude* Op. 25, No. 7 are considerable and match those of Cassadó, something which will be discussed further into this chapter.

Francomme had considerable influence through to the twentieth century, although in truth the Germanic school, including performers such as Dotzauer, over-shadowed him in part. As for the latter half of the nineteenth century, Grützmacher was an important influence, both as an active composer, performer and transcriber. Considering the position of the cello within the musical world at the time, Grützmacher was well regarded, albeit not a virtuoso in Paganini's league. During the twentieth century he has been harshly critiqued, perhaps unfairly, for a transcription style considered invasive and excessively liberal. His concert version of the Bach suites is described by Margaret Campbell as "unforgivable" and "a travesty of the composer's work" (Campbell, 1999, p. 68) and Dimitry Markevitch laments that it "continues to defile our ears" in his *Cello Story* (Markevitch, 1984, p. 61). Compared to most other transcribers

⁵⁵ As stated by Jeffrey Kallberg, the *Mazurka* was edited by Francomme in 1852 and "survives only in manuscript" (Kallberg, 1996, p. 118).

from the nineteenth century Grützmacher generally does not come across as particularly extreme in his arrangements; however, the Bach suites was, of course, an especially sensitive matter, due to its role within the cello repertoire. From another perspective, however, his transcriptions are of great value as a testament to both the performance practice and the musical approach to editing during his time. The arrangement of the Suites was surely conceived by Grützmacher as a way to promote Bach's music and improve its reception at a time when the Suites were not considered to be good performance material. As George Kennaway points out, "he was almost certainly the first cellist to play Bach's cello suites unaccompanied in public. [...] no other cellist appears to have done it until Casals (who used Grützmacher's more conservative second edition)" (Kennaway, n.d, online). The *concert edition* that Grützmacher created of the Suites is thus a listener-orientated edition and provides an interesting glimpse into what a nineteenth-century audience would expect from a concert. The edition contains a significant amount of new musical material, the great majority being added notes to chords and even an extra bass line, as in the 'Sarabande' from the Fifth Suite, and there are also plenty of nineteenth-century-style bowing markings and dynamic markings, shown below in Example 4.1.



Example 4.1 J.S. Bach, Sarabande in C minor, Grützmacher's 1866 edition, bars 1–5.

It is notable that Grützmacher later published a much cleaner second edition of the Suites, more in line with the changing musical attitudes during the second half of the nineteenth century. He was an important force in promoting concert pieces for cellists and also produced a set of *Études* (Op. 38) that are still a standard work in cello teaching today. Possibly no other cellist was as active as Grützmacher in editing and transcribing cello music before the twentieth century. As far as transcription styles were concerned, there was a certain leeway between different stand-points, and a certain evolution towards a more exuberant attitude – probably related to the generalised progress of the instrument – throughout the nineteenth century. In Chapter Five we will see how Cassadó connects to both ends of the nineteenth-century transcription spectrum, showing a wide range of different styles and types of arrangement, while continuing the evolution towards a more virtuoso performance attitude, closing the gap with violin performance. We will also discuss a genre within cello transcription that Cassadó is practically alone in approaching: the solo cello transcription.

Composition, re-composition and transcription

I never play a piece unless I can change something in it –
 Ferruccio Busoni. (Knyt, 2008, p. 1)

In music-making, transcription, although closely related to composition, has so far attracted much less attention and interest from musicologists. Increasingly marginalized by musical society over the centuries, transcription as musical practice has lost prestige though it has never ceased to be an integral part of musicianship, as shown by the discussion above. The first difficulty when dealing with transcription starts at the very definition of the activity, since the concept of transcription covers a number of activities, some close to the standard concept of composition and others closer to editing or performance.

Transcription has come to be the standard term for the activity of transferring music from one medium to another, with the term ‘arrangement’ today perhaps seen as implying some level of re-working of the original. But even using transcription in the strictest sense of the word, the change of medium automatically brings with it the possibility of many other changes, similar to those that occur in germane activities such as language translation or engraving. As a matter of fact, transcription can be said intrinsically to entail changes in a work’s identity since pitch and timbre are significant characteristics of a musical work and cannot be transferred across instruments, just as a translation cannot carry over the full significance of a phrase intact to a different language.

Transcription occupies a wide and flexible space in music-making between composition and performance, just as improvisation does. Ferruccio Busoni recognized the importance of this space and its proximity to both the act of composition and the act of performance:

Every notation is, in itself, the transcription of an abstract idea. [...] Again, the performance of a work is also a transcription, and still, whatever liberties it may take, it can never annihilate the original. (Busoni, 1911, pp. 17–18)

This idea of all music as transcriptions of a musical thought has only been shared by a few, with far more musicians considering transcription uncreative or even improper in classical music.⁵⁶ Perhaps this is because transcription has been as much the business

⁵⁶ Robert Rimm, talking of composer-pianists, for example, states that: “Stephen Hough and many of his peers are inspired by authenticity and motivated to delve into the composer’s mind. Must one choose, however, between transcriptions and original music to be considered a

of the performer as that of the composer, and in an essentially romantic *Werktreue* culture like ours with a strong genius-composer cult, a feeling of unworthiness and inauthenticity has often lingered about the idea of performers taking a hand to the music of the great masters. As Lydia Goehr and others have observed, the *Werktreue* culture is “solemn, sacred, and serious” and signifies a great divide between an idealized composer and an inferior performer (Goehr, 1998, p. 140). As Richard Taruskin expresses it, it inflicts on performers “a truly stifling regimen by radically hardening and patrolling what had formerly been a fluid, easily crossed boundary between the performing and composing roles” (Taruskin, 1995, p. 10). The *Urtext* phenomenon is perhaps the clearest sign of the high value placed on what is considered an original musical text in present music culture. This is, of course, a rather recent tendency, since many of the great classical composers themselves transcribed music and a certain profile of musicians developed, through history, the arranging of music into great art. The figure of the composer-performer of the nineteenth century is perhaps, after the baroque composers, the most intimately connected with transcribing, featuring Liszt, Busoni, Kreisler and later Cassadó as excellent examples.

Transcribing as a musical activity can be discussed using two main angles of analysis: the purpose and the method of the activity. Jim Samson, in *Virtuosity and the Musical Work*, describes the various purposes of transcription:

Thus the arrangement can 'make available' (enlarging or reducing) what is inaccessible, or further publicise what is popular; it can celebrate or pay tribute to the exemplary composer or the exemplary work; it can cultivate and preserve the idiom of an earlier age; it can interpret, critique or parody material in the public domain; it can use the offices of translation to highlight the idiomatic and the virtuosic; it can, quite simply, save composing time, especially where it is self-borrowing that is at issue. (Samson, 2003, p. 105)

As Samson points out, the purpose of a transcription gives us an historical, cultural and utility context and establishes the different styles of transcription through time. Transcription is an activity which intrinsically fosters output with a clear purpose to a higher degree than composition and is measured accordingly. Availability has long been the chief concern for much transcribing activity. Transcriptions often have a number of purposes, but the main concern can generally be said to be one of three: the listener, the performer or the composer. The majority of transcriptions over time have been concerned with making music available for the listener. During an important part

serious artist? Thankfully, they are no longer considered mutually exclusive preserves” (Rimm, 2002, p. 249).

of history transcription was the best way to bring orchestral music closer to a wider audience, the most commonly known example being the four-hand piano arrangement culture. The nineteenth century, in general a high point for transcription, brought with it such a wave of new symphonic and operatic music that the need for transcriptions peaked. John Rink recalls Sarah Stickney Ellis' writings in *Female* and points out that:

Ellis describes piano playing as 'that most appropriate female domestic accomplishment' ('Female', p. 355) although amateurs of both sexes devoured solo and four-hand arrangements of a vast amount of repertory, including operatic overtures and arias, symphonies, and string quartets and quintets, as well as simplified versions of the virtuoso piano works heard in the concert hall (often styled 'reminiscences' and 'souvenirs') (Rink, 2002, p. 75).

Unlike today, even the greatest composers at the time were involved in this kind of writing. Robert Philip comments regarding Brahms that "he wrote more than twenty piano-duet arrangements of orchestral and chamber works and also arranged the third and fourth symphonies for two pianos. These were aimed at the amateur music-lover, but at the level of serious accomplishment" (Philip, 2004, p. 7). Others such as Debussy, Dvořák and Ravel either wrote specifically for piano duos or arranged music for the ensemble.⁵⁷ The transcription boom lost its momentum with the arrival of electrical recording and easy access to classical music at home through broadcasts and discs. Part of transcription activity "as making available" was, however, unaffected by recordings. Arranging music to bring it closer to the listener in various ways today includes everything from carrying classical music melodies and harmonies over to other genres, to presenting a more transparent package of works to enhance an untrained listener's experience in the form of excerpts, potpourris, or fantasies. The music of Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen* for example, lives on, not only through the original opera, but through a number of fantasies for different instruments by Sarasate, Waxman, Borne, Sankey, Proto and many others.

A smaller part of transcribing music involves a musical relationship with the composer of the original work as chief concern. More guided by personal style, the transcriber interprets the original and either seeks to fuse personal style traits with that of the composer, to highlight the composer's style, or to use the composer's work to highlight

⁵⁷ Howard Ferguson comments that "Maurice Ravel was an inveterate orchestrator of his own keyboard music. The four-movement *Rapsodie espagnole* (1907–8) began life as a piano duet – though the third movement, 'Habanera', had appeared even earlier as part of a two-piano suite, *Sites auriculaires* (1895–7). Next came the fairytale suite, *Ma mère l'oye* (1908–10). [...] In 1911 Ravel orchestrated the work, and a year later turned it into a ballet, adding some extra music" (Ferguson, 1995, p. 20).

the transcriber's own style. Everything from tribute to parody fits into this category, with Liszt as arch-exponent in the field. Many nineteenth- and twentieth- century composers were active transcribers connecting with past or present fellow composers, for example Satie who wrote the *Sonatine bureaucratique*, a satiric paraphrase of music by Clementi, and *Españaña*, paraphrasing Chabrier, or Busoni with his tribute paraphrases of Bach fantasies and fugues. Nevertheless, Liszt managed to fuse his own style with the style of the original piece in a particularly successful way. As Jonathan Kregor puts it:

Indeed, one of the most impressive aspects in Liszt's late works is the way in which he added material that maintained the vestigial presence of the source composer yet still managed to bring forth his own artistic profile. In both a present and historical sense, the arranger becomes co-composer. (Kregor, 2010, p. 218)

Since this type of transcribing stems from a personal attachment to a work, the issue of availability is much more narrowly conceived – it is a certain interpretation of the original that the transcriber wishes to make available more than the original in itself.

A third group of transcriptions is mainly made to target the performer of the work; these transcriptions are either made by performers themselves seeking new repertoire to play, or by composers writing for specific performers or specific types of performers, all of them often overlapping in purpose with both the other categories. A piano duo, for example, may be both an idiomatically comfortable transcription hand-made for a performer, and a pedagogical transcription in presenting the musical material to the audience. Idiomatic qualities are usually what distinguish a transcription of this genre, in some cases resulting in works so deeply adapted to the “foreign language” that it is difficult to imagine the original setting. Czerny's transcription of Mozart's ‘Lacrimosa’ from his Requiem is a clear example. As Jonathan Kregor comments; “a customer unfamiliar with Mozart's original choral work who purchased Czerny's arrangement without its title page could very well have mistaken it for an original composition for solo keyboard. And to a very large extent, that was Czerny's goal” (Kregor, 2010, p. 20).

The second variable in question, the method used by transcribers, is generally measured by the re-working, or changes, done to the original work. A figurative scale could be constructed ranging up-down, from editing to re-composing, with ‘classic’ transcription positioned high, styles like paraphrase and fantasy somewhere in the middle and theme and variations works towards the bottom (Table 4.1).

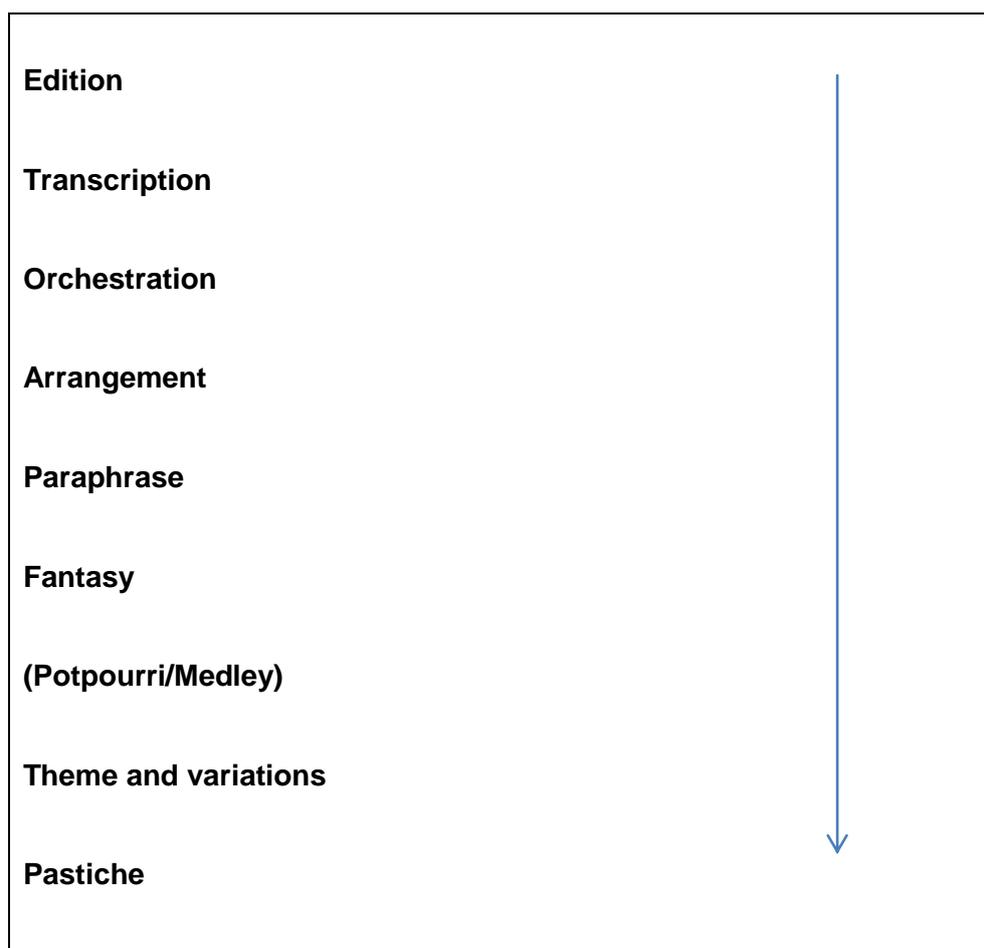


Table 4.1 Common labels used by transcribers

The measure of re-working in transcription can be compared with the historical discussion regarding methodology in language translation theory, with two main opposing positions at the core of the discussion: word-by-word translation and sense-by-sense translation. Sense-by-sense translation, which tries to convey the sense of the text without using the words translated literally, has gained ground over time, and today stands as the main current, albeit in a continually evolving theory field. For centuries different concepts have been developed as part of the discussion. In *Translation Studies*, Susan Bassnett explains seventeenth-century translator John Dryden's influential formulation of "three basic types" in translation:

- 1) *metaphrase*, or turning an author word by word, and line by line, from one language into another;
- 2) *paraphrase*, or translation with latitude, the Ciceronian "sense-for-sense" view of translation;

3) *imitation*, where the translator can abandon the text of the original as he sees fit (Basnett, 2002, p. 66).

A conceptually parallel theory speaks of vertical versus horizontal translation. The vertical approach refers to translations where the source language has a special value or prestige and therefore imposes itself on the target language so much that only metaphrase or paraphrase translations can come into question. The horizontal approach, where the two languages are equal, signifies more difficult questions of imitation and the freedom of the translator. Basnett adds that, significantly, “the high status of *imitatio* in the medieval canon meant that originality of material was not greatly prized and an author's skill consisted in the reworking of established themes and ideas” (Basnett, 2002, pp. 59–60).

Even if the parallel with music transcription can ever only be partial, it becomes obvious from this brief summary of translation history that the debate regarding different concepts and methods of transcription in music has been much less vibrant, with an important part concerned with whether transcription is acceptable at all, given its distortion of the original. Bruce Ellis Benson in his work *The Improvisation of Musical Dialogue* and Stephen Davies, in his *Musical Understandings*, offer two welcome exceptions (Benson, 2003 and Davies, 2011). Both define transcription as a rather narrow field within a wider activity: for Benson that activity is improvisation, which he expands to include virtually all forms of performance and composition. Davies instead joins together the concept of re-composition and composition into one wider sphere. Benson logically states that “the question of *when* a piece of music can be rightly said to exist depends heavily upon how we construe the activities known as composing and performing” and explores a theoretical scale of improvisation. The scale ranges from complete composition in the moment (“within a tradition”), to a performance with the minimal amount of improvisation (“minimalistic”), and Benson places transcription and arrangement in the middle of this range while admitting that the differences between the different activities are more “quantitative than qualitative” (Benson, 2003, pp. 2–30). Just like there is an unnoticed vast space within music-making potentially attributable to transcription, Benson shows how improvisation from this angle can also be seen to encompass most music-making. Davies uses a similar range in his discourse although he prefers a different vocabulary:

A musician might begin to compose, using a finished work as her source. If she carries the process of re-composition far enough, she writes a new piece [...] In a different scenario, the composer does not carry the process very far and she conceives of herself as revising the score rather than going beyond it. The

product is what I have called a work version. The practice of transcription lies between these two extremes. (Davies, 2011, p. 183)

Davies' argument is flawless; nonetheless, the separation he makes between the activities of transcription and re-composing seems somewhat artificial. Davies' intention of having a clear separation-point in the activity of re-composing and transcription seems to be to achieve two clear and exclusive concepts: the "work version" (of an original work) and the "new work" (based to different extents on another work). Unfortunately music-making does not seem to comply with such clear separations and transcription – whether one prefers to denominate it a wider or smaller part of musical activity – will always be partly a mix between the two concepts that Davies exposes. Benson, on the same topic, turns this elusive issue into a question: "does, for instance, a 'faithful' transcription count as the same piece, whereas a more 'free' transcription is to be classified as a separate entity?" (Benson, 2003, p. 156).

The question of authenticity in transcription, or – if seeking a less polemical word – of "informed transcription", is particularly complex. How much can a transcription diverge from the original before the original is lost, and how is that divergence measured? Are the notes the only guide, or must one also judge similarities to the original in effect and purpose? To use translation vocabulary: is it more correct to transcribe word-by-word (note-by-note) or sense-by-sense (impression-by-impression)? Liszt said that "in matters of translation there are some exactitudes that are the equivalent of infidelities" (Kregor, 2010, p. 29). He might also be the best example of how sense-by-sense transcription could be conceived in music. Charles Rosen suggests that "some of Liszt's most extravagantly free paraphrases have, in fact, an unsuspected fidelity, a genuine and often successful attempt to enter into the composer's skin, to intensify his work in a new medium as if Liszt had done it himself" (Rosen, 1998, p. 512). How is this 'unsuspected fidelity', then, this impression-by-impression translation, achieved? Kregor, analysing Liszt's transcription of Mozart's 'Lacrimosa' speaks of certain "prescriptive moments of execution", for example the climactic moment where Liszt "directs the performer of his arrangement to slow down, effectively highlighting the apotheosis of the movement in a manner not unlike what Liszt had probably experienced with Mozart's music in the concert hall" (Kregor, 2010, p. 32). What Kregor is describing here is a transcription not of the score of the musical work, but rather a transcription of the totality of score, performance and reception – a three-dimensional idea of the musical work that is Mozart's 'Lacrimosa'. In order to construct this successfully, Liszt cannot rely on technical or practical analysis but rather on intuition. As Kregor concludes:

Liszt's reliance on intuition makes possible a strong emphatic connection to the source. In other words, a transcription must possess a powerful phenomenological element, imparting its content primarily by producing vigorous sensory experiences in both performer and listener. (Kregor, 2010, p. 28)

What is suggested here is that Liszt managed to create a transcription with a sense of closeness to the original work without a note-by-note approach, but ultimately through relating to the musical identity of the work, hidden within the score. Liszt's transcription would therefore not be regarded as a new work, but a new version, although it contains abundant notational changes. Benson states that "practically speaking, musical performance can exhibit a great deal of identity without being identical. Thus, pieces undoubtedly change, but they usually retain an identity, certainly enough for the practical purposes of identification" (Benson, 2003, p. 158).

The paraphrase might be the standard approach in translation theory, but in music it is considered more unorthodox and certainly more distant from the original than ordinary transcription. Alan Walker, for example, makes a clear distinction in his *Reflections on Liszt*, stating that:

Transcription is more difficult than paraphrase. In a paraphrase, the arranger is free to vary the original, to weave his own fantasies around it, to go where he will. This is not so in a transcription. The transcription must be obedient, a true copy of the original, it binds the transcriber to it, making him its slave. (Walker, 2005, p. 35)

Such a clear distinction can seldom be found in musical transcribers' works. It is true, however, that a paraphrase is indeed expected to bring something new to the piece, to include some kind of commentary of the material on the transcriber's part, whilst staying roughly inside the boundaries of the original work as to general structure. As Andreas Giger puts it: "There are two components to paraphrase: iteration and interpretation" (Giger, 2002, p. 174). Interestingly, the paraphrase has been relegated to a rather inferior position among musical genres, while fantasies and especially theme and variations works have long been recognized as interesting genres for most great composers, this even though the term 'paraphrase' in itself does not imply more reworking of the original work. The truth is that the similarities between freer transcription works and theme and variation works are numerous and the following observation by Elaine Rochelle Sisman, speaking of Haydn's variation works, could just as easily refer to other genres on the transcription spectrum:

The variation may be transparent, offering a window onto the theme, or it may be opaque, relegating the theme to the position of 'absent signifier', in Genette's term. The variation may refer literally to the theme via a feature common to both, or it may refer metaphorically to the theme via a feature the theme does not share. Concepts of decoration, ornamentation, or figuration apply in both their technical (note-based) and rhetorical senses. (Sisman, 1993, p. 3)

In much the same way the fantasy, including the terms 'rhapsody' and 'improvisation', has earned its place among genres through being applied by so many romantic and post-romantic composers, with or without explicit references. *Nachdichtung*, used by Busoni in some of his freer transcriptions, has a similar connotation to fantasy. *Nachdichtung*, however, meaning "poem written after someone else" refers to works developed, as Herder states, to "make the literatures of foreign cultures accessible to contemporary German readers through extremely free translations or paraphrases", something rare in music (Bertagnolli, 2003, p. 177). It would seem that at a critical point of re-working a piece, it transforms into a new original composition, and thus emerges a new work of high art. Busoni points out this apparent contradiction: "so the arrangement is *not* good, because it *varies* the original; and the variation *is* good, although it '*arranges*' the original" (Busoni, 1911, p. 19). Another obvious part of this question is the tradition and generalisation of genre, in which the variation work – with Bach and Haydn as great exponents – is here clear victor over the more marginal paraphrase.

Within Cassadó's output, the connection between greater musical quality and transcription methodology is not a simple one, but as complex as the question of the work's identity and the preservation of the original. Cassadó moves across a wide spectrum in his transcriptions, both stylistically and methodologically (Table 4.2). Among the eighty transcriptions we know of, the most common labels used in his scores are *Version*, *Transcription* and *Arrangement*, all in French and apparently all with the same significance for him. This is rather confusing, since many different types of transcription are packed together under these umbrella labels without any further categorisation. To complicate things even more, there are many works without any titles at all. This is the case of *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, and of the works previously analysed in Chapter Three: *Napoli* is simply called *Version per Violoncelle* while the Chopin Étude Op. 25 No. 7' is entitled *Transcrito per violoncello*. On a few occasions Cassadó uses other labels: *Harmonisation et Arrangement* seems to specify a reworked/new piano part while *Revision et Accompagnement de piano* indicates the

creation of a piano part from existing harmonies and editing of bowing and fingering in the cello part. There are two additional labels in Cassadó's output that will be analysed in Chapter 5: *Paraphrase de Concert* used for his version of *An der schönen blauen Donau* by Johann Strauss II and Theme and Variations works based on a previous transcription. Apart from these more common labels we also have a couple of particular cases of more difficult classification. There is, for example, the version of *Clair de lune* by Debussy, where the piano stays exactly the same as in the original work, with a newly composed cello melody placed on top called *Partie de violoncelle en forme de dialogue* in Cassadó's manuscript. The last type in Cassadó's output is the most peculiar and related to the literary genre *Imitation* – transcribing a general style of an author. This style of work comprises an original work presented as a transcription – in other words a “fake transcription”. It also goes by the name of ‘pastiche’.

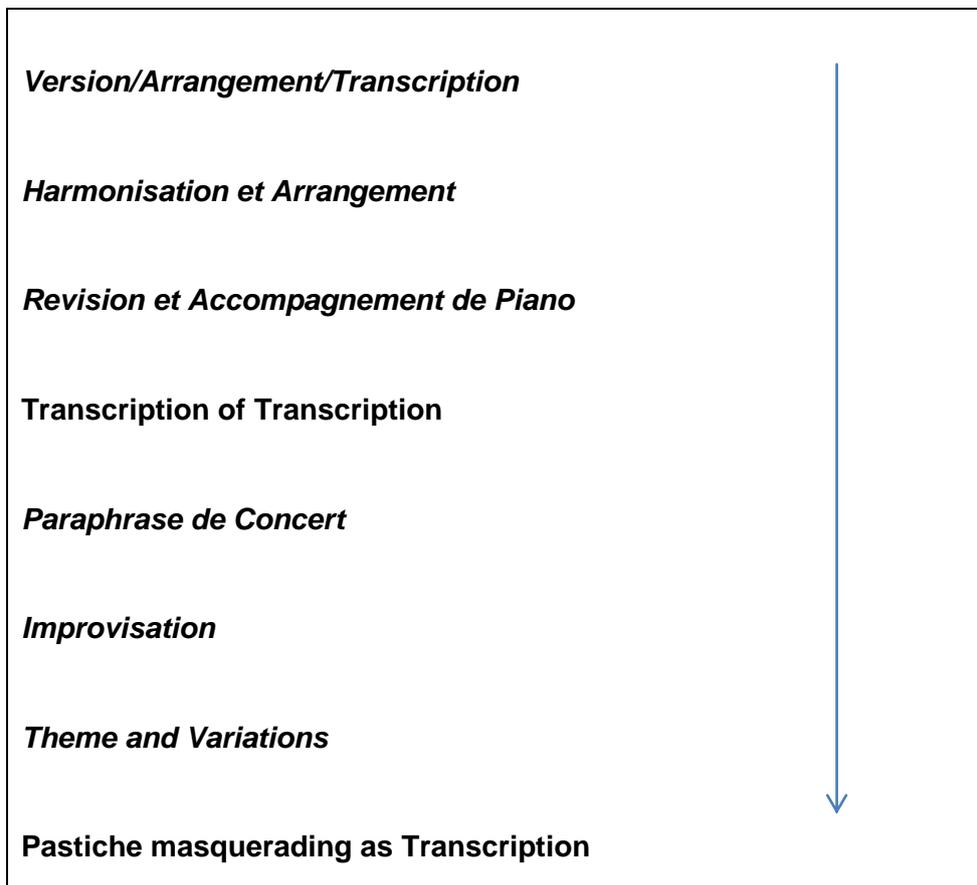


Table 4.2 Common labels in transcription: original Cassadó labels in italics. (Scale up-down from less re-working to more re-working).

