Pablo Sarasate across Theory and Practice: Synthesising Old and New Sources

Nicole Crespo O'Donoghue

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)



Royal College of Music, London

September, 2024

ABSTRACT

Pablo de Sarasate is a renowned and respected violin figure, yet current research is primarily limited to biographical sources and the portrayal of his virtuosity. Sarasate's skill as a violinist and his contribution to repertoire and performance practices must be acknowledged and understood. This two-part doctoral project is focused, therefore, on redefining our understanding of Pablo de Sarasate.

Part One centres on providing new evidence and perspectives. It explores Sarasate's repertoire and programming preferences, whilst also revealing a categorisation of his career development. It includes the first in-depth exploration of Otto Goldschmidt, Sarasate's manager and piano accompanist, an essential figure in the development of Sarasate's public identity and success. The first part concludes with an examination of Sarasate's violins, which includes videos of my performances on his instruments, as well as the discovery and performance of a work found in Sarasate's repertoire. Part Two focuses on a comprehensive interrogation of Sarasate as a violinist. It includes an exploration of his posture, sound, compositions and overall technique, from my own perspective as a violinist.

Whilst this research expands current knowledge on Sarasate and contextualises the violinist within the nineteenth century, its larger goal is to highlight his importance in the development of violin performance practices. Additionally, this doctoral project provides new evidence, including documentary sources such as concert programmes and letters by Sarasate, which are interrogated for the first time through this work.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I am deeply grateful to my supervisors, Dr. Ingrid Pearson, Professor Richard Langham Smith and Dr. Jane Roper for their invaluable advice, insightful comments and support throughout every stage of the research project. I would also like to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Maiko Kawabata for her immense knowledge and support at the beginning of my research. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Royal College of Music for awarding me a scholarship which allowed me to continue my doctoral studies.

I am most grateful to Ana Hueso Pérez, José Azcona Oderiz, Ruth Aizpurua Ramir and Beatriz Marcotegui Barber at The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, David Peter John Coppen at the Sibley Musical Library, Eastman School of Music, Robinson McClellan at the Morgan Library & Museum, Meredith Self at the New York Philharmonic Shelby White & Leon Levy Digital Archives and the Royal College of Music Library for their help and advice in accessing documents and primary source material. Special thanks must also go to Jean-Claude B. Montagné for his invaluable assistance. I am also deeply grateful to the Museo Sarasate in Pamplona, I. Saúl Pérez-Juana del Casal at the Museum of the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid and Jean-Philippe Échard from the Musée de la Musique in Paris for their collaboration and trust in me with Sarasate's violins.

Lastly, I would like to express my heartfelt thanks to my parents for their constant support and encouragement.

Table of Contents

Abstract		i
Acknowledgm		ii
Table of Conte		iii
List of Illustrat	tions	V
List of Tables	1.D. 1	Viii
List of Musical Abbreviations	1 Examples	ix
	hotographs and diagrams	XII XII
-	notographs and diagrams	ΛΠ
PART ONE		
Chapter 1	Sarasate in Context	1
	❖ Introduction	1
	❖ Contextual Framework	4
	❖ Contextualising Sarasate within the 19 th Century	9
Chapter 2	Interrogating Sarasate's Career in Repertoire and	23
	Programming	
	❖ The Early Years: 1844–1869	25
	❖ Years of Development: 1869–1876	31
	❖ Sarasate's First Tours as a Solo Violinist: 1876–1883	38
	❖ The Virtuoso Violinist established: 1883–1908	43
	❖ Programming: Innovation and Legacy	49
Chapter 3	Sarasate's Artistic Development: Discovering New	63
	Documentary Sources	
	❖ 1869: Corroborating Sarasate's First European tour with Carlotta	<i>C</i> 4
	Patti	64
	America	70
	❖ 1871–1872: North America – The Making of a Solo Violinist	77
	❖ Developing Sarasate's persona into the Spanish Celebrity	85
	Otto Goldschmidt: An Essential Figure to Sarasate's Success	91
Chapter 4	Playing Sarasate's Violins: New Perspectives	102
	❖ Approaching Sarasate's violins	104
	❖ J.B. Vuillaume Violin	106
	❖ The <i>Boissier</i> Stradivarius, 1713	114
	❖ The Gand & Bernardel Violin, Strings and Luthiers	121
	❖ The <i>Sarasate</i> Stradivarius, 1724	130

PART TWO

Chapter 5	An Examination of Sarasate's Posture, Technique and Stage Presence	142
	❖ Posture	143
	❖ Shoulder and Chin rests	150
	❖ Bow Hold	155
	❖ Technique	163
	❖ Stage Presence	173
Chapter 6	Sarasate's 1904 Recordings	176
	❖ Timbre	180
	❖ Vibrato	182
	❖ Portamento, Fingering and Shifts	185
	❖ Tempo and Technique	189
	Sarasate's Performance Style in Context	198
Chapter 7	Progression in Technique and Identity: Sarasate's Uncharted	209
	works and Zigeunerweisen ❖ Opera Fantasies	212
	❖ Salon Music and French Inspired Works	223
	❖ Voyage Inspired Compositions	228
	❖ Zigeunerweisen	230
	❖ Performing Zigeunerweisen: A Case Study	236
	❖ Transcriptions and Editions.	240
Chapter 8	Sarasate's Technique: Interrogating the Spanish Dances	247
Chapter o	❖ Airs Espagnols: The Beginning	250
	 ❖ Sarasate's Spanish Dances: Origins	254
	 ❖ Virtuosity and Technique in Sarasate's Spanish Dances 	257
	❖ Left-hand Technique	259
	Right-hand Technique and Coordination	270
Conclusion	Tright hand recinique and coordination	279
Conclusion		217
Appendix 1	Letters sent by Pablo Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie 1869–1872 (Part 2), Transcription, translation and commentary	282
Bibliography		311

List of Illustrations

Figure 1	Founders of the French violin school and their students – Baillot	11
Figure 2	Founders of the French violin school and their students – Rode &	12
Figure 3	Kreutzer Bronze statuette <i>Fanny Elssler (La Cachucha)</i> , <i>c</i> . 1836 by Jean-Auguste Barre	17
Figure 4	Programme New York, 3 February 1872	33
Figure 5	Programme Leipzig, 30 January 1892	52
Figure 6	Programme Berlin, 3 March 1892	53
Figure 7	Programme Freiburg, 10 January 1892	54
Figure 8	Programme Poznán, 18 February 1892	55
Figure 9	Programme Madrid, 22 September 1887	57
Figure 10	Programme Glasgow, 26 October 1891	58
Figure 11	Programme Paris, 14 May 1908	59
Figure 12	The Irish Times, Dublin 12 November 1904	60
Figure 13	Programme Joseph Joachim (violin) & Leonard Borwick (piano), Bechstein Hall, 10 May 1906	61
Figure 14	Pablo Sarasate (violin) & Otto Neitzel (piano), Bechstein Hall, 31 October & 8 November 1904	62
Figure 15	Programme Carlotta Patti, 15 April 1869 at The Odessa Theatre	66
Figure 16	Map from 1867 marked with locations visited by Sarasate on 1869 tour	67
Figure 17	Union Square c. 1850, Everett House on the left	72
Figure 18	New York Dispatch - Announcement of Patti's Concert	75
Figure 19	Programme – Nilsson Concert, 18 September 1871	78–79
Figure 20	The Evening Post, 23 February 1872	81
Figure 21	The Evening Post - Signor Sarasate's concert	82
Figure 22	Catalogue of auction after Mrs. Lassabathie's death	84
Figure 23	Sarasate in Vanity Fair, 1889	87
Figure 24	The Strand Magazine, 1892	88
Figure 25	Goldschmidt's family grave in Biarritz	92
Figure 26	Goldschmidt's gravestone in Biarritz	93
Figure 27	Sarasate and Goldschmidt	95
Figure 28	Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate (1884) by James McNeill Whistler	96
Figure 29	Transcription and Translation: Letter Durand to Sarasate, 25 March 1879	97–98
Figure 30	Berthe Marx-Goldschmidt and Pablo de Sarasate c. 1890	99

Figure 31	Sarasate's Vuillaume violin in the Museo Pablo Sarasate, Pamplona	107
Figure 32	Body of Vuillaume violin whilst played	110
Figure 33	Body of 1713 Boissier Stradivarius whilst played	111
Figure 34	Concert Programme – 20 September 2018, Pamplona	112
Figure 35	Video - Highlights of live performance on Sarasate's Vuillaume	113
Figure 36	Sarasate's bow decorated with a ruby	114
Figure 37	Sarasate/Chopin Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 on Vuillaume	116
Figure 38	Sarasate/Chopin's Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 on Boissier Stradivarius	116
Figure 39	Stradivarius 1713 receipt – sold to Sarasate	118
Figure 40	Stradivarius 1713 receipt - Gand & Bernardel cash received	119
Figure 41	Fragment of Sarasate's account in Gand & Bernardel's ledger (1888–1892)	120
Figure 42	Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin, Pamplona	122
Figure 43	List of workshop owners during Sarasate's lifetime	123
Figure 44	Letter from Caressa to Goldschmidt, 1908	126–127
Figure 45	Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin in crystal box, Pamplona	128
Figure 46	Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin's visible markings, Pamplona	129
Figure 47	Sarasate's 1724 Stradivarius	130
Figure 48	Transcription and Translation: Letter Caressa to Goldschmidt, 1908	131
Figure 49	1724 Stradivarius in the conservation laboratory, Paris	134
Figure 50	Stradivarius 1724 Sarasate – Caressa & Français bridge	135
Figure 51	Sarasate Stradivarius 1724 varnish markings – chin rest	137
Figure 52	Sarasate's Stradivarius 1724 – hand mark	138
Figure 53	Sarasate <i>c</i> . 1870	138
Figure 54	Baillot <i>L'Art du violon</i> (1834), position of feet in relation to the music stand	144
Figure 55	Pablo Sarasate at his home Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris c. 1900	145
Figure 56	Violin placement and standing position in Baillot <i>L'Art du violon</i> , (1834)	146
Figure 57	Sarasate in London, <i>c.</i> 1895, arrows added to show violin placement	146
Figure 58	Portrait of Jascha Heifetz c. 1920	148
Figure 59	Jascha Heifetz, 1947	148
Figure 60	Standard mid 20 th and 21 st century violin position	149
Figure 61	Patent for violin shoulder rest 31 January 1882 by Francis L. Becker	150

Figure 62	Violin placement in Spohr Violinschule (1832)	151
Figure 63	Sarasate's chin rest, c. 1880, London	153
Figure 64	Sarasate <i>c</i> . 1890	153
Figure 65	Sarasate's chin rest, 1899	154
Figure 66	Joseph Joachim, c. 1900	154
Figure 67	Pablo de Sarasate's left hand, c. 1900	155
Figure 68	Joseph Joachim's left hand, c. 1900	155
Figure 69	Nicole Crespo's hand, 2024	155
Figure 70	Franco-Belgian bow hold, 1924	158
Figure 71	Index finger, point of contact - Franco-Belgian bow hold	158
Figure 72	German bow hold, 1924	158
Figure 73	Index finger, point of contact – German bow hold	158
Figure 74	Russian bow hold, 1924	159
Figure 75	Index finger, point of contact – Russian bow hold	159
Figure 76	Illustration of posture in Alard's École du Violon (1844)	160
Figure 77	Illustration of posture in Bériot's Méthode de Violon (1858)	160
Figure 78	Sarasate in Munich, 1884	161
Figure 79	Sarasate's right hand. Munich, 1884	161
Figure 80	Sarasate <i>c.</i> 1870	162
Figure 81	Sarasate in London c. 1895	163
Figure 82	Left- and right- hand techniques most used by Sarasate	164
Figure 83	Sarasate's left- hand technique	165
Figure 84	Sarasate's most used bowing techniques	169
Figure 85	Differences in martelé and staccato pressure accents	170
Figure 86	Pablo Sarasate c. 1900	173
Figure 87	Sarasate Zigeunerweisen op. 20, bar 23. Autograph manuscript	194
Figure 88	Video – Zigeunerweisen. Moderato Live Performance	236
Figure 89	Airs Espagnols' structure	251
Figure 90	Summary of Sarasate's distinguishing left- and right-hand techniques	258
Figure 91	Sarasate Zapateado. Autograph score	263

List of Tables

Table 1	Sarasate's early compositions, 1862–1869	30
Table 2	Sarasate's compositions, 1870–1876	35
Table 3	Sarasate's repertoire, 1872–1876	36
Table 4	Sarasate's compositions, 1877–1883	40
Table 5	Repertoire additions, 1887–1893	44
Table 6	Sarasate's compositions, 1884–1908	47
Table 7	Three-month tour with Carlotta Patti, 1869	68
Table 8	Sarasate's concerts in North America, 1870	73
Table 9	Sarasate's violins	102
Table 10	Details of video recording sessions with Sarasate's violins	105
Table 11	Details of Sarasate's purchase of 1713 Boissier Stradivarius	121
Table 12	Entries in Gand & Bernardel's Grand Livre 1854–1864,	124
	Monsieur Sarasate	
Table 13	Comparison of dimensions between Sarasate's Stradivari	137
Table 14	Sarasate's recordings, 1904	176
Table 15	Joachim's recordings, 1903	177
Table 16	Comparison of recordings of J.S Bach's <i>Prelude</i> Partita No. 3 E major BWV 1006	190
Table 17	Comparison of recordings – Chopin/Sarasate <i>Nocturne</i> op. 9 no. 2	198
Table 18	Comparison of recordings – Sarasate's Zigeunerweisen	202
Table 19	Sarasate's compositions – Opera Fantasies	213
Table 20	Sarasate's compositions – Salon music until 1869	224
Table 21	French inspired works, 1870–1908	226
Table 22	Compositions inspired by international tours 1870-1908	228
Table 23	Sarasate's transcriptions and editions	240
Table 24	Transcriptions of Chopin, 1876–1877	242
Table 25	Sarasate as editor and arranger	244
Table 26	Sarasate's Spanish-based compositions, 1874–1908	248
Table 27	Sarasate's compositions based on Spanish dances organised by region	256

List of Musical Examples

Example 1	Chopin/Sarasate Nocturne op. 9 no. 2, cadenza	115
Example 2	Bruch violin concerto, 3 rd mov. – double stops with tenths, bars 50–58	166
Example 3	Sarasate <i>Carmen Fantasy</i> – double stops, bars 1–12	167
Example 4	Lalo Symphonie Espagnole – high positions, bars 367–372	168
Example 5	Lalo <i>Symphonie Espagnole</i> – left-hand pizzicato & high range jump, bars 344–355	168
Example 6	Zigeunerweisen upward staccato passage, bar 22	171
Example 7	Bazzini La Ronde des Lutins op. 25, bars 49-63	172
Example 8	Mendelssohn violin concerto, cadenza – Ricochet, bars 291–302	172
Example 9	Three methods for fingering portamento	186
Example 10	Sarasate Habanera, L-portamento, bars 18 to 19	187
Example 11	Sarasate Habanera, portamento (a), bars 77 to 78	187
Example 12	Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 123-152	188
Example 13	J.S Bach <i>Prelude</i> Partita No. 3 E major BWV 1006, bars 16–21	190
Example 14	J.S Bach <i>Prelude</i> Partita No. 3 E major BWV 1006, bars 43-48	191
Example 15	Sarasate Introduction et Tarantelle op. 43, bars 283–296	192
Example 16	Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 170-190	193
Example 17	Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 221–244	193
Example 18	Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 112-123	195
Example 19	Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 136–165	195
Example 20	Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 209–228	196
Example 21	Sarasate <i>Habanera, Spanish Dance</i> op. 21 no. 2, bars 45–52. Comparison of First Edition and Sarasate's recording	197
Example 22	Sarasate <i>Habanera, Spanish Dance</i> op. 21 no. 2, bars 69–76. Comparison of First Edition and Sarasate's recording	197
Example 23	Sarasate Caprice Basque, bars 144–152	198
Example 24	Comparison of performance practices in Sarasate/Chopin <i>Nocturne</i> op. 9 no. 2	200–201
Example 25	Comparison of performance practices in <i>Zigeunerweisen</i> op. 20, bars 2–6	203–204
Example 26	Comparison of performance practices in <i>Zigeunerweisen</i> op. 20, bars 13–20	205–207
Example 27	Comparison Verdi <i>La Forza del Destino</i> and Sarasate. <i>Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino Verdi</i> , bars 17–30	214
Example 28	Sarasate Souvenirs de Faust, bars 1–20	216
Example 29	Sarasate Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod, bars 285-304	217
Example 30	Sarasate Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod, bars 350-364	218

Example 31	Sarasate Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow, bars 13–23	219
Example 32	Fragments from Sarasate Souvenirs de Faust	220
Example 33	Examples from Sarasate <i>Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Ch. Gounod</i>	221
Example 34	Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie, bars 155–169	221
Example 35	Sarasate Le Freischütz. Fantaisie, continuous double stops	222
Example 36	Sarasate Le Freischütz. Fantaisie, high positions	222
Example 37	Sarasate <i>Le Freischütz. Fantaisie</i> , harmonics and left-hand pizzicato	222
Example 38	Sarasate <i>Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart</i> op. 54 – passage of tenths	223
Example 39	Sarasate Souvenir de Domont. Valse de Salon, finale	225
Example 40	Sarasate Ballade op. 31, bars 1–8	227
Example 41	Sarasate Ballade op. 31, final 14 bars	227
Example 42	Sarasate Airs écossais op. 34, bars 53-56	229
Example 43	Comparison - Bihari <i>Lassu Magyar</i> , bars 2–4 and Sarasate <i>Zigeunerweisen</i> , bars 5–6	232
Example 44	Comparison of Szentirmay <i>Csak egy lány van a világon</i> and Sarasate <i>Zigeunerweisen, Un peu plus lent,</i> bars 49–64	233
Example 45	Comparison of Rozsavolgyi 'Frissa' from <i>Lassu Magyar</i> , bars 1–28 and Sarasate <i>Zigeunerweisen</i> , bars 71–97	234
Example 46	Zigeunerweisen. Lento, bars 12–19	237
Example 47	Zigeunerweisen. Lento, bars 23–28	238
Example 48	Chopin/Sarasate Nocturne op. 9 no. 2, bars 9-12	242
Example 49	Chopin/Sarasate Nocturne op. 9 no. 2, bar 14	242
Example 50	Chopin Nocturne op. 27 no. 2, bars 10-18	243
Example 51	Chopin/Sarasate Nocturne op. 27 no. 2, bars 7–17	243
Example 52	Bach Aria de la Suite in D, arranged by Sarasate	245
Example 53	Juan Cansino Olé no. 6, bars 1–15	252
Example 54	Sarasate Airs Espagnols, bars 1–19	252
Example 55	Sarasate Airs Espagnols, bars 24–27	253
Example 56	Sarasate <i>Habanera</i> , bars 140–143	253
Example 57	Sarasate Airs Espagnols and Sarasate Navarra	254
Example 58	Sarasate Malagueña op. 21 no. 1, bars 55–76	259
Example 59	Sarasate <i>Jota Navarra</i> , bars 66–77	261
Example 60	Sarasate <i>Jota Navarra</i> , bars 88–91	261
Example 61	Sarasate Caprice Basque, bars 170–190	262