Conclusions

This chapter has shown that Cassadó's transcription practice rests on a solid tradition within the field of cello performance. Performance virtuosity, with Paganini and Liszt as most famous exponents, expanded the need for personally tailored arrangements, also among the leading cellists of the time searching for technical evolution on the instrument. Musical transcription has, perhaps, lost prestige within music-making in the twentieth century, but it has never ceased to provide an outlet for a number of different musical needs; whether that of the performer, the composer or the listener. Transcription, as musical practice, stretches into both the realms traditionally attributed to composition and performance; indeed, transcribers generally seem to approach all three activities in such an intuitive way that the clear boundaries between creation and re-creation are often profoundly blurred. Unlike the field of language translation, where numerous theories have been constructed to address the multiple forms and types of the activity, the variety and breadth of transcribers' practice in music have not been studied to any great extent, although the variety and range of approaches in the field appears to be just as important. The analysis of Cassadó's transcription practice, with its broad range of genres and styles, is therefore particularly helpful when intending to explain how transcription relates to both composition and performance within twentieth-century music. For this reason, in the following chapter a number of case studies, presenting works by Cassadó, will deal in greater depth with the questions exposed above. On the one hand, the historical context of Cassadó's transcriptions examined here will lead to a discussion regarding the question of virtuosity and the influence of Franz Liszt, while on the other hand, the idea of genre and style in Cassadó's works will be examined in reference to the above discussion of the concept of transcription as creative practice.

Chapter Five

Cassadó: Between Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Transcription

Many of the traits we have dealt with regarding nineteenth-century transcription – the flexibility regarding the musical score, the unclear boundaries between different musical activities, the virtuoso connection to transcription – relate to Cassadó's works over half a century later. As we have seen in previous chapters, Cassadó was, for most of his life, a devoted disciple of Casals and his new cello school, and he was very much in tune with his time regarding recording technologies and the cosmopolitan way of life of a solo cellist. It is therefore perplexing to see that some notoriously romantic nineteenth-century attitudes are equally integrated into Cassadó's musical persona, and moreover, stayed with him throughout his life. While it is impossible to discern the exact reasons behind Cassadó's musical conceptions and approaches, the heterogeneous quality of his musicality is definitely of some importance when discussing his transcription legacy. As we know, Cassadó was trained in composition from an early age with his father, and was in contact with all the current musical tides during his time in Paris. When he decided to prioritise his performance career, transcription was a logical way to connect his playing with what had become a secondary activity: composition. Cassadó's starting point as a transcriber in this sense was different from many other transcriber-performers who went into transcription as established performers looking to enlarge the repertoire. Cassadó started from the very beginning as a composer-performer just like Liszt or Busoni and, as we remember, published his first transcription at the age of 15. The somewhat later evolution of cello technique, compared to that of piano and violin, affected how cellists transcribed music. The greatest frontline figure of cello virtuosity, Casals, did not arrive until the turn of the century and before that, transcriptions that simplified technical aspects of a work were the most frequent. Cassadó's transcriptions cover a wide range of different creative practices, like that of Liszt, and exemplify the evolution of cello transcription that had taken place during the two previous generations.

The *Étude Op. 25 No. 7* by Chopin, an extract of which is seen below in Example 5.1, has fittingly been nicknamed the "Cello *Étude*", and is an interesting example since it was previously transcribed by two other cellists: Jules De Swert (1843–1891) and Franchomme. Example 5.2 shows Franchomme's transcription of the *Étude*, very possibly approved of by Chopin, which stays very close to the original and is still used today. The piano is given the original piano right hand part throughout the work with hardly any added or omitted notes. The only additions are single bass notes in the left

hand of the piano as in bar 20 and in the second section bars 30–37, amounting to light filling of chords. Perhaps the most significant change is the key, from C sharp minor to D minor; a change that appears in all three transcriptions and is related both to playing comfort and register on the cello. Example 5.2 displays how the original piano left hand is converted to a cello part with only a couple of minor simplifications; two of the embellishment figurations in bar 28 and 53 are shortened, but all other fast figurations, such in bars 23 and 25 are kept surprisingly intact, giving the work a definite virtuoso character. Even in the long figuration in bar 28 the structure and most notes are kept, Franchomme simply reduces the number of notes to slow down the speed.

Example 5.1 Chopin, Étude Op. 25 No. 7, bars 19–28.

Example 5.2 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, Franchomme's transcription, bars 20–30.

As a whole, the transcription is unusually literal both for the advanced technique required of the cello – certainly not for just any salon cellist of the time – and for the clean text: the edition from Breitkopf & Härtel is minimalistic in its style, adding almost nothing in terms of dynamics, and on the contrary leaving out some marks from previous piano editions of the Chopin original work. The (presumably) later transcription by the Belgian cellist Jules De Swert, seen in Example 5.3, comes across as more old-fashioned in both cello technique and editorial style. This is rather surprising considering that De Swert was not only of a later generation than Franchomme but an associate of Liszt: he seems to have both played with Liszt and written a transcription of *Consolations* S.172 in 1870 revised by the composer. Some details, such as the double stop in the last bar, suggest De Swert knew of the Franchomme transcription, but De Swert makes more changes to the original score. The transcription was published as containing three alternative versions: cello and piano, cello and organ, or cello and orchestra, and some of the changes certainly seem aimed at the orchestral version – there are even a couple of markings of woodwind

instruments in the piano part. More surprising are the simplifications in the cello part in places such as bar 27, where three figurations of demisemiquavers are transformed into a crotchet and a downward semiquaver scale with a brand new fermata at the end of the bar (there are similar solutions in bars 25 and 28, as shown in Example 5.3).

Example 5.3 Chopin, Étude Op. 25, No. 7, De Swert's transcription, bars 24–29.

The Franchomme version certainly displays some unidiomatic writing with so many fast notes in the lower register of the cello, and De Swert perhaps aimed to address these aspects. There are, however, smaller alterations such as eliminating the *Vorschlag* at the beginning of the theme, or notes being tied that seem to have less reasoning behind them and others that clearly respond to different artistic criteria: for example placing the melody of the piano's right hand in the cello in bars 30–37 instead of the left hand figuration. Examples 5.4 and 5.5 illustrate this difference between the transcriptions by Franchomme and De Swert. De Swert's edition is also busier with different performance markings, orchestral instrument markings, and a less than ideal separation of notes between the two piano hands.



Example 5.4 Chopin, Étude Op. 25, No. 7, De Swert's transcription, bars 30–33.

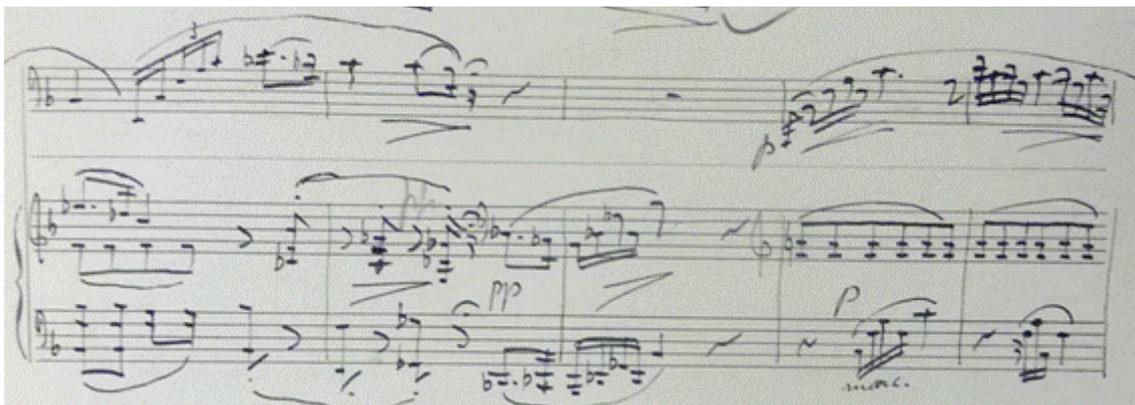
Example 5.5 Chopin, Étude Op. 25, No. 7, Franchomme's transcription, bars 31–35.

The third version by Cassadó is one of his many transcriptions never to have been published, unlike those by Franchomme and De Swert that are still frequently played. But the manuscript is a finished black-ink sketch and it is likely that Cassadó conceived it for performing himself. In general, when analysing the manuscripts found in the Tokyo archive – all of which have not yet been systematically catalogued – there are different indications that can help us discern their place in Cassadó's writing process.⁵⁸ Pencil drafts are often incomplete and written in a hastier manner than black-ink drafts; the latter also more often tend to be dated and signed, and to contain a title page. Often they also include later smaller changes pencilled in, and numerous performance indications, which are perhaps the strongest signs of a final draft since they imply that Cassadó would have used the draft in performance.

Cassadó was probably conscious of the two previous transcriptions of the Etude since he chose the same key for his own arrangement. The reasoning behind writing a third version could therefore be none other than dissatisfaction with certain aspects of the previous transcriptions, and with that to a reinterpretation of the Etude. There are, in fact, some similarities between Cassadó's version and both the more literal version by Franchomme and the simplified version by De Swert. However, Cassadó's idea, as in so many of his transcriptions, is to go further, creating a new cello and piano work from

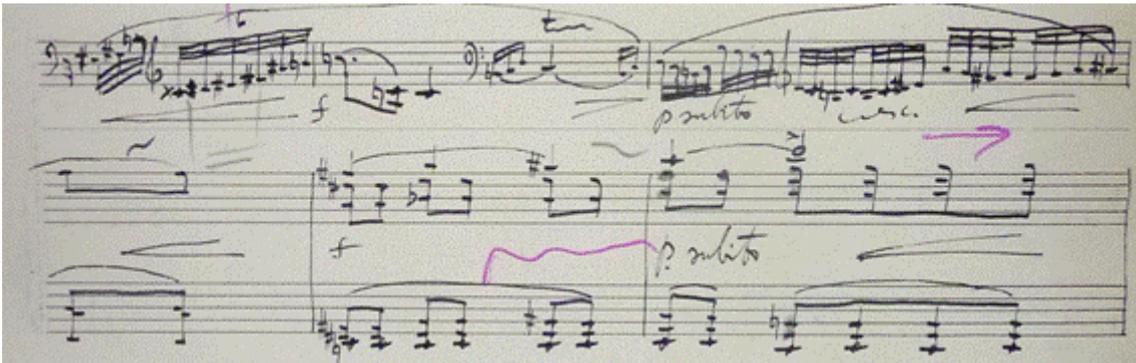
⁵⁸ See Appendices II and III.

Chopin's material. To achieve that, Cassadó expands the piano part to include both hands using larger chords, and the cello part is altered towards a more idiomatic interpretation of the melodic material. Instead of maintaining the melody in the cello, as in De Swert's version, or maintaining the cello playing the left hand of the piano, as in Franchomme's version, Cassadó chooses a more dynamic approach. Example 5.6 shows that while the melody is mostly confined to the cello, it occasionally passes from one instrument to the other, as in bars 40–41 where the piano concludes the phrase.



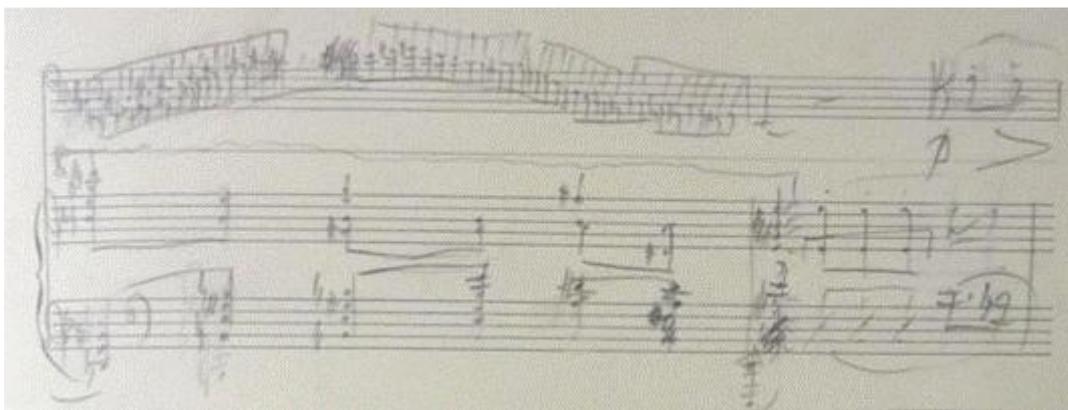
Example 5.6 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, Cassadó's transcription, bars 39–43.

As in the previous transcriptions, bars 23–29 provide a clear indication of the musical concept displayed in the piece. Examples 5.7 and 5.8 show how Cassadó in bars 23–27, rather surprisingly, suppresses most of the fast figurations, displaying a lighter text than both Franchomme and De Swert. In bar 27 Cassadó changes the figurations to a bar of demisemiquavers in upward sequences while in bar 28 he chooses a melodic ending in the middle-high register of the cello. In this transcription Cassadó certainly does not yield to the demands for virtuosic flair or literal rendition of the text, but seems guided more by personal ideas. He avoids the fast embellishing runs in the lower register of the cello and generally throughout the piece widens the register; in bars 27–28 upwards, while in bars 38–39 he prefers to place the melody an octave lower.



Example 5.7 Chopin, Étude Op. 25, No. 7, Cassadó's transcription, bars 22–29.

The fast runs seem to have been a matter of careful consideration for Cassadó since there is another idea sketched in a pencil draft, shown below in Example 5.8, where a long figuration similar to that of Franchomme appears in bar 28. The figuration is not present in the black ink draft, which is presumably the later version.



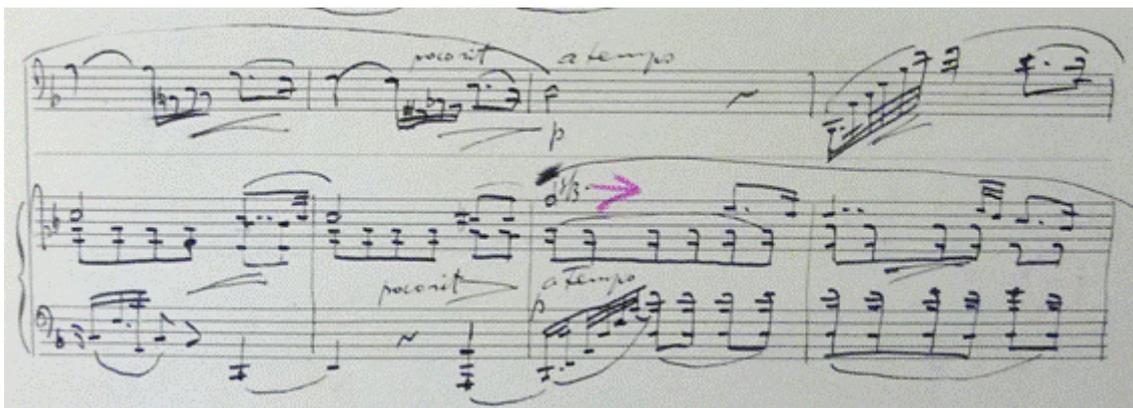
Example 5.8 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, earlier version of Cassadó's transcription, bars 28–29.

Confirming the intention to let the virtuosic embellishments be guided by idiomatic suitability we see in bar 53 how, where the other transcriptions simplify the chromatic upward scale by lifting out half of it, Cassadó adds eight demisemiquavers before the chromatic run, and then places the run in a higher octave, thus expanding the range from the lowest note on the cello (C) up to the final f'' of the beginning of the theme in the next bar, displayed below in Example 5.9. The theme then experiences a number of changes in register in bars 57–63 confirming that Cassadó is searching for a musical expansion at the end of the piece using changes of register. The piano through these bars experiences similar changes but in texture, going from a denser to a lighter structure as the cello moves through the strings.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Chopin's Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, specifically Cassadó's transcription of bars 52-63. The score is written on four systems of staves. The first system includes a pink annotation 'agitato' with an arrow pointing right. The second system has a pink arrow pointing to a specific chord. The third system has a 'p' dynamic marking. The fourth system has a 'riten.' marking. The score is heavily annotated with pink ink, including 'agitato', 'riten.', and various arrows and markings.

Example 5.9 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, Cassadó's transcription, bars 52–63.

Throughout the piece Cassadó also enriches the melody in a number of places with embellishments, similar to the ones already included by Chopin. Example 5.10 shows how bars 47–48 display the melody in the piano with a rhythmical arpeggio in the left hand imitated by the cello in the next bar, while bar 50 shows a similar idea, with a triplet arpeggio replacing the original octave leap.



Example 5.10 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No. 7, Cassadó's transcription, bars 44–47.

The Chopin Étude is an example of how Cassadó moulds the original music to fit his performance style; his ability to get brilliant sound in the upper register of the cello even in uncomfortable positions, his fondness for thick piano textures with which to merge his sound and his taste for small embellishments wherever possible. The transcription is more liberal than the two others; however, the embellishments and the texture are a good fit to Chopin's style when compared to Chopin's own musical idiom. Franchomme's version is certainly the closest to the score, and De Swert's the most cellistic, while Cassadó's more elaborated transcription appears to approach Chopin's general musical style as seen in his original works for cello and piano.

Transcribing for solo cello

One part of Cassadó's transcription activity does not connect with general cello transcription history and is therefore worthy of special mention: his solo cello transcriptions. The genre of solo cello music had an isolated peak with the famous Bach Suites, but did not regain composers' interest until the twentieth century. It is therefore hardly surprising to find a similar lack of transcriptions for solo cello. The truth is that, setting aside pedagogical literature, there is perhaps only one commonly known transcription for cello solo before Cassadó: the version of Schubert's famous lied *Erlkönig*, supposedly by German cellist Bernard Cossmann (1822–1910), written in 1890.⁵⁹ The piece is conceived as a complex reduction of the entire original Schubert score and therefore presents rather virtuosic writing. Cossmann was an associate of Liszt and the influence of the great pianist's arrangement of the *Erlkönig* for solo piano could have inspired Cossmann's ambitious score. We do not know whether Cassadó was familiar with the solo cello version of *Erlkönig* but his own transcriptions for solo

⁵⁹ The provenance of the piece has been questioned; however, *The White Prince Edition* recently published an Urtext edition of the piece, stating to have used only the fingerings and bowings of the original manuscript, which they believe to be by Cossmann.

cello certainly show some resemblance with the piece in scope and structure. As mentioned in the Introduction, Cassadó transcribed four original keyboard works and one guitar work for solo cello: Bourrée Op. 135 (for the left hand) by Saint-Saëns, *The Harmonious Blacksmith* by Handel, Étude, Op. 27 No.1 by Chopin, Prelude No. 21 from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* by J.S. Bach and *El Vita* by Sainz de la Maya. Of these only the Bourrée and *The Harmonious Blacksmith* were published, by Durand and International respectively. The most ambitious works are without doubt the two Preludes, with the one by Chopin being the most demanding technically.

There are a number of changes to the original score to make the Prelude – with its characteristic semiquaver figurations – more comfortable to perform on the cello; among other things the key is changed from A flat major to F major and the piano's two hands are compressed into one single motion downwards and then upwards. Furthermore, certain musical aspects such as changes from six-semiquaver figures to four-semiquaver figures in the left hand, and the dialogue between inner and outer melodic lines, have been left out. However, even with these things taken care of and careful fingerings annotated throughout the piece, the work is still uncomfortable to play. Although the structure of arpeggiatos is well-suited for the cello, the distances and combination of intervals make the musical concept of emphasising the top notes forming the melody complicated, as visible from Example 5.11. The uncommon uses of the fourth finger and thumb as well as the wide stretches within the arpeggiatos are some of the features of the transcription that connect with Cassadó's own performance style (see Chapter Six).

Allegro sostenuto. ♩ = 104. F. Chopin. Op. 25.

Example 5.11 Chopin, Étude, Op. 25, No.1, bars 1–2 (top); and Cassadó's transcription of the same piece, bars 1–3 (bottom).

The Bach Prelude is better suited for adaptation to a melodic instrument considering its horizontal and thinly layered text. Even so, the original piece displays a wide span of register difficult to mimic on the cello, seen below in Example 5.12. In a similar way to the Chopin Prelude, the melody line is spread across the first notes of each figuration group and poses a major difficulty due to the intervallic distances within the group, here consisting of four demisemi-quavers. The *détaché* bowing is perhaps more easily accomplished than the long legato bowings in the Chopin Prelude, but the tempo marking, *vivace*, poses additional complication to the performance of the work.



Example 5.12 J.S. Bach, Prelude No. 21, Cassadó's transcription, bar 1.

Given the characteristics, both Preludes seem to have been intended more as creative experiments and testaments to the real capabilities of the instrument than to enlarge the performance repertoire, especially considering that none of Cassadó's known concert programmes mention the pieces. The transcriptions for solo cello are a true indicator of twentieth-century style within Cassadó's practice; the desire to push the boundaries of virtuosity in a new way and connect to the lost concept of solo cello music of Bach, both closely related with the figure of the twentieth-century cellist.

Franz Liszt and Cassadó

To discuss virtuoso transcription is to discuss Franz Liszt. Not only the most brilliant virtuoso transcriber-performer of his generation, but perhaps the most conscious in connecting transcription and virtuoso performance in his activity, Liszt professed openly his dedication to the practice, and even declared that he "invented it" (Kregor, 2010, p. 3). Far from inventing the act of transcription itself, Liszt must have intuitively sensed that he was at the forefront of a radical development of transcription as a creative activity. The ambitious scope, with works the size of Berlioz' *Symphonie Fantastique* or the Beethoven symphonies, and an array of novel technical ideas stemming from Liszt's own performance experience that stretch the instrument's possibilities, are two clear traits of Lisztian transcription. Nonetheless, Liszt's very approach to the genre was perhaps the most revolutionary part. Most transcribers seek to transform the original work into a pianistic idiom – a horizontal approach if using literature translation

terms – while Liszt sought a vertical approach, favouring the foreign. As Jonathan Kregor asserts “typical left-hand accompanimental patterns or comfortable hand positions should not be expected” in his transcriptions (Kregor, 2010, p. 29). Liszt’s approach, whether transcribing a work by a colleague in need of promotion or by a revered composer from the past, stemmed from a progressive vision of transcription, connecting his performance attitude with his compositional concept. As seen previously, Liszt, paralleling the activity of engravers and translators, saw transcribing as a creative practice, with his performance technique and performance experience as the key tools. Transcription, for Liszt, meant a fusion of like-minded spirits, and the works he transcribed were masterworks by composers to whom he felt closely connected. As Kregor notes:

Liszt’s activities as a transcriber did not fuel a desire, as Schlegel had warned, to dress up a work to suit the demands of a target audience. Rather, Liszt’s justification stemmed from his self-acknowledged rapport with these works and their creators, as if he had been apprenticed in the workshop of Mozart or Beethoven, apprehending every detail of their compositional aesthetics. (Kregor, 2010, p. 40)

The transcription in this way became a written interpretation of the work, responding just as much to the performance as to the score of the piece. As Jonathan Kregor, Jim Samson, and others have analysed, Liszt went through a significant evolution as a pianist in the 1820s and 1830s and the new compositional and interpretative techniques are embedded in his famous transcriptions from the 1830s and 1840s; transcription in this sense was both Liszt’s clearest experimental workshop and a motor for his evolution. Scholars have analysed works like the *Études Transcendentales* or the *Symphonie Fantastique*, discussing how Liszt, in an unprecedented way, managed to infuse his own compositional and performance style into the transcriptions while obtaining a musical impression that remained close to the original. Liszt was not the first transcriber seeking to stay true to the score of great composers while constructing personal versions of the music (Bach, for example, wrote creative transcriptions of Vivaldi concerti); but he was the first whose popularity and recognition were so closely connected with his transcription practice. This did not mean that Liszt received only praise; he was also accused of superficiality and a lack of rigour in his creative process. Two aspects of his activity in particular have been the most difficult for the musical establishment to digest: his conscious practice of imitating the composer’s style when transcribing, resulting in confusion regarding the limits of the original and

transcribed material, and his stubborn refusal to consider the published score as the final version of his own compositions and transcriptions.

The question of “final versions” is truly intriguing with Liszt. First of all, although Liszt himself is known to have stated that the *Grandes Études de Paganini* for example, were improved versions of the *Études Transcendentes après Paganini*, there is still doubt as to whether they were the ultimate versions, or whether further amendments would still be possible. As Samson asserts, Liszt’s “general practice – even in the later years – remained that of an inveterate reviser, liberally autographing the passing thought, the provisional statement, the alternative version” (Samson, 2003, p. 107). Secondly, there are cases of much more uncertainty regarding whether the later version is able to replace the earlier version. Liszt published works in different versions at different periods, in different editions in different countries, and as Michael Short explains “there are numerous extant copies of published editions into which Liszt has written his musical afterthoughts” (Short, 1998, p. 86). The difficulty in discerning any precise moment when a work is finished is discussed by Jonathan Kregor, who here touches on the question of whether any published text really can constitute an ultimate version of a work:

It is difficult to argue that Liszt did not complete a work when he laid down the double barline on this sheet [lacrimosa], but the published version, with its different reading of the same passage, also raises the interpretative possibility that Liszt did not complete the work until it was established in a form that could be fixed and disseminated according to the protocols of his time. Though the (published) score has traditionally provided the material with which to construct and judge a faithful rendition of the work, it may be in the rendition itself – the performance – that the work is most fully realized. (Kregor, 2010, pp. 33–35)

Liszt’s compositional process diverged radically from the *Werktreue* notion of the original text, the standard for many decades, leading to an uncomfortable standing for Liszt among much of the musical establishment.

As observed with Liszt, Cassadó sought a translation based just as much on musical style and approach as on the score. Indeed, Cassadó seemed to view the great pianist as a source of inspiration; he transcribed both original works by Liszt and works that Liszt had famously transcribed. The Tarantella *La Danza* by Rossini is one of those works, as famous in its many transcribed forms as in its original version for tenor and piano. Written in 1835 by Rossini as a part of a collection called *Les soirées musicales*, it was transcribed by Liszt in 1837 and published along with the rest of the collection

while Cassadó's transcription, probably dated from the 1950s or 60s considering its location in the archive, was never published.⁶⁰ The Liszt transcription surprises with its simplicity, being one of a number of rather literal transcriptions by him, with the original structure and musical material almost entirely intact. The only exceptions are the enlarged and re-worked introductions and epilogues which use motivic material from Rossini, amplified and united with typical Liszt features such as a chromatic sequence, repeated semiquaver triplets and a repetition of the entire introduction before the return to the main theme.

The clearest traces of Liszt's flamboyance are found in the second repetitions of the main themes where he considerably expands the structure and widens the register to include higher octaves where Rossini used a small classical piano accompaniment structure in the middle of the keyboard. The most surprising aspect is Liszt's lack of interest in the solo tenor line: even where the sung phrase diverges from the piano accompaniment Liszt only adds part of it and hides it within the piano part, which can be seen clearly below in Example 5.13. Liszt seemed to have had producing a clean and accessible score as one of his priorities, but even so, partly omitting the melody of such a famous theme like *La Danza* is certainly perplexing. Liszt's style in *La Danza* is minimalistic and straight to the point: while in famous transcriptions such as *Lacrimosa* or the Paganini Variations he offers "unsanitized" and "multi-perspectival readings", here Liszt presents a version which is the exact opposite: straightforward and clear (Kregor, 2010, pp. 30–33). The presentation of the eight transcriptions of *Les soirées musicales* was of course not the greatest creative challenge Liszt had faced, but it surely had its own purpose of exercise and renewal within his transcription style which in the 1830s was undergoing important development.

⁶⁰ Manuscripts in the archive at Tamagawa University almost always date from after Cassadó moved to Florence. Comparing the writing with manuscripts that are dated it is also possible to place manuscripts in a rough timeline, which would place this particular one in the 1950s.

Example 5.13 Rossini, *'La Danza*, bars 87–91 (top); and Liszt, transcription of *La Danza*, bars 86–91 (bottom).

Cassadó's version is more radical in its re-organization and reworking of the musical material. As is often the case, he uses the versatility of the cello to alternate sections with bass lines and accompaniment with melodies in various registers of the instrument. He omits a great part of Rossini's introduction of 48 bars, leaving only the first eight bars where the original piano introduction is accompanied by pizzicato chords in the cello. In a similar way to Liszt, Cassadó alters the structure in the repetitions of the themes, not through chord expansion, but through change of register: Cassadó moves up an octave in both instruments. Given that the tenor voice and the cello share part of the same register, the main theme is audibly a close match with the original. Cassadó, however, true to his personal performance style, introduces double-stops extensively in the cello melody line, and makes a number of changes in octave throughout the piece. The piano structure is, by contrast, somewhat simplified so as not to interfere with the sonority of the pizzicato chords and lower double-stops, in this aspect moving in the opposite direction to Liszt. Cassadó chooses a dynamic approach to the melodic line, mimicking a chamber music work – as in the Chopin Etude – and lets the theme travel between the instruments. This is above all present in the repetition of the second section in E major in bars 153–161 where the cello has quadruplet figurations as accompaniment to the melody in the piano.

Examples 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16, displaying the finale of the piece in its original form as well as in the versions by Liszt and Cassadó, show how Cassadó, like Liszt, adds a grander finale to the piece with a wide downward movement from high to low register and the penultimate bar left with just two pizzicati to create anticipation for the last chord. Cassadó's solution, however, is simple and less developed: he essentially repeats bars 37–45 from the original which leads him to the last motivic fragment, the same fragment that Liszt develops to build his finale, first appearing in bars 46–49 in the original.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for the Coda of Rossini's *La Danza*. The first system shows the original notation, featuring a wide downward movement in the right hand. The second system shows a version with a grander finale, featuring a wide downward movement in the right hand and a final chord in the left hand. Dynamics include *cres.*, *f*, and *ff*. A fermata is placed over the final chord in the right hand, and a double bar line is present at the end of the piece.

Example 5.14 Rossini, *La Danza*, Coda.

The image displays a handwritten musical score for the Coda of Rossini's opera *La Danza*, as transcribed by Franz Liszt. The score is written in G major and 2/4 time, featuring a piano accompaniment. It is organized into three systems, each with a treble and bass staff. The first system begins with the instruction "Sempre, sf" (piano) and contains six measures of music. The second system contains six measures, with a first ending bracket over the final two measures. The third system contains six measures, with a second ending bracket over the final two measures, which conclude with a double bar line. The notation includes various dynamics such as *sf* (sforzando) and *f* (forte), and articulation marks like accents and slurs. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged paper.

Example 5.15 Rossini, *La Danza*, Liszt, transcription of *La Danza*, Coda.

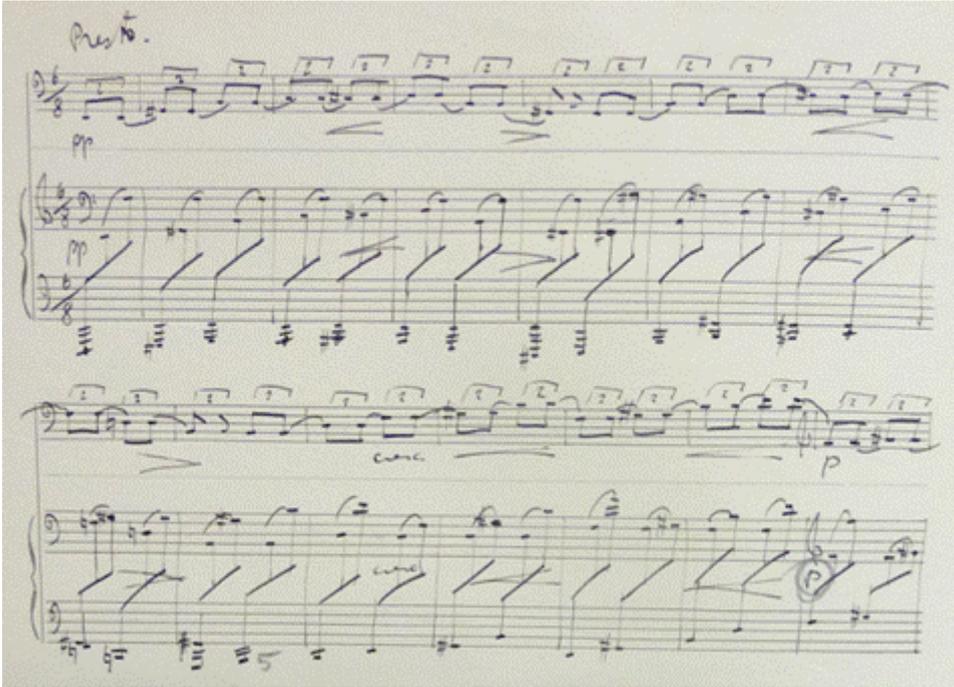
Example 5.16 Cassadó, transcription of *La Danza*, Coda.

The second tarantella that Cassadó chose to transcribe has few things in common with *La Danza* other than the denomination of tarantella. The work in question forms the third movement in *Venezia e Napoli* by Liszt, part of his opus *Années de Pèlerinage*

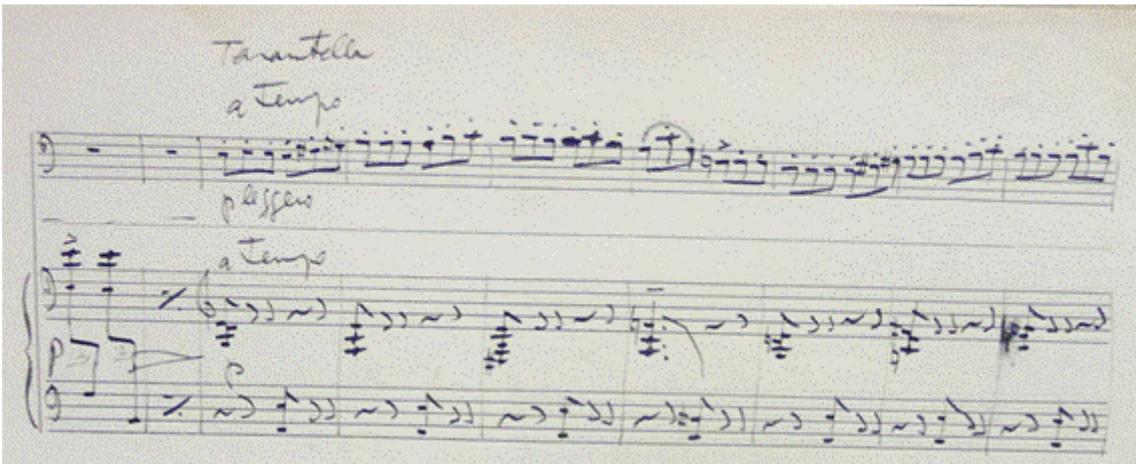
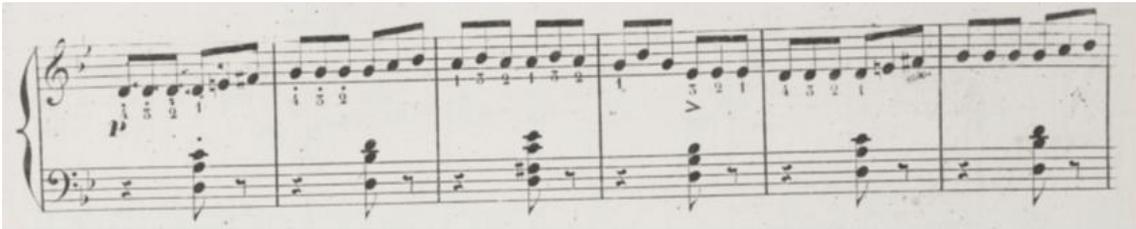
from 1859, depicting images from travels around Switzerland and Italy. It is a tarantella only in a loose sense, constructed as a fantasy in G minor with tarantella influences displaying three different tarantella motives and in addition a canzone section with two motivic structures in E major. The Cassadó transcription could actually be conceived as a re-transcription since *Venezia e Napoli*, as often the case with Liszt, was transcribed, or re-composed from an earlier work by Liszt called *Tarantelles Napolitaines* from 1840. The themes in Liszt's work are connected through long transitions with important embellishment figurations in clear Lisztian style. Cassadó moves the piece to A minor in his transcription and concentrates on the themes, omitting most of the heavily idiomatic transitions and embellishments (see Appendix I, track 4). Comparing Examples 5.17, 5.18 and the two parts of Example 5.19, Cassadó starts the piece following Liszt's introduction and presentation of the first tarantella theme, and although Cassadó does not copy the exact notes of the introduction, he mimics the movement and structure, with the piano part playing the triplets from Liszt's original and the cello sustaining the tension-building structure with duplets in the low register. Cassadó also follows Liszt in his change of octaves, reaching the upper limit of the cello register: the change of tessitura is actually a feature often shared between Liszt and Cassadó. In the high piano triplets towards the end of the theme Cassadó mimics the sound effectively with extremely high trills on the cello. The main difference between the two versions lies in Cassadó's piano part which does not expand through the introduction, but simply accompanies the cello through the register changes and dynamics.

The image shows a musical score for 'Tarantelle-Presto' by Liszt. The score is in G minor, 6/8 time, and features a piano accompaniment. The score is divided into two systems. The first system is labeled 'PIANO' and shows the piano part with triplets. The second system is labeled 'scherzando' and shows the piano part with a change in dynamics and tempo. The score includes a 'Ped.' (pedal) marking and a 'p' (piano) dynamic marking.

Example 5.17 Liszt, 'Tarantella' from *Venezia e Napoli*, Introduction.



Example 5.18 Cassado, transcription of 'Tarantella' from *Venezia e Napoli*, Introduction.



Example 5.19 Liszt, 'Tarantella', bars 38–43 (top); and Cassadó, transcription of 'Tarantella', bars 37–43 (bottom).

Liszt simply puts a bar's rest between the introduction and the first tarantella theme, but Cassadó makes a transition in the piano with the same triplet rhythm heading back to

the lower register and to a *piano* dynamic – following the tendency of Cassadó to ignore original transitions and instead create his own. The melodic themes in general are unaltered by Cassadó, except the recurrent second theme marked *meno mosso* which Cassadó for some reason stretches out for an extra bar, shown in Examples 5.20 and 5.21. In his version this theme consists of full chords, displays the melody a first time on the cello and a second time on the piano and has an unmistakably pianistic structure which unwillingly lends itself to the cello. Cassadó solves this issue partially by simplifying the fast semiquaver runs in bars 77–79, shortening radically the section, and leaving some of the motivic material to the piano, while creating accompanying double-stops for the cello to preserve the musical *grandioso* impression.

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Liszt's 'Tarantella', bars 74-79. The first system shows bars 74-76. The piano part (right hand) begins with a *ff* dynamic and features a series of chords. The cello part (left hand) has a similar chordal texture. A box highlights the transition between bars 75 and 76. The second system shows bars 77-79. The piano part continues with a *ff* dynamic, while the cello part is marked *p* and features a melodic line with a *8va* (octave) marking. The notation includes various dynamics (*ff*, *p*), articulation marks (accents, slurs), and a *8va* marking for the cello part.

Example 5.20 Liszt, 'Tarantella', bars 74-79.



Example 5.21 Cassadó, transcription of 'Tarantella', bars 58–68.

Cassadó follows the general outlines of the rest of the work but makes important changes to several sections. Most obvious is the *canzone* section where Cassadó moves straight back to the tarantella themes after a rather brief exposition of the *canzone* motive (48 bars), while Liszt in his original lingers through long embellishment figurations and fast runs in a substantial development section leading to an equally long coda, touching on varied repetitions of the original themes but concentrating on constructing a grand finale with wide expanded chords and fast semiquaver chord figurations. Cassadó instead returns to the three tarantella themes after the *canzone*, and presents them in almost exactly the same way as before until finally introducing the coda. Example 5.22 compares the original Coda by Liszt with Cassadó's version and shows how Cassadó uses various idiomatic tools to build the finale. Starting with an upward scale from low register to high in semiquavers, he uses wide arpeggiato figurations on the cello and a full chord structure in the piano part to widen the texture, with fifteen bars from the original coda copied into the piano part. The cello accompanies the movement with an invented contra-theme before turning the tension

up a final notch with a heavy tremolo double-stop section, very much like Liszt's enlargement of the piano chord figurations in the last section.



A handwritten musical score for the Coda of Cassadó's transcription of 'Tarantella'. The score is written on a grand staff with two staves. It features dense, complex chordal textures with many notes beamed together, creating a heavy tremolo effect. The notation includes various accidentals and dynamic markings, though they are somewhat obscured by the density of the notes.

Example 5.22 Liszt, 'Tarantella', Coda (top); and Cassadó, transcription of 'Tarantella', Coda (bottom).

Both the tarantellas are a testament to Cassadó's admiration for Liszt. The tarantella from *Napoli* in particular shows his interest in mimicking style elements and certain musical ideas of Liszt in seemingly hopelessly pianistic structures, but without literally copying the themes or sections. Indeed, Cassadó's version of *Napoli* is quite a different work from Liszt's and is possibly best described as the vision of a virtuosic Liszt piece seen through the eyes of Cassadó. Both tarantellas transcribed by Cassadó display his capacity to incorporate personal criteria, such as a preference for the chamber music duo concept versus simple piano accompaniment, into the transcriptions while synthesizing the musical ideas he liked of the original work. Just like Liszt, Cassadó

conceived of his transcription as a fusion of styles and used the enlargements of structure and re-organisation with new transitions as important tools. On the other hand, as we have been able to confirm, Cassadó and Liszt each used various models of transcriptions, ranging from more literal and simplified styles to fantasy pieces and theme and variation works. The style of their transcriptions changes not only from work to work, but sometimes within one transcription, moving flexibly according to momentary need and taste.

Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2, Franz Liszt

The *Rhapsodie* is another pianistic virtuoso creation that captured Cassadó's interest and, just like Napoli, was never published in spite of the existence of finished drafts in black ink in the Tamagawa archive. A third Cassadó transcription of a Liszt work, *Liebesträume, No. 3*, is a rather straightforward arrangement that was published by Universal Musical Edition during Cassadó's lifetime. The *Rhapsodie* is of special interest due to its popularity among performers and its Lisztian virtuosic character. It hardly seems an ideal work to transcribe for the cello given its technical difficulties on the piano. An aspect of virtuosity, which could be seen as inherent, is its exploration of the limits of the instrument in question: the idea of the "un-transcribable". The virtuosity in the works of performers like Liszt and Paganini was often seen as un-transferable even to other performers of the same instrument: Liszt's works could only be played by Liszt, and so on. In this context, transcribing the *Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2* for the uncomfortable combination of cello and piano seems risky and can only be understood as an expression for a true interest in Lisztian virtuosity on Cassadó's part. There is, of course, a symbolic quality in playing the *Rhapsodies Hongroises* from a virtuoso's standpoint: the *Rhapsodies* have become something of a trademark for Liszt and, as Ben Arnold notes, "Liszt himself had great affection for his Hungarian Rhapsodies and revised them for publication in various mediums over the course of various decades" (Arnold, 2002, p. 317). Transcribing a Hungarian Rhapsody would probably not have seemed strange to Liszt himself, however, considering his attitudes to transcribing in general and the fact that he transcribed his own music on various occasions. According to William Wright, Liszt made a violin and piano arrangement of his 12th Hungarian Rhapsody, originally dedicated to Joachim in the 1850s, and possibly also the 5th Hungarian Rhapsody, to perform with Nandor Plotenyi in 1871 (Wright, 2002, pp. 220–231). Nevertheless, this does not alter the fact that the *Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2* is a highly pianistic work and tailor-made for Liszt's own performances.

Unlike his version of *Napoli*, Cassadó's version of the Rhapsody follows Liszt's original bar by bar almost throughout, showing a clear desire to adhere closely to Liszt's wide and dense chord structure. The cello part is technically very difficult, with long sections of consecutive double-stops, including bariolage, and important parts of the melody in the highest register of the instrument. It must be pointed out that a large portion of the themes, especially in the slower part called *Lassan*, are played in a low register on the piano, and are therefore especially apt for the cello, with no need for changes. The musical material is therefore intact through much of the work, with only some octaves and a few inner chord notes eliminated in a few places such as in bar 20, here displayed in its original version as well as in Cassadó's score in Example 5.23.

The image displays two musical staves for comparison. The top staff is a printed score for Liszt's original piano version, showing bars 15-20. It features a complex texture with multiple voices and dense chordal structures. The bottom staff is a handwritten transcription by Cassadó, showing bars 17-20. A rectangular box highlights a specific passage in the transcription, where the original piano texture is adapted for the cello, using techniques like string changes to imitate repeated notes.

Example 5.23 Liszt, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bars 15–20 (top); and Cassadó, transcription of *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2 Bars 17–20 (bottom).

As we were already able to note in *Napoli*, Cassadó often found ingenious solutions to mimic pianistic effects and several of them are displayed below in Examples 5.24, 5.25 and 5.26, again comparing Liszt's original score with Cassadó's manuscript. Cassadó uses string changes to imitate the repeated notes executed by finger changes in the piano original in bar 24 (Example 5.24), and later in bar 42 he uses double-stops to imitate a sustained note (Example 5.25).

This image shows a printed musical score for Liszt's *Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2*, bars 21-24. The score is written for piano and features a complex, chromatic melody in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The key signature is two sharps (D major), and the time signature is 4/4. The piece is marked with a *cresc.* (crescendo) instruction. The right hand part includes a dense, sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, which is highlighted with a rectangular box. The left hand part includes a similar sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, also highlighted with a rectangular box.

This image shows a handwritten musical score for Liszt's *Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2*, bars 21-24. The score is written for piano and features a complex, chromatic melody in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The key signature is two sharps (D major), and the time signature is 4/4. The piece is marked with a *cresc.* (crescendo) instruction. The right hand part includes a dense, sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, which is highlighted with a rectangular box. The left hand part includes a similar sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, also highlighted with a rectangular box.

This image shows a handwritten musical score for Liszt's *Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2*, bars 21-24. The score is written for piano and features a complex, chromatic melody in the right hand and a supporting bass line in the left hand. The key signature is two sharps (D major), and the time signature is 4/4. The piece is marked with a *cresc.* (crescendo) instruction. The right hand part includes a dense, sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, which is highlighted with a rectangular box. The left hand part includes a similar sixteenth-note passage in bar 24, also highlighted with a rectangular box.

Example 5.24 Liszt, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bars 21–24 (top); and Cassadó, transcription of *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bars 21–24 (bottom).



Example 5.25 Liszt, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bar 42 (left): and Cassadó, transcription of *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bar 42 (right).

Cassadó also uses other specific string techniques, such as as pizzicato or harmonics, to mimic Liszt's piano writing, exemplified by the harmonic d" in bar 316 and the pizzicato in bars 317–318 (see Example 5.26).

Example 5.26 Liszt, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bars 313–319 (top); and Cassadó, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, bars 314–318 (bottom).

In general, the transcription presents Cassadó at his most restrained regarding note changes and re-working, only the longest embellishment figurations and most dense chord formations are restructured and partially changed musically to fit the left hand on the cello. Without exaggerating the similarities between the two musicians, it is worth pointing out how naturally Cassadó seems to be able to fit his personal style into his reading and interpretation of the Liszt Rhapsody.

Genre and style in Cassadó's transcriptions

The previous chapter highlighted the wide range of genre and style in Cassadó's transcriptions and discussed the vast area that transcription as a creative practice fills within music making, including a comparison with the related field of language translation. This range of different practices will be presented in the following discussion, which uses a number of case studies to analyse more in depth some of the genres and types of Cassadó's works, including; pastiche, paraphrase, theme and variations and *partie pour violoncelle en forme de dialogue*.

The Pastiche

There are a number of pieces labelled as transcriptions in Cassadó's manuscripts that have not been modelled on any original work, but are actually new compositions in the style of more or less famous composers. The best-known exponent of this compositional type was the violinist Fritz Kreisler (1875–1962) who indeed had greater success with his pastiche works than with his contemporary styled works.⁶¹ Kreisler specialized in imitating the styles of rather obscure composers – one must remember that even Vivaldi was relatively unknown at this time – such as Couperin, Tartini, Pugnani, Francoeur and others. As performers Kreisler and Cassadó had similarities regarding sound production; Cassadó was famous for his *cantilena*, just like Kreisler, and Cassadó himself admitted that he had been called “the Kreisler of the cello” during the beginning of his career (see p. 99). Cassadó wrote a number of works in pastiche-style using the names and styles of well-known composers such as Schubert, Handel, Frescobaldi and Couperin, and most of these works circulate and are being sold as transcriptions still today, with many performers and listeners seemingly unaware of the origin of the pieces. Cassadó himself is partly to blame for the continued hoax since he never officially admitted to having composed the pieces, in contrast to Kreisler's

⁶¹ Tully Potter quotes a typical reviewer praising the eighteenth-century “originals” to the sky but stating that “of Mr Kreisler's compositions one must speak of more modest praise” (*The Manchester Guardian*, 11 October 1910, quoted in Potter, 2010, p. 48).

confession regarding a number of encores in 1935.⁶² Cassadó might have had his own reasons for avoiding the sort of public scandal Kreisler provoked; as Nathaniel Chaitkin argues “Cassadó, having had such an unpleasant experience with bad publicity in 1949, did not want to undergo anything similar again. He also did not have the same popularity as Kreisler and couldn’t be sure of the same forgiveness” (Chaitkin, 2001, p. 26). Furthermore, in some cases the hoax has been perpetuated partly because of successful imitation of style, as in the case of an *Allegretto grazioso* attributed to Schubert. The idea of fake transcriptions was of course no new invention, but rather stemmed from the pastiche tradition of re-composition from models popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Indeed, even the less-than-honest labelling and lack of explanations, were part of a tradition:

Very often the extent, or even the fact, of the modelling process was not made explicit in such cases (as in several of Brahms's re-compositions of pieces by Bach), perhaps indicating a more general ambivalence about intertextuality in the Romantic age. Alternatively, and more commonly, the model would be a general style rather than an individual work, as in Chopin's or Grieg's 'Baroque' pieces. (Samson, 2002, p. 270)

Intertextuality is precisely the issue in the Schubert-pastiche *Allegretto grazioso* for cello and piano. The piece was relatively popular during Cassadó’s lifetime and was played by a number of cellists, but was its popularity partially the result of the Schubert label? The authorship has a definite effect on the reception of a work and sometimes seems to be one of the most important components with a market value in itself. As Tully Potter points out in an article in *The Strad*:

Mozart’s delightful Lullaby was sung by every soprano until it was shown to be by a nonentity called Bernhard Flies. Today you never hear it. Nor do you encounter Haydn’s once popular ‘Serenade’ Quartet now alleged to be by a nobody called Roman Hofstetter, or various works once attributed to Pergolesi.

⁶² As stated by Biancolli: “Downes broke the story in the Friday, Feb. 8, edition of *The New York Times* – front page and above the fold. “Kreisler Reveals 'Classics' As Own; Fooled Music Critics for 30 Years”, declared the headline, summing up with pithy economy the embarrassment faced by music journalists on both sides of the Atlantic: Putting it bluntly, they had been made to look like fools.[...] The story behind the scandal is short and sweet: Way, way back, when Kreisler was still a relative unknown on the European concert circuit, he wrote a number of violin works in a variety of styles that he attributed to little-known composers. No one noticed any discrepancy in style between Kreisler's pieces and the other works of those eighteenth-century composers – or, if anyone noticed, no one remarked upon it, and Kreisler found no pressing reason to confess. For three decades he toured with his collection of faux masterworks, giving them credibility and laying the foundation for a truly global hoax.” (Biancolli, 1998, p. 157)

These works have not changed. They are as good or bad as they always were, but no one wants them anymore. (Potter, 2010, p. 51)

Allegretto grazioso has been recorded several times; however it is not played very often today. The structure and musical motifs definitely have a simple Schubertian air and in length the piece is similar to a shorter movement of one of the earlier piano sonatas, although the writing is perhaps too idiomatically well-suited for the cello. There are various allegrettos by Schubert that might have inspired Cassadó in terms of musical atmosphere. Example 5.27 shows The 'Allegretto' (also labelled D346) from the C major Sonata D279, that starts with the same simplistic figuration; a steady repeated quaver accompaniment and the motif in semiquavers with a *Vorschlag* at the beginning of the bar, placing it side by side with the beginning of Cassadó's *Allegretto grazioso*.

The image displays two musical excerpts side-by-side. The top excerpt is from Schubert's 'Allegretto in C major' (D346), showing bars 2-5. It features a treble clef, a 2/4 time signature, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody begins with a rest, followed by a quarter note G4, then a series of eighth notes: A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The bottom excerpt is from Cassadó's *Allegretto grazioso*, showing bars 1-3. It features a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of two flats (Bb). The melody begins with a rest, followed by a quarter note G4, then a series of eighth notes: A4, Bb4, C5, Bb4, A4, G4. The accompaniment in both excerpts consists of a steady repeated quaver accompaniment.

Example 5.27 Schubert, 'Allegretto in C major', bars 2–5 (top); and Cassadó, *Allegretto grazioso*, bars 1–3 (bottom).

After the main theme and the A section there is also a dramatic *forte* section in the minor key with a more pathetic emotion, just as would be expected from the B section of a Schubert work of this kind, shown below in Example 5.28.

Example 5.28 Schubert, 'Allegretto in C major', bars 102–109 (top); and Cassadó, *Allegretto grazioso*, bars 44–48 (bottom).

Other aspects, such as the cello writing, the style of the development section and the small scope of the piece are certainly telling – at least with the facts at hand – but it is an interesting style imitation with very suitable melodic material. Cassadó's interest in composing in the style of a particular composer was most likely what ignited the work's process, while the interest of Cassadó as a performer in presenting new repertoire might be responsible for labelling the piece with Schubert's name, believing it would result in a better response from the audience.