Example 62	Sarasate <i>Jota Navarra</i> , left-hand consecutive pizzicato, bars 101–103	262
Example 63	Sarasate <i>Jota Navarra</i> , bars 125–130	262
Example 64	Sarasate Zapateado, bars 136–147	264
Example 65	Sarasate Zapateado, bars 50-58	264
Example 66	Sarasate Zapateado, bars 91–94	265
Example 67	Sarasate Zapateado, bars 22-46	265
Example 68	Sarasate Spanish Dance VII, bar 208	266
Example 69	Sarasate Spanish Dance VII, bars 144-167	267
Example 70	Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 44-62	267
Example 71	Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 223-238	268
Example 72	Sarasate <i>Muiñeira</i> , bars 1–15	269
Example 73	Alard Symphonie Concertante, final movement, bars 72-77	270
Example 74	Sarasate Navarra for 2 violins, bars 22–26	270
Example 75	Sarasate Jota Navarra, finale	271
Example 76	Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 152-162	272
Example 77	Sarasate Jota Aragonesa, bars 45–73	273
Example 78	Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bar 73	274
Example 79	Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bar 234	274
Example 80	Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bars 244–261	275
Example 81	Sarasate Peteneras op. 35, bars 185–200	275
Example 82	Sarasate <i>Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole</i> op. 40, bars 217–223	275
Example 83	Sarasate Bolero op. 30, bars 100–116	276
Example 84	Sarasate <i>Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole,</i> bars 90–94	276
Example 85	Sarasate Introduction et Caprice-Jota op. 41, bars 43-48	277
Example 86	Sarasate Zapateado, bars 112–123	277

Abbreviations

AMP	Archivo Municipal de Pamplona
BDH	Biblioteca Digital Hispánica
E.M.c	Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid
F.P.cm	Cité de la Musique, Musée de la Musique
F-Pn	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
GB-Gu	Glasgow University Library
Ms	Manuscript source available in the public domain
RijkM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
US-Nypm	Morgan Library & Museum – Musicians Letters
US-Nyp	New York Public Library
US-NYphil	The New York Philharmonic Shelby White & Leon Levy Digital Archives
US-R	Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester

Translations, photographs and diagrams

All translations, photographs and diagrams are the work of the author unless otherwise specified.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

Sarasate in Context

Introduction

Pablo Sarasate, born Martín Melitón Sarasate y Navascués in 1844, was a virtuoso violinist-composer of the late nineteenth century. As Gustave Chouquet writes, 'his beautiful tone, retentive memory, immense execution, and certainty of finger, added to the singularity of his manners and appearance, ensured his success...' Today, Sarasate is known for his virtuosic performances and as the composer of violin encore pieces such as *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20. However, this depiction represents only a small fragment of his legacy. Sarasate was a renowned performer who toured the world in a time when travel was not available to all – 'No violinist has travelled more than he' wrote Chouquet.² Furthermore, Sarasate was one of the earliest recorded artists and inspiration for many prominent figures of the time. These include Camille Saint-Saëns, Édouard Lalo and Max Bruch, whose compositions he helped disseminate around the world. As this doctoral project demonstrates, Sarasate belonged to a long line of virtuosos who helped maintain and shape the performance traditions of their time. He was a key figure in the historical transition from composer-performers to interpreter and helped establish a number of compositions into the musical canon.³

This doctoral project contextualises Sarasate within the dynamic performance traditions of the nineteenth century. Whilst other nineteenth-century figures such as Joseph Joachim are cited, the objective of this study is to enhance the research available centred on Sarasate as the predominant figure. Moreover, this thesis does not intend to contribute to the history of Spanish culture, instead aiming to shed light on Sarasate's many attributes, some of which are overlooked in existing literature. This work combines for the first time documentary sources with organological sources, oral sources, recordings, iconography and practice research, through my own explorations as a violinist. Whilst existing studies have utilised some of the materials present in this thesis, this is the first study to attempt such a comprehensive examination of archival and musical sources.

¹ Gustave Chouquet, 'Sarasate, Martín Melitón', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, Vol III (London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1894), 227.

² *Ibid.*

³ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Luis G Iberni, *Pablo Sarasate* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, Música Hispana: Textos, 1994).

This doctoral project presents newly found evidence and perspectives; topics such as Sarasate's violins, his career progression and image development are explored. By examining his repertoire and technique, we can ascertain his preferences and thus, greatly enhance our understanding of Sarasate as a player. Additionally, this work explores the events and external influences that aided in Sarasate's success, amongst which Otto Goldschmidt, his manager, emerges as a prominent figure. The research reveals how Sarasate's contributions to, and influence on violin performance practices are more substantial and influential than is currently acknowledged. In so doing, this doctoral project actively seeks to re-instate Sarasate as a key figure in violin performance.

One of the main locations for archival sources pertaining to Sarasate is the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona. Sarasate bequeathed to Pamplona City Hall a personal archive of scores, documents, photos and concert programmes.⁴ This collection comprises materials collected and stored by Goldschmidt and Sarasate himself. It is likely that they opted to retain only favourable materials in support of the legacy they wished to leave. Amongst the archival materials, it was surprising that the numerous scores, once owned by Sarasate, contained limited hand-written annotations for bowings and fingerings.⁵ Therefore, my text explores possible reasons for the lack of such annotations. Other archives consulted include the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), Biblioteca Nacional de España (Madrid), The Sibley Music Library at Eastman School of Music (Rochester) and The Morgan Library & Museum (New York). Additional sources contemporary to Sarasate comprise of periodicals such as La Revue et Gazette Musicale, Le Ménestrel and The Musical Times. Sarasate had a worldwide touring career, thus comparing published and unpublished records internationally allows for a fuller understanding of the violinist's life and career. I have also been able to review correspondence with Sarasate's family and social networks, as well as materials such as letters and photographs preserved by his descendants in private family archives.

During the investigative process, I located a living descendant of Otto Goldschmidt. As an important and influential figure to Sarasate, Goldschmidt kept a private collection of records and letters which were kindly shared with me. These materials are interrogated and combined with previous sources, and in turn, shape the historiography of Sarasate. In order to expand the evidence available on the violinist, a full transcription and translation of a set of newly discovered letters from Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie has been included in Appendix 1.6

⁴ Legado de Sarasate, Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, Spain (AMP).

⁶ These materials will be referred to as JCB Personal Archive and they are reproduced by permission of JCB.

This thesis challenges existing knowledge and it is focused on refining an understanding of Sarasate's performance career and violinistic features. In order to do so, the thesis has been divided into two parts, each comprising of four chapters. Chapter 1 provides a broad contextualisation, delivering a useful framework for the project as a whole. Chapter 2 offers a biographical summary whilst examining the evolution of Sarasate's repertoire throughout his career. In combination with an analysis of his programming decisions, this chapter contributes to demonstrating Sarasate's role in repertoire dissemination. It also supports a classification of his development as a violinist. Chapter 3 delivers an interrogation of the newly discovered materials. It confirms dates, locations and repertoire from Sarasate's first international tours, which were essential to Sarasate's artistic development. The chapter also discusses the hybrid identity Sarasate embraced by fusing his Spanish roots and his assimilation of the French culture. This was an image which was encouraged by Goldschmidt, Sarasate's life-long manager and friend, who, as this research shows, was a highly influential figure in Sarasate's career. This thesis also provides the first in-depth examination of Otto Goldschmidt, who is often misidentified as Jenny Lind's husband of the same name. In Chapter 4 of Part 1, I examine Sarasate's four violins from the perspective of a violinist. My interaction with instruments by Gand & Bernardel, Vuillaume and Stradivarius (the 1713 Boissier Stradivarius and the 1724 Sarasate Stradivarius) enabled a connection between practice and theory which no previous commentators have undertaken. As well as the examination of newly discovered documents relating to the purchase of these instruments, I include video documentation and observations concerning my interactions with two of these instruments (Vuillaume and *Boissier*). Amongst my recorded performances is a rediscovery of a work found amongst Sarasate's archives, performed on the Vuillaume. In the absence of other recordings of this work, my preparation of this piece presented a valuable opportunity for artistic exploration.

Whilst Part 1 comprises a variety of topics which jointly aim to provide new research and perspectives on Sarasate, Part 2 concentrates solely on Sarasate as a violinist. Chapter 5 focuses on Sarasate's posture, his technique as extracted from the repertoire he performed and his stage presence. Chapter 6 continues with a depiction of the violinist's sound, comparing recordings created through time, in order to compare the changes in style of performing Sarasate. However, an awareness of the limitations of early recording technologies and their impact on musical parameters must be noted. Whilst Chapter 5 interrogates Sarasate's technique through the overall examination of his repertoire, Chapters 7 and 8 focus on his

_

⁷ Links to supporting materials are provided throughout.

own compositions, detailing his preferred techniques. This also reveals the affinity between Sarasate's compositional development and stylistic evolution, amongst contemporary practices. The Hispanic presence in his compositions is also interrogated to investigate their provenance, most of which, although regarded as a reproduction of his home, Pamplona, instead represent the southern part of Spain. His Spanish-inspired compositions and nationalistic presence on stage also link him to a group of artists that influenced the Hispanic musical movement in Paris.

The combination of all of these topics jointly generates new perspectives and achieves a holistic understanding of Sarasate. However, in order to truly understand how Sarasate fits into the historical timeline of events, and comprehend his artistic practices and contributions, it is first necessary to provide a wider historical context. Therefore, as well as providing a critical introduction of current research on Sarasate, this chapter pays particular attention to three areas of direct relevance to Sarasate, his manner of playing and his reception and success as a virtuoso violinist: the French violin school, the subject of Virtuosity and *Hispanomania* in France.

Note however, it is beyond the scope of this doctoral project to provide a deep examination of these three selected topics in their full nineteenth-century context, as these are too vast to cover in one chapter alone. The subjects presented in this chapter are not the centre of the research, but they offer significant contextual information as they had an impact in Sarasate's approach to violin playing and his ensuing career. Therefore, this text provides a concise discussion of each subject in order to provide a starting point towards understanding the violinist's life, career, obstacles and successes. Without these prior developments, Sarasate's career may have evolved differently or not even existed.

Contextual Framework

Current literature on Sarasate is limited and does not define him in the same detail as other comparable nineteenth-century figures, such as Joseph Joachim. In contrast, Sarasate did not write a violin treatise, nor did he have any long-term pupils. The only source materials that we have on Sarasate are his 1904 recordings, numerous reviews, articles and letters, as well as scores, both his own and those dedicated to him. In 1909, one year after Sarasate's death, his friend Julio Altadil, published the first biography on the violinist, *Memorias de Sarasate*. It was written with the support of Sarasate's loyal friend and secretary Otto Goldschmidt who provided Altadil with materials and personal recollections. Thus, this source contains a certain degree of bias. The book comprehensively records Sarasate's life, from birth to his death,

⁸ Julio Altadil, *Memorias de Sarasate* (Pamplona, Spain: Imprenta de Armendía y Onsalo, 1909).

with a thorough account of his tours and concerts. Its importance is reflected in the fact that most of the subsequent literature is based on this publication. Following Altadil's work, there are other smaller publications such as Leon Zárate's *Sarasate* (1945), which contain personal recollections from the authors that are useful to contextualise public opinion of Sarasate.

Luis G. Iberni's *Pablo Sarasate* (1994) is the first critical resource. 11 Iberni acknowledges Sarasate as a modern interpreter; he begins to examine Sarasate's image and personality and categorises Sarasate's compositions. However, this work is directed to a general audience, introducing questions and suggesting concepts without depicting the arguments in detail. The final monograph devoted solely to Sarasate is Maria Nagore Ferrer's Sarasate: El violin de Europa (2013).12 This source contains confirmed, corrected information on the violinist, detailed tables of his concerts and tours and includes information from Sarasate's family's archive. The author analyses in detail selected Sarasate compositions and completes a list of his works and repertoire dedicated to him. This task was aided by a complete edition of Sarasate's works published by Ramón Sobrino and Ara Malikian in 2010.¹³ Ferrer's book, alongside Iberni's, is the most important resource to date on Sarasate. However, it is ultimately a biography and although it does include new verified data, it does not aim to answer any of the questions Iberni previously raised. Ferrer acknowledges the need of a violinist to fully complete an exploration on Sarasate. Ferrer's book is also one of the first resources to expand somewhat on Otto Goldschmidt's role, including his part in providing materials to Julio Altadil. 14 Additionally, whilst Sarasate has been the subject of or mentioned in several doctoral theses since 1996, these often discuss similar matters and utilise information from the publications mentioned above. Miguel Perez-Espejo's 2009 study approaches Sarasate's violinistic qualities for the first time. 15 However, it does not, for example, investigate Sarasate's posture in detail or his violins.

Although Otto Goldschmidt is mentioned in both Altadil and Ferrer's work, they provide limited information. There is, however, one recent source that provides close perspectives on Goldschmidt. Jean Claude Beïret Montagné, Goldschmidt's grandson whom I

⁹ Custodia Plantón, *Pablo Sarasate* (1844–1908) (Pamplona, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra (E.U.N.S.A), 2000); Natalia Trías Barco, *Pablo Sarasate*. *Memorias Familiares* (Pamplona: Fondo de Publicaciones del Gobierno de Navarra, 2013).

¹⁰ León Zárate, *Sarasate* (Barcelona: Ediciones Ave, 1945); Ignacio J. Urricelqui Pacho, 'Pablo Sarasate, su Relación con las Bellas Artes y su Faceta Coleccionista. Algunas notas sobre el Museo Sarasate de Pamplona', *Príncipe de Viana* (PV), 248 (2009), 683–706.

¹¹ Iberni, *Pablo Sarasate*, 1994.

¹² Maria Nagore Ferrer, *Sarasate. El Violín de Europa* (Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2013).

¹³ This two-part edition has been out of print since 09 June 2019.

¹⁴ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 219.

¹⁵ Miguel Perez-Espejo, 'Pablo Sarasate. The violinist', PhD diss. (Boston: Boston University, College of Fine Arts, School of Music, May 2009).

located during my research, has published *Trois Vies. Histoires de vies bien remplies* (2023). The book narrates the author's life, including his youth during the Second World War, and provides details of his family, his mother Berthe-Ottilia Goldschmidt, daughter of Otto Goldschmidt and his grandfather Otto Goldschmidt. Whilst providing details on his grandfather, he also mentions Sarasate, due to their close and working relationship. Montagné generously gave me access to the manuscript of Goldschmidt's *Memoirs*, excerpts of which are interrogated for the first time in this thesis. Whilst Montagné has published parts of the *Memoirs* in his book, providing essential new evidence, it is presented rather than analysed. This thesis provides first-hand evidence, but also extracts, applies and combines the data with previous research in order to further knowledge and understanding about Sarasate.

As an important figure of the late nineteenth century, Sarasate is mentioned by other performers, critics and acquaintances, including Enrique Fernandez Arbós, Leopold Auer, Carl Flesch, Joseph Joachim, Édouard Lalo, Juan Manén, Camille Saint-Saëns and George Bernard Shaw. ¹⁶ In many ways Joachim was Sarasate's opposite; thus, comparing them is an effective way to define them. Dorottya Fabian's 2006 article does this by comparing the recordings of Joseph Joachim, Eugène Ysaÿe and Sarasate, but accords the Spanish violinist by far the least attention. ¹⁷ The use of recordings as research has been underestimated in the past, a fact that Robert Philip points out in his work. ¹⁸ The author demonstrates how tastes have changed over the years and the implications of those changes today. Sarasate's 1904 recordings are an important source when attempting to discern the violinist's playing decisions and sound qualities. We must, however, listen to these with an awareness of the limitations of early recording technologies. ¹⁹ Philip also explores the relationship between listener and performer, and freedom of expression between the ages. Freedom of expression also associates with the shift of importance between performer and composer. Kenneth Hamilton addresses today's performance style and the current formality of concert

1

George Bernard Shaw, Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes, ed. Dan H. Laurence (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1981); Leopold Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach it (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1921); Carl Flesch, The Art of Violin Playing Book I, trans. Eric Rosenblith (New York: Carl Fischer, 2000); Enrique Fernandez Arbós, José Luis Temes and Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, Memorias de Arbós: Treinta Años como Violinista (Madrid: Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, Editorial Apuerto, S. A., 2005); Édouard Lalo, Correspondance, ed. Joël-Marie Fauquet (Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1989); Camille Saint-Saëns, Au courant de la vie (Paris: Dorbon-aîné, 1916); Franz Liszt, The letters of Franz Liszt to Olga Von Meyendorff, 1871–1886, trans. William R. Tyler (Washington: Dumbarton Oak, Harvard University Press, 1979); Juan Manén, Mis experiencias, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1944); Joseph Joachim, Andreas Moser, Violinschule, trans. Alfred Moffat (Berlin: Simrock, 1905).

¹⁷ Dorottya Fabian, 'The Recordings of Joachim, Ysaÿe and Sarasate in light of their Reception by Nineteenth-century British Critics (Joseph Joachim, Pablo Sarasate, Eugène Ysaÿe)', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, Vol. 37 (2006), 189–211.

¹⁸ Robert Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical Style*. *Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900–1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Robert Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

performance. Lastly, he introduces the 'absurd' need for perfection, the loss of improvisation and explains how the memorising process is only a recent practice.²⁰

Robin Stowell is one of few authors, alongside Grange Woolley, who have written articles with Sarasate as the main subject. Stowell's research on the history of performance practices, violin technique development and overall work on the history of violin are invaluable points of departure for this investigation. However, the general nature in research has so far prioritised the German violin school, and artists such as Joseph Joachim, as is evident in David Milsom and Clive Brown's work. Milsom also covers the broader topic of style in performance in the nineteenth century with arguments as to the need to unlearn present values in order to better understand performance style. The historiography of violin performance in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century is skewed, biased towards a concentration of Germanic sources.

Having set the broad context of nineteenth-century performance history, it is essential to interrogate virtuosity and image. Mai Kawabata presents an in-depth look at Paganini's demonic image and his extraordinary abilities, both as a violinist and businessman.²⁵ In parallel, Dana Gooley reconstructs the virtuoso Liszt and the many identities that flourished because of his 'chameleonic' character.²⁶ He describes the pianist as a 'virtuoso strategist', whilst also creating an understanding of cultural communities in the nineteenth century. There are other more recent publications such as the collection *Liszt and Virtuosity*, edited by Robert Doran. However, Doran maintains that 'the volume aims to treat virtuosity as a musical

²⁰ Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008).

²¹ Robin Stowell, 'Semblanzas de Compositores Españoles 29: Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908)', *Revista de la Fundación Juan March* 401 (2011), 2–7; Grange Woolley, 'Pablo de Sarasate: His Historical Significance', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 36. No. 3, (July 1955), 237–252.

²² Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell ed., *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Robin Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

²³ Clive Brown, *Classical and Romantic performing practice 1750-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Brown, 'Physical Parameters of Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Violin Playing' (University of Leeds/University of Huddersfield, CHASE, 2012), https://mhm.hud.ac.uk/chase/article/physical-parameters-of-19th-and-early-20th-century-violin-playing-clive-brown/; Brown, 'The decline of the 19th century German school of violin playing'. (University of Leeds/University of Huddersfield, CHASE, n.d), https://mhm.hud.ac.uk/chase/article/the-decline-of-the-19th-century-german-school-of-violin-playing-clive-

brown/; Katharina Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018).

²⁴ David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style*

²⁴ David Milsom, *Theory and Practice in Late Nineteenth Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, 1850–1900* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003); Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices: A Handbook* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020).

²⁵ Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini. The 'Demonic' Virtuoso* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013); Kawabata, 'Virtuosity, the Violin, the Devil. What Really Made Paganini "Demonic"?', *Current Musicology* (83), https://doi.org/10.7916/cm.v0i83.5088 (accessed 22 August 2024).

²⁶ Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt. New Perspective in Music History and Criticism* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 197; See also Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt*, 4 Vols. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987).

concept, rather than the *image* of Liszt-as-virtuoso'.²⁷ Further significant monographs on the subject of virtuosity include the works by Alexander Stefaniak and Žarko Cvejić.²⁸ However, Cvejić's *The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity, c. 1815–1850* contains some incorrect information regarding Sarasate's manager Otto Goldschmidt which this doctoral project corrects.