Kreisler's pastiches and Cassadó's works like the *Allegretto grazioso* hold obvious similarities: the limited scope of the pieces, the simple and straightforward piano accompaniments and the preference for melodic, non-virtuosic pieces. But while Kreisler used lesser known composers from the eighteenth century, Cassadó was not afraid of using the names of Schubert or Handel. It is therefore even more striking that the hoax regarding these pieces has never been fully unearthed, while his *Toccatà*, attributed to Frescobaldi, was challenged in the 1960s: possibly the popularity of the *Toccatà*, with numerous performances and arrangements, was the reason for its early exposure.⁶³

⁶³ The hoax was unearthed when the conductor Hans Kindler, who had arranged the *Toccatà* for orchestra, admitted that he had used Cassadó's "transcription" as his source, unable to find the Frescobaldi original (Chaitkin, 2001, p. 25).

The Paraphrase

The paraphrase of the Strauss waltzes is the most conventionally structured transcription discussed here, and appropriately labelled, at least if using the word paraphrase flexibly, as discussed previously. It is a free arrangement, using themes and harmonies from the Strauss waltzes but with an important amount of structural and musical re-working. This transcription is an interesting example of Cassadó's specific style of paraphrasing, and especially of his way of merging new and old material together. The truth is that Cassadó's work lacks something that most paraphrases (and fantasies) contain: a clear separation between the original material and the material provided by the arranger. Just as policy in historical rehabilitation urges an architect reforming an old building to demarcate clearly his interventions so that the outlines of the original work remain visible, those writing musical paraphrases generally highlight the separation between the original and what they add of their own through the composing language. *An der schönen blauen Donau* has been the object of various such paraphrases and improvisations, the most renowned being the *Improvisation über den Walzer an der schönen blauen Donau* for piano solo by Max Reger. Reger uses his own distinctive idiom, planting the waltzes into a different sound landscape and transforming them into a Reger piece. Listeners familiar with Strauss' style would probably never suspect that the Reger Improvisation was based on a Strauss work if not for the familiarity of the melodies. Reger's approach has been the dominant one, according to Joseph N. Straus because "the historical distance between the re-composer and his model has become considerably longer in this century, spanning deep stylistic gulfs. Bach and Vivaldi, and to a lesser but still significant extent, Liszt and Beethoven had a common musical language" (Straus, 1986, p. 302). This distance has provoked a friction between arranger and composer, changing the dynamics of the activity.

In Cassadó's paraphrase, in a similar way to some of Liszt's transcriptions, the opposite occurs. Instead of using his own compositional idiom with its late nineteenth-century characteristics, Cassadó does something of a double-paraphrase: he paraphrases both the actual piece and Strauss' general musical style. Although Cassadó only uses fragments of the original waltzes, and actually introduces a total of 121 bars of new music, the similarity in language between old and new creates a sense of ambiguity, so that it is no longer certain what is what. For a listener not knowing the original work well, it could be fully possible to accept the whole paraphrase as a Strauss composition. The reasons behind Cassadó's decision to "double-paraphrase" are somewhat perplexing. Perhaps the most plausible idea is that Cassadó wanted to

compose in Strauss' style and simply used the Strauss piece as a basis and outlet for his Strauss-like musical ideas. We know that Cassadó thoroughly enjoyed composing in past styles, and paraphrases offered a platform for that.

As Table 5.1 shows, the structuring of the paraphrase by Cassadó alone helps to confuse the listener and dilute the differences between new music and transcribed.

Strauss, <i>An der schönen blauen Donau</i>	Cassadó, <i>Paraphrase de concert</i>
Introduction in A major	Introduction in D flat major
Waltz 1A x2 in D major	Waltz 1A x2 in D flat major
Waltz 1B x2 in D major	Waltz 1B x1 in A flat major
Waltz 2A x2 in D major/B flat major	Transition in A flat major
Waltz 2B x2 in D major	Waltz 2A mixed with Waltz 1B in A flat major
Waltz 3A x2 in G major	Transition modulating to E major
Waltz 3B x2 in G major	Waltz 4A x2 in E major
Transition (Eingang)	Waltz 2B x2 in E major
Waltz 4A x2 in F major	Transition in E major
Waltz 4B x2 in F major	Waltz 4B x2 in E major
Transition (Eingang)	Transition in C major, modulating to D flat
Waltz 5A x2 in A major	Waltz 2B in D flat major
	Transition in D flat major
	Waltz 1A in D flat major
Coda, recalling Waltz 1A in D major	Coda in D flat major

Table 5.1 General structure of the waltzes by Strauss and structure of the paraphrase by Cassadó.

As seen in the table above, Cassadó mixes together the different sections of the waltzes, offering long transitions inspired by the themes and Strauss' waltz style to

connect them in new ways and construct a different sense of continuation in the work. The change of key is something of a mystery since the original tonality of D major and indeed all the keys used by Strauss are much more comfortable on the cello. It is true that Cassadó, in general, was not prone to changing tonalities according to playing comfort and tended to keep the original keys even when transcribing a work in a difficult key such as D flat major (as with *Clair de lune*), but here it is the opposite case. A plausible musical reason could have to do with his many modulations in the transitions. In the parts of the original waltzes, the chosen sections remain harmonically and melodically mostly intact, although the rhythms and leading voices often are different. While the first waltz of the Strauss original shows a neutral legato in the melody line over the whole bar and separate crotchet chords in the rest of the instruments, the Cassadó piece has tenuto *portato* lines over the melodic line, as seen in Example 5.29 and he gives the accompanying piano quaver arpeggios.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Tempo & Valzer Viennoise -' and contains notes with tenuto marks and dynamic markings like 'p. espress:'. The middle staff is also labeled 'Tempo & Valzer Viennoise' and includes 'a Tempo' and 'marc:' markings. The bottom staff is in a lower register and contains a quaver arpeggiated accompaniment. The key signature for all staves is D-flat major (two flats).

Example 5.29 Cassadó, *Paraphrase de Concert*, bars 29–32.

Example 5.30 displays the second section of the Waltz where he hands over the theme to the piano during the first four bars, while the cello plays an accompanying quaver figuration, moving up and down, only to change the arrangement around in the next two bars.

Example 5.30 Cassadó *Paraphrase de Concert*, bars 52–61.

But it is the newly composed music in the transition sections that offers the most interesting merging of material from the Strauss waltzes and new material by Cassadó modelled on them. Example 5.31 presents the introduction of the paraphrase which, for example, mimics Strauss' introduction to the waltzes in style and ambience. Cassadó uses one of the waltz themes in isolation, in a slower tempo and with space between the entries, building up the musical tension each time the motif appears through changes in harmony, in a similar way to Strauss. Unlike Strauss, Cassadó uses the theme from the fourth waltz instead of the first waltz and he prefers arpeggiatos in the accompaniment instead of tremolo; nevertheless, the impression is very similar to the Strauss original.

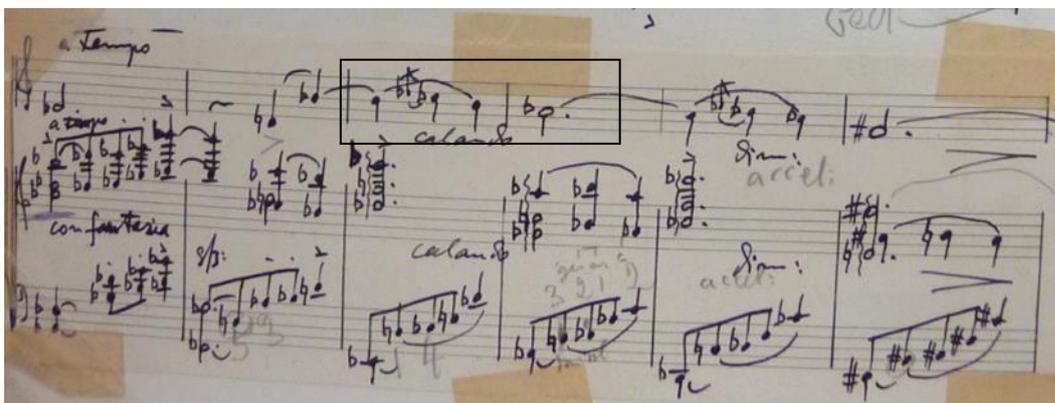
The image shows a handwritten musical score for two systems. The top system consists of a piano part (treble clef) and a cello part (bass clef). The piano part begins with a melodic line in a 3/4 time signature, marked 'Moderato'. It includes dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano), 'sf' (sforzando), and 'pp' (pianissimo). The tempo changes to 'Presto' in the latter part of the system. The cello part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with notes marked 'Ped' (pedal). The bottom system continues the piece with similar notation, including 'Moderato' and 'Presto' markings, and dynamic markings like 'p' and 'sf'. The key signature is three flats and the time signature is 3/4.

Example 5.31 Cassadó, *Paraphrase de Concert*, bars 1–11

Throughout the work, Cassadó's transitions are inspired by rhythmical and melodic motifs from Strauss' work, shown below in Examples 5.32 and 5.33, comparing two of Strauss' motifs with transitions present in Cassadó's work. The transition in bars 98–101 displays a rhythm similar to one of Strauss' key waltz rhythms at various points, albeit the harmonies are different. The transition in bars 157–170 shows a melodic motif similar to the second section of the fourth waltz, developed in the piano accompanied by the cello playing a small motif taken from the end of the first waltz theme. The dotted semibreve trill from the end of the first waltz, as well as a small motif from the second section of the second waltz, are also used by Cassadó as building blocks in the paraphrase, shaping what in essence becomes a recycled imitational work.



Example 5.32 Strauss, *An der schönen blauen Donau*, piano version bars 90–93 (top); Cassadó, *Paraphrase de Concert*, bars 97–101 (bottom).



Example 5.33 Strauss, *An der schönen blauen Donau*, piano version bars 192–195 (top); and Cassadó, *Paraphrase de Concert*, bars 173–178 with part of motif from the second waltz used for the transition.

The overall structure, even with the waltzes broken apart and in changed positions, also relates to the original, with Cassadó's introduction and coda clearly shaped by Strauss' original idea. Cassadó returns to the motif from the introduction just like Strauss in the coda – first waltz for Strauss, fourth waltz for Cassadó – and uses the trill and semiquaver movements to intensify the finale much like Strauss. As a double paraphrase, Cassadó's work certainly is efficient; it gives the illusion in a natural manner of being an alternative version of the Strauss waltzes. Here, the fidelity to Strauss might not be towards the score of the *An der schönen blauen Donau*, but it is one of Cassadó's closest attempts at an impression-by-impression transcription of Strauss' general musical style.

Theme and Variations, Prelude Op. 28 No. 7, Chopin

The Chopin Preludes have a distinguished position in the piano literature as well as in music history and have been intensely analysed by scholars. Op. 28 is nowadays almost always played as an integral work and much theory is dedicated to connecting points between the Preludes, for example Jean-Jacques Eigeldinger's statement that the Preludes were connected by a "motivic cell" (G–D–A) (Eigeldinger, 1988, pp. 181–193). Instead, during the first 100 years of Op. 28's existence it was "virtually universal performance practice" – in Kenneth Hamilton's words – to consider the Preludes as a collection of pieces to pick from when the performer needed an introduction before larger works – in other words; to practice "preluding". Hamilton states that Busoni played the Op. 28 No. 7 as an introduction to the *Black Key Étude* at a concert, and that he even made a transition bar between the pieces (Hamilton, 2008, pp. 101–102). The Preludes can thus have more than one reading, and as Jeffrey Kallberg comments:

By asking listeners and performers to accept a transformed genre whereby individual preludes might serve both as introductions to other works and as self-standing concert pieces, he challenged the conservative notion that small forms were artistically suspect or negligible. (Kallberg, 1996, p. 157)

This must also be what Nicholas Cook refers to when he speaks of the "intertextual promiscuity" of the Preludes (Cook, 1999, p. 70). The Op. 28 Preludes are in this sense perfect for a variation piece since their identity is already an open question. The Prelude No. 7 in A major is short, with a very simple harmonic and thematic structure – dominant/tonic movement and four "question and answer" phrases – while accomplishing a certain musical effect, and is one of the more obvious Preludes to use for amplifying and re-working. Cassadó's work is called *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema*

di Chopin and comprises the theme and seven variations. Cassadó's long-standing interest in the Chopin original is patent from the various incomplete sketches of the main theme which lie side by side with a manuscript copy of unknown origin, reproducing Franchomme's transcription of the Prelude. Other Spanish composers had shown their interest in this particular Prelude; the two guitarists Tárrega (1852–1909) and Cassadó's friend Segovia (1893–1987), for example, made transcriptions for the guitar with which Cassadó would have been familiar. Francisco Tárrega's version from the late nineteenth century is still used by guitarists and includes some changes to take advantage of the guitar's timbral qualities: for example changing the key to D major or displaying a number of slides. Cassadó was initially interested in a joint project regarding the Prelude together with his colleague, the Catalan composer Frederic Mompou. Mompou, four years Cassadó's senior, had studied in Paris at the same time as Cassadó; the two Catalans had become friends and Cassadó contacted Mompou in 1938 with a proposal to work together. A previous collaboration between them a couple of years before – Cassadó's transcription of Mompou's 'Cançó and Dansa No. 1' – had been published by Salabert and was a success. The Chopin project, however, for some reason was never completed. A couple of letters from Cassadó show an intense enthusiasm for the project, with this letter from 15 June 1938 displaying a number of ideas for the work:

I am delighted with what you played yesterday: well then, work and you will be able to create a beautiful piece of music. Now that I come to think of it, why don't you – in order to connect one variation with the other – invent one of those small "interludis" that you do so well? One that at the same time could perhaps be used to start the piece. As a little bit of "vaseline" to get into the piece more easily. Maybe we could also – to take away the "sacral" side of the variation form – start each variation before the previous one is finished? In the same way it would be interesting to finish with a commentary of sorts, as if the theme disappeared over the horizon. And then, as I already told you, why not put as a title *Mirages* on a theme by Chopin or maybe *Reflets*? These are only ideas for now, but the most beautiful is that you have decided to start. (Cassadó to Frederic Mompou, 1938)⁶⁴

⁶⁴ "Estic entusiasmat amb el que vares fer sentir ahir: apa, treballar i podràs realitzar una obra molt bonica. Tot pensant'hi: per què per lligar una variació a l'altra, no inventaries un petit 'interludi' d'aquells que tu saps fer tan bé? Que al mateix temps podria – potser – servir per començar l'obra. Com una especie de vaselina per poder entrar millor. I potser també, per treure el cantó "escolastic" de la forma variacions, a lo millor no deixar acabar una variació i ja passar a un'altra? Com també seria interessant fer-hi per acabar una especie de comentari com si el tema s'allunyés fins al invisible. Llavors, ja com t'ha havia dit, per què no posant com a títol 'mirages sobre un tema de Chopin' o també 'Reflets'? Tots son idees, però la més bonica

The letter suggests that Cassadó had proposed the idea of the variation work, but that Mompou would write the music, while Cassadó possibly remained responsible for editing the cello part and later premiering and promoting the music as a performer. This more informal kind of commissioning of a work on Cassadó's part seems to have been common practice for him. Nevertheless, in a subsequent letter we see how the composer within Cassadó could not keep quiet:

This time it is me that the theme has been bugging: imagine, at 2 o'clock at night I had to get up to write down this "à la Fauré" variation. So, I have sent you a parcel with some ideas that you might be able to use, that is, if you work.
(Cassadó a Frederic Mompou, 1938)⁶⁵

As we remember from Chapter One, Cassadó experienced conflicts sometimes due to his interferences with the compositional process and one could venture that perhaps the project failed simply because the two composers had too many independent ideas, especially considering that later both composers ended up writing their own separate sets of variations. Mompou finished four variations as a result of the work with Cassadó; however, he continued to work on them over the years and finished a set of twelve variations and an epilogue in 1957 (Jeffcoat York, 2011, p. 9). The work, named *Variations sur un thème de Chopin*, has become one of Mompou's most prestigious oeuvres and is a work of greater scale than most of his production, generally of an intimate and minimalistic character. It is not a simple task to discern what Cassadó's influence over the first four variations might have amounted to – there is no obvious candidate for the "à la Fauré" variation – but the subtitle to the third variation *Lento: pour la main gauche* with the theme placed in the lower register suggests an earlier version for cello and piano.

The transcription by Franchomme changes the original only very little, adding a repetition and simplifying the writing by ignoring some tied notes as well as the change of tonality already noted. However, as we can appreciate from comparing Example 5.34 and 5.35, Franchomme's version, similarly to Cassadó's version, is in a different key implying that Chopin's original A major did not seem an overly important feature of this music to transcribers. Cassadó's own first complete cello and piano draft of the Prelude, shown in Example 5.36, is a clean transcription with few notational

es que tu t'hagis decidit a començar. Fins a demà, que ja te telefonaré." (I am grateful to Mònica Pagès for providing me with a copy of the letter).

⁶⁵ "Aquesta vegada ha sigut a mi a qui ha fet el punyeta el tema: pensa, a les 2 de la nit em tocà aixecar-me per apuntar aquella variació "alla Fauré". Enfin, t'hi he enviat un paquetet amb un xic d'idees que tu potser podràs aprofitar: ep! Si treballes." (I am grateful to Mònica Pagès for providing me with a copy of the letter).

amendments which features the cello in the high register and presents an eccentric change of tonality from Chopin's A major to D flat major, the reason for which is difficult to discern. The most interesting feature from this transcription sketch is the fact that Cassadó, instead of writing a sign for repetition, notates the theme a second time and varies the piano part accompaniment, including a few new harmonies and new nuance markings. The longest and most likely last version, which is in black ink and with few changes, uses F major, a much more string-friendly key, and displays the cello part in a lower register (see Appendix I, track 1).

Andantino.

7. *p dolce*

The image shows a musical score for Chopin's original Prelude Op. 28, No. 7. The score is in A major (two sharps) and 4/4 time. It consists of three systems of piano and cello parts. The piano part is in the right hand, and the cello part is in the left hand. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, slurs, and fingerings. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a piano introduction. The second and third systems show the main theme and its development. The score is marked with 'p dolce' and includes various dynamics and articulations.

Example 5.34 Chopin's original Prelude Op. 28, No. 7.

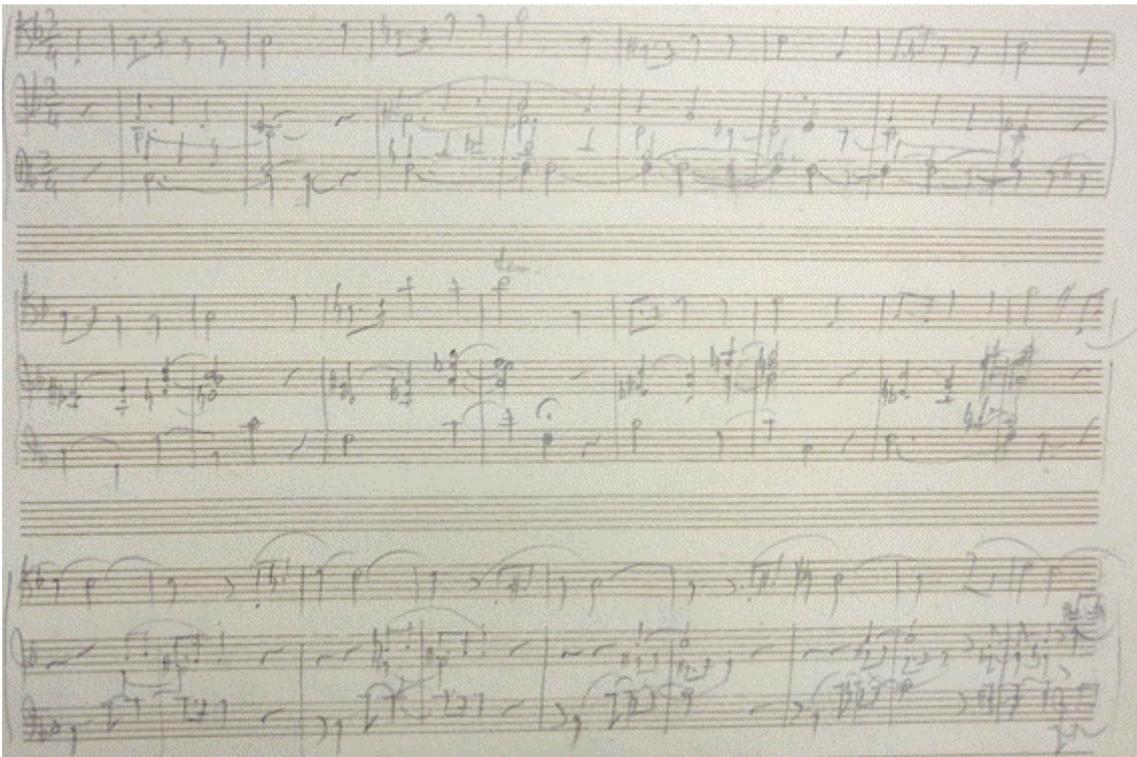
The image shows a handwritten musical score for Chopin's Prelude Op. 28, No. 7. The score is written in 3/4 time and begins with the tempo marking "Andante (♩ = 66.)". The first system consists of a single treble clef staff with the instruction "dolce" and a dynamic marking of "poco f.". The second system is a grand staff with piano (pp) dynamics. The third system includes markings for "riten. = A tempo =", "1. veg.", "2. veg.", and "coll.". The fourth system includes "riten. = A tempo =", "1. veg.", "2. veg.", and "p.p. rall.". The score concludes with a double bar line and a fermata.

Example 5.35 Chopin, Prelude Op. 28, No. 7, Copy of Franchomme's transcription found among Cassadó's belongings.

The image shows a handwritten musical score for Chopin's Prelude Op. 28, No. 7, transcribed by Cassadó in D flat major. The score is written on ten staves, with the title "Prelude Chopin -" at the top. The notation includes treble and bass clefs, a key signature of two flats, and a 3/4 time signature. The music features a prominent piano accompaniment with chords and a melodic line in the upper register.

Example 5.36 Chopin, Prelude Op. 28, No. 7, Cassadó, transcription in D flat major.

The different manuscript drafts seem to imply that Cassadó first wrote a transcription (perhaps before his project with Mompou) and then started sketching a variation work, starting by gradually changing the rhythmical and harmonic structure of the piano part for the theme and then creating the variations, of which an incomplete draft is shown in Example 5.37. A completed ink sketch is dated 29 December 1943, but the work was never published.



Example 5.37 Cassadó, early sketch of *Sette Variazioni*.

What soon becomes clear is that Cassadó has used some of the ideas he proposed to Mompou in 1938: the variations follow one another without breaks and there is a “commentary” at the end with a very soft coda – marked *perdendosi* – that holds the title *Riflesso*, a title similar to the *Reflets* mentioned in Cassadó’s letter to Mompou. The structure of the variations has some unusual and colourful headlines and nuance markings in Italian, as labelled below.

Var I *Domanda*

Var II *Risposta*

Var III *Mazurka*

Var IV *Intermezzo*

Var V *Recitativo*

Var VI *Quasi Cadenza*

Var VII *Farándola (Finale)*

The call and response idea between the first and second variation, stemming from the question and answer form in the theme itself, as well as the nod to Chopin's Polish background with the Mazurka, have a certain charm to them, as has the fact of using *Farándola* as the title for the last variation.⁶⁶

The Italian flavour is also present in interesting nuance markings, present below in Example 5.38, such as *trattenendo* (restrain/hold back) and the *Riflesso* marking for the last section of the seventh variation already mentioned.



Example 5.38 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, last five bars.

There is a certain impressionistic colour to certain chords. The arpeggiated A flat minor with added sixth in bar 86, for example, is reminiscent of Mompou's preference for minor chords with added sixths, but the musical material in itself is not closely related to Mompou's style. Harmonically Cassadó instead stays fairly close to the original dominant-tonic movement of the theme (Table 5.2).

Chopin Prelude Op. 28, No. 7:

V7 I V9 I V7 I V7/ii ii V9 I

Cassadó *Sette variazioni*:

V7 I I (9-7) (II7, V7, I7) V (II9 vii6 I7) VI ii iv7 V7 I

Table 5.2 Basic harmonic successions of the theme: Chopin's original and Cassadó's *Sette Variazioni*

⁶⁶ The *Farándola*, although originally a type of fast folk dance also expresses general excitement and movement in a group of people in some romance languages.

As for the structure there are, instead, various similarities with Beethoven's famous Seven Variations on the theme 'Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen' WoO46 (from Mozart's *The Magic Flute*) – a piece that Cassadó was fond of performing.⁶⁷ Examples 5.39, 5.40, 5.41 and 5.42 enable a comparison between Beethoven's work and Cassadó's variations, showing how, for example, the rhythm for the mazurka variation is similar to Beethoven's second variation while the fifth variation in Beethoven's work is a call and response dialogue between the cello and piano, as is Cassadó's first variation. The scope of Cassadó's work also seems modelled upon Beethoven's, with six shorter variations and a considerably longer seventh variation which, as seen in Examples 5.41, starts with a fast section. Nevertheless, there is a rather striking difference between the instrumentation of the variation-sets since Beethoven lets the piano present the theme through introductions to all the variations as well as displaying a more equal distribution of melodic material between the instruments. The set by Cassadó, on the other hand, clearly favours the cello and contains only one variation with a melodic introduction in the piano. There are two variations, V and VI, where the cello is the undisputed protagonist; in particular, variation VI – fittingly labelled *quasi cadenza* – has an air of *concertante*. The *Sette Variazioni* is one of the best examples in Cassadó's production of transcriber and composer acquiring a balanced union within a composition. The work is unmistakably characteristic of Cassadó's own musical idiom: nineteenth-century style set in a firmly classical frame, an unusually elastic cello part, impressionistic colours and harmonies prone to suspensions and ambiguities. Cassadó stays harmonically closer to the Chopin original than Mompou, yet the change of instrumentation signifies a more extensive reconstruction of the forms, including pitch and colour. In addition, the straightforward rhythmical idea of the Chopin work is corrupted by introducing a significant amount of duplets and quadruplets, increasing throughout the work.

⁶⁷ Various concert programmes of Cassadó from such distant dates as 1919 and 1960 contain the Bei Männern variations (I am grateful to Nancy Hatamiya, Albert Passigli and Mònica Pagès for providing me with copies of Cassadó's concert programmes).

Example 5.39 Beethoven, Seven Variations on 'Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen', Variation II, bars 4–6.

Example 5.40 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, Variation III, bars 1–3.

VAR. VII.
Allegro, ma non troppo.

Example 5.41 Beethoven, Seven Variations on 'Bei Männern welche Liebe fühlen', Variation VII, first five bars.

Var. VII. Fainka (Finale)

presto

pp *lento* *fin*

pp *cello*

la

Example 5.42 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, Variation VII, first 18 bars.

Unlike Mompou, who lets his own distinctive idiom dominate his set of variations, Cassadó – as we have seen before – prefers to use some elements of Chopin's idiom, creating more ambiguity regarding the authorship of the material in some instances, as for example with the very Chopinesque *recitativo* embellishments in Variation V, shown below in Example 5.43.

.Example 5.43 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, Variation V, first eight bars.

The *Sette Variazioni*, without being a real transcription, in this way almost behaves as an arrangement, with its identity shared between different parts of Cassadó's creative practice. It is an original work, yet it is clearly Chopin, and although it is clearly pianistic in its character, it also sounds idiomatic on the cello. In a similar manner to Liszt, Cassadó seeks to fuse his style with that of Chopin – he leaves an imprint while highlighting stylistic elements of the Chopin original.

Partie pour violoncelle en forme de dialogue

The transcription of the solo piano piece *Clair de lune* by Debussy is at the same time less conventional in structure and much closer in notation to the original than the paraphrase. The work is another excellent argument against the idea that the fidelity of a transcription is inevitably linked to the amount of reworking of the original piece. The *Clair de lune* version by Cassadó provides very little new musical material or notational additions, but instead changes dramatically the concept and musical outline of the original. More than a transcription, it is essentially a new piece with the original composition for piano solo as the base on top of which a new soprano voice in the form of a cello line is added. What is even more extraordinary is the fact that the cello line is constructed from the original melody, but played roughly half a bar later throughout the piece. It is a playful and peculiar combination of a canon and a work in the style of

Bach-Gounod's *Ave Maria*. The idea of placing a melody on top of a highly respected classical work is of course beyond unorthodox. As Malcolm Boyd comments:

The Bach-Gounod Ave Maria has been much disparaged, and it is not hard to see why. At the same time, one can understand why a nineteenth-century musician, familiar from childhood with the keyboard patterns of Classical accompaniments, might feel that a piece such as Bach's lacked a melodic line; and it would be churlish not to recognize Gounod's success in fitting such a shapely and attractive melody to Bach's harmonies, with only minimal alteration. (Boyd, 1999, p. 28)

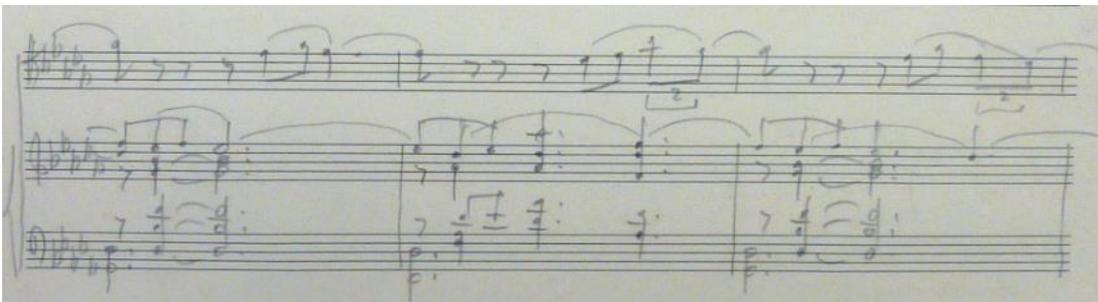
There is no reason to believe Cassadó had not the same musical reasoning, even though he is of a later generation. The label *Partie pour violoncelle en forme de dialogue* here seems to be the key to the idea of the piece. The piece is a dialogue: it is a cellist sitting down, making conversation with a pianist playing *Clair de lune* – it is Cassadó making conversation with Debussy. Samson argues that “one strategy adopted by Liszt in these recompositions is to draw forward a hidden feature of the original” (Samson, 2003, p. 117) and indeed Cassadó is here exposing a latent aspect of *Clair de lune* which is its main theme's suitability for canon, springing from the fact that it moves mainly on the first beats of every bar. The musical silences at the end of the bars, a vital part of the beauty of the piece, are what Cassadó has set out to explore and to unsettle. Cassadó's idea is extremely simple, and the execution thereafter, is minimalistic and unpretentious. The original piano part is left largely intact throughout the piece, with only a few simplifications, most of them clearly aimed at lightening the texture to allow the cello line to come through. This is the case in bar 20 with sequences in bars 22 and 24, shown in Examples 5.44 and 5.45, where most of the middle notes in the chords are taken out to help the echo line in the cello to be more audible.

Example 5.44 Debussy, *Clair de lune*, bars 18–23.

Example 5.45 Cassadó, version of *Clair de lune*, bars 19–24.

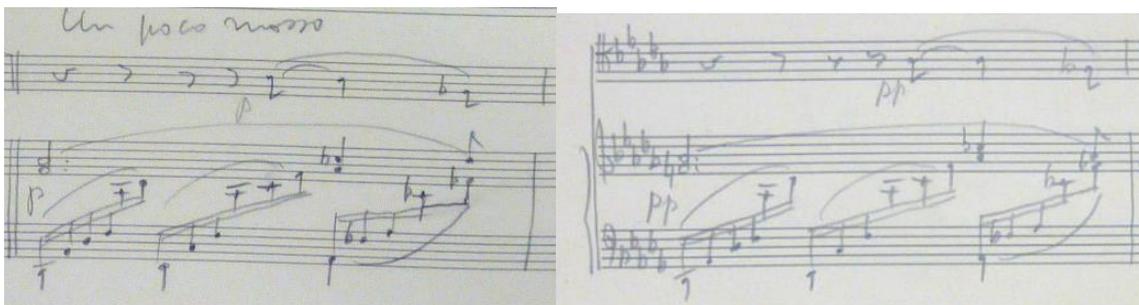
Similar hollowing of chords occurs in a total of 14 bars of the piece, most often aimed at places where the clarity of the cello line is compromised in one way or another. For example, in bars 43–46 the semiquaver motion in the piano's left hand makes the texture denser and so the right hand chords are simplified. There seems to be a certain interest in simplifying the piano part to accommodate it as a chamber music part.

All in all, little has been done to alter the effects of the original solo piano writing. Written tempo and character indications are all copied from the original with only a couple missing, such as the *calmato* in bar 43, and the legato structure is intact. The cello part, however, in order to fit within the rhythmical and harmonic frames of the work, has a fleeting and intermittent character. A perfect canon cannot be constructed without making some accommodations, and consequently the cello line contains a rather fractured melody with both altered rhythms and intervals where necessary. In general, the beginnings of phrases are echoed in the cello one beat later in the score, with the phrases being shorter and quicker than on the piano, often using hemiolas and starting off the beat, as we see here in bars 10–12, Example 5.46.



Example 5.46 Cassadó, version of *Clair de lune*, bars 10–12.

The cello part also contains new melodic material, composed by Cassadó, to make transitions and fill the score where an echo effect is not suitable. In bars 27–28, shown in Example 5.47, there is a short theme in the cello which has sequences twice later in the piece. In addition, the last few bars include a line of long notes in the cello, in parallel motion with the piano, climbing up to an a² flat, shown below in Example 5.48.



Example 5.47 Cassadó, version of *Clair de lune*, bars 27–28.

Example 5.48 Cassadó, version of *Clair de lune*, last four bars.

Surprisingly, at one moment in the piece, Cassadó briefly changes the *modus operandi* and writes the melody in the cello two whole bars before it is played on the piano. Example 5.49 presents bars 39–42 where the cello plays ahead, with the last two bars also transposing the melody up a tone to suit the piano part, and then bars 43–44 are used to display a newly composed transition so that the cello can play the melody syncopated with the piano again in bar 45.

Example 5.49 Cassadó, version of *Clair de lune*, bars 38-41.

The cello line throughout is more of an accompanying echo than a leading melody, and has a rather weak line. The manuscript (in pencil) of the cello part has been changed at a later date with a number of bars erased and new notes pencilled in. The changes have the effect of keeping the line clear and simple. A pizzicato chord at the beginning of the main theme (bars 9 and 52) has been erased, and two bars of new melodic material are exchanged for a section of the theme echoing the piano. A change of octave to follow the octave change in the piano has also been added to bar 42. As a whole, the echo effect that the cello line produces, however unsettling at first, quickly integrates into the musical sphere and has its own impressionistic quality fitting Debussy's original music. The main problem instead is perhaps that the arrangement does not add enough musical qualities to the work to justify the idea of the arrangement. Cassadó, as perhaps one of the best twentieth-century examples of the nineteenth-century transcription culture, in this work shows more acutely than elsewhere his symptomatic unconcern with certain aspects of the *Werktreue* culture, especially the idea of *Urtext*, and here, as with some of his other arrangements, the result appears to be more of an interesting experiment than of a truly useful addition to the cello repertoire.

All of the transcriptions we have seen are clear examples of different aspects of Cassadó's arranging style. Some of them are unorthodox and unusual, such as hiding original works behind a transcription shell, merging his own style with that of the original composer's style and transforming the work, giving it a different structure. These aspects are at once trademarks and examples of fine musical intuition as much as they are controversial and unorthodox parts of Cassadó's heterogeneous output.⁶⁸

Conclusions

As we have been able to observe throughout this chapter, Cassadó seems to be connected to a series of musical attitudes and styles prominent in the nineteenth century, not only as a performer but also a transcriber. The connection between performance and transcription activities, the interest in genres such as the pastiche and the paraphrase, virtuosity as a deeper value, and resistance against homogeneity are important examples of this connection. Transcription was fluid and intuitive for Cassadó and we can deduce that Cassadó was systematically unconcerned with the boundaries between transcription and composition. Perhaps what Cassadó shows us is a possible

⁶⁸ Cassadó's transcription of Schubert's Arpeggione Sonata, for example, has been criticized by, among others, Elizabeth Cowling in *The Cello* (1975) and by Janos Starker in his *The World of Music according to Starker* (2004).

answer to what the evolution of cello transcription could have been, had not the vast changes in musical attitudes made this activity undesirable to cellists in the twentieth century. Cassadó took up where nineteenth-century cellists had left off, channelling the virtuoso influence of Paganini and the concepts of Liszt in a highly personal way, always useful for his own performances, but always different. Cassadó, in his transcriptions of *Napoli* and *Rapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, as well as in works transcribed by Liszt such as *La Danza*, seems to have intended to approach the virtuosity of the great performer-transcriber, as well as to explore the art of arranging music further. Like Liszt, Cassadó clearly did not view transcription as subsidiary to composition, but instead just as creative and integral a practice to his musical persona. The range of styles, genres, and types within Cassadó's transcription output is one of the clearest signs of the importance that arranging music had within his activities. When comparing works such as the closely translated *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2, the playful *Partie de violoncelle* of *Clair de lune* and the Schubertian pastiche *Allegretto grazioso* it is hard to imagine that one and the same purpose could be expressed in such different ways. Nonetheless, from what we know, practically everything Cassadó transcribed was connected with his own performance – he simply alternated between different standpoints, methods and materials.

Two aspects in particular – apart from quantity of work and breadth of genre – show a deeper relation with transcription as an activity than most other cellist-transcribers, both earlier and later. First we have his investigation into unknown territory both musically and technically. Cassadó's experiments with the practically unheard of genre of solo cello transcription are at once serious and playful as he attempts to stretch the possibilities of the instrument, proving the validity of the new genre, while searching for ways to preserve the essence of certain works, impossible to transcribe literally, such as the Chopin *Étude*, Op. 25, No. 1. The connection here with Paganini's solo violin performances is obvious. Secondly, there is Cassadó's fascination with the arch-transcriber figure Liszt and his transcription attitudes, resulting in the re-working of Liszt works, searching for ways to match the virtuosic character and mimic pianistic features.

One of the most visibly divergent traits of Cassadó as a transcriber was his search to emulate the musical language and sound-world of the original composer – something Liszt was known for, but which few other transcribers attempted. His forays into antique styles, either as a distinct compositional style (in his *Sonata nello antico stile spagnuolo*) or less honestly as pastiches in other composers' names, are just one more example of the mentality of the workshop musician Cassadó. Some transcriptions by Cassadó that were published – the Granados *Intermezzo*, Muffat's *Arioso* and Liszt's

Liebesträume No. 3, for example – are popular among cellists and still performed today. But instead, Cassadó is more known for a handful of original compositions and a few pastiches mostly because he generally refrained from promoting his own transcriptions, which was in turn, perhaps, caused by the general lack of interest in musical transcription during a great part of the twentieth century. As a whole, Cassadó's transcriptions seem to constitute the most representative part of his legacy, and present an impressive case study of the capabilities of the cello when treated as an equal of the violin and the piano, as well as of the creative reality within the practice of musical transcription.

Chapter Six

Performing Cassadó's music: some personal reflections

In Chapter Two it became clear that the Catalan tradition of cello performance presents few palpable performance characteristics, but nonetheless contains a philosophical component of some importance. We have also seen throughout Chapters Three to Five that in order to get closer to Cassadó's own musical approach there are various parameters to take into account, including historical circumstances, influences from the different countries he lived and worked in, or his studies with his father. We know of no texts by Cassadó relating to his performance philosophy, musical ideas or teaching methods, not even lengthy interviews; so the search for clues on how to interpret his music rests on the memories of his disciples, annotated scores that have survived, and his recordings. This chapter intends to summarize some personal reflections from my own performance of Cassadó's works regarding both musical and technical aspects. Some general reflections will be followed by ideas on rhythm, accentuation, fingerings and bowings while the last section of the chapter will be dedicated to presenting six aspects that I have found particularly relevant for the performance of this repertoire.

Today, 47 years after Cassadó passed away, few disciples of his are still active as performers and teachers, and of these, probably only Marçal Cervera (b. 1928) shares his Catalan heritage. The relationship between Cassadó and Cervera was close: Cervera studied with Cassadó for various years in the 1950s, above all in Cologne, and recognizes him as his most important cellistic influence. He became Cassadó's assistant, substituting for him on occasions, and has in his pedagogical work manifested a clear desire to pass Cassadó's teachings on to the next generation of Catalan cellists. Cervera's memories from his studies with Cassadó proved crucial for gaining a deeper vision of Cassadó's interpretation of his own works, such as the *Requiebros*, the transcriptions of *Intermezzo* by Granados and the 'Canço i Dansa No. 1' by Mompou, the solo *Suite* and others. These are all pieces that Cervera had either studied with Cassadó or heard Cassadó perform during lessons and concerts, and during our meetings he recalled numerous performance instructions by Cassadó regarding their interpretation. The meetings with Cervera helped me gather a more complete picture of the specifics of Cassadó's performance style in a practical sense, as well as of his pedagogical ideas. Furthermore, I complemented my practical work on Catalan cello performance by interviewing and performing for Lluís Claret, close collaborator of Pau Casals' brother Enric and a leading exponent of contemporary Catalan cello playing, who features in the recording analysis in Chapter Two. More

general experience of recordings and performances by Catalan cellists that I have acquired through my studies in Barcelona has contributed indirectly regarding some performance issues.

The recordings included in Appendix I are a sample from the repertoire that I have performed over the last few years. Two of the works, *Requiebros* (track 3) and the solo Suite (tracks 5-7) are Cassadó's most popular pieces and have been performed and recorded extensively. Three of the works, *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin* (track 1), *Napoli* (track 2) and Prelude No. 21 (track 4) remain unpublished and, as far as we know today, have never been performed or recorded by anyone, with the possible exception of Cassadó himself. For the recordings of the unpublished works, available archival sources were used and the objective was to provide as clear a reading as possible of the pieces. In addition, some pieces that are not included among the recordings were included in the lessons with Cervera and the subject of personal study and performance, for example: Intermezzo by Granados, 'Canço i Dansa No. 1' by Mompou, *Dance de Diable Vert*, and a number of technical exercises found among Cassadó's manuscripts.

General reflections

As we observed in the recording comparisons of *Requiebros* and Intermezzo (Granados) in Chapters Two and Three, Cassadó often made substantial changes to his scores over the years, clearly believing in performance as an instrument for improving his works. Comparing his own recordings to those of other cellists has also shown that Cassadó's personal ideas regarding the interpretation of his works, such as tempo and accentuation, were not always deducible from the score alone.

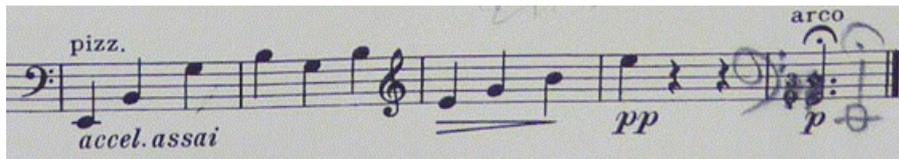
Requiebros, something of a signature piece for Cassadó, is an example of both these aspects. *Requiebros* – which means 'compliments' in Spanish – expresses, according to Marçal Cervera, part of the author's character: a sense of *simpatia*, elegance, and *joie de vivre*. As discussed in Chapter Three, Cassadó's own three recordings displayed amendments to the score, some annotated in printed copies, including erasing a number of bars in the recapitulation and a gradual increase in tempo. Recordings by most other cellists display both a much slower tempo and less sharp accentuation than used by Cassadó himself, and Cervera explained that he did not know of Cassadó's tempo changes over time. He himself had studied the piece at a slower tempo than Cassadó's 1966 recording and emphasised the *cantabile* character of the work. It seems plausible therefore that Cassadó's tempo and accentuation approach continued to undergo changes from one occasion to another and also during

later years. Cassadó displays various examples of fast tempi that are not replicated by his disciples. Cassadó's own recording of *Dance de Diable Vert* from 1947, for example, presents a vertiginous tempo, faster than what is generally heard in recordings (80 bpm, reaching a staggering 90 bpm in the accelerandi). By contrast, his disciple Marco Scano recorded the work in 1998, at the speed of 70 bpm, reaching 78 bpm in the accelerandi. In my recording of *Requiebros* for this thesis I chose a tempo similar to the earlier recordings of Cassadó, with the intention to combine the liveliness of the piece's character with its *cantabile* colour (Appendix I, track 3).

In Chapter Two we saw that Cassadó's own scores of his transcription of *Intermezzo* similarly contained annotated changes, present in Cassadó's own recordings, such as the omission of the piano part in the first six bars, eliminating the pizzicati in bars 7-13, as well as smaller note changes. In this case, as in others, the changes have not been replicated by other cellists to any greater extent, with Cervera, for example, in general adhering closely to the score in his own performance. Nevertheless, the elimination of the double-stops in bars 81–82, shown in Example 6.2, was something Cervera almost took for granted. In fact, after my first performance of the piece he asked me "So, why do you play the double-stops? Do you particularly like them?" (Cervera, personal communication, September, 2010). The double-stops are undeniably uncomfortable, and just as Casals and Cassadó, Cervera was of the opinion that they did more harm than good on stage. Although I have not yet performed the *Intermezzo* without the double-stops, omitting them does come across as an acceptable option with only limited musical loss. Indeed, the double-stops, for which, incidentally, the score includes an *Ossia* version, can be viewed in a similar way to the different options for the last note of the piece, displayed in Example 6.2.

The image shows a musical score for the Intermezzo by Granados, specifically bars 79-82. The score is written for a single melodic line on a treble clef staff. It begins with a 13-measure rest, followed by a series of notes with fingerings (V, 2, 1, 4, 3) and a slur. This is followed by a double bar line and a 3-measure rest, then a 2-measure rest, and finally a 1-measure rest. The score then continues with a series of notes and double-stops, with fingerings (1, 3, 2, 3, 2, 1, 3) and a slur. An 'Ossia' version is shown above the main score, consisting of a single note with a slur and a 7-measure rest.

Example 6.1 Granados, *Intermezzo*, Cassadó's transcription, bars 79–82, Cassadó's own score.



Example 6.2 Granados, Intermezzo, Cassadó's own score copy of his transcription, displaying the last five bars with an alternative last note pencilled in.

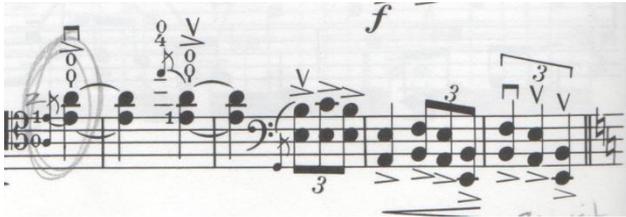
When dealing with the works that Cassadó never recorded himself, recollections from his disciples are of great aid to the performer. For the performance of the solo Suite, Cervera used interesting imagery to convey the character of the piece. The three movements of the work, according to Cervera, were meant to represent three parts of Spain to Cassadó. The 'Preludio-fantasia' was connected with the central region of Castilla-La Mancha while the 'Sardana' represented Catalonia and 'Intermezzo e Danza finale' the southern region of Andalusia. Cassadó had been living abroad for some time when writing the work, and a certain nostalgic component – in a Chopinesque manner – is hinted at through the constant use of Spanish folk music elements and genres in his works. The vision of these Spanish lands is achieved by evoking certain images connected with each territory, partially suggested already in the titles of the movements. Cassadó is also referencing Bach's solo Suites in his formal structure by using the title Preludio for the first movement and introducing two types of dances as subsequent movements. A helpful idea Cervera used for interpreting the first movement concerns the two versions of the first theme, one *forte* and one *dolce*, seen as representing two literary figures from old Castille: Don Quijote and his beloved Dulcinea, shown in Example 6.3. This idea corresponds well with the modal language for the first version and the impressionist colours for the second version, as well as with the pan-Hispanic sonorities evoked by the movement.

The image shows three staves of musical notation for the first movement of the solo Suite by Casadó. The top staff is marked 'Andante' and 'f sostenuto', with a tempo change to 'marc. e con anima'. The middle staff is marked 'f sostenuto'. The bottom staff is marked 'p dolce' and 'sfz', with a tempo change to 'ten.' and 'allegro'.

Example 6.3 Casadó, solo Suite, first movement, the first theme in its two appearances: *Don Quijote* bars 1–7 (top and middle); and *Dulcinea*, bars 11–13 (bottom) (see Appendix I, track 5, from 0' 05").

The second movement of the solo Suite is one of numerous examples of works in *sardana*-style by Casadó but the only one for the cello and the only one to be performed frequently abroad. The folkdance *Sardana* in itself is obviously not well-known outside the borders of Catalonia and it is therefore not surprising that many performers use tempo or rhythmical emphasises for the second movement that do not accord with the *Sardana* tradition. As previously mentioned, the context of the folkdance *sardana* explains various features of the movement. The first bars of the movement, for example, present a melody in high natural harmonics which emulates the little Catalan flute called *flaviol* used for getting the attention of the dancers, while the consistency of tempo through the different sections, including a composed ritardando in the theme in bars 75–76, is to match the dance steps, which continue at the same pace throughout the piece (Example 6.4, see Appendix I, track 6). Lluís Claret has heard many interpretations as a juror of the International Casadó competition, and both he and Cervera state that performers tend to play the *sardana* at a much faster pace and with more rubato than expected of the folkdance. The main rhythm of the *sardana* – a crotchet and two quavers – is performed with emphasis only on the crotchet, while the quavers are played with a light staccato and the rhythm is kept at a strict pace. The rhythm is of great importance as well as the steady tempo: as

Claret comments, “the movement does not make sense if it is played like an Hungarian dance” (Claret, personal communication, April 2011).



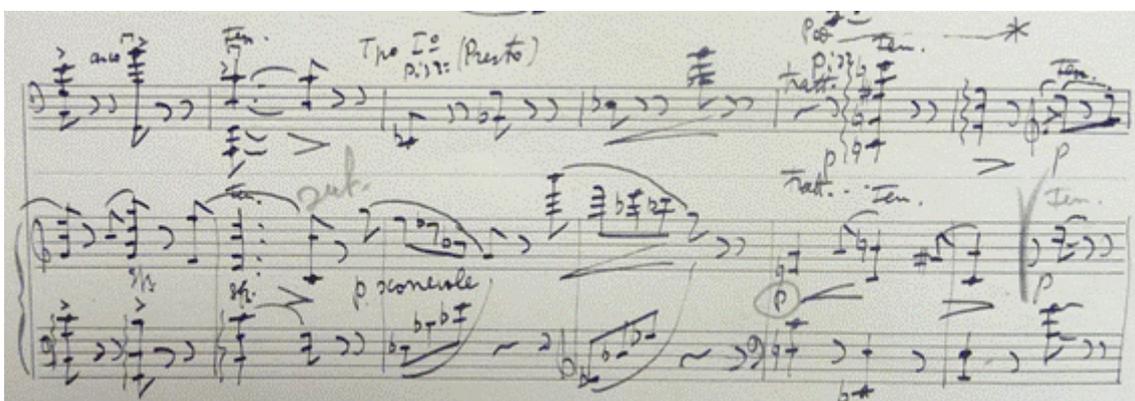
Example 6.4 Cassadó, solo Suite, second movement, second beat of bar 72–76.

In the third movement of the Suite there are a number of features associated with Andalusian folklore that the performer can explore and highlight, such as pizzicato chords and double-stops reminiscent of Spanish guitar-music, as well as abundant Phrygian modal sonorities, used in folk-musical genres such as flamenco.

Cassadó’s interconnection between different parts of the Spanish music tradition, Catalan and Andalusian, deserves special mention. In truth, the Catalan music tradition has a wide overlap with pan-Hispanic folk music, but the *Sardana* is a clear exception to this and is a genre of clear sociocultural and political connotations in Catalonia. Cassadó’s way of integrating the different cultural traits of Catalan music with those of other Spanish regions, both in the solo Suite and his *Quatre pièces espagnoles*, is a very uncommon characteristic within Spanish music and reflects his particular Barcelonian heritage, with its merging of *flamenguismo*, *modernisme* and *noucentisme* (see the discussion in Chapter Two).

Regarding the unpublished works, *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin*, the arrangement of the Prelude No. 21 from *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* by Bach and the transcription of the Tarantella from *Napoli* by Liszt, the manuscripts constitute our only guide to how Cassadó might have performed them. Each of the pieces displays different ways of conceiving the cellist’s role, as well as different ways of treating the original material (see Appendix I, tracks 1, 4 and 2). In *Napoli*, a free version of Liszt’s tarantella, the cellist seeks to merge with the piano to emulate the pianistic virtuosity of the great transcriber. *Sette Variazioni* presents a fuller chamber music style while developing Chopin’s material and merging Cassadó’s personal idiom with the original. The Bach Prelude, on the other hand, is a strict exercise in transcription, albeit with necessary smaller changes, and appears to present the cello as a replacement for the keyboard, stating its musical independence as an instrument. There are a number of performance instructions in the manuscripts that help illustrate these different roles. In *Napoli* the piano and cello parts have many separate nuance markings, indicating the

independence of their voices, and both have equal attention regarding performance instructions in the score. The work, as we recall from Chapter Five, is an exposition of certain Lisztian characteristics seen through the eyes of Cassadó, and great parts of its structure are conceived to produce certain effects, rather than to develop melodic material. I therefore found, when recording the work, that the performance gained musical logic with the enhancement of rubato, tempo changes between sections and stressing the fantasy elements. Example 6.5 displays how there are some pencilled markings in the score, most likely from performances, that accord with this line of interpretation: circling of written nuances, marked breaks between sections, and added ritardandi and tenuti. The piece was clearly custom made for Cassadó's own performance profile and therefore the major interpretation challenge lies in approaching his personal style.