William Weber's research adds to our understanding of the transformation in musical taste; artist's awareness of audiences and subsequently, their programme choices, and the new independence that influenced a more equal society. Weber's method of comparison of assembled programmes and reviews has been applied in this doctoral project, enabling Sarasate's personal repertoire preferences to be discerned for the first time. Equally, this has allowed for an identification of growth in his repertoire choices and his awareness of audience's taste and expectations. The study of Sarasate's programmes has uncovered a number of compositions performed by the violinist which are today forgotten. Weber's work also highlights concert life in order to integrate musical and sociological research, contrasting with Carl Dahlhaus's work based on compositional development. The latter is equally important to this research as Sarasate is central to the development from composer/performer to interpreter.

Nationalism was a dominant movement at the end of the century, a topic that Dahlhaus also explores, and that correlates to Sarasate's personal brand which was based on the Cosmopolitan-Spanish ideal.³² Whilst this research is not a study on exoticism, it does make reference to the topic, thus it is significant to also be aware of Ralph Locke's research, which delves into the misunderstandings of cultural history.³³ Sarasate embraced the misconceptions associated with Spain by, for example, composing works which could be easily identified by the public as Spanish. Thus, he predominantly based his works on themes

_

²⁷ Robert Doran ed., *Liszt and Virtuosity* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2020), viii.

²⁸ Alexander Stefaniak, Schumann's Virtuosity: Criticism Composition and Performance in Nineteenth-Century Germany (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2016); Žarko Cvejić, The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity c.1815–c.1850 (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016).

²⁵ William Weber ed., *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700-1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); Weber, *Music and The Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna between 1830 and 1848* (London: Ashgate, 2004); Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge University Press, 2008); See also, Christina Bashford and Roberta Montemorra, *The Idea of Art Music in a Commercial World, 1800-1930* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016).

³⁰ Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste.

³¹ Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

³² *Ibid*; Jim Samson, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014, ©2002); Gabrielle Annora Harvey, 'A piece of the Exotic: Virtuosic Violin Compositions and National Identity'. DMA diss. (University of Iowa, May 2012).

³³ Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); See also, Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

from the south of Spain. Within this topic, James Parakilas' 'How Spain Got a Soul' discusses more specifically the exoticizing of Spain in France and utilises Sarasate as an example.³⁴ The enthusiasm for the Spanish essence was such that it gave rise to the movement known as *Hispanomania*, a fashion which was encouraged further through music. Richard Langham Smith furthers this discussion in *Bizet's Carmen Uncovered*, by discussing the reasons by which Bizet's *Carmen* became such a success, and the reasons behind the creation of *Hispanomania*.³⁵

Contextualising Sarasate within the 19th Century

The French Violin School: Descendants

Today, the distinctions between national schools of violin playing are not as apparent as they once were; some schools have merged, and others have disappeared. The diminishing in differences between national schools developed throughout the twentieth century, but prior to this development, players could be more easily identified as belonging to one specific school of violin playing. From the various national schools that existed, the French violin school was recognized as a leading centre of learning, an epicentre which not only shaped numerous artists, but from which many international players and schools of violin playing can be traced. By the 1830s France became the leading European centre of musical activity, and artists worldwide, including Sarasate, travelled to Paris striving for excellence and new opportunities. However, due to national pride and various political constraints, there was a brief period when foreign artists were prohibited from joining the Conservatoire regardless of their talent. However, was refused admittance in 1823. Sarasate was fortunate that this rule was not in place by the time he journeyed to Paris and therefore, he was able to gain admittance into the Paris Conservatoire in 1856.

⁻

³⁴ James Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul' in Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998).

³⁵ Richard Langham-Smith, *Bizet's Carmen Uncovered* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021), 7.

³⁶ Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, 191–192.

³⁷ Bruce R. Schueneman, 'The French Violin School: From Viotti to Bériot', *Notes*, 60, no. 3 (2004), 757–70, 757; Douglas Macnicol, 'The French School of Violin Playing between Revolution and Reaction: A Comparison of the Treatises of 1803 and 1834 by Pierre Baillot', *Nineteenth-Century Music Review*, 18, no. 3 (2021), 359–88. ³⁸ John Rink, 'The Profession of music' in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Samson, 82.

³⁹ Macnicol, 'The French School of Violin Playing', 375; Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music. Volume 4 the Early Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 262; See also Paul Watt, Sarah Collins and Michael Allis, *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Intellectual Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 280.

The French violin school was based on the concept of elegance and simplicity, grounded by the clarity found in the human voice, qualities that subsequent chapters identify in Sarasate's playing. Additionally, Baillot in *The Art of Violin Playing* explains that musical expression originated from the performer, as the composer often left effects to the player's instinct. According to Baillot, it is the role of the performer to interpret and transmit to the audience the intentions of the composer, but with space for the performer to translate this in his own way. Baillot's words embody the higher role that performers occupied at that time, in comparison to the shift in importance towards composition that has developed since then, which was facilitated by the decline of virtuosity in the nineteenth century. The opposite statement can describe a current culture of musicians who thrive for perfection above all, created as a result of the advent of recordings and competition atmosphere. However, more recently, there has been a growing number of artists who have begun to break free from these boundaries, and have produced innovative performances of past works, as well as new creations through the equal collaboration between art, performance and composition.

The French violin school established a distinguished style of violin playing but its historical legacy can be demonstrated further through its descendants. Each of the three main Parisian professors, Pierre Rode, Rodolphe Kreutzer and Pierre Baillot, taught and encouraged a number of further great violinists, many of whom then trained their own students. In time, these violinists created or helped develop additional national schools of violin playing internationally, such as the German, Russian and Franco-Belgian violin schools. Carl Flesch's *The Art of Violin Playing* is an essential resource when reviewing the various national schools of violin playing and their characteristics.⁴² The simple existence of a variety of national schools proves that there is not one absolute, correct way of playing the violin, but as Figure 1 and Figure 2 combined illustrate, some of the most renowned violinists of the twentieth century can be traced back to the French violin school.

-

⁴⁰ Pierre Baillot, *The Art of Violin Playing*, trans. Louise Goldberg (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 479.

⁴¹ Loc. cit.

⁴² Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*.

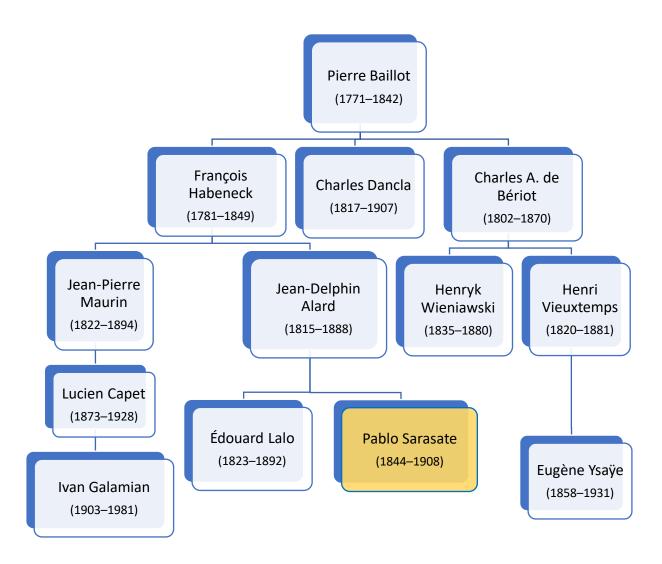


Figure 1: Founders of the French violin school and their students - Baillot

Baillot's line of students is the most significant for the purpose of this research, as illustrated in Figure 1 above. Charles August de Bériot completed his studies with Baillot and became the founder of the Franco-Belgian violin school, which provides the cornerstone of violin playing nowadays. According to Schwarz, Bériot combined the elegance of the French school with the technical developments established by Paganini, creating a new, more modern school but based on the basic principles of the French school. ⁴³ One of Bériot's most celebrated students, Henri Vieuxtemps, taught for several years in Russia, helping to establish the Russian violin school, and later taught the infamous Eugène Ysaÿe. Baillot also taught François Habeneck, the first conductor to programme Beethoven symphonies in Paris, and Delphin Alard, Sarasate's professor at the Paris Conservatoire. ⁴⁴ As the descending line of

⁴³ Loc. cit.

⁴⁴ Albert Bachmann, *An Encyclopedia of the Violin* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), 360; See Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, 61–78, for further details and connections between violinists and the various violin schools.

professors and students suggests, Sarasate was taught by a representative of the French violin school, and he continued its legacy, as confirmed by periodicals: '[Sarasate] has been proclaimed by the public as well as by the entire press to be one of the greatest virtuosos of the French School'.⁴⁵

Rode and Kreutzer's lineage also provides a great number of artists who continued the teachings of the French violin school and are illustrated in Figure 2 below.

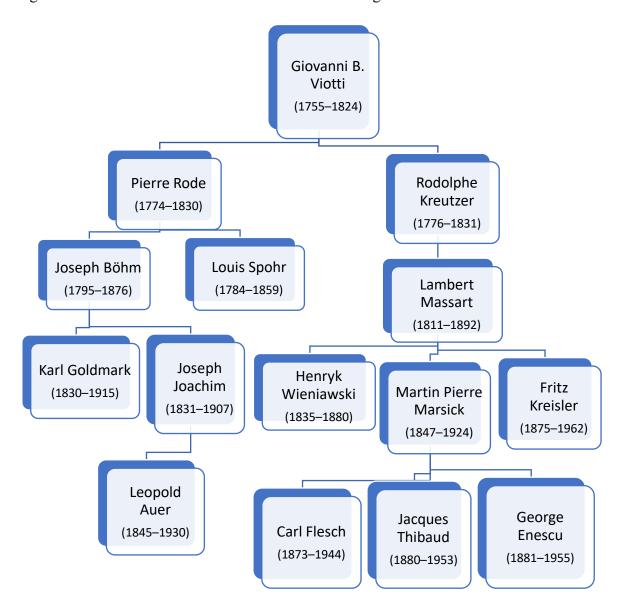


Figure 2: Founders of the French violin school and their students - Rode & Kreutzer

Although Joseph Joachim became a representative of the Germanic school, he was taught at a young age by Joseph Böhm, who had been taught by Rode and became the father

12

⁴⁵ '... qui a été proclamé par le public comme par la presse entière un des plus grands virtuoses sorts de l'École française'. *Le Ménestrel*, 23 October 1881.

of the Viennese school of violin playing.⁴⁶ Violinist Alfred Staar's interview for *The Strad* in 2019 demonstrates the survival of this particular school, which is embedded in the training of musicians who then perform for the Vienna Philharmonic. The style is so particular that 'it often happens that the Vienna Philharmonic cannot hire outstanding musicians for the simple reason that they have a different style of performing – a completely different form of tone production and a different bowing technique'.⁴⁷

Kreutzer's lineage also produced numerous notable violinists, including the Belgian Joseph Lambert Massart who later also became a professor at the Paris Conservatoire. He became a renowned teacher, his notable pupils including Henryk Wieniawski, Fritz Kreisler and Martin Pierre Marsick. Marsick, who had been taught by both Hubert Leonard in Brussels and Massart in Paris, then became professor to Carl Flesch, Jacques Thibaud and George Enescu, each of whom became individualistic players with international careers, and provided further literature on violin playing. Marsick was also a very good player, and in the 1880s, he briefly began to be compared to Sarasate, once being described as a possible 'dangerous rival to Sarasate'.

Sarasate's connection to the French violin school and his performance style is discussed further in Part 2 of this doctoral project. However, although he was a representative of the French violin school, Sarasate grew beyond the teachings of the school. He became a renowned player of high technical ability, often referred to as 'The Spanish Paganini', and through his choices in repertoire and programming, whilst maintaining a virtuoso presence, he developed into one of the first interpreters of our time. ⁵⁰

Virtuosity: The Advancement of The Professional Musician

Owen Jander defines a virtuoso as 'a person of notable accomplishment; a musician of extraordinary skill'.⁵¹ The term is indeed most commonly associated with performers, but it can also be applied to any individual who excels in their field. By the late eighteenth century and into the mid-nineteenth century, however, the word referred most specifically to leading solo instrumentalists and singers, experts whose skills broadened the technical boundaries of

⁴⁶ Mark Rowe, *Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst: Virtuoso Violinist* (London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), 28.

⁴⁷ Inga Brandini, 'Alfred Staar on what constitutes the Viennese School', *The Strad*, 30 April 2019, https://www.thestrad.com/featured-stories/alfred-staar-on-what-constitutes-the-viennese-school/8852.article (accessed 20 August 2024).

⁴⁸ Bachmann, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, 378.

⁴⁹ 'Un dangereux rival pour M. Sarasate'. Le Ménestrel, 15 January 1882; Le Ménestrel, 23 October 1881.

⁵⁰ 'L'ont surnommé le Paganini Espagnol'. *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 18 November 1860; This concept is developed further in Chapter 3.

⁵¹ Owen Jander, 'Virtuoso', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29502 (accessed 17 August 2024).

their time.⁵² Paganini is a name that embodies the definition of virtuoso, but he was also one of the first artists to embrace virtuosity as an artistic profile, one that could be profitable. He set a model for other musicians such as Liszt, who amplified the idea and applied it to the piano. Both Paganini and Liszt expanded the technical possibilities of their respective instruments and their compositions are still today considered goals in themselves for proving excellence in technical ability.⁵³ However, they are also central to the development of the professional musician, and, consequently, to understanding Sarasate's image and career.

Through the display of great technical feats these virtuosos were able to create marketable images. In Paganini's case, the myths and drama surrounding his persona attracted further audiences and he became one of the first celebrity violinists.⁵⁴ Liszt on the other hand, embodied a number of personas, creating a 'chameleonic' effect, adapting to his audience and location. By the 1840s Liszt had attracted a huge following of admirers of his playing, whose adulation became known as Lisztomania.⁵⁵ The creation of performance identities although effective from a business perspective, also produced negative remarks, both then and presently, by individuals who believe that their presence can distract from the musical work.⁵⁶

Irrespective of the difference in opinions, these artists and their marketable assets proved to be critical protagonists in the professionalisation of the music industry. A new type of artist developed, one who was something of an entrepreneur, not reliant on an institution or sponsorship. These artists opened the doors for performers such as Sarasate, who grew up aware of the possibility of becoming a virtuoso violinist, and its potential prospects. Paganini also expanded the concept of self-promotion, he maximised ticket prices and often marketed concerts repeatedly as 'the last performance' before leaving a city.⁵⁷ Although the notion of the touring virtuoso had already begun in the eighteenth century, artists were still reliant on sponsorship.⁵⁸ Paganini, however, was able to profit significantly from touring.⁵⁹ Both artists involved the press and employed a team of external managers, helping to create and develop the industry of concert management.⁶⁰ Due to these transformations and various political

-

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 1.

⁵⁴ Kawabata, *Paganini*. The 'Demonic' Virtuoso, 10.

⁵⁵ Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, 210.

⁵⁶ Susan Bernstein, *Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 67; See also Robert Doran, 'The Ethics of Virtuosity' in *Liszt and Virtuosity* (Rochester, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2020), 18.

⁵⁷ Kawabata, *Paganini*, 77; William Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur 1700-1914: Managers Charlatans and Idealists* (Indiana University Press, 2004), 173; See also Paul Metzner, *Crescendo of the Virtuoso: Spectacle, Skill and Self-Promotion in Paris during the Age of Revolution* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 127–128.

⁵⁸ See Simon McVeigh, 'The Violinists of the Baroque and Classical Periods' in *Cambridge Companion to the Violin* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).

⁵⁹ Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur*, 111.

⁶⁰ Kawabata, *Paganini*, 74; Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur*, 106, 112.

changes, virtuosity also became a representation of freedom, as well as a vital influence in the social changes of the time, as their virtuoso concerts 'brought together people from diverse social levels under the aegis of a unifying musical outlook'.⁶¹

As the nineteenth century unfolded, division in opinion developed regarding virtuosity. Thus, the concept acquired a supplementary negative meaning. In 1889 Sir George Grove wrote: 'Such players being naturally open to a temptation to indulge their ability unduly at the expense of the meaning of the composer, the word has acquired a somewhat depreciatory meaning, as of display for its own sake'. 62 Grove makes reference to the ideal that would become known as Werktreue, a concept that represents a difference in opinion concerning authenticity in music, which influenced many instrumentalists of the nineteenth century, including Sarasate. The differentiation between theatricality and authenticity transferred the importance from performers to composers. 63 This shift in hierarchy can also be reassigned today within research, as the study of composition is more often undertaken than that of performance or performers.⁶⁴ The concept was central in the decline of the virtuoso. Various sources declared virtuosity as a danger to absolute music, a threat, describing it as "...a surplus of technique over expression, detail over substance..." Richard Wagner asserted the need for soloists to suppress the demonstration of the performer's own skill, in favour of 'preserving the dignity and purity of art'. 66 Performers such as Joseph Joachim embodied this ideal of purity in music, whilst Sarasate represents a type of player who fused virtuosity and musical expression.⁶⁷

As the following chapters explain further, Sarasate was recognised as a virtuoso of his time, but his approach to interpretation and choices in repertoire advocate his role in the changing perceptions of violin playing in the nineteenth century. Sarasate was an expert in his field; he composed and performed his own works, but also performed a great number of pieces by other composers whilst maintaining his individuality. As Peter Johnson states, respecting the role of the performer does not undervalue the significance of the composer. ⁶⁸

_

⁶¹ Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste, 91; Doran, Liszt and Virtuosity, 2; Cvejić, The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental, 147.

⁶² George Grove, 'Virtuoso' in A Dictionary of Music and Musicians (London: Macmillan, 1889), IV, 313.

⁶³ See Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 231–233.

⁶⁴ Jim Samson, *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.

⁶⁵ Samson, op. cit.

⁶⁶ Wagner, 'The Virtuoso and the Artist', 54, quoted in Žarko Cvejić, *The Virtuoso as Subject. The reception of instrumental virtuosity, c. 1815–c. 1850* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016), 111.

⁶⁷ Karen Leistra-Jones, 'Staging Authenticity: Joachim, Brahms, and the Politics of *Werktreue* Performance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Summer 2013), 397–436.

⁶⁸ Peter Johnson, Nicholas Cook, and Hans Zender, 'Performance and the Listening experience: Bach's "Erbarme Dich" in *Theory into Practice: Composition, Performance and the Listening Experience*, 1st ed., 55–102 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021), 64.

Hispanomania in France in the 19th Century

Sarasate's performing career represents a model that closely resembles the touring profession that can still be found today. Moreover, he created a successful marketable persona which was based on his origins and personality. He embraced his Spanishness in a time when Spain was considered by many as an exotic location. It was often portrayed in nineteenth-century France as a romanticised, mysterious land. The depiction originated from fantasises developed in literature and art.⁶⁹ Evidence of these narratives can be found in a variety of writings such as Émile Mathieu de Monter's article on the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris of 1867 in which he describes a country more appropriate to fiction than reality.⁷⁰ The enthusiasm for the Spanish essence was such that it gave rise to *Hispanomania*, encouraged further through music.

Although Sarasate did not immediately draw on his Spanish heritage, the use of folk Spanish songs and many of the dances that Sarasate used in his compositions were already being performed frequently in the Parisian salons and operatic stages during the early nineteenth century. Spanish themes were included in a vast number of French works, whilst theatres in France began to host all kinds of Spanish spectacles – plays, dance troupes, even Zarzuelas. Additionally, French opera aided in the establishment of stereotypical features through the depiction of dancers, the use of castanets and the introduction of characters such as gypsies and bandits.⁷¹ In nineteenth-century ballet, the term *Escuela bolera*, which described the use of various Spanish dances, was used internationally. Figure 3 is a bronze statuette of the celebrated Austrian ballerina Fanny Elssler, a star of the Paris ballet best known for her performance of 'La Cachucha' in *Le Diable Boîteux* (1836).⁷² The statuette illustrates Elssler in full traditional Spanish costume, her hair in a bun, adorned by a rose and with a pair of castanets in her left hand.

-

⁶⁹ Léon-François Hoffman, *Romantique Espagne: L'image De L'Espagne En France Entre 1800 et 1850* (New Jersey: Université de Princeton Département de Langues Romanes, 1961), 9.

⁷⁰ Emile Mathieu de Monter, 'Exposition Universelle de 1867. Espagne (4e article-1)', *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 26 May 1867.

⁷¹ Hoffman provides a list of works based on Spanish themes during the first half of the 19th century in *Romantique Espagne*, Appendice III; Hervé Lacombe, "L'Espagne à l'Opéra-Comique avant' *Carmen*: Du *Guitarrero* de Halévy (1841) à *Don César de Bazan* de Massenet (1872)' in *Échanges Musicaux Franco-Espagnols, XVIIe–XIXe siècles: Actes des Rencontres de Villecroze*, ed. François Lesure (Paris: Klincksieck, 2000), 166–168; See also Annegret Fauser, Mark Everist, *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer. Paris, 1830–1914* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁷² Jean-Auguste Barre, Founders: Robert, Eck and Durand, *Fanny Elssler (La Cachucha)*, *c. 1836*, bronze statuette, 2012–48, Princeton University Art Museum. Museum purchase, Fowler McCormick, Class of 1921, Fund, https://artmuseum.princeton.edu/collections/objects/65163; Claudia Jeschke, Gabi Vettermann, and Nicole Haitzinger, *Les Choses Espagnoles: Research into the Hispanomania of 19th Century Dance* (Munich: Epodium, 2009), 36; Jean-Auguste Barre (1811–1896) was a French sculptor.



Figure 3: Bronze statuette Fanny Elssler (La Cachucha), c. 1836 by Jean-Auguste Barre

However, visitors returning from Spain also shared their realised discrepancies, after not experiencing the idealised image of the country during their travels.⁷³ Although Prosper Mérimée had previously encountered a culturally vibrant Spain, during his last two voyages to the country in 1859 and 1864, he discovered a changed, more technologically advanced setting. Additionally, several years after Monter published his picturesque article, he shared his disappointment in finding that customs and the image portrayed by the French had not been preserved.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the French audiences' cravings for Spanishness was such that in 1838 King Louis-Philippe inaugurated the Galérie Espagnole at the Louvre and by 1889, Julien Tiersot complained that Spain could be found everywhere. 75 The enthusiasm for Spanish music instigated by French artists and audiences continued to secure its place and

⁷³ *Ibid*.

⁷⁴ Letter Prosper Mérimée, 22 October 1859 in Mérimée, Viajes a España (Madrid: Aguilar, 1988), 196, 295; Émile Mathieu de Monter, 'La Musique dans les beaux-arts; Les monuments et les traditions poétiques; Visites d'un dilettante aux musées de l'Europe' Deuxième partie Espagne et Portugal x; L'Espagne (suite)', Revue et Gazette Musical de Paris, 1 November 1874.

⁷⁵ Gary Tinterow, Geneviève Lacambre, Manet, Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 3; Julien Tiersot, Promenades Musicales à l'Exposition (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889), 276.

evolve in French musical culture due to the number of Spanish composers and performers who settled in France, exiled from Spain, and who also frequented its stages and fashionable salons.

The waves of Spanish citizens who fled to France had done so due to the instability in Spain in the nineteenth century. A series of events left the country with political division and, consequently, numerous changes in government across the century. Spain was in constant turmoil and the instability of its economy resulted in a reduction of opportunities for musicians. Artists fled to France, which after Great Britain became the second most powerful country for most of the nineteenth century and became the artistic centre of the world. Already in 1801 Spain, Italian and French music became so popular that a decree had been passed requiring all stage music in Madrid to be sung in Spanish. Conscious of the danger national Spanish music presented, Juan Antonio de Iza Zamácola published a small book of poems, under the pseudonym Don Preciso, *Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos.* This publication became an important reminder for Spanish musicians to respect their true heritage.

To add to this effect were the consequences from the Napoleonic wars during which artist emigration was particularly evident. The *era Josefina* (1808–1813) was a decisive period in Spanish history which prepared the ground for Sarasate's future success. The French occupation had begun in 1808, succeeded by the Napoleonic wars which deposed King Fernando VII, who was restored to the throne in 1814. The Napoleonic rule and Peninsular war concluded in 1813 after the victory by Arthur Wellesley, the Duke of Wellington over Joseph Napoleon in Vitoria, in the Basque Country. Although Joseph and his supporters did not obtain full control of the country, skilful liberals were provided with well-paid employment during the French occupation in 1808. These supporters who had aspirations for social change and a better life became known by Spanish rebels as *afrancesados*, a word which means 'frenchified'.⁸¹ After the defeat of the French, they were pursued and forced to escape to France, who promised to shelter them. Fernando VII was deposed again in 1821 due to a liberal revolution, known as the *Trienio liberal* (1821–1823). After a further three years

⁷⁶ Langham Smith, *Bizet's Carmen Uncovered*, 7.

⁷⁷ Quentin Deluermoz, 'Nineteenth-Century France', *Obo* in Atlantic History, https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0089.xml (accessed 18 August 2024).

⁷⁸ Langham Smith, *Carmen*, 12.

⁷⁹ See Langham Smith, Carmen, 9; Don Preciso, Colección de las mejores coplas de seguidillas, tiranas y polos que se han compuesto para cantar a la guitarra ... Con un discurso sobre las causas de la corrupción y abatimiento de la música española (Madrid, 1799), further editions in 1815 and 1816.

⁸¹ See Juan López Tabar, Los Famosos Traidores: Los Afrancesados Durante La Crisis Del Antiguo Régimen (1808–1833) (Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2001).

of instability, Fernando VII was restored in 1823 with the help of the French. As these events unfolded, and the railways made journeys quicker and safer, many more fled to France, but eventually benefitted from their escape. These individuals were musicians, poets, intellectuals, artists, all of whom helped further the growth of *Hispanomania* in the country. 82 As such, they became both the source of inspiration and the propagators. 83 By Sarasate's time, successful Spanish musicians had an exotic appeal, and the movement of *Andalucismo* flourished. This entailed the utilisation of the heritage of the south of Spain, and elements such as bullfighting and castanets became representative of Spanish music overall, an ideal environment for Bizet's *Carmen* and Sarasate's Spanish Dances to thrive.

Many prominent Spanish figures over the nineteenth century assisted in the dissemination of Spanish culture in France. Amongst those now recognised as highly influential to the movement is tenor Manuel García, who alongside his family were some of the first to settle in Paris in 1808.84 The following year, García performed his monologue opera El Poeta Calculista. The song from the opera 'Yo que soy contrabandista' [I am a smuggler] became a symbol of defiance, in Spain against the French and in France against sovereignty. 85 García subsequently also published two sets of Spanish songs which would be utilised by a number of composers and performers: Chansons espagnoles à une et plusieurs voix avec accompagnement de guitarre (1819) and Caprichos líricos españoles (1830). The García family became known and were familiarised with all of the most significant musical establishments in the city, helping new arrivals to launch their careers. After García's death, his daughter Pauline Viardot and son Manuel García Junior continued to spread their father's works, but most importantly his teaching methods. García Junior also became a successful teacher, gaining posts at the Paris Conservatoire and the Royal Academy of Music. His celebrated students included Jenny Lind. 86 Further personalities who helped keep enthusiasm for Spanish music alive include Fernando Sor, Dionisio Aguado and Trinidad Huerta, guitarists whose instrument of choice and virtuosity fed the imagination of the audience. 87

2

⁸² Loc. cit.

⁸³ Samuel Llano, Whose Spain? Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 1908–1929 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), xii.

 ⁸⁴ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a Soul' in Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music*, 138; Emilio Casares, Celsa Alonso González, *La Música Española en el Sigo XIX* (Universidad de Oviedo, 1995), 16.
 ⁸⁵ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 141.

⁸⁶ Manuel García Junior's inquisitive research into the voice led him to invent the laryngoscope (1855) and to write several studies that are still today important resources; Manuel García, 'Mémoires sur la voix humaine', *La France Musicale 4/19*, 9 May 1841, 161–63; *García. Traité complet de l'art du chant, 2 vols* (Paris, 1847); See April Fitzlyon and James Radomski, 'García, Manuel (ii)', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21091 (accessed 15 August 2024).

⁸⁷ Maria Nagore Ferrer, 'Francia como modelo, España como inspiración. Las Desiguales Relaciones Musicales España-Francia en el Siglo XIX', *Revista de Musicología 34*, no. 1 (2011),135–166, XXXIV.

The developing cultural exchange in Paris was further aided by Napoleon III's marriage in 1853 to Eugenia de Montijo, daughter of Countess Maria Manuela, herself an advocate of Spanish culture through fashion and music. 88 The Empress's music master and singing teacher was Sebastián Iradier, an essential figure in the development of Spanish song, specifically Andalusian tunes. 89 Sarasate's ¡Viva Sevilla! op. 38 is based on several themes, including La perla de Triana by Iradier. 90 Additionally, this genre continued to secure its place in French musical culture in the hands of composers and performers such as Viardot. 91 Viardot introduced artists such as Saint-Saëns and Gounod into London society and back in Paris there is record of Sarasate performing at Viardot's salon with Saint-Saëns at the piano in front of guests who included George Sand. 92 Thus, Sarasate was part of a society, a community of painters, writers and musicians who influenced and were being inspired by the Parisian Espagnolade.

Sarasate refers to attending various zarzuelas and operas whilst in Madrid as a young child. We also know that Pauline Viardot performed the title role in *Norma* in Granada as well as Spanish songs composed by her father Manuel García in the Liceo of Madrid and Granada in 1842.⁹³ Notwithstanding, the programming of concerts and performances by professional musicians in nineteenth-century Spain was limited in comparison to that of French musical life at its height.⁹⁴ Therefore, in addition to seeking refuge or the prospect of new opportunities, Spanish artists and musicians were attracted to Paris due to the lack of culture and regard for their music back home. Mérimée reported as such in 1831, stating the error made by the French leaving art treasures behind, as their owners often did not appreciate their true worth.⁹⁵ Talented young Spaniards travelled to Paris and Belgium to complete their musical training and further their career prospects as professional musicians. It was not until

_

⁸⁸ Samson ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, 594; Michael Christoforidis, Elizabeth Kertesz, *Carmen and the Staging of Spain: Recasting Bizet's Opera in the Belle Epoque* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 7.

⁸⁹ Sebastián Iradier (1809–1865). Basque composer arrived in Paris in the 1850s; Richard Langham Smith, *Bizet's Carmen Uncovered* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021), 33.

⁹⁰ Ferrer, Sarasate, 450.

⁹¹ Beatrix Borchard, 'Viardot [née García), (Michelle Ferdinande) Pauline', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, ed. Deane Root, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29283, (accessed 19 August 2024); See Richard Langham Smith, 'The García Dynasty', *Bizet's Carmen Uncovered* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2021).

⁹² George Sands' pseudonym of Amantine-Lucile-Aurore Dudevant, née Dupin (1804–1876). French novelist and journalist; Barbara Kendall-Davies, *The Life and Work of Pauline Viardot García* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012), 211.

⁹³ Kendall-Davies, *The Life and Work of Pauline Viardot García*, 360; Andrés Moreno Mengíbar, Alberto Romero Ferrer, *Manuel García: de la Tonadilla Escénica a la Ópera Española (1775-1832)* (Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2006), 189.

⁹⁴ Zarzuela is 'a Spanish genre of musical theatre characterized by a mixture of sung and spoken dialogue'. Louise K. Stein and Roger Alier. 'Zarzuela', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40742 (accessed 20 August 2024).

⁹⁵ As quoted in Tinterow, Lacambre, Manet, Velázquez, 34.

the twentieth century that Spain started to establish prominence in its own concert life, a development aided progressively by composers and performers such as Jesús de Monasterio, Isaac Albéniz and Manuel de Falla. It is therefore not unexpected that Sarasate chose to remain in Paris once his studies were concluded, instead of returning to Madrid as requested by his biological father and Spanish patrons.

Other prominent names such as Juan Crisóstomo Arriaga, Federico Chueca, Tomás Bretón, Isaac Albéniz and Joaquín Turina also moved to Paris and many never returned. Even into the twentieth century, two additional noteworthy Spanish composers, Enrique Granados and Manuel de Falla expressed similar opinions on the subject. Granados wrote: 'I have finally seen my dreams come true...I am a survivor of the fruitless struggle to which we are subjected because of the ignorance and indifference of our homeland. All my present joy is more for what is to come, than for what has been done so far. I dream of Paris, and I have a world of projects'. '96 Falla similarly expressed: 'without Paris, I would have remained buried in Madrid, submerged and forgotten...' '97 It is no surprise that Sarasate did not want to return to Spain after completing his studies at the Paris conservatoire. As a Spanish-born, French educated virtuoso violinist, Sarasate was ideally placed in Paris, an environment that not only appreciated his talent as a violinist, but in which there was demand and desire for his particular idiosyncrasies. '98

Sarasate created a profitable image based on his Spanishness and nationalistic virtuosic compositions, utilising audiences' desires and the fashions of the time, one of which was *Hispanomania*. This concept follows the marketable principles used previously by Paganini and Liszt. Although virtuosity was in decline at this point, Sarasate maintained it by performing eye-catching, technical, self-composed works and fusing these with the performance of structurally larger new works, many of which were composed by French colleagues. Sarasate helped disseminate new works around the world, and by doing so, he became one of the first interpreters. 99 However, although he performed works by other composers, he maintained his individuality, merging new artistic ideals with the virtuoso concept of the past. He also continued to uphold the legacy of the French violin school through his manner of playing, which is analysed in depth in Part 2 of this doctoral project.

_

⁹⁶ 'Per fi he vist els meus somnis realizats... Soc un supervivent de la lluita estèril a que ens sotmet la ignorancia i la indiferencia de la nostra patria. Tota la meva alegría actual, és més per lo que ha de venir, que per lo fet fins ara. Somnio amb París, i tinc un món de proyectes' cited in Amadeu Vives, 'N'Enric Granados i l'edat d'or: Evocació', *Revista Musical Catalana* 13 (1916):182, cited in Carol A. Hess, *Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1991), 35.

⁹⁷ Quoted in Carol A. Hess, *Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain*, 1898–1936 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 31.

⁹⁸ See Chapter 7 for further discussion on Sarasate's image and Chapter 6 for Sarasate's Spanish dances.

⁹⁹ Iberni, *Pablo Sarasate*, 25.

Paganini's and Liszt's contributions, as well as those of other musicians of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth centuries, opened up a range of possibilities for young artists such as Sarasate, who were born at a time when becoming itinerant, high profitable solo violinists was a distinct and well-respected possibility. As the following chapters will exhibit, Sarasate became highly successful, and his playing and violinistic career made him a subsequent role model in the advancement of violin playing in history.

CHAPTER TWO

Interrogating Sarasate's Career in Repertoire and Programming

Alongside Henry Vieuxtemps, Henryk Wieniawski and Joseph Joachim, Pablo Sarasate was a key performer of his time. This chapter provides an overview of Sarasate's life and career in order to locate him within the changing dynamic in virtuosity and interpretation present in the nineteenth century. His repertoire choices, compositions and concert programming decisions demonstrate the change in the bravura tradition, influenced by the inclusion of the interpreter era. Existing studies on Sarasate prioritise his compositions, but his overall repertoire is larger and stylistically wider than is generally acknowledged. Additionally, his repertoire choices across his career display a clear path of progression, as his decisions evolved alongside his own personal maturity, style, capabilities and public taste. Some of these changes were deliberate, moulding to public taste and others, a natural influence of changing times.

After the mid-century, there was a significant shift in European musical culture, a complex development aided by historical events such as the Franco-Prussian war, new inventions and new developments such as concert halls and copyright laws. Due to this, there was significant change to concert life, and virtuosi started to become unfashionable. However, as Dahlhaus explains, virtuosity 'did not simply vanish, but it ceased to be a central phenomenon in music history, one that spread from cultural history to the history of composition'. Violinists such as Wieniawski and Sarasate maintained their showmanship and their individual, nuanced form of playing whilst also being influenced in the direction of the new movement of interpretation. Sarasate's career is evidence that virtuosity was still a significant concept until his death in 1908, at the beginning of the twentieth century. To this day, although performance traditions and programming decisions have shifted towards composition as Dahlhaus suggests, there is an abundance of virtuoso performers who continue to play compositions of great virtuosity such as Sarasate's *Carmen Fantasy*, Ravel's *Tzigane* or Saint-Saëns's *Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso*.

The development in interpretation Sarasate embraced refers to the shift from the combined composer/performer to the interpreter/composer. As Luis Iberni explains, Sarasate was at the centre of this shift, where the 'modern' violinist did not base his repertoire mostly on his own compositions, such as Paganini, Liszt or his professor at the Paris Conservatoire, Delphin Alard.³ Instead, violinists such as Sarasate began to combine their own works with

¹ Kawabata, *Paganini. The 'Demonic' Virtuoso*, 109.

² Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 137.

³ Iberni, *Pablo Sarasate*, 25.

those of others, a disconnection from the popular romantic virtuoso. This shift has developed further to a tradition in which performers only play works by other composers and it has become common practice to be as loyal to the composer's intentions as possible, with diminished personal interference. The decline of a performer's personal involvement towards a more faithful relationship with the composer was due to a wide range of reasons. As has been seen, an important influence was the concept *Werktreue*, whereby the performer became regarded only as an intermediary between the public and the music. The influence of the Germanic concept – 'the ideal of fidelity or authenticity' – continued to grow and was widely accepted by the press. Artists such as Joseph Joachim practised and shaped this concept, becoming 'priests of the public'. From the nineteenth century onwards, opinions on this differed widely.

This chapter also addresses Sarasate's clear commitment to the performance and dissemination of new works. As Max Bruch states, Sarasate cared about modern works in contrast to Joachim who only took interest in Brahms's works. Bruch continues asserting Joachim's disinterest with a claim of playing such music 'half-heartedly, and with inadequate technique, doing them more harm than good'. As with any performer, there are always specific compositions that are more suited to their specific skills and are more agreeable to individual taste. As such, documentary evidence suggests that certain pieces of music such as Édouard Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* or Camille Saint-Saëns's Violin Concertos reappeared throughout Sarasate's life, whilst others disappeared. This concept can help highlight Sarasate's preferences in repertoire, as well as his role in securing them in history as essential works in a violinist's catalogue.

Existing sources provide biographical details on Sarasate. However, the interrogation of past and new documentary sources allows us a deeper understanding of Sarasate's career. Although this chapter is structured chronologically, its goal is to provide a clearer understanding of his career development, violinistic preferences in repertoire and to identify the violinist's programming decisions. This study identifies four decisive stages in Sarasate's career and brings to light numerous works found in Sarasate's programmes which are unknown in today's performance culture.

-

⁴ See Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Work*.

⁵ Goehr, The Imaginary Museum, 243; Auer, Violin Playing as I teach It.

⁶ Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*, 1.

⁷ Christopher Fifield, Max Bruch. His Life and Works (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 169.

⁸ Loc. cit.

The Early Years: 1844–1869

Sarasate's musical education and the repertoire he played in the years before his arrival at the Paris Conservatoire confirms the French violin school's international reputation. This consisted of studies and popular opera fantasies. As Maria Nagore Ferrer points out, Sarasate's connection to the French violin school began before his arrival at the Paris Conservatoire. The young violinist was preparing repertoire composed or transcribed by the person who would become his future teacher in Paris, Delphin Alard. A letter from November 1854 attests to the ten-year-old Sarasate's use of Alard's École du Violon. Méthode complète et progressive, which progresses from basic posture and bowing descriptions to more advanced techniques. It includes 25 studies, which involve techniques such as sautillé, double stops (thirds to tenths), staccato volante, double trills and harmonics. In the same letter, Sarasate also mentions Alard's Caprices. As Alard's 24 Études Caprices op. 41 were not published until 1865, Sarasate was likely to have been preparing one of Alard's earlier publications, either 10 Études Brillantes op. 16 or 10 Études Artistiques op. 19.