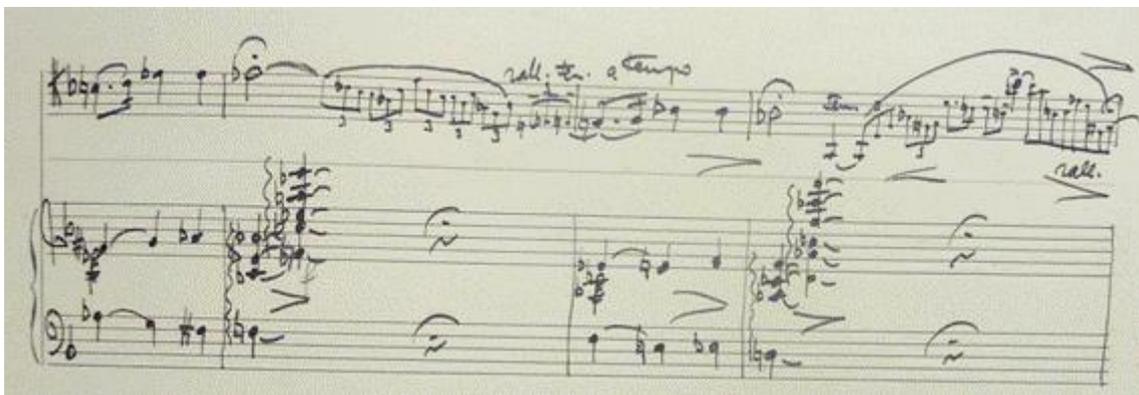


Example 6.5 Liszt, *Napoli*, Cassadó's transcription, bars 71–76 with pencilled markings.

In *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin*, there are score markings indicating the prominent role of the cello, shown below in Example 6.6 and 6.7, such as the written *quasi cadenza* for variation VI, emphasised with a “cello solo” pencilled in (Example 6.6, see Appendix I, track 1, 4' 09"). The previous variation titled *Recitativo* also sets the cello as soloist, giving it the kind of Chopinesque embellishments that would work equally well on the piano (2' 27"). As mentioned in Chapter Five, the work was the result of a failed collaboration with Mompou, and when comparing the *Variations sur un thème de Chopin* by Mompou and *Sette Variazioni* there are a couple of similarities in ambience and sonority that are interesting to enhance, for example the arpeggiated chords in the piano part in Variation V, shown in Example 6.7 (see p. 175).

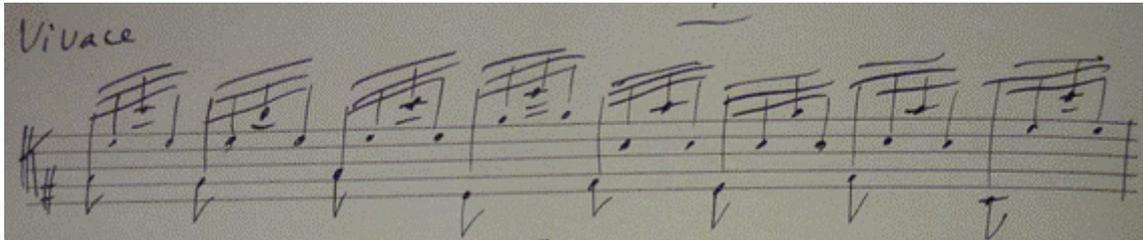


Example 6.6 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin*, bars 1–2 of Variation VI.



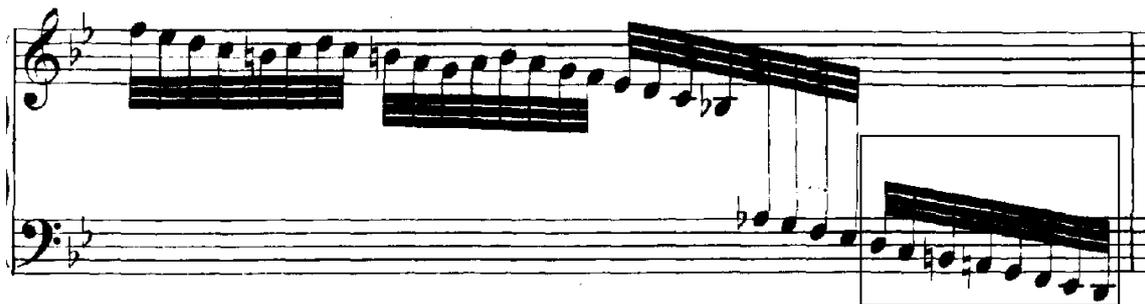
Example 6.7 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin*, bars 5–8 of Variation V.

In contrast, the manuscript of the Bach Prelude is unusually clean for a Cassadó score, especially considering that it is a solo cello work, but it could simply be that the score was intended for potential publishers. Some elements of the score are not meant for literal execution, but rather point out musical details. That is the case with the second voice written in for every first note in the semiquaver groups, seen in Example 6.8, which is not to be performed but is a reflection of the left-hand part of the original harpsichord score.



Example 6.8 Bach, Prelude No. 21, *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier*, bar 1 (top); and Cassadó's transcription, bar 1 (bottom).

As seen before, Cassadó's writing betrays in no way the exceptionality of transcribing a Bach Prelude for the cello, and makes few attempts to accommodate the writing for performance on the cello apart from the change of key from B flat major to G major and the redistribution of a couple of notes due to register: there is, for example, a changed figuration in bar 12, shown below in Example 6.9. He writes an optimistic *vivace* (present in some piano editions of the piece) at the beginning, but few other indications as how to conceive the piece are included.



Example 6.9 Bach, Prelude No. 21, bar 12 (top); and Cassadó's transcription, bars 11–12 (bottom).

Although some details of Cassadó's adaptation, mainly the necessary difference in register and the construction of double-stops on open strings, bring out an early twentieth-century colour, certain harpsichord traits, such as short articulation and *recitativo*-styled accentuation for some figurations seemed essential to convey the musical character of the work when performing it (see Appendix I, track 4).

Rhythms and accentuation

We have observed how Cassadó and his Catalan peers used accentuation to provide Spanish colour to the music, and Cassadó's scores accordingly contain rhythms that are expected to be interpreted in a certain manner. There is no doubt that the performances of Cassadó's scores are greatly helped by acknowledging these accentuation elements, which act as a guide for rhythmical ideas of some musical complexity. In Chapter Two we analysed elements of this kind, including the dotted quaver and the triplet rhythms, and some of these have been incorporated into my own performances. However, there are smaller details of accentuation that also colour the interpretation. An illustrative example from the first movement of the solo Suite is the first theme of the second section, shown in Example 6.10, that displays a distinct rhythm: quaver–two semiquavers–crotchet, which Cervera interprets with a certain rhythmical precision (Example 6.10). A common reflex, especially considering the written *poco più mosso*, is to hurry towards the third beat, while Cervera instead prompts the emphasis on the two semiquavers slightly prolonging them (see Appendix I, track 5, 1' 32"). Accentuation details like these of more subtle character are best understood through personal example and I have intended to convey them in my recording.



Example 6.10 Cassadó, first movement, solo Suite, bars 17–20.

Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin is clearly inspired by Beethoven's great variation works, and rhythmically requires less knowledge of Catalan style; instead its performance benefits from a general awareness of Cassadó's rhythmical preferences. The abundance of hemiolas, notes tied over bar lines, and syncopations throughout the work are the indicators of Cassadó's playfulness and are particularly musically convincing when performed *cantabile* and in some occasions even *recitativo* (see Appendix I, track 1). Several of Cassadó's scores of works such as *Requiebros* and

Intermezzo, include *fortissimo* and *marcatissimo* markings along with a wide range of nuances which seem to advocate a more aggressive accentuation approach, and possibly also a slower tempo than Cassadó himself displayed in his recordings. Cassadó had a manifestly big sound and managed well playing a relaxed *fortissimo*; perhaps he was therefore prone to writing extreme nuances in his score although his own accentuation style generally displayed light and smooth bowing. Cervera emphasised the *cantabile* quality of the pieces in order to counterbalance the many score markings, promoting even the pizzicato accompaniment in bars 6–9 of Intermezzo as an important musical feature of the score.

Fingerings and bowings

Fingerings by Cassadó that was passed on to Cervera, as well as the annotated fingerings in his scores and those perceived in recordings, have one important characteristic in common: they are constructed to work in any performance situation. Cassadó's left-hand technique was virtuosic and his fingerings do not have physical ease as their main concern but concentrate on the musical result. However, this musical result is always considered in relation to the special characteristics of the performance situation. This means that some fingerings that appear uncomfortable at first sight show their real value over time: they appear to be the well-tested result of repeated performances. The only edition of *Requiebros*, available by Schott, contains detailed fingerings and bowings by Cassadó but Cervera adds some additional instructions passed on to him by Cassadó. The printed fingering includes a number of stretches within positions in accord with Casals' technical tradition: for example, in bars 33 to 35 there are a number of consecutive stretches, highlighted below in Example 6.11. To a performer with reportedly large hands such as Cassadó they might not be large stretches, but can result in significant sliding for a performer with smaller hands.



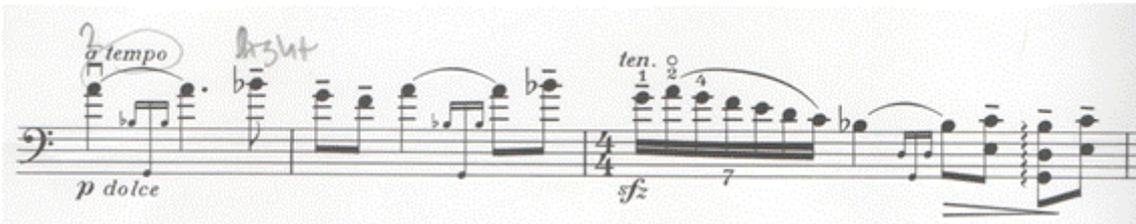
Example 6.11 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 31–35.

There are also a couple of unusual fingerings inviting sliding in a more conscious way, such as in bars 115–116, which most likely would not be the first option for many cellists, although, over time, they prove themselves as truly helpful for the musical phrasing (Example 6.12).

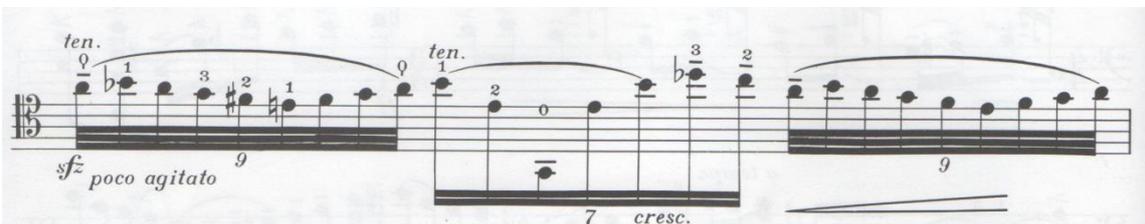


Example 6.12 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 114–119.

There are also some particular traits regarding Cassadó's fingering choices – for example, the prominent use of thumb positions and string crossings – to take into account. The use of the thumb is especially notable in the solo Suite where on various occasions Cassadó chooses the thumb unexpectedly in melodious writing and on notes marked *tenuto*, which is unusual in cello writing because of the difficulties of achieving a good timbre and vibrato with this finger (Examples 6.13 and 6.14).

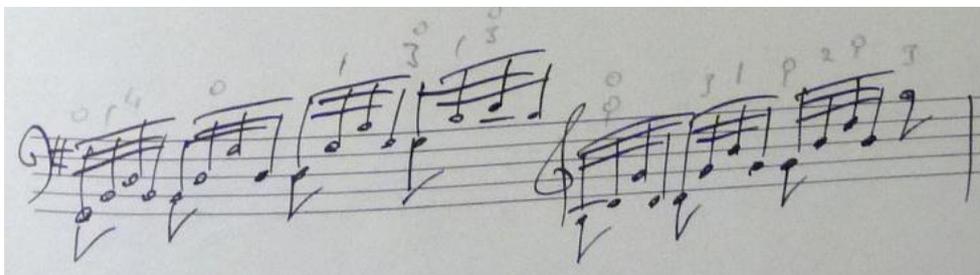


Example 6.13 Cassadó, solo Suite, first movement, bars 11–13.



Example 6.14 Cassadó, solo Suite, first movement, bar 49.

The unpublished manuscripts are much sparser with fingerings, only showing very specific details to aid especially ambiguous writing, mostly regarding harmonics and the choice of strings. The Bach Prelude has fingering pencilled in only two bars, containing advice on how to perform two fast upward figurations (Example 6.15).



Example 6.15 Bach, Prelude No. 21, Cassadó's transcription, bars 14 (top); and 20 (bottom).

Neither *Napoli* nor *Sette Variazioni* contains fingerings, even though we know that Cassadó himself performed both pieces. In the case of *Napoli* this is not too surprising since there is no surviving cello copy, but in the case of *Sette Variazioni* both the full score and cello part are clean and were probably not used for performances; perhaps they were meant as copies for publication.

Bowings are in general abundant and very clearly annotated in all Cassadó's scores – as well as pedal markings for the piano part – exposing an interesting part of his musical approach. Two kinds of bowings dominate Cassadó's scores: literal bowings, which tend to be helpful for accentuation; and musical bowings, which tend to be of difficult execution but aid the general musical idea. Examples of musical bowings with difficult execution include some unusually long legato slurs present in his works. Variation VI of the *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin*, for example, contains uncomfortable slurs to execute at the prescribed tempo, which nevertheless highlight wonderfully the melodic progression (Example 6.16, see Appendix I, track 1, 4' 30"). Another example is found in the third movement of the solo Suite (Example 6.17, see Appendix I, track 7, 1' 39").



Example 6.16 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, bars 13–16 of Variation VI.



Example 6.17 Cassadó, third movement, solo Suite, bars 18–20,

In *Requiebros* Cervera adds some changes to the bowings, generally musically motivated: for example the main theme receives more emphasis on the first beat as a rhythmical take-off and a broken slur helps to build the crescendo at the end of the phrase (Example 6.18).



Example 6.18 Cassadó, *Requiebros*, bars 11–19.

In *Napoli* there are several examples of expressive bowing structures: Example 6.19 shows how the beginning of the piece displays tied and slurred duplets blending with the triplets in the piano to convey the unsettling wave-formed figurations in the original piano part. Furthermore, Cassadó composes new music, seen below in Example 6.20, in the bridge section before the end which helps to create an atmosphere of expectation and of moving forward through the bowing for the triplets. Nonetheless, *Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin* displays the perhaps most exquisite musical

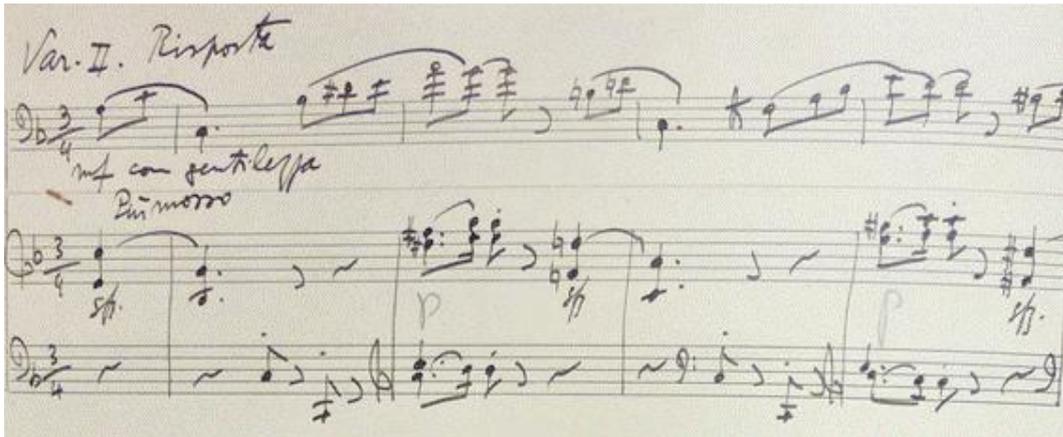
bowings, visible in Examples 6.21 and 6.22. The bowings in the first two variations enhance the long phrasings in order to underline the musical idea of question and answer – Variation I, *Domanda*, and Variation II, *Risposta*.



Example 6.19 Liszt, *Napoli*, Cassadó's transcription, bars 1–6.

Example 6.20 Liszt, *Napoli*, Cassadó's transcription, bars 251–257.

Example 6.21 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, bars 1–4 of Variation I.



Example 6.22 Cassadó, *Sette Variazioni*, bars 1–4 of Variation II.

Technical exercises

An additional source of information for performers of Cassadó's works, particularly when regarding fingerings and accentuation, are the technical exercises that have been found among his manuscripts. The cellist's extensive and varied pedagogical work, as well as the lack of written evidence as to his thoughts on technique was mentioned in Chapter One. Some information regarding his approach towards technical issues is suggested in three shorter exercises with performance instructions, found among his manuscripts. The three shorter sketches have titles, strive to achieve musical as well as technical logic, and address specific difficulties in left hand technique (Table 6.1).

Title	Translation	Technical issue
<i>Esercizio per addestrarsi di una maniera melodica a fare l'intervallo di quinta in due corde</i>	Exercise to train oneself in a melodic manner to play intervals of fifths over two strings	Left-hand flexibility regarding intervals of fifths over two strings as well as inaudible position changes between intervals of minor seconds.
<i>Prélude – étude pour habituer la main aux distances écartées d'intervalle de 2nd augmenté dans la 1^{re} position</i>	Prelude: study to accustom the hand to wide distances in intervals of augmented seconds within first position	Left-hand flexibility regarding intervals of augmented seconds within first position.
<i>Labirinte – étude pour habituer la main aux distances écartées d'intervalle de 4^{art}.</i>	Labyrinth: study to accustom the hand to wide distances in intervals of fourths	Left hand flexibility regarding intervals of fourths and position changes between intervals of minor seconds.

Table 6.1 Annotated titles of the three sketches by Cassadó. The use of different languages – Italian and French in this case – is commonly seen among his archival sketches, sometimes occurring within the same manuscript.

The exercises include examples of how to develop position changes using the wide positions Casals had taught, with four semitone steps between the first and fourth finger instead of the usual three. They also show examples of how to change position melodically – *una maniera melodica* – mainly taking advantage of smaller steps and alternating the distance between fingers to comprise major seconds as well as minor seconds. Cassadó's first sketch in the table above shows two examples for training clean position changes; a fragment from the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro* by Mozart, often demanded as an excerpt in orchestra auditions; and an example of octave changes, where the finger changes are clearly stated, seen in Example 6.23. Cassadó notes in both places that the movement of the fingers should be inaudible.⁶⁹ The goal

⁶⁹ For the orchestra excerpt: "Esercitazione per avvezzarsi al passaggio da una posizione ad un'altra posizione vicina senza far sentire lo strascico del dito"; and for the octave change: "il passo col cambio del dito 4^o al primo oppure dal 1^o al quarto non bisogna che si senta".

of these exercises is to achieve Cassadó's known left-hand flexibility, derived from Casals' teaching style, a considerable challenge for a cellist with smaller hands. The small size and scope of each exercise point to the idea of summarized solutions for precise technical problems, short enough to be part of students' warming-up sessions. Since the exercises additionally are physically demanding they also have the effect of strengthening the fingers. Indeed, the study towards the arched hand and "hammering" movement Laurence Lesser that described from his lessons with Cassadó is perceived in these exercises (see, p. 5). The three sketches also target string changes and legato bowings, since they all display long slurs and comprise various positions. The intent to add a musical component is apparent through the nuance and tempo markings, as well as the fact that the exercises are constructed in a melodic manner. An important aspect in these exercises, shown below in Examples 6.23 to 6.26, is the symmetry, since Cassadó makes sure to include both directions for every movement: for example, upward and downward in the first exercise (example 6.23). The last exercise has a similar symmetry in its outlines and furthermore indicates that every finger combination for the last bar be studied (Example 6.26).

Esercizio per addestrarsi di una maniera melodica a fare l'intervallo di quinta in due corde



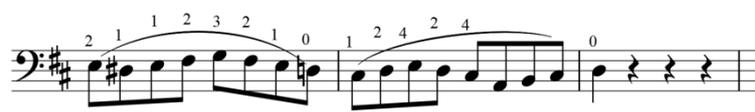
Esempio



Il passo col cambio del dito 4o al primo oppure dal 1o al quarto, non bisogna che si senta



Esercitazione per avvezzarsi al passaggio da una posizione ad un'altra posizione vicina senza far sentire lo strascico del dito


Example 6.23 Cassadó, Exercise No. 1, with the fragment from the overture to *Le nozze di Figaro* by Mozart.

Prélude

Étude pour habituer la main aux distances écartées d'intervalle 2nd augmenté, dans le 1^{re} position
Andante espressivo

Example 6.24 Cassadó, Exercise No. 2, named *Prélude*.

Labirinte

Étude pour habituer la main aux distances écartées d'intervalle de 4^{art}

Moderato

Example 6.25 Cassadó, Exercise No. 3, named *Labirinte*.



Example 6.26 Cassadó, Possible second part of Exercise No. 3, treating the same technical issue.

In summary, the exercises confirm the basis of Cassadó's fingering style seen in his scores and provide hints as to what Cassadó believed were important issues in left-hand technique, what his technical goals were, and how he viewed the physicality of the left hand.

Conclusions

Through my own performance experience I have reached some conclusions regarding the characteristics of Catalan cello performance. These include six particularities that strike me as strongly attached to the interpretation of Cassadó's works:

- 1) Interpretation of rhythms influenced by Spanish-Catalan tradition.
- 2) Equal use of all fingers of the left hand and of all four strings.
- 3) Musically-conceived bowings.
- 4) Certain twentieth-century-styled extremism in nuance markings
- 5) Pragmatism: the idea of perpetual evolution and changing according to the performance conditions.
- 6) Casals as musical and technical reference.

These traits – a rough summary of the observations made throughout this chapter – are a clear sign of how the musical, cultural and technical characteristics merge together. For the performer, all six traits carry some importance when interpreting his music on stage. The interpretation of rhythms has already been dealt with extensively, and it only remains to state the rather obvious conclusion that the musical line and flow

become more transparent and natural with the rhythms interpreted in a manner similar to Cassadó. The concept of equal use of the fingers and of the strings refers to the relatively high proportion of thumb positions, other high positions on all strings, as well as the use of the fourth finger within Cassadó's fingerings. Although it frees the performer of certain limitations, additional physical strength is required for this fingering style and it might not always suit every performer's technical and musical profile. The concepts are musically helpful and therefore valuable to keep at the foremost of one's mind when performing Cassadó's works; however, compromises with other aspects of the music or technique are sometimes necessary. With time, some positions and bowings that seem awkward at first can start to feel natural, and they appear to work well in performances of this repertoire. In my experience, the works or parts of works by Cassadó that initially seem the most simple musically, are the ones that tend to grow the most through the experimenting with the above-mentioned technical aspects, as well as through the repeated performances.

The extremism in score markings is perhaps a minor issue, but can be of some trouble when reading the score; the abundance of markings of *agitatissimo*, *dolcissimo*, *fff* and *ppp*, must be interpreted in the context of Cassadó's powerful sound production and strong hands which facilitated a relaxed and audible sound at all volume levels. Just like Cassadó's friend and composer Frederic Mompou put it: "*ff* means grandeur, not noise and *pp* means delicacy, not feebleness" (Mompou, n.d, online). Furthermore, this point is also connected with the idea of pragmatism in Cassadó's changes to his scores, something already discussed at length in Chapters One and Two. The fact that the vast majority of changes that Cassadó made through performance were annotated into the scores signifies that his pragmatism was not a question of improvisation or lack of interpretative rigour, but rather of fine-tuning and the testament to an obvious interest in the score at all moments of the creative process. For the performer of this work this is fortunate, not only since many changes are the well-tested product from the 'work-shop' of repeated performances, but also because they show general tendencies in Cassadó's performance style over time as well as what kind of characteristics underwent amendments, providing hints and inspiration for the performer.

This last point touches upon what we saw in Chapter Two and is deeply infused in Catalan cello playing. The presence of Casals is constant and conscious among Catalan cellists stretching from the technical to the musical and cultural: notice, for example, how the first two traits numbered in these conclusions are directly related to Casals' performance technique. The Catalan aspect of interpreting Cassadó's music, while sometimes diluted and certainly subtle, carries some weight, but more importantly

the sources for interpretation regarding Cassadó's works, when combined, open up a new range of interpretative ideas for our own performances of this repertoire which can hopefully spur future discussions on the performance of Catalan music in general.

General Conclusions

Just as there are various reasons leading to Gaspar Cassadó's legacy sinking into oblivion, this thesis has explored some of the reasons why his legacy is worth re-examining. As observed throughout the thesis, the figure of Cassadó appears to exhibit a certain personal, cultural and musical complexity. We have discussed how some aspects of his practice, such as writing pastiches, performing flashy showpieces, or transcribing evergreens like *An der schönen blauen Donau*, seem far removed from current aesthetic trends and instead closer to nineteenth-century music-making. On the other hand we have observed that his level of performance technique, as well as many stylistic aspects, sound absolutely modern to our ears. Behind these apparent contradictions lies Cassadó's creative diversity, which has emerged as a key aspect of this investigation, particularly since it reflects on the somewhat under-researched diversity of twentieth-century music-making.

The two comparisons of recordings in Chapters Two and Three made it apparent that connecting Cassadó as a performer to a "school" or "generation" based solely on performance characteristics is exceedingly difficult. When compared with Catalan cellists Casals and Claret, Cassadó, although sharing a small number of performance traits, has rather few things in common with them regarding style. The gravitational centre of the lineage – the relationship between Casals and Cassadó – certainly resulted in similarities in fingerings and bowings, as well as partially in features such as portamento, vibrato and accentuation, some of them present in Cassadó's recordings many decades after his studies with Casals. These similarities, however, rather than traceable to their common cultural heritage, point to Casals' great influence on Cassadó as a teacher. Nevertheless, we saw that testimonials by Catalan cellists vouched for the existence of an extra-musical component of values and attitudes related to the practice of playing the cello, perhaps constituting the clearest link between Cassadó and his compatriots. The question of Cassadó's cultural identity has been connected to various discussions throughout the thesis and has proved to contain multiple nuances. Cassadó, on both a personal and a professional level, showed a strong interest in components of Catalan culture such as the language and the musical folklore, manifest in letters, compositions and notes. On the other hand, he was just as closely bound to pan-Hispanic culture, and he was clearly deeply influenced by Italian, French and German culture. Cultural multiplicity is of course not by any means a unique feature for Cassadó, but to a certain extent a common trait in twentieth-century musicians living in a globalised music society, as well as in most Catalan musicians with their eternal, and sometimes tense, cultural duality. Perhaps instead, what is

curious in the case of Cassadó is what seems to have been a remarkably fruitful co-existence between different influences. An obvious example is the mix of different languages in his notes or manuscripts, but the flexible interchange between the practices of transcription and composition within the sketches is even more enthralling. Indeed, one of the aims of this dissertation has been to highlight the connection between language, culture and musical profile, given that Cassadó presents such an obvious case of interaction between these areas. Placing the epithet of Catalan composer, or Catalan cellist, on a musician of Cassadó's profile is therefore not so much a conclusion as it is a starting-point for further cultural discussion.