Access to the French violin school teaching and materials was on account of Sarasate's teacher in Madrid, Manuel Rodriguez, who had studied in the Paris Conservatoire with Jules Armingaud. The young Sarasate had several teachers due to his family's itinerant lifestyle. However, after recognising their son's talent, the family moved to Madrid in 1853. Sarasate's mother, Javiera Navascués Oharrechena, was important in Sarasate's success, her drive and commitment created a number of opportunities for the young violinist. Without this support and commitment during the early stages of his career, would Sarasate have thrived as he did? The decision to move to Madrid was made with great sacrifice. Sarasate's father was a military musician and could not move with the rest of the family. One of Sarasate's younger siblings died three months after their arrival. 12

Rodriguez was a great influence on Sarasate's early education and style of repertoire. Sarasate's mother's letters record that he often gifted Sarasate with music. In October 1853 she wrote: 'Martín is learning a fantasy by Bériot that was given by his professor', referring to Charles Auguste de Bériot's *Fantasy on motives from Rossini's Guillaume Tell* for violin and piano. ¹³ Rodriguez also asked Sarasate's mother to obtain certain compositions from Paris,

⁻

⁹ Delphin Alard lived between 1815–1888. He was a French violinist, composer and professor at the Paris Conservatoire; Boris Schwarz and Cormac Newark, 'Alard, (Jean-) Delphin', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00404 (accessed 8 August 2024).

¹⁰ Letter 24 November 1854, in Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 37; All translations are my own, unless stated otherwise.

¹¹ For more biographical details see Ferrer, *loc. cit.*

¹² Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 41.

¹³ Martín was Sarasate's name at birth. He changed it to Pablo at a later stage; '[Martín] está aprendiendo una fantasía de Bériot que le ha regalado su Maestro'. Letter 24 December 1853, in Ferrer, *Ibid*, 37. Ferrer makes available various letters by Sarasate's mother which are part of Sarasate's descendants' private collection.

these included Alard's studies and two of his fantasies on opera motives. Records show a predominance of opera fantasies during this early stage of his career, including performances of fantasies on Bellini's *Norma* and Verdi's *Rigoletto* and *Macbeth*. ¹⁴ These works which remain in Sarasate's private library can be found as part of a collection of works by violinist Angelo Bartelloni and none other than Delphin Alard. ¹⁵

Following the advice of several prominent figures in Madrid, Sarasate's mother decided to take her son to Paris, leaving his two sisters behind. Although this decision brought him many successes, the journey also encountered tragedy. Javiera Navascués contracted cholera and died in 1855 before arriving in Paris. 16 Sarasate's studies at the Paris Conservatoire between 1856 and 1860 enabled him to expand his repertoire further. Much of the music he learned was composed by musicians connected to the Conservatoire, often close acquaintances. In many instances, this repertoire was by Alard, such as the Fantasy on a theme by Beethoven's Le Désir, Fantasy on motives from Linda, and a Symphonie-Concertante for two violins, which master and pupil performed together on several occasions. ¹⁷ Other works performed by Sarasate include Pierre Baillot's Violin Concerto in D major no. 7, of which he often performed only one movement, and Alard's Concert fantasy on Auber's La Muette de Portici op. 36. The performance of these compositions illustrates Sarasate's high technical abilities at a young age. If Sarasate performed these works in their entirety, they would confirm the use of spiccato, ricochet, harmonics and double stops whilst studying at the conservatoire. 18 However, although these works demonstrate Sarasate's technical proficiency at a young age, his repertoire increased in difficulty substantially in the following years.

In addition to developing his skills as a violinist, Sarasate's studies at the Paris Conservatoire brought him into contact with important musical and cultural figures. As Baillot's successor at the Paris Conservatoire and a pupil of François Habaneck, Alard was a prestigious teacher for Sarasate. ¹⁹ Alard was also considered an excellent performer who had earned the praise of Nicolò Paganini, to whom he dedicated his 6 Sonatas op. 2. ²⁰ Another prominent pupil of Alard was Édouard Lalo, who became an influential figure in Sarasate's

¹⁴ Altadil, Memorias de Sarasate, 13.

¹⁵ Sarasate's library is currently stored and maintained at the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona.

¹⁶ For more biographical details see Ferrer, *Ibid* and Barco, *Pablo Sarasate*. *Memorias*.

¹⁷ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 4 January 1857.—Ferrer notes, there is a piece in the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona by the name of *Le Désir sur un thème de Schubert*, op. 30. It is possible the reviewer mistook the title; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 19 February 1860; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 28 April 1861.

¹⁸ Part 2 provides more detail regarding Sarasate's technique.

¹⁹ Robin Stowell, 'The Nineteenth-Century Bravura tradition' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, ed. Stowell, 63.

²⁰ Schwarz and Newark, *Ibid*.

life. Lalo encouraged Sarasate and composed several pieces tailored to him, the performances of which achieved great praise worldwide for both composer and performer. Alard was also associated with the luthier Jean Baptiste Vuillaume, from whom Sarasate bought a violin in 1866.²¹ As Sarasate was concluding his studies in Paris, Alard composed his only known Hispanic-inspired composition *L'Aragonesa*, *Valse Concertante* op. 42. Though no documentary evidence supports Sarasate performing the piece, the date of composition (*c*. 1865) and its Spanish nature alludes to Sarasate as the source of inspiration. It also demonstrates the concept that teaching is often a symbiotic process and Alard, who was surrounded by international talent was provided with a source of unlimited inspiration.

Sarasate also nurtured friendships and partnerships with fellow students, particularly the pianist Louis Diémer, with whom he often performed and also collaborated in composition during these early years of his career. Sarasate and Diémer performed frequently at Rossini's soirées. They specifically composed and premiered their *Hommage à Rossini* op. 2 for such an occasion, a tribute to Rossini that includes excerpts from his most popular operas. The two musicians also jointly composed the *Fantasy on Gounod's motives* for violin and piano.

Sarasate was similarly exposed to influential people through his French adoptive parents, Théodore and Amélie Lassabathie. Théodore, an administrator at the Paris Conservatoire and Amélie, a former pupil of Frédéric Chopin, maintained the acquaintance with invitations to their own musical soirées. Another friend of the family, Charles Gounod, had been an adjudicator at the Conservatoire. His *Ave Maria* provided a great opportunity for Sarasate, as it was with this piece that the violinist made his debut at the Crystal Palace, London in 1861. The song was performed by soprano Marie Caroline Miolan-Carvalho, with a violin solo by Sarasate. The immense success of this performance had him re-engaged; 'his expressive and masterful bow' received praise from Vieuxtemps. These affiliations suggest Sarasate's privileged position at the centre of music making from a young age. Existing studies often discuss Sarasate as a successful, gifted instrumentalist, but he spent

²¹ See Chapter 4 for further details; Whether Alard facilitated or not the purchase is unknown, but the initial contact was assisted through association.

²² Louis Diémer (1843–1919). French pianist and composer. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire and in 1887 became professor of piano; Elisabeth Bernard and Charles Timbrell, 'Diémer, Louis (-Joseph) in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07754 (accessed 20 August 2024)

²³ Mieczyslaw Karlowicz, *Souvenirs Inédits de Frédéric Chopin* (Paris-Leipzig: H. Welter, 1904), 170. ²⁴ *Le Ménestrel*, 19 May 1861.

²⁵ 'Vieuxtemps est venu complimenter le jeune violoniste classique'. *Le Ménestrel*, 26 May 1861; Henry Vieuxtemps (1820–1881) was a student of Bériot, a successful virtuoso violinist and Professor at the Brussels Conservatory; Boris Schwarz and Sarah Hibberd. 'Vieuxtemps Family' in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29341 (accessed 20 August 2024).

several years expanding his profile before achieving international success. Moreover, Sarasate's privileged circumstances and connections were to prove advantageous for the development of his career as a virtuoso.

Sarasate's solo repertoire in the 1860s, whilst still connected to Alard, saw an expansion that was due to his initial detachment from tutelage and experiencing his first international tours independently. However, he continued to acknowledge his audience's regard for showpieces derived from contemporary stageworks. These preferences can be heard in his own compositions from this time such as *Souvenirs de Faust* of *c*. 1863. Sarasate enjoyed some success during these early beginnings of his career (1860–1869) and was immediately regarded as a representative of the French violin school: '[Sarasate] goes to Spain, his native country, to collect the bravos that cannot fail to be awarded to one of the worthiest representatives of the French school'.²⁶

This period was one of discovery and Sarasate performed in various prestigious venues, including the Salle Érard, Rossini's private salon, and London's Crystal Palace, as both a soloist and collaborative performer. By the second half of the nineteenth century, singers enjoyed considerable prestige in a climate which 'gravitated more to the theatrical than the literary'. ²⁷ By performing alongside vocalists, Sarasate maximised his exposure on the concert platform, as demonstrated in this review from 1862:

L'air du Pré-aux-Clercs, sung by Mrs Gavaux-Sabatier with violin solo by the young virtuoso Sarasate, was one of the most important pages of the evening. ... Sarasate's violin, also accompanied the voice of Jules Lefort, in Gounod's *Serenade*, and was heard alone in two great fantasies by Alard, his master.²⁸

Sarasate went on to perform in various concert halls around Europe, presenting contemporary works by French composers. Thus, his central role in the development of violin repertoire began at the early stages of his career. This role was aided by his friendships with predominant composers of the time such as Saint-Saëns, Lalo, Emile Bernard and Ernest Guiraud, who not only composed for the violinist but also encouraged him to travel, to perform their compositions and acted as mentor figures. Sarasate also continued his support of existing French compositions by performing pieces such as Bériot's *Fantaisie-Ballet*, a piece

²⁸ 'L'air du Pré-aux-Clercs, chanté par Mme Gavaux-Sabatier avec solo de violon par le jeune virtuose Sarasate, a été l'une des pages capitales de la soirée...Le violon de Sarasate, a également accompagné la voix de Jules Lefort, dans la Sérénade de Gounod, et s'est fait entendre seul dans deux grandes fantaisies d'Alard, son maitre'. *Le Ménestrel*, 19 January 1862.

 ^{26 &#}x27;...Sarasate se rend en Espagne, son pays natal, pour y recueillir les bravos qu'on ne peut manquer de décerner á l'un des plus dignes représentants de l'école française; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 2 September 1860.
 27 Kawabata, op. cit., 8.

that, according to the *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, he dispatched 'with a rare perfection'.²⁹ Sarasate's consecutive years proved to be very fruitful in the expansion of his repertoire across borders.³⁰ Specifically, in April and May 1867, he began to include more substantial works, complete violin concertos and sonata movements in contrast to his previous fantasy-based repertoire. Sarasate premiered Saint-Saëns's Violin Concerto in A major no. 1 op. 20 on the 4 April 1867, that same month he performed Felix Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor op. 64 for the first time and premiered Saint-Saëns's *Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso* op. 28.³¹ He also began to perform *Andante and variations* from Beethoven's Violin Sonata no. 9 op. 47 'Kreutzer' in A major.³² Sarasate collaborated with different artists throughout his career but the broadening of his repertoire coincided with a new chamber music society that he co-founded in 1864 with the cellist Jules Laserre and Saint-Saëns. Their purpose was to perform 'classical music and modern music' but shortly after the first performance on 7 February 1865, the society dissolved due to disagreements with the owner of the hall, Auguste Wolff, regarding the content of the programmes.³³

Table 1 below lists the music Sarasate composed between 1860 and 1869, revealing his early propensity for operatic fantasies. These include works on themes from Verdi's *La Forza del Destino*, Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and Gounod's *Faust* and *Mireille*. We note how Sarasate mirrors his surroundings as this repertoire aligns with works heard in the many Parisian salons in which he performed. Many of these salons were of the highest standing, hosted by highly influential figures such as Madame Orfila, Gioachino Rossini and Pauline Viardot. The table below also lists the dedications of each individual composition, which encapsulates Sarasate's broad and influential social circle. All works except the *Fantaisie-Caprice* and *Fantaisie sur La Dame Blanche* were published in Paris. 35

-

²⁹ 'Dans les bravos qui ont accueilli la fantaisie-ballet de Bériot, exécutée avec une rare perfection'. *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 11 March 1866.

³⁰ Loc. cit.

³¹ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 7 April 1867; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 14 April 1867; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 12 May 1867.

³² Le Ménestrel, 15 March 1868. Sarasate was accompanied on this occasion by M. Léon Lepot-Delahaye (1844–1896).

³³ 'La musique classique et la musique moderne y seront exécutées', *Le Ménestrel*, 29 January 1865; No official name is given for the new society; see also *Le Ménestrel*, 12 February 1865.

³⁴ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 77.

³⁵ For further details see Ferrer, *loc. cit.* or R. Sobrino and Ara Malikian's complete edition of Sarasate works.

Title	Composition Date	First Edition
Fantaisie-Caprice	1862	1982
Fantaisie sur Don Juan	c. 1862	c. 1871
Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino Verdi. Dedicated 'À son ami Mr. F. de Valldemosa'	c. 1863	c. 1864
Souvenirs de Faust. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Henri Brochon (Marie de Bordeaux)'	c. 1863	c. 1865
Grand duo concertant sur La Juive. (Collaboration with Louis Diémer)	c. 1863	c. 1864
Hommage à Rossini. Souvenirs. (Barbier, Moïse, Othello), Grand Duo de Concert. (Collaboration with Louis Diémer). Dedicated 'Offert à ma meilleure amie et mère d'adoption. Sarasate'	c. 1865	c. 1866
Rêverie op. 4. Dedicated 'À Madame de Lassabathie'	c. 1866	c. 1866
Fantaisie sur La Dame Blanche de Boïeldieu. Dedicated 'À mon ami L. Diémer' (Published Madrid, 2009)	c. 1866	2009
Caprice sur Mireille de Gounod op.6. Dedicated 'Hommage à Charles Gounod'	1866	c. 1867
Confidence. Romance sans paroles op. 7. Dedicated 'Á Mademoiselle Marguerite Delaborde'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Souvenir de Domont. Valse de salon op. 8. Dedicated 'À madame Henri Périac'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Les Adieux. Mélodie op. 9. Dedicated 'À Mademoiselle Marie Lefébure-Wély'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Sérénade Andalouse op. 10. Dedicated 'À Madame Lucien Auvray'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Sommeil. Mélodie op. 11. Dedicated 'À M. de Lassabathie'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Moscovienne.op. 12. Dedicated 'À M. Albert Glandaz'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow. Morceau de concert op. 13	c. 1868	c. 1875
Roméo et Juliette de Gounod. Caprice op. 14. Dedicated 'À Madame A. de Lassabathie'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Mosaïque sur Zampa de Hérold op. 15. Dedicated 'À son ami Aimé Gros'	c. 1864	c. 1868
Romance et Gavotte de Mignon op. 16. Dedicated 'Hommage à Ambroise Thomas'	c. 1868	c. 1869
<i>Prière et Berceuse</i> op. 17. Dedicated 'À Madame Pauline Guillot de Sainbris'	c. 1869	c. 1869

Table 1: Sarasate's early compositions, 1862–1869

During the late 1860s, Sarasate is compared for the first time to great artists such as Vieuxtemps and Joachim: '...Finally Sarasate, with his diabolical bow, has so revolutionised the audience, that the *Echo du Nord* is not afraid to compare this young bow to that of masters such as Vieuxtemps and Joachim'. ³⁶ In another performance a few months later, Sarasate's

³⁶ 'Enfin Sarasate, avec son archet endiablé, a tellement révolutionné l'auditoire, que l'Echo du Nord ne craint pas de comparer ce jeune archet á celui de maitres tels que Vieuxtemps et Joachim', *Le Ménestrel*, 15 November 1868.

growth was recorded once again: 'It was not the first time that Sarasate was heard in this city [Orléans], and they were able to observe in their way a real transformation, an expressive style, a precision and a breadth of sound, that place him today in the forefront'. The *Journal de Dijon*, also commented with similar remarks: 'His [Sarasate] fantasies on *Martha* and *Mignon* were executed with singular virtuosity'. It is evident that Sarasate began to establish a strong reputation. Furthermore, the mention of virtuosity and a 'diabolical bow' begins the transformation towards the often referred to as the 'Spanish Paganini'. Thus, he also enters the ring of performers whose aura was envisioned with romanticised images of mystery and myth. ³⁹

Years of Development: 1869–1876

The reviews and remarks quoted above about his artistic growth are key to understanding the events that followed. In March of 1869, according to various sources, Sarasate joined the soprano Carlotta Patti and her troupe on his first tour of, among other countries, Germany, Rumania, Turkey and Russia. Parisian critics were quick to express their patriotic pride commenting on how the 'little army'...'thaws everything in its wake by its vigour and communicative warmth'. The troupe also travelled to Sarasate's homeland where he performed a selection of his previously mentioned light repertoire, as well as *Airs Russes* (also known as *Souvenir de Moscow*) and *Légende* by Wieniawski, two technically demanding works.

In February 1870, upon his return to Paris, Sarasate and Georges Pfeiffer announced four concerts of chamber music. The first concert took place on 17 February 1870 alongside cellist Jules Lasserre. They performed Mendelssohn's Trio in C minor, Beethoven's *Serenade*, Joachim Raff's Sonata for piano and violin, and a Haydn trio. ⁴³ The review was positive: 'Virtuosos in the first place, each having a profound musical feeling, these four excellent artists have really outdone themselves. We expect, in the following performances, real

²

³⁷ 'Ce n'était pas nonplus la première fois que Sarasate se faisait entendre en cette ville, et les Orléanais ont pu constater dans sa manière une véritable transformation, un style expressif, une justesses et une ampleur de son, qui le placent aujourd'hui tout à fait au premier rang'. *Le Ménestrel*, 10 January 1869.

³⁸ 'Ses fantaisies sur Martha et sur Mignon ont été exécutées avec une virtuosité singulière'. *Le Ménestrel-Journal de Dijon*, 24 January 1869.

³⁹ Chapter 3 expands on this further.

⁴⁰ Letters from Sarasate to Madame de Lassabathie confirm this tour. There is not an abundance of information available on this particular tour. However, Chapter 3 expands for the first time the details of this tour, due to newly discovered evidence which I have uncovered; Carlotta Patti was sister of the famous soprano Adelina Patti; Elizabeth Forbes. 'Patti Family' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21091 (accessed 19 August 2024).

⁴¹ 'Dégelant tout sur son passage par sa verve et sa chaleur communicative'. *Le Ménestrel*, 2 May 1869.

⁴² Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 128.

⁴³ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 13 February 1870; The announcement and following review does not specify any further details on the compositions performed, but it most likely referred to Mendelssohn's Piano Trio no. 2 in C minor op. 66.

wonders'.⁴⁴ Although it is evident that Sarasate held an interest in chamber music, he did not pursue it regularly. The following planned three concerts did not take place as Sarasate reunited with Carlotta Patti's troupe in order to tour America for the first time. Other activities at this time included performances in Paris with Saint-Saëns, and on 12 March 1870 the premiere of Mme de Grandval's *Caprice* for violin solo.⁴⁵

Between 1870 and 1872 Sarasate undertook his first tour to North and South America, as a member of Carlotta Patti's troupe. This proved to be a great opportunity, and his successes as a violinist spurred him on to artistic maturity. During the tour, Sarasate discovered new works, continued to broaden his repertoire and was the central figure of several premiere performances. He wrote to his adoptive mother 'I am beginning to obtain a reputation as a serious violinist. [...] Who would have thought that I would make better music here than in Paris?' This more serious side to Sarasate was heralded by performances of several new additions to his repertoire including Beethoven's *Romance* in F major no. 2 op. 50, Thalberg-Bériot's *Grande Fantaisie sur Les Huguenots* op. 43, François Prume's *La Mélancolie* op. 1 and Beethoven's Violin Concerto in D major op. 61. Furthermore, in the spirit of presenting new music, Sarasate gave the first American performance of Bruch's Violin Concerto in G minor no. 1 op. 26 on 3 February 1872 at the Steinway Hall, New York, under Carl Bergmann. ⁴⁷ He also performed one of Saint-Saëns's violin concertos in Boston. ⁴⁸ These repertoire additions suggest that he had developed his technique, stamina and artistry to striking effect.

-

⁴⁴ 'Virtuoses au premier chef, possédant chacun un profond sentiment musical, ces quatre excellents artistes se sont vraiment surpassés. Nous nous attendons, pour les séances suivantes, á de véritables merveilles'. *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 27 February 1870.

⁴⁵ Announcement, *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 27 February 1870; Clémence de Grandval (1828–1907). Pianist and French composer who studied with Chopin and Saint-Saëns. She was from a wealthy family and continued to work as a composer after her marriage. However, most of her works were published under pseudonyms; Mary F McVicker, *Women Opera Composers: Biographies from the 1500s to the 21st Century* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, In., Publishers, 2016), 50.

⁴⁶ 'Je me fais une réputation de Violon Sérieux'. Letter, Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 25 April 1870. A collection of 29 letters, written by Sarasate to his adoptive mother Mme. Lassabathie, is archived at the *Sibley Music Library* (US-R); 'Qui aurait crû que je ferais de la meilleure musique ici qu'à Paris?'. Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie. New York, 29 April 1870, US-R.

⁴⁷ The definitive version of the first violin concerto was previously premiered in Bremen (7 January 1868) by Joseph Joachim but had not reached the United States yet; Fifield, *Loc. cit.*, 79; Concert program, 3 February 1872. Program ID 2591, US-NYphil. Reproduced by permission of NY Phil Shelby White & Leon Levy Digital Archives.

⁴⁸ Altadil, *op. cit.*, 32; The reference does not specify which violin concerto.

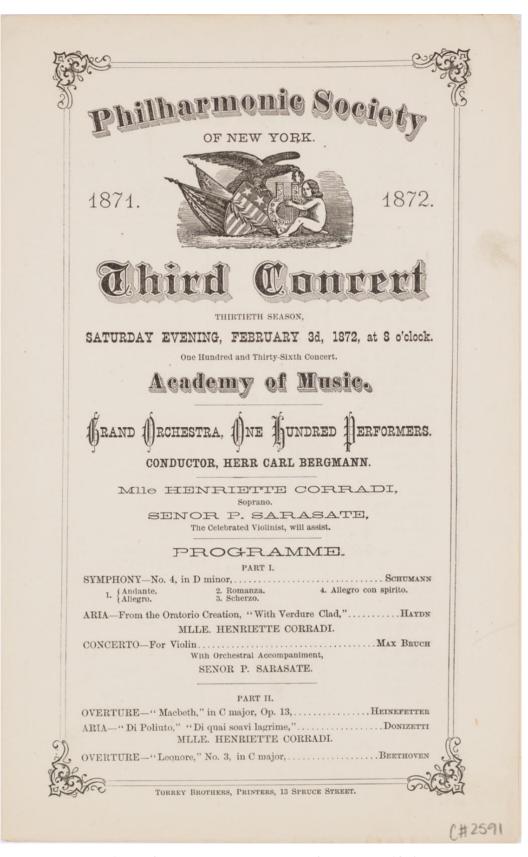


Figure 4: Programme New York, 3 February 1872

Sarasate's compositions from this time deviated from the opera fantasies for the first time with *Los Pájaros de Chile*, *Caprice for violin and piano accompaniment*. ⁴⁹ Composed during performances in Lima, this work is the first example of Sarasate composing and performing for a specific audience and place. Thus, it is likely that it was inspired by audience requests. He also played popular pieces such as Vieuxtemps's *Bouquet Américain: St Patrick's Day* op. 33. ⁵⁰ As noted later, as Sarasate's artistry and business mind developed, he utilised this skill further.

Whilst in Argentina Sarasate's letters to Madame Lassabathie confirm his meetings with an abundance of Basque and Navarraise locals, as well as the composition and performance of a new piece *Jota Aragonesa*. ⁵¹ This work is his first Hispanic-styled piece, but it remains largely unknown, and it was most likely included in his first published Hispanic composition from 1874, *Airs Espagnols*. ⁵² The same year, Georges Bizet was working on *Carmen*. The success of Bizet's work as well as Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* confirm the audience's new attraction to exotic elements. ⁵³ *Airs Espagnols* is dated before these two compositions were published. Therefore, this piece could have been intended to give some pre-publicity for the larger-scale works. 1874 also saw Sarasate secure a contract with the firm of Éditions Durand, putting his compositions on an equal footing with music by Saint-Saëns and Lalo. Sarasate was ideally suited to take advantage of the increasing popularity for Hispanic elements.

Table 2 below illustrates Sarasate's compositions during this developmental period, including a new version of his *Faust Fantasy* and a new work based on Weber's *Der Freischütz*. We note the combination of styles, as well as his first arrangements of the music of Chopin which, in comparison to his previous works, exemplifies an artist who is searching and developing. All except *Los Pájaros de Chile, Capricho* and the transcriptions *Three Waltzes by Chopin* were published in Paris.

-

⁴⁹ Chile's Birds. Caprice for violin and piano accompaniment. The composition was discovered in recent years by Ramón Sobrino and Maria Nagore Ferrer (2009), during the creation of a new edition of Sarasate works: *Edición Critica by Ramón Sobrino and Ara Malikian*, 2009; There are several accounts of Sarasate meeting with locals during his travels, special accounts in Buenos Aires, see Ferrer. *Ibid*.

⁵⁰ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Pittsburgh, 7 May 1870, US-R.

⁵¹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Buenos Aires, 26 September 1870, US-R.

⁵² Ferrer, *op. cit.*, 150.

⁵³ Barbara Matulka, Joseph W. Barlow ed., *The Spanish Review* V. 1–4 (Michigan: Washington Square College, 1934), 36.

Title	Composition	First
	Date	Edition
Los Pájaros de Chile, Capricho. Dedicated 'A S.E. el Presidente de la República de Chile Sr. D. J. J. Pérez'. (Published in Madrid, 2009)	c. 1870	2009
Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Ch. Gounod. Dedicated 'À mon ami Arthur Napoleao de Rio de Janeiro'	c. 1870	c.1874
Le Freischutz. Fantaisiee. Dedicated 'To my friend Aimé Gros, from Lyon'	c. 1872	c. 1874
Airs Espagnols. Dedicated 'To my friend and compatriot Lorenzo Pagans'	c. 1874	c. 1874
Nocturne de Chopin op. 9 no. 2. Dedicated 'À son ami Aimé Gros'	c. 1876	c. 1877
Nocturne de Chopin op. 27 no. 2. Dedicated 'À son ami Alfred Turban'	c. 1876	c. 1877
Three Waltzes by Chopin: Valse in A minor op. 34 no. 2 Valse in F major op. 34 no. 3 Valse in A major op. 64 no. 3 (Published in San Francisco, 1982)	Unknown	1982

Table 2: Sarasate's compositions, 1870–1876

On 25 February 1871, following the end of the Franco-Prussian war, Saint-Saëns and Romain Bussine created the *Société Nationale de Musique*, which sought to renew and expand French music worldwide. Sarasate's return in 1872 coincided with these events and his role disseminating contemporary French works was extended in the new atmosphere of Paris by performing in a series of *Concerts Populaires* organised by Saint-Saëns. ⁵⁴ The violinist enjoyed great acclaim for his virtuoso performances of many new French compositions, including Lalo's Violin Concerto which he premiered in Paris and consecutively performed in other locations such as Holland. ⁵⁵ He also performed the work for his solo debut at London's Crystal Palace in 1874 and was named 'the violinist in fashion of the moment'. ⁵⁶

Between 1872 and 1876 Sarasate played a wide range of symphonic repertoire. He premiered various compositions, continued to perform works by Lalo and Mendelssohn, and included various new additions to his repertoire for performance alongside Saint-Saëns and Bizet. Table 3 below illustrates a selection of new additions, premieres and music that he continued to perform.

⁵⁵ Le Ménestrel, 18 January 1874; Le Ménestrel, 20 December 1874.

⁵⁴ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 10 November 1872.

⁵⁶ Le Ménestrel, 7 June 1874; 'Sarasate, de son coté, est en ce moment le violoniste á la mode'. Le Ménestrel, 21 June 1874; Sarasate had previously performed in London but not in the capacity of solo violinist.

Composer	Title	Other remarks	
Bruch	Violin Concerto in G minor op. 26	Sarasate gave the first performance in Paris. Théâtre du Châtelet 9 February 1873	
Lalo	Violin Concerto in F op. 20	Premiere in Paris at Théâtre du Châtelet. Conductor: Colonne 18 January 1874	
Lalo	Symphonie Espagnole op. 21	Premiere in Paris at Cirque d'Hiver. Conductor: Pasdeloup 7 February 1875	
Raff	Suite for Violin and Orchestra op. 180	Sarasate gives first performance in Paris	
Lalo	Sonata for violin and piano op. 12	New addition	
Paul Lacombe	Sonata for piano and violin op. 8 ⁵⁷	New addition	
Saint-Saëns	Violin Concerto in A major	Regular appearances	
Saint-Saëns	Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso	Regular appearances	
Mendelssohn	Violin Concerto op. 64	Regular appearances	
Beethoven	Violin Concerto op. 61	Regular appearances	

Table 3: Sarasate's repertoire, 1872–1876

These works made regular appearances in Sarasate's programmes. Their success on stage, as well as being valuable for the composers, continued to develop his career further, establishing his reputation as a virtuoso violinist and a performer of contemporary works 'with the security, delicacy and grace that make his playing so attractive'. 58 Of these pieces, concertos by Mendelssohn and Bruch (G minor, no. 1) became two of Sarasate's most performed violin concertos worldwide, helping to establish them in the violin canon. As Auer stated, 'to Sarasate belongs the distinction of having been the first to popularise the Concertos of Bruch, Lalo and Saint-Saëns'. 59 Sarasate's role in the establishment of Bruch's Violin Concerto became clearer years later as pupils of the Paris Conservatoire began to perform the work as they completed their studies. These younger players were often compared to Sarasate whose 'masterful interpretation, made the concerto a true creation'. 60 Beethoven's Violin Concerto op. 61 also became a regular feature in Sarasate's programmes, with the addition of a cadenza by Saint-Saëns. According to reviews this new embellishment to the work was of immense difficulty but Sarasate performed it 'with marvellous ease'. 61 The inclusion of a

⁵⁷ Paul Lacombe (1837–1927). French composer and disciple of Bizet. According to Bizet's wife, Sarasate performed Lacombe's Sonata at Bizet's home; Douglas Charles Parker, Bizet (London: Routledge and K. Paul,

⁵⁸ 'M. Sarasate l'a joué, cette fois comme les précédentes, avec la sureté, la délicatesse et la grace qui rendent son jeu si attrayant'. Revue et Gazette Musicale, 16 February 1873. ⁵⁹ Auer, *op. cit.*, 92.

^{60 &#}x27;Ce n'est pas tout á fait encore la magistrale interprétation de Sarasate, qui a fait de ce concerto une véritable création'. Revue et Gazette Musicale, 5 January 1879.

^{61 &#}x27;La cadence que M. Sarasate a ajoutée au premier morceau est d'une immense difficulté, et avec cela fort intéressante; il l'a enlevée avec une aisance merveilleuse'. Revue et Gazette Musicale, 28 March 1875 and 25 March 1877; I have not been able to locate the cadenza written for Sarasate.

notable virtuosic cadenza in a canonic work such as Beethoven's Violin Concerto is a statement in respect to Sarasate's role in the maintenance of virtuosity in opposition to the *Werktreue* concept.⁶²

In 1875 Sarasate premiered Lalo's Symphonie Espagnole and performed a Romance by Brahms. 63 Then in 1876 he gave the first performance of Raff's Suite for violin and orchestra in Paris, and composed his transcription of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2.64 The timing of these international additions to his repertoire are methodical, in preparation for his debut in Monaco in February 1876 and in Germany in October 1876.65 According to Peña y Goñi, Sarasate's colleagues in Paris encouraged him to perform in Germany but the violinist was doubtful at first, 'resisting to perform for an audience that viewed everything that originated from the enemy country with systematic dislike'. 66 Nevertheless, the artist was convinced and Frigyes Szarbady (husband of pianist Wilhelmine Clauss) recommended Sarasate to German conductor Carl Reinecke. ⁶⁷ True to his instinct, the initial response upon performing at Hugo Bock's musical sessions in Berlin, in the winter of 1876, was not as successful as expected.⁶⁸ Sarasate performed an unknown piece by Saint-Saëns, his own transcription of Chopin's Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 and a Spanish Dance. He played works that reappear at important events, marking them as safety additions. Anton Rubinstein had previously premiered compositions at these musical sessions and, according to Otto Neitzel, Sarasate was not comfortable in that society.⁶⁹ However, it is of no surprise that such an intimate event, with an audience of intellectual German purists and whose violin representative was Sarasate's opposite Joachim, was not a great success. Nevertheless, Neitzel also noted: 'It is true that we were not kind at Bock's house session, but an internal voice had told us very clearly, that the name Sarasate was going to revolutionise and make tremble the world of art without delay'. 70 Indeed, French newspapers reported that on 19 October 1876, Sarasate performed Lalo's Symphonie Espagnole and Saint-Saëns's Concertstück at the

⁶² Joachim's cadenzas for the violin concerto also contain notable technical difficulties and virtuosic displays which acknowledges the fusion and mixture of tastes in the public.

⁶³ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 7 February 1875; Le Ménestrel, 14 February 1875.

⁶⁴ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 13 February 1876; Revue et Gazette Musicale, 5 March 1876.

⁶⁵ Sarasate had already performed in Germany as part of Patti's troupe. The *Berliner Musikzeitung* described him as a performer with promise for the future. However, the performances outlined in the text were Sarasate's debut as a soloist. Chapter 3 develops this further; *Berliner Musikzeitung*, 9 June 1869.

^{66 &#}x27;...se resistía a presentarse ante un público que miraba con antipatía sistemática todo cuanto procedía del país enemigo'. Altadil, *Ibid*, 44; Iberni notes that Lalo gave Sarasate an advance in order to try his luck in Germany. Iberni, *Ibid*, 56; Peña y Goñi, *La Época*, 1887 in Altadil, *op. cit.*, 44.

⁶⁷ Goldschmidt, *Memoirs* (unpublished manuscript), JCB.

⁶⁸ Sarasate and Otto Neitzel later performed on various occasions across Europe.

⁶⁹ Altadil, *op. cit.*, 43.

⁷⁰ 'Cierto que no hemos estado amables en la sesión de la casa Bock, pero una voz interior nos había dicho claramente, que el nombre de Sarasate iba a revolucionar y hacer temblar el mundo del arte sin tardanza'. Altadil, *Ibid*, 43.

Gewandhaus in Leipzig to considerable acclaim. Goldschmidt's *Memoirs* similarly describe a successful performance, but he also adds that conductor Reinecke and the orchestra remained cold. The reviews the following day were exceptionally positive on Sarasate's playing, but contained an overall disapproval of the repertoire. The violinist remained in Germany hopeful to gain more performance opportunities; six weeks later, he was offered to replace violinist Hellmesberger at the Musikvereins-Saal in Vienna. According to violinist Juan Manén's recollections, it was with this performance that Sarasate began his very successful concert career, replacing an ill violinist at three days' notice. Manén described the performance as a 'sensation' and continued: The miracle was done, the spark had jumped by hand of the gods, and all the possibilities of glory were opened for the violinist'. Indeed, the *Berliner Musikzeitung* in December 1876 praised Sarasate as a great virtuoso. He was subsequently invited to tour Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire until December 1877.

Sarasate's First Tours as a Solo Violinist: 1876–1883

After the German success in 1876, Sarasate's career truly began to flourish and his subsequent triumphs the following year are represented in various recollections. He was heard and positively commented on by critics who themselves had heard Paganini perform. The following review recalls Sarasate's success, and it is one of the first instances to note his mixed cosmopolitan identity, categorising the violinist as a Franco-Spanish virtuoso.

The success of Sarasate, at the Berlin Opera, where he gave four concerts, or rather four intermediaries ... took the proportions of a real triumph. Mr. Ferdinand Gumbert, in the Neue Berliner Musikzeitung, shouts in honour of the Franco-Spanish virtuoso a complete firework display. When, like me, he said, we have heard all the famous violinists of our time, including Paganini, we have the right to be difficult for a newcomer. And yet I will only imperfectly express my admiration, saying that the talent of Mr. Sarasate has communicated to me an enthusiasm such as I had experienced for many years. The sound is not extraordinary, but it is so exquisite that it penetrates you and irresistibly captivates you. To this must be added an impeccable technique, an immaculate purity and a perfect grace...Sarasate was greeted by bravos and endless recalls.⁷⁷

⁷¹ Le Ménestrel, 29 October 1876 ; This performance is noted as 18 October 1876 in Goldschmidt. Memoirs, JCB.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Signale für die musikalische Welt. October 1876. No. 59: 932.

⁷⁴ Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, JCB.

⁷⁵ 'El milagro estaba hecho, la chispa saltó del yunque por obra de las diosas, y al violinista se le abrían todas las posibilidades de gloria'. Juan Manén, *Mis experiencias II* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, S. A. Provenza, 1964), 43.

⁷⁶ Berliner Musikzeitung, 28 December 1876.

⁷⁷ 'Le succès de Sarasate, á l'Opéra de Berlin, où il a donné quatre concerts, ou pour mieux dire quatre intermèdes, le 10, le 12, le 15 et le 17 décembre, a pris les proportions d'un véritable triomphe. M. Ferdinand

The review would have been a great compliment to Sarasate, as he was an admirer of Paganini and he was compared positively to the Italian violinist in many reviews. Interestingly, however, he never performed Paganini's compositions, although he emulated Paganini's showmanship and awareness of public taste. Sarasate debuted in Germany, choosing to perform works from his repertoire that were unknown to the public and bringing French works to a German audience. However, these selections were specifically tailored so as to appeal to that public. The violinist chose to play larger structural pieces such as violin concertos, as well as his own Faust fantasy and Chopin's Nocturne which, in addition to his notorious graceful sound, would have pleased the audience. 78

During the subsequent tour of the country in 1877 Sarasate met a selection of international artists. These included Bruch, Franz Liszt, Anton Door, Clara Schumann, Hans von Bülow, Raff and Joachim, all of whom subsequently influenced Sarasate to compose or dedicated their own compositions to him. 79 A selection of German performances during this year included the collaboration of Bruch, who had great respect for the violinist. Bruch wrote to his editor Simrock describing their performances of his Violin Concerto in G no. 1 op. 26 in Frankfurt and Wiesbaden in February of 1877. The composer expressed his enthusiasm as the public 'went mad everywhere'. Bruch continued by articulating his intention to compose something for the violinist. 80 Later that year, in October of 1877, Bruch and Sarasate travelled together to London to perform the first violin concerto. 81 On 4 November 1877, they premiered Bruch's Violin Concerto No. 2 in D minor op. 44, which had been composed for and dedicated to Sarasate, from manuscript parts. As Fifield mentions, Sarasate was one of a team of 'violinist advisers', alongside Robert Heckmann who helped edit the work before publication. A few months after the first performance, Joachim also joined the team. 82 This group of players was a strange collaboration as Heckmann was concertmaster in Leipzig and Cologne, and like Joachim, very much a representative of the Austro-German violin school.