When comparing Cassadó with the two other greatest cellists of his generation, Feuermann and Piatigorsky, in Chapter Three, we observed that, much in the same way as in Chapter Two, the actual performance similarities were few and often vague. All three cellists, although they often shared approaches and ideas regarding cello playing, displayed very different performance results in the recordings presented here. However, recordings showed how the divergence in performance characteristics between the cellists over time became less accentuated as the more extreme choices in tempo, portamento and accentuation were mitigated. Later recordings by the three also sound remarkably similar to recordings by present-day cellists. From this it would appear that on one hand, the range of different interpretational aspects within cello performance has grown narrower during the last fifty years, while on the other hand, change in aesthetics and taste during the same period has been very slow, at least compared to the previous period. It is also worth noting that Feuermann and Piatigorsky, although performers with unmistakably personal styles, were deemed less controversial than Cassadó by posterity.⁷⁰ Cassadó's more unorthodox traits, especially his experiments with the set-up of the cello and some of his more liberal editing and transcribing, surely played their part in the loss of prestige that his name suffered from the 1950s onwards.

More than performance characteristics then, it was certain aspects of Cassadó's musical approach that separated Cassadó from his contemporary colleagues and instead brought him closer to the historical figure of composer-transcriber-performer. Indeed, the historical context of musical transcription as creative practice presented in Chapter Four highlighted the long and extensive tradition of the sometimes undervalued field of music transcribing and Cassadó's close connections to both nineteenth-

⁷⁰ They have both been the subjects of several biographies over the years: Itkoff (1979) and Morreau (2002) in the case of Feuermann; Bartley (2006) and King (2010) in the case of Piatigorsky. Piatigorsky also published his own memoirs in 1965.

century transcription and string performance virtuosity. Influential virtuoso performers like Paganini and Liszt had changed the general conception of virtuoso performance in the nineteenth century, but cello virtuosity, as we have seen, peaked later and Cassadó's generation was among the most obsessed with the idea of breaking technical boundaries on the instrument. Importantly though, Cassadó, more than his contemporary colleagues, was just as fascinated with the aspect of virtuosity in all other musical activities, whether experimentation with the instrument, transcription or composition. His way of continuously extrapolating these increasingly old-fashioned values, to all his musical activities is truly unique among twentieth-century cellists and perhaps among twentieth-century performers in general.

One of the most crucial contributions by Cassadó to the field of transcription concerns the aspect of instrumental genre, since, as previously discussed, transcription is an activity dominated by pianists or musicians writing for the piano. The genre of solo cello transcription, if it existed at all before Cassadó, did not attract the attention of any well-known composers. Cassadó's work, with its wide range of styles and types, is therefore especially useful for possible comparisons between instruments regarding the conceptual and practical issues of transcribing music. Furthermore, unexpected and unique transcriptions like those of Prelude No. 21 by Bach and Étude Op. 25, No. 1 by Chopin point to the largely unexplored possibilities of the genre, with surprising capabilities to adapt to, for example, virtuosic solo piano music. Cassadó undoubtedly believed in transcription as a creative practice, as well as in its great potential for enhancing the cello repertoire, more than any other cellist of his generation.

The experimentation within his style of transcribing, which was explored in Chapter Five, underlines his commitment to the activity. Indeed there seems to be almost as many styles of transcribing as there are transcriptions within his output – it is as if Cassadó had started each arrangement with no stylistic preconceptions regarding what a transcription should be. His version of *Rhapsodie Hongroise* No. 2 stays impressively close to the virtuosic original, while his paraphrase of Strauss' *An der schönen blauen Donau* is extensively restructured. Conversely, his version of Debussy's *Clair de Lune* maintains the original piano part intact but musically alters the work to a greater extent through the canon in the cello part, while the Allegretto Grazioso comes across as a perfectly straightforward transcription of a piano sonata by Schubert, except for the fact that the original piano sonata never existed. It appears that an important shared feature among his arrangements is the unclear separation between new and original musical material and, with that, doubts regarding the identity of the work – something, at times,

encouraged by Cassadó himself.⁷¹ It is safe to conclude that Cassadó was not greatly concerned about intertextuality or similar issues related to work-identity, and instead prioritised the possibilities within this ambiguity to bring his own compositional style closer to the style of the composer and conduct a dialogue, perhaps seeking to expand both his own musical idiom and the style of his repertoire.

Something easy to take for granted today is the possibility of using recording comparisons for the analysis in this thesis. This is, of course, a major difference between researching early twentieth-century performance and earlier musical practices, and signifies the potential to adopt an investigation premise which opens up instead of excluding, or prescribing. The abundant evidence of pluralism and heterogeneity in musical practice that becomes available through early recordings allows us to choose a highly inclusive approach that stimulates the performers' possibilities and provides new alternatives, not always evident. The researcher has the opportunity to bring forth unknown or forgotten aspects of performance practice, connecting them and presenting an ample framework of possible solutions for the informed performer. I believe that if research in performance practice wishes to be relevant for actual musical performance, then it needs to offer alternatives, ideas and suggestions that are out of the ordinary reach of performers and can stimulate their own imagination and creativity.

The aim for the commentary in Chapter 6 is precisely to provide context and details of the musical tradition, with some hopefully useful technical and musical ideas for the repertoire that the performer would not have considered independently. By presenting information on how Cassadó himself approached musical works and scores through experiments and gradual change, it could stimulate performers who are unsure of how to conduct their own experiments with the music. Most importantly, the aim is to encourage new performances of Catalan music through these possibly new perspectives, as well as promoting an interest in early twentieth-century performance style as seen through the example of Cassadó.

Returning to Cassadó's versatility and the co-existence of multiple approaches and influences within his musical practice, the question of how such divergent aspects of his musical profile were interconnected remains unanswered. From what has been analysed throughout this thesis, one must emphasise the ease with which Cassadó seems to have moved between the different musical activities. Undoubtedly the quest for virtuosity that was discussed in Chapter Three was intimately connected with the

⁷¹ His pastiche works and less than honest labelling of manuscripts are examples of this.

transcription practices analysed in Chapter Five, and we have observed how his performer profile influenced both his transcriptions and compositions, for example through the changes made to his scores over time, discussed in Chapter Six. Similarly, the introductory chapter showed how Cassadó used both performance and instrumental experimentation as valuable tools in his pedagogical work.⁷² Even so, all these connections between the different activities employed by Cassadó do not appear to have been a question of conscious choice any more than the interchange between languages used for writing his manuscripts was so, but instead fluctuated in a natural manner depending on the country Cassadó was in at the moment of writing the work, the musical genre in question, or the composer whose work he was transcribing.

Two of the objectives of this dissertation have already been mentioned, namely the aim to stimulate performances of Cassadó's works, and to contribute to the field of knowledge regarding early twentieth-century cello performance. In addition, this thesis, being the first extensive study of Cassadó as well as one of the first larger-scale works dedicated to Spanish or Catalan string performance, also has as one of its objectives to make previously unknown material available for future research, showing the scope of, and interest in, this field. Catalan music is still a largely unexplored field, and through this investigation the vast possibilities for further study have become clear. On the other hand, this dissertation hopes to show, in its small way, the value and interest of cello performance within a research field until now so highly dominated by pianists as performance studies. More than just presenting the fascinating work of Cassadó, this study has made a point of bringing out the particularities of cello composition and transcription. Cassadó might have been especially tied to it, but so many other great musicians, from Boccherini to Casals, used the cello as their creative vehicle and the research related to the instrument is almost non-existent.

Emphasis has been given to analysing music transcription as creative practice and as genre throughout this study, since this is a field which has not received much attention within musicology. The idea has been to use the case of the varied and multi-faceted legacy of Cassadó to sustain an analysis of the practice of arranging music which questions the common discourse portraying arrangement or imitation as artistically suspect or void. Indeed, throughout Chapter Four and Five, Cassadó has served as the perfect example of the idea that so much of music-making can be seen as containing transcription that the polarisation between the original (composition) and copy (transcription) does not accord with how music-making works.

⁷² This is actually not as obvious as it would seem: Rostropovich, for example, is known to have always taught at the piano, never at the cello.

This point is connected with the next and final objective of this dissertation, which is to emphasise, through the example of Cassadó's musical profile, the heterogeneous quality of twentieth-century music-making. Several of the practices discussed in this study, such as pastiche composition, creative edition or instrumental experimentation, were, during most of the last century, considered as, in some sense, 'incorrect' musical practices, due to the above-mentioned polarisation between composition and transcription. Today it seems that the changes in the general aesthetic trends would allow for these traditional musical activities to be re-examined. The legacy of Cassadó still contains many unexplored aspects in connection with these practices since most of his compositions and transcriptions are yet to be published, performed and studied academically. With each new work that becomes known to musicians and audiences, new questions and ideas for research will surely arise.

Future investigation will be likely to include the study of Cassadó's place among Spanish twentieth-century composers, especially regarding cello repertoire. As we have seen, Cassadó interacted intensely with his contemporary composition colleagues and was influenced in different ways by their works, from his years in Paris onwards. Any serious analysis of Spanish cello music should take into consideration both his works and his influence as a performer. Additionally, Cassadó's role within the significant emergence of solo cello music in the twentieth century would certainly make for an interesting investigation, given Cassadó's unique contribution both to the genre of solo cello composition and solo cello transcription, discussed in Chapter Five.

Finally, it is worth pointing out again the research potential of twentieth-century cello performance in general, which still awaits wider exploitation in all its divergent facets, a particularly interesting field for researchers who are themselves active performers. The early twentieth century is a remarkable era to study given its closeness both to our modern time and to the Romantic era, which all that this entails. This dissertation hopes to be just the first in a long row of research studies on the great cellists of the last century, such as Feuermann, Piatigorsky, Rostropovich, Fournier, or Navarra. Investigation into this realm of music-making would doubtless bring us many unexpected discoveries regarding the evolution of cello performance, the traditions to which we, as performers, are connected, as well as the reasoning behind many musical approaches and attitudes sixty, ninety, or even a hundred, years ago.

Appendix I

Recordings of Original Compositions and Transcriptions by Gaspar Cassadó

(Audio CD, in plastic pocket, is attached to the back cover of the thesis)

Track 1: <i>Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin</i>	6:06
Track 2: 'Tarantella' from <i>Napoli</i> , Franz Liszt (transcription for cello and piano by Gaspar Cassadó)	5:41
Track 3: <i>Requiebros</i>	4:58
Track 4: Prelude No. 21, J.S. Bach (transcription for cello solo by Gaspar Cassadó)	2:05

(Recorded 31 January 2013, La Roca del Vallès)

Track 5: Suite per violoncello solo, 'Preludio-Fantasia'	7:46
Track 6: Suite per violoncello solo, 'Sardana'	5:40
Track 7: Suite per violoncello solo, 'Intermezzo e Danza Finale'	7:50

(Recorded 4–6 June 2012, Adrian Boult Hall, Birmingham Conservatoire)

Cello: Gabrielle Kaufman

Piano: Jordi Masó (Tracks 1–3)

Recording technicians:

Tracks 1–4: Marc Dalmases

Tracks 5–7: Andrew Mawson

Gabrielle is playing on an instrument by Catalan cello maker Guillem Gecubi.

Appendix II

Compositions by Gaspar Cassadó

This list is the first attempt at a complete compilation of all known original works by Cassadó. Because of the present lack of a definitive catalogue of manuscripts and published scores, it is not possible to establish a chronological order of the compositions. The works are therefore ordered in the first place by instrumentation, and then (second column) by the title of the work as it appears in the available sources. The source for unpublished works here, as well as in Appendix III, is the presently uncatalogued archive at the Museum of Education, Tamagawa University in Tokyo, unless otherwise specified.

Abbreviations and notes

UE: Universal Edition

IMC: International Music Company

M.A.: There is a manuscript score in the archive

I.M.A.: There is an incomplete manuscript score in the archive

Sc.A.: There is a copy of the published score in the archive

(1950): Year of composition as it appears in manuscript

Instrumentation	Title	Publishing information	Archival information/Notes
cello and orchestra	1. Cello Concerto	UE 1926, Sc.A	Dedicated to Pau Casals.
	2. <i>Nocturnes Portuguais</i>	Sc.A., undated	<i>Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya</i>
cello and piano	3. <i>Abazzia Abbandonata</i>		M.A. (1951, Lisbon)
	4. <i>Achares</i>	Unknown	M.A., undated. (Poss. 1954)
	5. <i>Acquarelli Musicali</i>		M.A., undated.
	6. <i>Allegretto Grazioso</i>	UE 1925	M.A, undated. Pastiche à la Schubert.
	7. <i>Cançons de Casa Nostra</i>		M.A., undated, based on popular songs.
	8. <i>Dance de Diable Vert</i>	UE 1926	M.A., undated
	9. <i>El Relicario</i>		M.A. (1952)
	10. <i>Lamento de Boabdil</i>	Schott 1931	
	11. <i>La Pendule, la Fileuse et le Galant</i>	UE 1925	Dedicated to Visconti di Modrone.
	12. <i>Mister Xancó</i>		M.A. (1951)

13. <i>Morgonlied</i>	Unknown	Possibly published in 1957, not in archive.
14. Nocturno	Unknown	Not in archive. (1918?) Dedicated to Lluís Millet.
15. Partita	Schott 1935	
16. <i>Pastoral</i>	UE 1925	Pastiche à la Couperin.
17. <i>Queja</i>		I.M.A.
18. <i>Rapsodia del Sur</i>		M.A., undated. Dedicated to Ernesto Halffter.
19. <i>Requiebros</i>	Shott 1932, 2 Sc. A.	Dedicated to Pau Casals.
20. <i>Rückblick</i>		I.M.A.
21. <i>Sérénade</i>	UE 1925	
22. <i>Serenatella</i>		M.A. (Lisbon, 1951)
23. <i>Sette Variazioni sopra un tema di Chopin</i>		M.A.
24. Sonata		M.A. (Riccione, 1931)
25. Sonata (<i>Española</i>)	Mathot 1925, Sc.A.	Dedicated to Giulietta von Mendelssohn.

	26. <i>Sonata Nello Stile Antico Spagnuolo</i>	UE 1926, Sc.A.	M.A. (1924)
	27. <i>Tanguillo de Cadiz</i>		M.A., undated, dedicated to Pierre Fournier.
	28. <i>Toccata</i>	UE 1925	Pastiche à la Frescobaldi.
cello solo	29. Cadenza, Boccherini, Concerto B flat majo, 1 st mov.		M.A.
	30. Cadenza, Boccherini, Concerto B flat major, 3 rd mov.		M.A.
	31. Cadenza, Haydn, Concerto D major, 1 st mov.		M.A.
	32. Cadenza, Schumann, Concerto, 1 st mov.		M.A.
	33. <i>Fuga</i>	IMC 1949	M.A., undated. Pastiche à la Handel.
	34. <i>Suite per violoncello</i>	UE 1926, Sc.A.	
chamber orchestra	35. <i>Suite Asturiana</i>	unknown	Not in archive.
<i>cobla</i>	36. <i>Sardana l'Escolarial</i>		I.M.A.
	37. <i>Sardana Nupcial</i>		I.M.A.

guitar solo	38. <i>Canción de Leonardo</i>	Berbén Edizioni	
	39. <i>Catalanesca</i>	Berbén Edizioni 1922	Dedicated to André Segovia.
	40. <i>Dos Cantos Finlandeses</i>	Berbén Edizioni 1950s	
	41. <i>Leyenda Catalana</i>	Berbén Edizioni	
	42. <i>Preámbulo y Sardana</i>	Berbén Edizioni 1950s	
	43. <i>Sardana Chigiana</i>	Berbén Edizioni 1950s	
oboe and string quintet	44. <i>Visions de Quattrocento de Frescobaldi</i>		I.M.A.
organ solo	45. <i>Variazioni 'Micat in Vertice'</i>		M.A, undated.
piano and orchestra	46. <i>Variationes Concertantes</i>	Unknown	M.A (1928) Dedicated to José Iturbi.
piano solo	47. <i>Juvenilia</i>		I.M.A.
	48. <i>Sonata Breve</i>	Schott 1931	M.A.
	49. <i>Sonata Fiorentina</i>		M.A. (1941) Dedicated to Giulietta von Mendelssohn.
	50. <i>Quatre Pièces Espagnoles</i>	Mathot 1925, Sc.A.	
piano trio	51. <i>Piano Trio in C major</i>	UE 1926–29	Dedicated to Alfredo Casella.

string quartet	52. String Quartet No. 1 in F minor	Schott	M.A. (Rome, May., 1927)
	53. String Quartet No. 2 in G major	Unknown	M.A. (Florence, Nov., 1929)
	54. String Quartet No. 3 in C minor	Unknown	M.A. (Rome, June, 1933)
symphony orchestra	55. <i>Elegie Romane</i>	Unknown	Sc.A., <i>Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya</i>
	56. <i>La Corrida</i>		M.A. (1931)
	57. <i>Les Tentations de Saint Antoine</i>		M.A., undated. (<i>Fresques Symphoniques</i>)
	58. <i>Rapsodia Catalana</i>		M.A. (1926)
violin and piano	59. Sonata	UE 1926	Dedicated to Augustí Cassadó.
voice and piano	60. <i>Mattinata</i>	Prem. Stamp. Musicale 1941	Sc.A.

Appendix III

Transcriptions by Gaspar Cassadó

Complementing Appendix II, this compilation lists all known works by Cassadó at the present date that are transcribed in different styles from original works by other composers. The items are listed by composer of the original work, and the work's title. Instrumentation refers to the final formation in Cassadó's transcription, and, where thought necessary, the original instrumentation is stated in the third column.

Abbreviations and notes

M.A.: There is a manuscript score in the archive

I.M.A.: There is an incomplete manuscript score in the archive

Sc.A.: There is a copy of the published score in the archive

UE: Universal Edition

IMC: International Music Company

UM F-E: Union Musical Franco-Espagnole

(1950): Year of composition as it appears in manuscript

Composer, Work	Instrumentation	Publishing Information	Archival information, notes
1. Albéniz, I. <i>Celebre serenata española</i>	cello and piano	UM F-E 1931	Original work also published as “Cadiz” within <i>Suite Espagnole</i> .
2. Bach, C. Ph. E., Concerto No.3	cello and orchestra	IMC 1949	M.A., undated.
3. Bach, J. S., Choral <i>Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten</i>	cello quartet		M.A., undated.
4. Bach, J. S., Choralvorspiel <i>Ich ruf für dir, Herr Jesu Christ</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
5. Bach, J.S., Prelude No. 21 in B flat major	cello solo		M.A., undated.
6. Barrière, J-B., Allegro energico in D major	cello and piano		M.A states author as “Jean Barrière (1725)”.Original not found, poss. a hoax.
7. Bartók, B., <i>Rumanian Folkdances</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
8. Beethoven, L. van, Aria	cello and piano	Iberia Musical, Sc.A	
9. Berteau, M. , Étude	cello and piano	UE 1925	Original for solo cello.
10. Boccherini, L., Adagio	cello sextet		M.A., undated. From Cello Concerto in B flat major.

11. Boccherini, L., Cello Concerto No. 2	guitar and orchestra	Schott	I.M.A.
12. Boccherini, L., Minuet	cello and piano	UE 1925	From String Quintet in E Major
13. Borodin, A., <i>Serenata alla spagnola</i>	cello and piano	Schott 1935, Sc.A	
14. Brahms, J., <i>Passacaglia</i>	cello and piano		From String Sextet No. 1. I.M.A.
15. Bréval, J-B., Sonata in G major	cello and piano	IMC 1956	Realization of the figured bass.
16. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, M., <i>Cante Ebraico</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated. From <i>Vocalise</i> for voice and piano.
17. Chopin, F., <i>Écossaise</i> Op. 72	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
18. Chopin, F., Étude Op. 25, No. 1	cello solo	IMC 1949	M.A.
19. Chopin, F., Étude Op. 25, No. 7	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
20. Chopin, F., Waltz Op. 34, No. 2	cello and piano		I.M.A., undated.
21. Chopin, F., Waltz Op. 64	cello and piano	IMC 1948	<i>The Minute-Waltz.</i>
22. Crescenzo, C., <i>Prima Carezza</i>	cello and piano	IMC 1948	M.A., undated.
23. Debussy, C., <i>Clair de Lune</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated, titled <i>Partie de violoncelle en forme de dialogue.</i>
24. Debussy, C., <i>Minstrels</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
25. Debussy, C., Minuet	cello and piano		Only appears in Cassadó's Concert programs.

26. Debussy, C., <i>Golliwogg's Cakewalk</i>	cello and piano	Joubert Edition, Sc.A.	M.A., undated.
27. Dukas, P., <i>L'apprenti sorcier</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated, Fantasy.
28. Dvořák, A., Sonatina in G minor, Op. 100	cello and piano	IMC 1947	Also known as <i>Indian Song</i> and <i>Indian Lament</i> .
29. Fairchild, B., Violin Sonata	cello and piano	Durand 1930	
30. Fauré, G., <i>Lamento</i>	cello and piano	IMC	
31. Fauré, G., Nocturne No. 4, Op. 36	cello and piano	IMC 1947, Sc.A.	
32. Granados, E., Intermezzo	cello and piano	Schirmer 1923, 2 Sc.A.	From the opera <i>Goyescas</i> .
33. Halffter, E., <i>Canzone e Pastorella</i>	cello and piano	Max Eschig 1934	
34. Halffter, E. <i>Habanera</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
35. Handel, G.F., Air in D minor	cello and piano		M.A., HWV 428.
36. Handel, G.F., <i>The Harmonious Blacksmith</i>	cello solo	IMC 1950	M.A, undated.
37. Handel, G.F., Suite No. 14 for Keyboard	cello and piano		M.A., lacking the Allegro, Aria and Minuett.
38. Ibert, J., <i>Le petit âne blanc</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
39. Laserna, B. De, <i>Tonadilla</i>	cello and piano	Schott 1933	Score copy of original work in archive.
40. Lavagnino, A. F., <i>Canto Bretonne</i>	cello and piano	Carisch 1947, Sc.A.	
41. Lecouna, E., <i>Siboney</i> (Canción cubana)	cello and piano		M.A., dated "Firenze il 25 giugno 1939".

42. Liszt, F., <i>Liebesträume, No. 3</i>	cello and piano	IMC 1947	
43. Liszt, F., <i>Napoli, 'Tarantella'</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
44. Liszt, F., <i>Rhapsodie Hongroise No. 2</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated.
45. Marcello, B., Sonatas No. 1 and No. 4	cello and piano	IMC 1950	
46. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, F., <i>La fileuse</i>	cello and piano		M.A., undated. Lied ohne Worte Op. 67 No. 4.
47. Mompou, F., 'Canço i Dansa No. 1'	cello and piano	Salabert 1939, Sc.A.	
48. Montes, J., <i>Lonxe da Terriña</i>	voice, guitar, string quartet		I.M.A.
49. Moreno Torroba, F., <i>Fandanguillo</i>	cello and piano	Schott 1938	From <i>Suite Castellana</i> .
50. Morera, E., <i>La santa espina</i>	cello and piano		M.A.
51. Mozart, W. A., <i>Alla Turca</i>	cello and piano	IMC 1948	M.A., undated, from KV 331.
52. Mozart, W. A., Horn Concerto	cello and orchestra	Schott 1931	From KV 447.
53. Mozart, W. A., <i>Serenata don Giovanni</i>	cello and piano	Schott 1938	
54. Mozart, W.A., Sonata	cello and piano	Schott	From KV 497.
55. Mozart, W.A., <i>Tema con variazioni</i>	cello and piano		I.M.A. Unidentified original work.
56. Muffat, G., <i>Allegro</i>	cello and piano	UE 1925	
57. Paderewski, I. J., Minuet in G major Op. 14	cello and piano	Unknown publisher, 1920s	

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|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 58. Piccolallis, O., <i>Pourquoi?</i> | cello and piano | | I.M.A., unidentified original work. |
| 59. Ponce, M., <i>Estrellita</i> | cello and piano | IMC 1947, Sc.A. | M.A., titled <i>Harmonisation et arrangement</i> . |
| 60. Popper, D., <i>Dance des elves</i> | cello and piano | | I.M.A., dated "Florence, 24 XII, 1944", titled <i>Revision et accompagnement de piano</i> . |
| 61. Reger, M., <i>Mariä Wiegenlied</i> | voice and ensemble | | M.A., undated. |
| 62. Rimsky-Korsakov, N.,
<i>The Rose and the Nightingale</i> | cello and piano | | I.M.A. |
| 63. Rossini, G., <i>La Danza</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. |
| 64. Saint-Säens, C., <i>Bourrée Op. 135</i> | cello solo | Durand 1912 | M.A., undated. |
| 65. Sainz de la Maya, R., <i>El vita</i> | cello solo | | M.A., undated. |
| 66. Schubert, F., <i>Fantasie in F minor Op. 103</i> | cello and piano | | I.M.A. |
| 67. Schubert, F., <i>Sonata Arpeggione</i> | cello and orchestra | Schott 1930 | |
| 68. Schubert, F., <i>Ständchen D889</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. |
| 69. Schubert, F., <i>Three Pieces</i> | solo cello, string quartet | | M.A., undated. Includes "Ave", "Litanei", "Du bist sehr Ruh". |
| 70. Schubert, F., <i>Variations</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. B flat major, Op. 82 No. 2. |

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|----------------------------------------------------|---------------------|-------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 71. Schumann, R., <i>Abendlied</i> | cello quintet | | M.A., undated. |
| 72. Silvestri, C., <i>Präludium et Toccata</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. |
| 73. Strauss, J. <i>An der schönen blauen Donau</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. <i>Paraphrase de concert.</i> |
| 74. Strauss, R. <i>Der Rosenkavalier</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated, titled <i>Improvisation.</i> |
| 75. Tchaikowsky P., 'Largo', Symphony No. 5 | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. |
| 76. Tchaikowsky P., Op. 72 (No. 3) | cello and orchestra | Schott 1940 | Original for solo piano. |
| 77. Traditional, <i>Clavelitos</i> | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. |
| 78. Turina, J., 'Sonatina' | cello and piano | | M.A., undated. From <i>Suite Castellana</i> for piano. |
| 79. Vivaldi, A., Sonata Op. 17, No. 5 | cello and orchestra | | M.A., undated. |
| 80. Weber, C. M. von, Clarinet Concerto No. 2 | cello and orchestra | Schott | |
| 81. Weber, C. M. von, <i>Grand duo concertant</i> | cello and piano | | I.M.A., undated. |

Appendix IV

Gaspar Cassadó Discography

This discography makes a first attempt at collecting all Cassadó's known recordings. The works are listed in the first place by composer of the work recorded, in the second place by the work title and in the third place by recording date (not release date). Where various releases exist of the same recording, the catalogue numbers are ordered starting with the newest.