Gumbert, dans la Neue Berliner Musikzeitung, tire en l'honneur du virtuose franco-espagnol un feu d'artifice complet. - Lorsque ainsi que moi, dit-il, on a entendu tous les célèbres violonistes de notre temps, y compris Paganini, on a le droit de se montrer difficile pour un nouveau venu. Et pourtant je n'exprimerai qu'imparfaitement mon admiration, en disant que le talent de M. Sarasate m'a communiqué un enthousiasme tel que je n'en avais éprouvé depuis de longues années. Le son n'a pas une ampleur extraordinaire, mais il est d'un sentiment si exquis, qu'il vous pénètre et vous captive irrésistiblement. A cela il faut ajouter une technique impeccable, une pureté immaculée et une grâce parfaite.- Ajoutons que le public s'est montré de l'avis de M. Gumbert, et que Sarasate a été salué par des bravos et des rappels sans fin'. *Le Ménestrel*, 23 December 1877.

⁷⁹ Sarasate performed often with pianist Anton Door after their acquaintance; *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 8 September 1877; Sarasate performed at a concert in Baden-Baden, sharing the stage with Clara Schumann; *Revue et Gazette Musicale*. Performance on 29 September 1877 under baton of Hans von Bülow; Raff's Suite for violin and orchestra was one of Sarasate's repertoire staples.

⁸⁰ Fifield, Max Bruch, 150.

⁸¹ This performance was Bruch's concert debut at the Crystal Palace, London; Fifield, *Ibid*, 150.

⁸² Fifield, op. cit., 153.

Their approach to playing was different from Sarasate's distinct French style; thus, the stylistic decisions, bowing, fingering and use of portamento, differed considerably. Moreover, rivalry between Joachim and Sarasate became noticeable in their opposite opinions; Joachim stating, 'the concerto is much easier than the first' and Sarasate responding, 'I assure you this concerto is much harder than the first'.⁸³

1877 was also the year in which Sarasate attended some of Liszt's events; these often included a leading gipsy band. 84 One particular gathering is of great importance as Sarasate's autograph manuscript of *Zigeunerweisen* for violin and piano is dated five months after this event, indicating the effect of the soirée on Sarasate. *Zigeunerweisen*, also known as *Gipsy Airs*, became very popular as a concert piece, a position it still retains today. The table below lists Sarasate's compositions from *Zigeunerweisen* in 1877 to 1883, which concludes this specific compositional period.

Title	Composition	First	Publication
,	Date	Edition	
Zigeunerweisen op. 20. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Frédéric	1877	c. 1878	Leipzig
Szarvady'			
Danzas Españolas. I. Malagueña op. 21 no.1. Dedicated 'An	1878	c. 1878	Berlin
Joseph Joachim in Verehrung und Bewunderung'			
Danzas Españolas II. Habanera op. 21 no. 2. Dedicated 'An	1877	c. 1878	Berlin
Joseph Joachim in Verehrung und Bewunderung'			
Danzas Españolas III Romanza Andaluza op. 22 no. 1.	1878	c. 1879	Berlin
Dedicated 'Frau Norman-Neruda gewidmet'			
Danzas Españolas IV Jota Navarra op. 22 no. 2. Dedicated	1878	c. 1879	Berlin
'Frau Norman-Neruda gewidmet'			
Danzas Españolas V Playera op. 23 no1. Dedicated 'à Hugo	1879	1880	Berlin
Herrmann'			
Danzas Españolas VI Zapateado op. 23 no. 2 for violin and	1879	1880	Berlin
piano.			
Dedicated 'à Hugo Herrmann'			
Caprice Basque op. 24. Dedicated 'A mi amigo y compañero	1880	c. 1880	Leipzig
Otto Goldschmidt'			
Fantaisie de concert sur Carmen de Bizet op. 25. Dedicated 'À	1881	c. 1882	Paris
Monsieur Hellmes Berger, Directeur du Conservatoire de			
Vienne'			
Danzas Españolas VII op. 26 no. 1. Dedicated 'à Leopold	1882	1882	Berlin
Auer'			
Danzas Españolas VIII (Habanera) op. 26 no. 2 Dedicated 'à	1882	1882	Berlin
Leopold Auer'			
Jota Aragonesa op. 27. Dedicated 'Dedicada a mi amigo Julio	1882	c. 1884	Leipzig
Enciso'			
Danzas Españolas. Serenata Andaluza op. 28. Dedicated 'A	1883	c. 1883	Berlin
Francisca Sarasate de Mena'			

Table 4: Sarasate's compositions, 1877–1883

⁸³ Fifield, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁴ Hyun Joo Kim, *Liszt's Representation of Instrumental Sounds on the Piano: Colours in Black and White* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019), 115; Lynn M. Hooker, *Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 81; Ferrer, *op. cit.*, 229.

Zigeunerweisen represents a significant milestone in Sarasate's development, as it signals the transition between his previous operatic based compositions, all published in Paris, and his new, redeveloped virtuosic style based on Spanish themes, published by German publishers. The discovery of new places and expansion of his network created new opportunities, and his reputation as an international solo violinist also blossomed. In consequence, his repertoire and compositions began to redevelop.

During the early 1880s Sarasate met Johannes Brahms. Even though Sarasate and Brahms occasionally shared the stage, various recollections express their dislike for each other, both personally and musically. These two musicians could not have differed more. Sarasate did, however, perform in individual instances, a selection of Brahms's compositions including the Brahms-Joachim *Hungarian Dances* for violin and piano, as well as one of Brahms's three violin sonatas, in which he was accompanied by the composer. If this particular performance was subsequent to their first meeting, then due to the compositional date of Brahms's sonatas, the two artists performed his Sonata no. 1 in G major op. 78. Nevertheless, Sarasate never performed Brahms's Violin Concerto in D major op. 77 and famously commented that the only decent melody of the piece, appeared in the second movement and is played by the oboe.⁸⁵

The meeting with Brahms in 1880 was arranged through Joachim who invited Sarasate and Goldschmidt to a musical evening. ⁸⁶ In the invitation Joachim mentions an event that same evening in which Sarasate was performing: 'I will not miss the party this evening to applaud you; your sincere admirer, always yours, Joseph Joachim'. ⁸⁷ The polite words by Joachim are surprising, as according to violinist Juan Manén 'for the Hungarian, the Spanish violinist had no depth'. ⁸⁸ Manén continues, 'according to the Spaniard, you would have to take a pillow to the concert hall when the Hungarian violinist gave [a performance]. ⁸⁹ However, even if the two violinists had negative opinions of each other, the compositional dedications between them prove respect towards their craft and their mutual skills. Such is the case of Joachim's *Variations for Violin with Orchestra Accompaniment*. As Katharina Uhde explains, the balanced lyricism and effect-laden applications of virtuosity are fitting for the dedicatee, then one of Europe's most eminent virtuosi, although documentary sources suggest that Sarasate never performed the piece. ⁹⁰

0

⁸⁵ Andreas Moser, Geschichte des Violinspiels (Berlin, 1923; 2nd, rev. ed. Tutzing, 1967), 179.

⁸⁶ Letter Joachim to Sarasate, Berlin, 3 December 1880, gathered in Altadil, *Ibid*, 479.

⁸⁷ 'Yo no faltaré a la fiesta de esta tarde para aplaudir a usted; su admirador sincero, siempre suyo, Joseph Joachim'. Letter Joachim to Sarasate, Berlin, 3 December 1880, gathered in Altadil, *Ibid*, 479.

^{88 &#}x27;Para el húngaro, el violinista español no tenía profundidad'. Manén, Mis experiencias Vol. 2, 105.

⁸⁹ 'Para el español, había que llevarse una almohada a la sala de conciertos cuando el violinista húngaro daba alguno'. Manén, *op. cit.*, 105.

⁹⁰ Uhde, *op. cit.*, 247.

From 1878 Sarasate travelled extensively with performances encompassing a second tour of Germany, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, the United Kingdom and Russia, as well as his first tour of Spain in 1880, Portugal, Romania and Italy. Until 1882 Sarasate continued to perform French compositions internationally. As well as the compositions previously mentioned, he premiered in Germany Lalo's *Fantaisie Norvégienne*, performed Vieuxtemps's *Fantasy Appassionata* op. 35 and continued to receive a vast amount of dedications including Wieniawski's Violin Concerto no. 2 op. 22, Antonín Dvořák's *Mazurek* op. 49, Friedrich Gernsheim's Violin Concerto op. 42, Bruch's *Scottish Fantasy* op. 46, Auer's *Rhapsodie Hongroise* op. 5 for violin and orchestra or piano, Carl Reinecke's Suite for violin and piano op. 153 and Saint-Saëns's Violin Concerto in B minor no. 3 op. 61 which was composed with Sarasate's assistance.⁹¹

Saint-Saëns and Lalo were two of Sarasate's great friends and musicians with whom he collaborated extensively. With the development of Sarasate's career and absence from Paris, Saint-Saëns and Lalo found affinity with a new violinist of similar age, Martin Pierre Marsick, who studied with Lambert Massart and Joachim. ⁹² In 1878 Marsick began to appear on stage performing various Sarasate compositions and programming similar repertoire, including works for which Sarasate was known. As an example, on one occasion Marsick performed Lalo's *Symphony Espagnole*, the *Bohemian Airs* [Zigeunerweisen], Sarasate's *Dances* and Wieniawski's *Mazurka*. ⁹³ Moreover, Lalo's *Concerto Russe* op. 29, originally intended for Sarasate, was then dedicated to Marsick. ⁹⁴ In comparison to Sarasate, Marsick did not become a celebrated player, but he did produce excellent performers as a violin teacher at the Paris Conservatoire, his students including Carl Flesch, Jacques Thibaud and Georges Enesco. A few years later, in 1885, Sarasate dedicated his *Bolero* op. 30 to Marsick.

⁹¹ Wieniawski studied with Massart at the Paris Conservatoire but did not cross paths with Sarasate. They coincided at a later stage, most likely, during one of Sarasate's tours. Sarasate performed many of Wieniawski's compositions; *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 15 December 1878; Letter Sarasate to Huarte. Gathered in Altadil, *op. cit.*, 351. Biarritz-Villa Navarra, no date (May 1903).

⁹² Martin Pierre Marsick was a Belgian violinist and composer. He became a violin teacher at the Paris Conservatoire in 1892; Patrick Peire and Cécile Tardif. 'Marsick, Martin Pierre (Joseph)', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17871 (accessed 10 August 2024).

⁹³ Le Ménestrel, 28 January 1883.

⁹⁴ Letter Lalo to Sarasate, Paris, 1 November 1880; Lalo, *Correspondence*, 143–144.

The Virtuoso Violinist established: 1883-1908

During the years which spanned the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Sarasate consolidated his reputation as a virtuoso violinist who performed new works and disseminated them internationally. His repertoire concentrated on, but was not limited to, French music. Because of his reputation, other composers continued to dedicate works to him throughout his life and therefore, his repertoire continued expanding until his death in 1908. A key factor for the year 1883 as the marker for the beginning of Sarasate's established era is the fact that his name began to appear in periodicals not only as an established performer but as a composer and role model as well. His compositions and transcriptions were being performed by a younger generation, such as Spanish violinist Enrique Fernandez Arbós (1863–1939), who in 1904 became the principal conductor of the Madrid Symphony Orchestra. 95

Sarasate also began to be used by critics and professionals as a comparison resource to these new young violinists. However, this next generation was not only performing his compositions but also replicating his repertoire and programming structure. An example is the violinist Isabelle Levallois, pupil at the Paris Conservatoire, and, as the following review implies, imitator of Sarasate:⁹⁶

...she successively performed Mendelssohn's *Trio* in D, Wieniawski's *Russian Airs*, Raff's Sonata, Chopin's *Nocturne*, transcribed by Sarasate, *Zapateado*, by the same author, and Hauser's *Hungarian Rhapsody*. The execution of these works, of very different styles, has highlighted the remarkable talent of this young virtuoso and provoked a warm applause of a large and selected public. ⁹⁷

Levallois's repertoire and programme follow Sarasate's recital template, a structure moderately resembling what we are accustomed to now. Although the works that Levallois performed in this programme are evidence of her skill, at this time, female performers were not viewed as equivalent to their male colleagues, as the violin was considered as a masculine instrument. 98 Other examples of violinists mentioned in periodicals performing Sarasate's music confirm his international reach: Ernest Moret (1871–1949), Marianne Eissler (1865–

⁹⁵ Spanish virtuoso violinist, composer and conductor. He studied with Vieuxtemps and J. Joachim. Began his career as a concert violinist and was concertmaster of several orchestras; Arbós, *Memorias*.

⁹⁶ French violinist from the nineteenth-century, biographical dates are currently unknown.

⁹⁷ 'Elle a successivement exécuté le trio en ré de Mendelssohn, les Airs russes de Wieniawski, la Sonate chromatique de Raff, le Nocturne de Chopin, transcrit par Sarasate, El Zapateado, du même auteur, et la Rapsodie hongroise, d'Hauser. L'exécution de ces œuvres, de styles très divers, a mis en relief le remarquable talent de cette jeune virtuose et provoqué les chaleureux applaudissements d'un public nombreux et choisi'. *Le Ménestrel*, 15 June 1884.

⁹⁸ Phyllis Weliver, *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860–1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (New York: Routledge, 2016); For further information on the subject see literature on violinist Camila Urso (1842–1902).

after 1921) and Mlle Harkness, aka Arma Senkrah, (1864–1900).99

Sarasate assembled a considerable amount of new repertoire regularly and the years from 1887 to 1893 were particularly fruitful in this regard. An important contemporary inclusion was Alexander Mackenzie's Violin Concerto op. 32, which Sarasate performed often. Comparably to Sarasate's reputation for publicising French works abroad, he performed the English work at the Salle Érard in Paris in 1887. Table 5 below presents a selection of further repertoire additions which highlight the mixture of music Sarasate performed in order to maintain the audience's interest. To this table we can also add his own contemporary compositions. The list, although not varied significantly in style, does contain a mixture of virtuosic, contemporary and serious compositions.

Composer	Title	Other remarks	
Emile Bernard	Violin Concerto op. 29	-	
Moritz	Balade no. 1 op. 16	-	
Moszkowski			
Raff	La Fée d'amour op. 67	-	
Carl Weber	Gran Duo op. 48	-	
Dvořák	Slavonic Dances ¹⁰¹	-	
Guiraud	Caprice	Dedicated to P. Sarasate	
Karl Goldmark	Suite no. 1 op.11	-	
Goldmark	Suite no. 2 op. 43 for piano and violin	-	
Sarasate	Duo Navarra	Performed with Enrique Fernandez Arbós ¹⁰²	
Mackenzie	Violin Concerto op. 32	Sarasate premiered the work in	
		Birmingham	
Mackenzie	Pibroch Suite op. 42	-	
Raff	Sonata op. 63	-	
Bernard	Suite for violin and piano op. 34	-	
Robert Schumann	Sonata for violin and piano no. 2 op. 121	-	
Bruch	Violin Concerto no. 3	-	
Saint-Saëns	Sonata for violin and piano op. 75	-	
Aleksander	Introduction and Cracovienne	-	
Zarzycki			
Heinrich W. Ernst	Fantaisie Brillante sur la Marche et la	-	
	Romance d'Otello de Rossini op. 11		
Franz Schubert	Fantasia op. 159	-	

Table 5: Repertoire additions, 1887–1893

44

⁹⁹ Concert violinist Marianne Eissler, sister of harpist Clara Eissler and pianist Emma Eissler, studied at the Vienna Conservatory with Carl Heissler (1823–1878). Sarasate dedicated several pieces to the sisters; Violinist Arma Senkrah (Harkness) studied in Paris, she was a student of Wieniawski and L. Massart, and performed with Liszt. She committed suicide in Weimar; Alan Walker, rev. ed. *Living with Liszt from The Diary of Carl Lachmund. An American Pupil of Liszt. 1882–1884. Franz Liszt Studies Series #4* (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998).

¹⁰⁰ *Le Ménestrel*, 13 March 1887.

¹⁰¹ The specific details of the composition are unknown.

¹⁰² London 1888–1889. Altadil, *Ibid*, 154–156.

From 1884 Sarasate was a frequent performer in London; he collaborated with conductor Sir William Cusins on many occasions. 103 Cusins was a professor at the Royal Academy of Music and until 1883 conductor of the Philharmonic Society. He was appointed Master of the Queen's Music by Queen Victoria in 1870, was knighted in 1892 and received the Cross of Isabella the Catholic in 1893. Cusins became a close and frequent artistic partner whose professional accomplishments were of great relevance to Sarasate as they provided new extraordinary opportunities. Cusins's close relationship with Sarasate is confirmed by the gifts curated by the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, including a Violin Concerto written for Sarasate.

During Sarasate's second tour of North and South America, between 1889 and 1890, his diverse repertoire and style of performance were commended. Following this successful tour, Sarasate returned to London for his first performance of *Sarasate's Concerts*. ¹⁰⁴
Between September and December 1891 Sarasate toured the United Kingdom, visiting Huddersfield, Bournemouth, Cardiff, Glasgow, Edinburgh and Carlisle. ¹⁰⁵ Returning in 1894, Sarasate made his debut at the Royal Albert Hall in a charity concert. ¹⁰⁶ He also performed for Queen Victoria at her castle in Balmoral, with a programme consisting of Schubert's *Rondo*, Raff's *La fée d'amour*, Moszkowski's *Valse*, Chopin's *Nocturne*, his own *Habanera* and Wieniawski's *Legend*. The Queen is reported to have asked Sarasate to perform his *Zapateado*. ¹⁰⁷ In addition to this performance, the violinist played for the Queen again on 9 February 1886 at Osborne House, and on 27 October 1891 at Balmoral. ¹⁰⁸ Queen Victoria noted in her journal: 'I never heard finer execution or more feeling than Sarasate has'. ¹⁰⁹

We note how the focus of Sarasate's repertoire changed at this latter stage of his life, as his performances combined showpieces with historicist repertoire, alluding to the prestige of canonic works which virtuosos had begun to explore. This expansion coincided with a major shift in composition at the turn of the century; composers such as Mahler and Debussy created works which led to 'a profound historical transformation'. 111 1889 was also the year when Paris held the *Exposition Universelle*, a great event where cultures from the world

¹⁰³ William Cusins (1833–1893) was an English pianist, organist, violinist, conductor and composer; E. D. Mackerness, 'Cusins, Sir William (George)' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06980 (accessed 17 August 2024).

¹⁰⁴ Transcribed by author Titania, 'Carta Semanal', *El Nacional*, México, 13 April 1890, see Altadil, *Ibid*, 79. ¹⁰⁵ Altadil, *op. cit.*, 163.

¹⁰⁶ 9 June 1894. Altadil, op. cit., 165.

¹⁰⁷ London, 8 November 1894, *loc. cit.*; The specific composition by Schubert is unknown.

 ¹⁰⁸ Queen Victoria's Journals, http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do (accessed 20 August 2024);
 'Journal Entry: Tuesday 27th October 1891', Queen Victoria's Journals, loc. cit.
 109 Loc. cit.

¹¹⁰ Stefaniak, Schumann's Virtuosity, 157.

¹¹¹ Dahlhaus, Nineteenth-Century Music, 334.

interacted and new inventions were displayed. During this time of rapid change, older virtuoso traditions continued only through the performances of a few violinists such as Sarasate and August Wilhelmj, who were effectively the last of their kind. Furthermore, a whole generation of virtuoso violinists had died by this point, including Ole Bull and Wieniawski in 1880 and Jean-Delphin Alard in 1888.