Albéniz, Isaac (1998) *Serenata Española* Op. 181, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 24 October 1936 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Telefunken E2127

Bach, Johann Sebastian (n.d.) *Air*, prob. Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Gaspar Cassadó/Paul Schoeffler encores* Masterseal MW 45

Bach, Johann Sebastian-Gounod, Charles (n.d.) *Ave Maria*, prob. Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Gaspar Cassadó/Paul Schoeffler encores* Masterseal MW 45

Bach, Johann Sebastian (1996) *Suites for Solo Cello*, rec. 1957 in *Gaspar Cassadó Bach 6 Suites for Solo Cello* VoxBox VBX 15 CDX2 5522

Beethoven, Ludwig van (2005) *Seven Variations on Bei Männern welche lieben fühlen*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. 10 September 1961 in *Chieko Hara in Paris* Denon Columbia COCQ-83850

Boccherini, Luigi (1963) *Concerto No. 9 in B flat major*, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 11 September 1957 in *Cello Concerti* VOX STPL 510790

Boccherini, Luigi (n.d.) *Sonata in A major*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 1927 Deutsche Grammophon 66229 B 28020/1 218/4

Brahms, Johannes (2008) *Double Concerto in A minor* Op. 102, Albert Spalding (violin), John Barbirolli (cond.) New York Philharmonic Orchestra rec. 26 March 1939 in *Barbirolli: New York Philharmonic: Live Recordings 1937-43* GUILD GHCD 2330/31

Brahms, Johannes (1995) *Piano Trio No. 2* Op. 87, Myra Hess (piano) Jelly d'Aranyi (violin) rec. 1935 in *Myra Hess: a Vignette* CDAPR 7012

Brahms, Johannes (1998) *Sonata in E minor* Op. 38, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1951 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Remington 149-53 released July 1952

Brahms, Johannes (2005) Sonata in F major Op. 99, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. 10 September 1961 in *Chieko Hara in Paris* Denon Columbia COCQ-83850

Bruch, Max (1997) *Kol Nidrei*, Clarence Raybold (piano) rec. London, 28 February 1931 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 COLUMBIA LX131

Cassadó, Gaspar (1963) *Allegretto Grazioso (à la Schubert)*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. ca 1963 in *Gaspar Cassadó* Melodiya A12505-6

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) 'Aragonesa' from *Cello Sonata in A minor*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. February 1930 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 COLUMBIA 67895/6 D

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) *Dance du diable vert*, Gerald Moore (piano) rec. 19 February 1947 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194

Cassadó, Gaspar (n.d.) *La pendule, la fileuse et le galant*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 1927 Deutsche Grammophon 66228 B 28018/9 212/7

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) *Requiebros*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Telefunken E1820

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) *Requiebros*, Gerald Moore (piano) rec. 1947 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Telefunken E1820

Cassadó, Gaspar (1993) *Requiebros*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. live Siena, 18 July 1961 in *Maestri Chigiani di Ieri e di Oggi* AMC 0093

Cassadó, Gaspar (n.d.) 'Saeta' from *Cello Sonata in A minor*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 15 February 1930 Columbia unissued WAX5385

Cassadó, Gaspar (1963) *Toccata (à la Frescobaldi)*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. ca 1963 in *Gaspar Cassadó* Melodiya A12505-6

Chopin, Frédéric (n.d.) Cello Sonata Op. 65, unknown pianist rec. 1927 PD 95027

Chopin, Frédéric (n.d.) Cello Sonata Op. 65, Louis Kentner (piano) rec. London, 12 April 1949 Columbia unissued CAX 10472

Chopin, Frédéric (n.d.) Nocturne in E flat major Op. 9 No. 2, pianist unknown rec. 29 October 1927 Polydor PD95027

Chopin, Frédéric (1953) Nocturne in E flat major Op. 9 No. 2, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó Cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Debussy, Claude (n.d.) Minuet, *unknown pianist* rec. 25 February 1930 Columbia unissued WAX 5414

Debussy, Claude (1997) Cello Sonata in D minor, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. February 1930 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 COLUMBIA 67895/6 D

Dvořák, Antonín (1998) Cello Concerto in B minor Op. 104, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (cond.) rec. 14 November 1935 Telefunken E 1893-7 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 2* LYS Lys 188

Dvořák, Antonín (2010) Cello Concerto in B minor Op. 104, Hans Wolf (cond.) Austrian Symphony Orchestra rec. 1951 in *Haydn Concerto: Dvořák Concerto* Forgotten Records Remington 199-38

Dvořák, Antonín (1992) Cello Concerto in B minor Op. 104, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Vienna Pro Musica Orchestra rec. 1956 in *Gaspar Cassadó: Cello Masterpieces* Voxbox Legends CDX2 5502

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Glazunov, Alexander (1997) *Mélodie Arabe*, rec. London, 23 February 1928 in *Gaspar Cassadó No. 1* LYS Columbia D1600

Granados, Enric (1997) *Andaluza*, unknown pianist, rec. 23 November 1927 in *Gaspar Cassadó No. 1* LYS Colombia L2046

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Haydn, Joseph (2010) Cello Concerto in D major, Kurt Woss (cond.) Austrian Symphony Orchestra rec. 1953 in *Haydn Concerto: Dvořák Concerto* Forgotten Records Remington 199-79

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Haydn, Joseph (n.d.) *Minuetto*, unknown pianist rec. 23 February 1928 Columbia D1613

Haydn, Joseph (n.d.) Piano Trio No. 1, Adrian Aeschbacher (piano), Max Strub (violin) rec. 1948 Deutsche Grammophon 68383 LM

Handel, George Frederick (1997) Largo, unknown pianist rec. 11 November 1927 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Columbia C-L2046, CQX-10487

Lalo, Édouard (2003) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 19 January 1958 in *Saint-Saëns/Fauré/Lalo: Cello Concertos* Vox Allegretto ACD 8143

Laserna, Blas (n.d.) *Tonadilla*, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (cond.) Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra rec. 25 February 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó* Telefunken A 1830

Liszt, Franz (1997) *Liebesträume*, No. 3 in A flat major, Gerald Moore (piano) rec. London, 19 February 1947 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194, Columbia LX1154

Massenet, Jules (n.d.) *Élégie* (from *Les Erinyes*), prob. Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Gaspar Cassadó/Paul Schoeffler encores* Masterseal MW 45

Méhul, Étienne Nicolas (1998) *Gavotte*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 24 October 1936 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS COLUMBIA 67895/6 D, Telefunken A0283

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix (1997) *Lied ohne Worte* Op. 109, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. London, 17 February 1931 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194, COLUMBIA L2117

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix (1953) *Spinning Wheel*, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1961) Piano Trio in E major KV 542, Yehudi Menuhin (violin), Louis Kentner (piano) rec. London, 13 July 1960 ASD423

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1967) Piano Quartet in G minor KV 478, Yehudi Menuhin (violin) Walter Gerhardt (viola) Fou Ts'ong (piano) rec. 23 July 1966 in *Mozart Piano Quartets* HMV ASD2319

Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus (1967) Piano Quartet KV 493, Yehudi Menuhin (violin) Walter Gerhardt (viola) Fou Ts'ong (piano) rec. 23 July 1966 in *Mozart Piano Quartets* HMV ASD2319

Nardini, Pietro (n.d.) Larghetto, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 1927 Deutsche Grammophon 66228 B 28018/9 212/7

Paderewski, Jan (n.d.) Minuet in G major, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 17 February 1931 Columbia LX158

Pfitzner, Hans Erich (1990) Cello Concerto, Willem Mengelberg (cond.) Concertgebouw Orchestra rec. 12 December 1940 in *Mengelberg Legacy: Háy János Suite; Variations on a Hungarian Folksong; The Peacock* KICC 2062 US Past Masters PM33

Popper, David (n.d.) *Arlequin*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 1927 Polydor 95028 B 28026/7 268 1/2

Popper, David (n.d.) *Chanson Villageoise*, unknown pianist rec. 23 February 1928 Columbia D1613

Popper, David (1953) *Gavotte*, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Ravel, Maurice (1961) Piano Trio in A minor, Yehudi Menuhin (violin) Louis Kentner (piano) rec. London, 12 July 1960 Angel Stereo 35630 ASD423

Ravel, Maurice (1963) *Pièce en forme d'habanera*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. ca 1963 in *Gaspar Cassadó* Melodiya A12505-6

Respighi, Ottorino (2000) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 14 September 1957 in *Gaspar Cassadó: Cello Masterpieces* Voxbox Legends CDX2 5502

Rimsky-Korsakov, Nikolai (1963) *Flight of the Bumble-Bee*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. ca 1963 in *Gaspar Cassadó* Melodiya A12505-6

Rubinstein, Anton (1953) *Melody*, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Saint-Saëns, Camille (2003) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 19 January 1958 in *Saint-Saëns/Fauré/Lalo: Cello Concertos* Vox Allegretto ACD 8143

Saint-Saëns, Camille (1998) *Le Cygne*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Colombia A 6527

Saint-Saëns, Camille (1997) *Le Cygne*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. December 1962 in *Gaspar Cassadó plays Encores* Colombia COCO-80744

Schubert, Franz (2004) Concerto in A minor 'Arpeggione', Hamilton Harty (cond.) Hallé Orchestra rec. Manchester, 1 March 1929 in *The Hallé Tradition: Franz Schubert* Colombia LX1-3

Schubert, Franz (1998) Concerto in A minor 'Arpeggione', Willem Mengelberg (cond.) Concertgebouw Orchestra rec. broadcast Amsterdam, 12 December 1940 in *Mengelberg Legacy 1* Tahra TAH231

Schubert, Franz (1983) Piano Trio in B flat major Op. 99, Yehudi Menuhin (violin) Louis Kentner (piano) rec. Ascona, 1958 in *Menuhin-Kentner-Cassado Trio* Discocorp RR-316

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Schumann, Robert (1956) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 15 September 1956 in *Schumann Cello Concerto and Schubert Cello Concerto* Vox PL10210

Schumann, Robert (n.d.) *Traumerei*, unknown pianist rec. 29 October 1927 Polydor PD95027

Schumann, Robert (n.d.) *Traumerei*, prob. Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Gaspar Cassadó/Paul Schoeffler encores* Masterseal MW 45

Strauss, Johann (1953) *An der schönen blauen Donau*, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó Cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Strauss, Richard (n.d.) *Morgen* Op. 27 No. 4, prob. Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Gaspar Cassadó/Paul Schoeffler Encores* Masterseal MW 45

Tartini, Giuseppe (1998) Cello Concerto, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (cond.) Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra rec. 25 February 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 2* LYS Lys 188, Telefunken A1820

Tartini, Guiseppe (n.d.) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 5 June 1958 Vox Unissued?

Tartini, Guiseppe (n.d.) 'Grave' from *Cello Concerto*, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (cond.) Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra rec. 1935 Telefunken E1820

Tchaikovsky, Piotr (2000) *Variations on a Rococo theme* Op. 33, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Pro Musica Vienna Orchestra rec. 1956 in *Gaspar Cassadó: Cello Masterpieces* Voxbox Legends CDX2 5502

Tchaikovsky, Piotr (1997) *Souvenir d'un lieu cher*, Op. 42 No. 3, unknown pianist rec. 11 November 1927 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Colombia L2117

Tchaikovsky, Piotr (1953) *Valse Sentimentale*, Otto Schulhof (piano) rec. ca 1953 in *Kreisler Favorites/Cassadó cello Encores* Remington 199-128

Tcherepnin, Alexander (1997) *Ode*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 25 february 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Telefunken A1830

Vivaldi, Anton (1961) Cello Concerto in E minor, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. 12 September 1957 in *Cello Concerti* Vox PL10790

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Discography

1) Recordings by Gaspar Cassadó, ordered in the first place by composer, in the second place by work title and in the third place by recording date:

Bach, Johann Sebastian (1996) Suites for solo cello, rec. 1957 in *Gaspar Cassadó Bach 6 suites for solo cello* VoxBox VBX 15 CDX2 5522

Bruch, Max (1997) *Kol Nidrei*, Clarence Raybold (piano) rec. London, 28 February 1931 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 COLUMBIA LX131

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) *Requiebros*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Telefunken E1820

Cassadó, Gaspar (1997) *Requiebros*, Gerald Moore (piano) rec. 1947 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 1* LYS 1140194 Telefunken E1820

Cassadó, Gaspar (1993) *Requiebros*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. live Siena, 18 July 1961 in *Maestri Chigiani di Ieri e di Oggi* AMC 0093

Dvořák, Antonin (1998) Cello Concerto, Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, Hans Schmidt-Isserstedt (cond.) rec. 14 November 1935, Telefunken E 1893-7 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 2* LYS 188

Dvořák, Antonin (2010) Cello Concerto, Hans Wolf (cond.) Symphonic Orchestra of Austria rec. 1951 in *Haydn Concerto: Dvořák Concerto* Forgotten Records Remington-199-38

Dvořák, Antonin (1992) Cello Concerto, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Vienna Pro Musica Orchestra, rec. 1956 in *Gaspar Cassadó: Cello Masterpieces* Voxbox Legends CDX2 5502

Fauré, Gabriel (1998) *Après un rêve*, Giulietta von Mendelssohn-Gordigiani (piano) rec. 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Melodiya M10-43343-4

Fauré, Gabriel (1997) *Après un rêve*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. December 1962 in *Cassadó plays encores* Colombia COCO-80744

Fauré, Gabriel (2007) *Élégie*, Jonel Perlea (cond.) Bamberg Symphony Orchestra rec. May 1960 in *Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Fauré: Cello Concertos* Vox Allegretto ACD-8143

Fauré, Gabriel (1997) *Élégie*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. 24 December 1962 in *Cassadó plays encores* Colombia COCO-80744

Granados, Enric (1997) *Andaluza*, unknown pianist, rec. 23 November 1927 in *Gaspar Cassadó no.1* LYS Colombia L2046

Granados, Enric (1993) *Intermezzo*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. live Siena, 18 July 1961 in *Maestri Chigiani Di Ieri E Di Oggi* AMC 0093

Granados, Enric (1997) *Intermezzo*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. December 1962 in *Cassadó plays encores* Colombia COCO-80744

Saint-Saëns, Camille (1998) *Le Cygne*, Michael Raucheisen (piano) rec. 1935 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Colombia A 6527

Saint-Saëns, Camille (1997) *Le Cygne*, Chieko Hara (piano) rec. December 1962 in *Gaspar Cassadó plays encores* Colombia COCO-80744

Schumann, Robert (1998) *Abendlied*, Willie Hammer (piano) rec. 1930 in *Gaspar Cassadó vol. 3* LYS Melodiya M10-43343-4

2) Recordings by other performers, ordered in the first place by composer of the work recorded and in the second place by recording date.

2a) J.S. Bach, Prelude from Suite in G major

Bylsma, Anner (1999) rec. April 1979 in *Bach: Suites for Violoncello vol. 1* Sony Classical 61811

Bylsma, Anner (1993) rec. January 1992 in *Bach: Suites for Violoncello Solo* Sony Classical 48047

Casals, Pau (1988) rec. Paris, 2 June 1938 in *The 6 Cello Suites* EMI CHS 7610272

Casals, Pau (2007) rec. live Abbaye Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa, August 1954 accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Claret, Lluís (2003) rec. September 2002 and May 2003 in *Bach in Fontfroide: 6 suites para violonchelo solo* Verso 2015

Kirshbaum, Ralph (2000) rec. January 1993 in *Bach 6 Cello Suites* Virgin Classics 61609-2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Ma, Yo-Yo (1998) rec. August 1997 in *Inspired by Bach: the Cello Suites* Sony 63203 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Maisky, Mischa (1994) rec. 1985 in *Johann Sebastian Bach: 6 Cellosuiten* Deutsche Grammophon 445373 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Maisky, Mischa (1999) rec. July 1999 in *Bach: 6 Cellosuiten* Deutsche Grammophon 463314

Mörk, Truls (2006) rec. Oslo, July 2005 in *Bach: Cello Suites* Virgin Classics 45650 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Rostropovich, Mstislav (1995) rec. March 1991 in *Bach: Cello Suiten 1, 4 & 5* EMI Classics 55604 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Tortelier, Paul (1983) rec. London, April 1982 in *J.S Bach: The Cello Suites* EMI Classics 50999 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Wispelway, Peter (1990) rec. August 1990 in *J.S Bach Suites for Cello Solo vol. 1* Channel Classics CCS12298 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

2b) Gaspar Cassadó, *Requiebros*:

Atapine, Dimitri (2009) Hye-Yeon Park (piano) rec. 2009 in *Cello Capriccioso* Urtext JBCC182 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Bloemendahl, Coenraad (2007) Erica Goodman (harp) rec. October 2006 in *Reflection: Duets for Cello and Harp* Marquis MAR373 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Brys, Taddeus (1998) Susan Brys (piano) rec. August 1996 in *Cello Music by Cassadó* Centaur Records 2381

Casals, Pau (2004) Blai Net (piano) rec. Barcelona, 15 June 1929 in *Casals – Encores and Transcriptions 2* Naxos Historical HMV DB 1391

Claret, Lluís (1994) Seon-Hee Myong (piano) rec. 1993 in *In memoriam Pau Casals* Auvidis V4733

Fox, Eldon (2009) Geoffrey Parsons (piano) rec. 2009 in *Mellow Cello: Eldon Fox 'Cello in Concert* Classic Hits OMP 884385259662 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Gerhardt, Alban (1999) Rina Dokshinsky (piano) rec. 1999 in *Music for cello and piano* EMI Classics 73164 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Isserlis, Stephen (2006) Stephen Hough (piano) rec. August 2005 in *Children's Cello* BIS-CD-1562 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Jimenez, Cesar (2008) Juan Antonio Higuero (piano) rec. 2008 in *Falla-Cassadó Cello and Piano music* Al-Zawiya 322638 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Khoma, Nathalia (2006) Volodymyr Vynnytsky (piano) rec. 2006 in *Dances* Blue Griffin BGRE/669910644362 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Maisky, Mischa (2011) Lily Maisky (piano) rec. 2011 in *¡España!* Deutsche Grammophon 4778100 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

McDonagh, Ailbhe (2012) Orla McDonagh (piano) rec. 2012 in *It's a cello thing* McDonagh 5391519680612 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Michel, John (2000) Lisa Bergman (piano) rec. 2000 in *Encore! Cello Live Performances* Classical spotlight 884502009118 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Mircheva, Maria (2010) Perfecto Garcia Chornet (piano) rec. live 2010 in *El Violonchelo en la música Española* Dahiz 885686111147 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Munghia, Gilberto (2003) Thomas Hryniv (piano) rec. 1976 in *Twentieth Century Cello* Cambria camcd1134 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Scano, Marco (1998) Daniela Ghigino rec. Zaragoza, October 1997 in *Cassadó: Requiebros* Ensayo ENY-CD-9801

Starker, Janos (2009) Shigeo Neriki (piano) rec. 1968 in *Romantic music of Spain* EMG Everest SDBR 3222 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

2c) Dvořák, Cello Concerto:

Capuçon, Gautier (2009) Frankfurt Radio Symphony Orchestra, Paavo Järvi (cond.) rec. 2009 in *Dvořák Herbert and Cello Concertos* Virgin Classics 519035-2

Casals, Pau (2009) Czech Philharmonic Orchestra, George Szell (cond.) rec. Prague, April 1937 in *Antonin Dvořák: Cello Concerto in B minor* The Gramophone Company DB 3288 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Du Pré, Jacqueline (1996) Chicago Symphony Orchestra, Daniel Barenboim (cond.) rec. 1971 in *A Lasting Inspiration – Jacqueline de Pré* EMI 5 65955 2

Feuermann, Emanuel (1999) Berlin State Opera Symphony, Michael Taube (cond.) rec. Berlin, April 1928 and September 1929 in *Great Conductors: Erich Kleiber: Dvořák* Naxos Historical 8.110901 accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Feuermann, Emanuel (1986) National Orchestral Association, Léon Barzin (cond.) rec. live New York, January 1940 in *Emanuel Feuermann: Dvořák: Cello Concerto* Phillips 420 776-2

Fournier, Pierre (1988) Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, George Szell (cond.) rec. 1962 in *Dvořák: Elgar Cellokonzerte* Deutsche Grammophon 4741672 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Fournier, Pierre (2011) BBC Symphony Orchestra, Colin Davis (cond.) rec. live 1973 in *Fournier and Francescatti* BBC Legends 4149-2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Helmerson, Frans (1984) Gothenburg Symphony Orchestra, Neeme Järvi (cond.) rec. Gothenburg, June 1983 in *Antonin Dvořák* BIS-CD-245 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Kotova, Nina (2006) Philharmonia Orchestra, Andrew Litton (cond.) rec. 2005 in *Dvořák Cello Concerto* Sony 82876821182 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Lloyd-Webber (1989) Czech Philharmonic, Vaclav Neumann (cond.) rec. 1989 in *Dvořák Cello Concerto / Carnival Overture* Philips 422 387-2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Ma, Yo-Yo (2004) New York Philharmonic, Kurt Masur (cond.) rec. January 1995 in *The Dvořák Album* Sony 92858 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Maisky, Misha (1982) Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, Leonard Bernstein (cond.) rec. 1982 in *Dvořák: Cello Concerto/Bloch: Schelomo* Deutsche Grammophon 0289 427 3472 2 GH

Mørk, Truls (2001) Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, Mariss Jansons (cond.) rec. 1993 in *Truls Mørk: Dvořák: Cello Concerto: Tchaikovsky: Rococo Variations* Virgin Classics 628623

Navarra, André (2000) National Symphony Orchestra, Rudolf Schwarz (cond.) rec. 1954 in *André Navarra: Elgar & Dvořák* Testament SBT1204

Piatigorsky, Gregor (1997) Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy (cond.) rec. January 17 1946 in *Gregor Piatigorsky: Great Cello Concertos* Sony Classical MHK 62876 accessed from archive.org [audio stream]

Piatigorsky, Gregor (2003) Boston Symphony Orchestra, Charles Munch (cond.) rec. 22 February 1960 in *Dvořák: Symphony no.8/ Cello Concerto* RCA Red Seal RCA BMG 82876 66375-2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Rostropovich, Mstislav (2001) London Philharmonic, Carlo Maria Giulini (cond.) rec. 1977 in *Dvořák and Saint-Saëns Cello Concertos* EMI Classics 2 17597 2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

The déen, Torleif (2002) Mayalasian Philharmonic Orchestra, Kees Bakels (cond.) rec. 2002 in *Dvořák Cello Concerto* BIS 1276 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

2d) Saint-Saëns, *Le Cygne*:

Casals, Pau (2008) Nicolai Mednikoff (piano) rec. 5 January 1926 in *L'émotion du violoncelle* Victor 1143/ Disco Gramófono DA 776 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Feuermann, Emanuel (2010) Michael Taube (piano) rec. 30 April 1928 in *Emanuel Feuermann: Encores* Parlophone 2- 20756 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Maisky, Misha (2011) Martha Argerich, Nelson Freire (pianos) rec. Munich, April 1985 in *Martha Argerich: the collection 4* DECCA 478 2746

Moser, Johannes (2008) Radio Symphony Orchestra of Stuttgart SWR, Fabrice Bollon (cond.) rec. 2008 in *Saint-Saëns Complete works for cello and orchestra* Hänssler HAEN 93222

Navarra, André (2011) Annie d'Arco (piano) rec. Paris, March 1977 in *Saint-Saëns: Le Cygne/Fauré: Après un rêve* Calliope 8079741 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Piatigorsky, Gregor (1998) Valentin Pavlovsky (piano) rec. 1941 in *Gregor Piatigorsky Recital* Biddulph LAB117

Piatigorsky, Gregor (2001) Ralph Berkowitz (piano) rec. September 1950 in *RCA Red Seal Century* RCA 63861 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

Piatigorsky, Gregor (2010) NBC Orchestra, Donald Vorhees (cond.) rec. 1951 in *The art of Gregor Piatigorsky* West Hill Radio Archive WHRA6032

2e) Remaining recordings, ordered in first place by composer, in second place by work title and in third place by performer:

Bach, Johann Sebastian (2005) Bourrée in C major, Emanuel Feuermann (cello) rec. New York, 16 August 1939 in *Feuermann in Concert* Cello Classics LC-12873

Bach, Johann Sebastian (2005) Bourrée in C major, Gregor Piatigorsky (cello) rec. ca 1952 in *Heifetz & Piatigorsky Historic Performance film footage* KULTUR ISBN: 0-7697-7910-7

Bruch, Max (2010) *Kol Nidrei*, Emanuel Feuermann (cello) Berlin State Opera Symphony, Frieder Weissman (cond.) rec. 27 January 1930 in *Encores* Parlophone 2-21649 accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Bruch, Max (2008) *Kol Nidrei*, Gregor Piatigorsky (cello) Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy (cond.) rec. 28 December 1947 in *Absolutely Classical* Sony Classical MHK 62876 accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Fauré, Gabriel (1997) *Après un rêve*, Pau Casals (cello), Albert Charles Baker (piano) rec. March 1915 in *Pablo Casals: Encores and Transcriptions vol. 3* CD- Biddulph LAB 141

Fauré, Gabriel (1990) *Après un rêve*, Pau Casals (cello), Nikolai Mendikoff (piano) rec. 5 January 1926 in *Pablo Casals: Encores and Transcriptions vol. 1* CD- Biddulph LAB 017

Fauré, Gabriel (1994) *Après un rêve*, Lluís Claret (cello), Seon-Hee Myong (piano) rec. 1993 in *In memoriam Pau Casals* Auvidis V4733

Fauré, Gabriel (1960) *Élégie*, Gregor Piatigorsky (cello) NBC Symphony Orchestra, 1960 Donald Voorhees (cond.) rec. 1960 in *Bell Telephone hour* accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Granados, Enric (2010) *Andaluza*, Emanuel Feuermann (cello) Michael Taube (piano) rec. 30 April 1928 in *Encores* Parlophone 2- 20757 accessed from YouTube [audio stream]

Granados, Enric (2007) Intermezzo, Pau Casals (cello), Edward Gendron (piano) rec. 21 February 1925 in *Pablo Casals: Encores and Transcriptions vol. 5* Naxos Historical, Victor 6501

Granados, Enric (2007) Intermezzo, Pau Casals (cello), Nikolai Mednikoff (piano) rec. 28 February 1927 in *Casals: Encores and Transcriptions vol. 1* CD- Biddulph LAB 017

Granados, Enric (1994) Intermezzo, Lluís Claret (cello), Seon-Hee Myong (piano) rec. 1993 in *In memoriam Pau Casals* Auvidis V4733

Granados, Enric (2010) Intermezzo, Gregor Piatigorsky (cello) Ralph Berkowitz (piano) rec. 18 September 1950 in *The art of Gregor Piatigorsky* West Hill Radio archive WHRA6032

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, Felix (2010) *Lied ohne Worte Op. 62, No. 1*, Gregor Piatigorsky (cello) Karol Szreter (piano) rec. 3 September 1929 *The art of Gregor Piatigorsky* West hill Radio archive WHRA6032

Schumann, Robert (2012) *Abendlied*, Emanuel Feuermann (cello) pianist unknown rec. 1922 in *Unexpected discoveries* West Hill Radio Archive WHRA-6042-4

Schumann, Robert (2010) *Abendlied*, Emanuel Feuermann (cello) Michael Taube (piano) rec. 8 April 1927 in *Cello 4: The definitive collection of the 19th century's greatest virtuosos* Parlophone 20214 P. 9109-2 accessed from Spotify [audio stream]