Sarasate's late transformative period is confirmed by the violinist himself with his choice of Mozart's Violin Concerto in A major no. 5 K. 219, a completely new addition to his repertoire. 112 Sarasate regarded this concerto as 'the most charming of the three of the immortal composer' and he continues with a personal acknowledgment of the transformation that took place in his repertoire. 113 Sarasate also began to perform Bach's *Prelude* from the Partita for Solo Violin in E major no. 3 BWV 1006 and the Chaconne from the Partita in D minor no. 2 BWV 1004, about which he remarked that 'it is considered as one of the most beautiful works of the immortal composer'. 114 The fact that he added these pieces, as well as some of Mozart's sonatas, indicates that Sarasate was still evolving in his mature years. He was also engaging with the movement of reviving historical works, after a prolonged resistance in favour of contemporary works. The inclusion of early composers in the programmes of the late nineteenth century was a recent development, one that in time overshadowed and altered the prominence of virtuosity. 115 However, as it is evident in Sarasate's 1904 recordings, where he performs Bach's *Prelude* in E major, he still played these compositions within the virtuosic, fast style for which he was known. Evidently, Sarasate added these pieces to his repertoire in order to embrace changes in musical taste but stood firm in performing them in his own style. On the other hand, as a mature and famous violinist, there is the possibility that this was indeed the kind of repertoire he wished to perform. Nevertheless, Sarasate's repertoire throughout his career was extensive, and his choices followed a direct rule of showcasing his known features and techniques, such as fast playing, an elegant sound and secure intonation.

From 1885 to 1900, Sarasate's compositional style with nationalistic influences remained and the majority of works from this time are based on Spanish themes. However, from 1900, eight years before his death, Sarasate's compositions became rather retrospective. They started to resemble his youthful compositions, which are based on opera fantasies and

¹¹² The Archivo Municipal Pamplona holds Sarasate's copy of Mozart's Violin Concerto in A major no. 5 K. 219 with annotated cadences in pencil. Furthermore, Joseph Gold created an edition with four of these cadenzas. ¹¹³ Letter Sarasate to Huarte, Biarritz, 26 June 1906, in Altadil, *op. cit.*, 359.

¹¹⁴ '…la celebre *Chacona* está considerada como una de las más hermosas obras del inmoral compositor'. Letter Sarasate to Huarte. Biarritz- Villa Navarra, May 1903, in Altadil, *op. cit.*, 351; *The Musical Times*, 1 December 1906, Vol. 47, No. 766, 836–837.

¹¹⁵ Dahlhaus, Ibid, 22.

are inspired by his French roots. Table 6 below lists Sarasate's compositions from this time, illustrating the influence his latest artistically personal and transformative event of performing historicist repertoire took on his own compositions from 1900.

Title	Composition Date	First Edition	Place of Publication
Le Chant du Rossignol op. 29. Dedicated 'A Teresina Tua'	1885	1885	Berlin
Bolero op. 30. Dedicated 'A Monsieur Marsick'	c. 1885	1885	Berlin
Ballade op. 31. Dedicated 'à Díaz-Albertini'	c. 1885	c. 1885	Paris
Muiñeira. Théme Montagnard varié op. 32. Dedicated 'Al Exmo. Sr. Conde de Morphy'	c. 1886	c. 1887	Leipzig
Navarra. Duo for two violins op. 33. Dedicated 'A la Exma. Diputación de Navarra'	c. 1888	1889	Berlin
Airs Écossais op. 34. Dedicated 'À Eugène Ysaÿe'	1891	1892	Berlin
Peteneras. Caprice Espagnol op. 35. Dedicated 'À Madame Berthe Marx'	c. 1893	1894	Berlin
Jota de San Fermín op. 36. Dedicated to 'À son ami Louis Diémer'	1894	1894	Berlin
Danse Espagnole Adiós Montañas mías! Célébre Zortzico de Joaquín Larregla op. 37	c. 1894	1895	Madrid
Viva Sevilla! Danse Espagnole op. 38. Dedicated 'a Indalencio Romero'	1895	1896	Berlin
Zortzico de Iparaguirre. Danse Espagnole op. 39. Dedicated 'a Rosita Piazza'	1896	1898	Berlin/ Seville
Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole op. 40. Dedicated 'À Mlle. Berthe-Ottilia Goldschmidt'	1898	1898	Berlin
Introduction et Caprice-Jota op. 41. Dedicated 'À Joseph Debroux'	1899	1899	Leipzig
Miramar. Zortzico op. 42. Dedicated 'À Sa Majesté Maria Christina Reine Regente d'Espagne'	1899	1899	Leipzig
Introduction et Tarantelle op. 43. Dedicated 'À mon ami F. Toledo'	1899	1899	Leipzig
La chasse. Morceau Caractéristique op. 44. Dedicated 'À César Thomson'	1900	1901	Leipzig
Nocturne-Sérénade op. 45. Dedicated 'À Émile Sauret'	1900	1901	Leipzig
Barcarolle Vénitienne op. 46. Dedicated 'À son ami le Docteur Otto Neitzel'	1901	1902	Berlin
Mélodie Roumaine op. 47. Dedicated 'À mon ami le Docteur Charles Blazy'	c. 1901	1901	Berlin
L'Esprit Follet op. 48 Dedicated 'À Monsieur Adolphe Tavernier'	1902	1904	Leipzig
Chanson Russes d'aprés Kaschine et Gurileff op. 49. Dedicated 'À Monsieur G. Remy, Professeur au Conservatoire de Paris'	1902	1904	Leipzig
Jota de Pamplona op. 50. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Édouard Nadaud, Professeur au Conservatoire de Paris'	1903	1904	Leipzig
Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart op. 51. Dedicated 'À Madame Berthe Marx Goldschmidt'	1903	1904	Paris
Jota de Pablo op. 52. Dedicated 'A E. Fernández Arbós'	1906	1908	Leipzig
Le Rêve op. 53. Dedicated 'A Marianne Eissler'	c. 1907	1909	Leipzig
Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart op. 54. Dedicated 'A Antonio Fernández y Bordas, Professeur de violon au Conservatoire Royal de Madrid'	1907	1908	Leipzig

Table 6: Sarasate's compositions, 1884–1908

José de Castro y Serrano, from the Concert Society in Madrid, corresponded with Sarasate regarding the repertoire that he should perform at a concert in Madrid. In this letter, the promoter described Sarasate's skills as a performer and categorised the violinist's repertoire:

... The concerts have three parts and so you should play three pieces in each. The first must be a chosen part where you manifest to the public everything you know and can do on the violin; a sort of exhibition of the instrument and the instrumentalist. The second must be a classic melody of easy execution and delicate characteristics, sober in movement and difficulty, just as the one you played yesterday in San Sebastian with Guelbenzu. The third, well, has to be a dramatic piece whose movements are known by the public, so that they do not have to analyse nor touch the deep end, but confuse them with the form and applaud the artist. ... 116

The letter mentions three repertoire categories: a substantial work which exhibits the violinist and the violin, a melodic piece and a dramatic, familiar piece. Using this initial categorisation and expanding it to cover Sarasate's full range of repertoire, it is possible to classify Sarasate's repertoire in four categories. Additionally, after reviewing Sarasate's programmes and reviews, several compositions continue to reappear throughout his life and are often used at important events. The following works were amongst his most performed, suggesting that these were his favourites. Each of the categories below has one or various representative compositions:

A. Large Exhibitionist Compositions

- 1. Violin Concertos: Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto in E minor op. 64, Bruch's Violin Concerto in G minor no. 1 op. 26, and several works by Saint-Saëns and Lalo, including Symphonie Espagnole in D minor op. 21.
- 2. Suites, Variations...: Outside of the Violin Concerto category, his most performed serious and technical compositions that showed off his playing were Raff's Suite for Violin and Orchestra in G minor op. 180, Wieniawski's Russian Melodies and his own Zigeunerweisen. These differ from the Encore category below as they are longer, structurally denser and were programmed as main pieces within his concert programmes rather than encores.
- B. Melodic Pieces: This category is dominated by his own transcription of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2.
- C. Virtuoso Encores: Dominated by his own compositions, but the one that reappears the most is *Zapateado*.
- **D.** Historical revivals: Not one composition stands out from his programmes. However, his decision to record in 1904, Bach's Prelude from Partita for Solo Violin in E major no. 3 BWV 1006 reveals the final choice.

^{116 &#}x27;Los conciertos tienen tres partes y por lo tanto debe V. tocar tres piezas en cada uno. La primera debe ser un trozo escogido en el que manifieste V. al público todo lo que sabe y puede en el violin; una especie de exhibición del instrumento y del instrumentalista. La segunda debe ser una melodía clásica de sencilla ejecución y delicados matices, sóbria de movimientos y de dificultades, como la que tocó V. en San Sebastián con Guelbenzu. La tercera, en fin, debe ser una pieza dramática cuyos motivos sean conocidos del público, para que éste no tenga que analizar ni paladear el fondo, sino confundirse con la forma y aplaudir al artista'. Letter 12 February 1880. Gathered in Altaldil, op. cit., 206.

Programming: Innovation and Legacy

During the last periods of Sarasate's life important changes in aesthetic attitudes had taken place. 117 Since then, further development in composition and programming practices has occurred. Concerts have transformed radically over the years in part due to changes in taste, public, musicians and society dynamic. 118 Unfortunately, many of the compositions highlighted in the previous sections are today forgotten, overlooked because of the development in interpretation, and a change in hierarchy towards what existing accounts label or describe as 'serious' music. 119 Due to the formation of the musical canon and prioritisation of the symphony and sonata, the virtuoso concert is now a lost art, having been replaced by the symphony concert and recital or soirée. 120 Today, concert halls are overwhelmed with orchestral performances, with a recurring sequence of overture-instrumental concerto-symphony. 121 Contrastingly, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, movements of symphonies were performed as introductions or finales, serving the virtuoso performer. 122 As a review of *Sarasate's Concerts* series reveals, audiences prioritised the virtuoso performer whom they had travelled to watch. 123

A further development in interpretation was the shift of importance from performers to composers due to the changes in concert structure. As Dahlhaus explains, this shift affected the history of composition and 'by the 1840s the virtuoso piano concerto had begun to assimilate the symphonic style'. ¹²⁴ In line with this change, violin recitals have developed to a common practice of cycle of sonatas. These concerts are structured mainly by sonatas, where all the sonatas from a specific composer are performed and encores are optional. In Sarasate's time, symphonies and sonatas were indeed performed, but there was more variety and concerts were much longer in duration. Concerts sometimes included three parts instead of two, and soloists often performed in all three. They were attended by a public who had no access to recordings and broadcasting. Therefore, it could be some time before the audience might hear that piece of music again. ¹²⁵ As Robert Philip states, one of the consequences of

¹¹⁷ Weber, The Great Transformation of Musical Taste, 2.

¹¹⁸ Weber, *Ibid*, 1.

¹¹⁹ Mary Sue Morrow, 'Historiography of the Eighteenth-Century Symphony', in *The Symphonic Repertoire, Vol. 1, The Eighteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012), 19.

¹²⁰ Dahlhaus, op. cit., 140.

¹²¹ It must be noted that currently there is a further development taking place in which artists are deviating from the traditional concert hall, and organising concerts in a diverse, untraditional venues; David Beard and Kenneth Gloag, 'Canon' in *Musicology: The Key Concepts* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 32–33; See also William Weber, 'The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Musical Canon', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 114, no. 1 (1989), 6–17.

¹²² Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.*

¹²³ The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, 1 July 1892, Vol. 33, No. 593, 408.

¹²⁴ Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.*

¹²⁵ Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, 10.

this was that audiences often demanded, and received, encores, something which is now rare in concerts of classical music. 126 The encore practice was common even in the middle of symphonies and concertos. 127 Nevertheless, the country and venue were of great importance when deciding on repertoire and at the turn of the century, with the rise of historical performance and the decline of virtuosity, concert programmes changed radically.

A large number of documentary sources attest to Sarasate's performing career, including programmes and reviews. They display the variety in Sarasate's repertoire, its development and his concert programming decisions. His concerts embraced the contextualised decline of virtuosity and development of interpretation, but also manifested his acknowledgement of the importance as a performer in pleasing the public. This evidence represents Sarasate's virtuoso recitals as well as his involvement in symphonic concerts. We note how he tailored his choice of music to the public and specific geographical location in which he was performing:

[I have chosen these pieces] as they were liked very much last year and were very much liked this winter; more than twenty thousand copies have been sold already and my editor is rubbing his hands with glee...¹²⁸

He continues with comments and an outline of his chosen programme for a three-part concert in which Sarasate was accompanied by and shared the stage with an orchestra.

Part 1:

Romance in F (First performance) – Beethoven. Carmen Fantasy, Bizet – Sarasate. 'This one they have not heard me [play] in 12 years'. 129

Part 2:

Aria (First performance) – Bach.

Fantasy on Mozart's Don Juan (First performance) – Sarasate.

'This last one is so new, that I am awaiting for the copyist of the Opera in Paris to send me the parts, printed from the original score; I finished the piece last month in Paris and I still do not know it from memory'.

Part 3:

Romance – Svendsen.
Russian Melodies – Sarasate.

¹²⁶ There are a few artists such as pianists Yuja Wang and Kathia Buniatishvili, who are reintroducing the practice of performing multiple encores, and changing current conventions in classical concerts.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

^{128 &#}x27;Que gustaron mucho el año pasado y han gustado muchísimo todo este invierno; ya se han vendido más de veinte mil ejemplares y se frota las manos de gusto mi editor'. Biarritz, 17 June 1904, in Altadil. *Ibid*, 353.
129 'Esta no me la han oído hace 12 años'; 'Esta última es tan novedad, que estoy esperando me mande las partes, destacadas de la partitura original, el copista de la ópera de París; concluí la obra el mes pasado en París y todavía no la sé de memoria'. Biarritz, 17 June 1904, in Altadil, *op. cit.*, 353.

Another letter from 1908 reveals Sarasate's preparations for a concert in Zaragoza and demonstrates his involvement not only in programming but in extra-musical, practical and financial aspects as well:

First, there has to be a complete orchestra, that is, that no wind, brass or string instrument is missing. To accompany and to play some intermediate numbers, 45 or 50 players are necessary. It would be convenient to invite Ricardo Villa, the first Spanish Orchestral Director ... What I ask is that the concerts take place, if there are two, as soon as possible; there is no worse enemy for the violin than heat, and in July that is converted into an Africa. Also, I will need a good rest between Zaragoza and Pamplona; I would like then, if possible, that both sessions take place with a very short interval, one at the end of May and the other the first days of June. If they can both take place at the end of May, better still... 130

We note how Sarasate's physical state and health also played a part in his programming decisions. In 1907, during a period of time when Sarasate was not well, he wrote to a promoter with a programme composed only in minor keys 'in order to avoid nervous excitement, and without accompaniment, to reduce rehearsals'. Transcribed directly from the letter, the programme consisted of unspecified works, thus:

Adagio Molto Sostenuto – W.A Mozart Largo Assai – L. v. Beethoven Serenata melancólica – P. Tchaikovsky Nocturno del cementerio – Schubert¹³²

Pablo Sarasate's programmes display the geographical reach of his career. Germany was a country that reacted against the virtuoso tradition, focussing instead on a revival of older works. Instrumentalists from the Germanic school, such as Joachim were better known for their pure artistic values. As Robin Stowell explains, German musical taste was influenced most substantially in the first half of the nineteenth century by Louis Spohr. He was representative of the old German school, which Spohr linked with the French violin school due to his admiration for Rode's violin playing. Among his students was Ferdinand David (1810–73) who in turn taught Joseph Joachim. David became Professor at the Leipzig

¹³⁰ 'Primero, tiene que haber orquesta completa, es decir que no falte ningún instrumento de viento, metal ni madera. Para acompañar y para tocar algunos números intermedios, unos 45 ó 50 individuos son necesarios. Sería muy conveniente invitar a Ricardo Villa, al primer director de orquesta español... Lo que yo pido es que tengan lugar los conciertos, si son dos, cuando antes; no hay peor enemigo del violín que el calor, y en Julio aquello se convierte en una África. Además, necesitaré un buen descanso entre Zaragoza y Pamplona; desearía, pues, si es posible, que las dos sesiones tuviesen lugar con un intervalo muy corto, la una a fines de Mayo, y la otra lo más tarde posible en los primeros días de Junio. Si las dos se pudieran dar a fines de Mayo, mejor'. Berlin, 21 February 1908. Gathered in Altadil. *Ibid*, 238–239.

¹³¹ 'Todos los números están en tono menor para evitar la excitación nerviosa, y sin acompañamiento, a fin de suprimir los ensayos'. Paris, 18 March 1907; Altadil, *op. cit.*, 361.

¹³² This translates as Nocturne of the Cemetery.

¹³³ Stowell, op. cit., 67–68.

Conservatoire and was best known as friend and violin adviser to Mendelssohn. Joachim was greatly influenced and mentored by Mendelssohn and also collaborated with Brahms.

Figures 5 and 6, from recitals in Leipzig and Berlin typify Sarasate's concert structure, with a first half of more canonic works followed by a second half of more overtly virtuosic or popular works, concluding with encore pieces. 134



Figure 5: Programme Leipzig, 30 January 1892

¹³⁴ The programmes in Figures 5–11 were bequeathed by Sarasate to the Archivo Municipal in Pamplona and they are reproduced by permission of AMP.

These programmes show his mixture of violin and piano music with works for piano solo. We see also that Sarasate's choice of repertoire in each section differs depending on the country in which he is performing. In both Leipzig and Berlin, amongst the variety of music Sarasate performs are Germanic works. In Berlin, Sarasate begins with Beethoven's Violin Sonata no. 9 op. 47 'Kreutzer', followed by Mendelssohn's Concerto. In both programmes, Berthe Marx, wife of Otto Goldschmidt, performed an equal amount of substantial solo works. Sarasate omits any of his own compositions for Leipzig, performing only the well-known *Zigeunerweisen* and *Sérénade Andalouse* in Berlin.

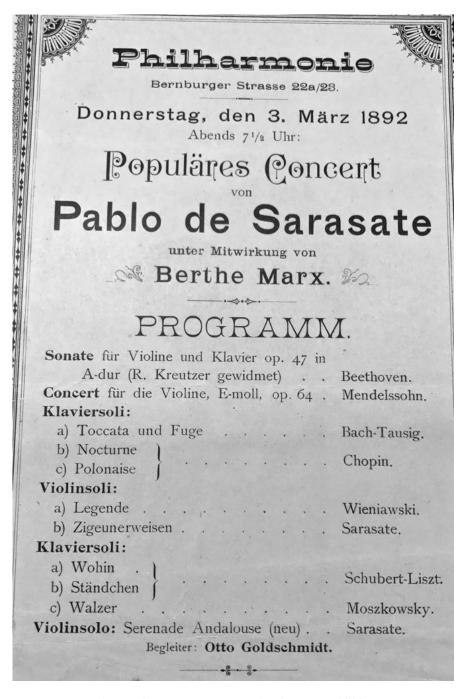


Figure 6: Programme Berlin, 3 March 1892

Figure 7 shows Sarasate's role in a symphonic concert in Freiburg. His choice of concerted works by Saint-Saëns and Raff reflects the frequency of such music in his repertoire. Nevertheless, he mixes innovation with tradition, by juxtaposing the Saint-Saëns within a Germanic programme. This judicious choice reflects contemporary Germanic programming, through Sarasate's lessening of his own virtuosic repertoire and performing longer, more substantial works.



Figure 7: Programme Freiburg, 10 January 1892

Figure 8, below, from a recital programme in the Polish city of Poznán, is representative of Sarasate's lighter style of programming. The most substantial work is by Saint-Saëns. The concert's geographic location, however, has influenced the inclusion of mostly Germanic works. From 1795 to 1918 Poland was not an independent country but split between Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Russia.



Figure 8: Programme Poznán, 18 February 1892

Figures 5 to 8 are programmes from 1892, when Sarasate was a more established musician, yet we still note caution within his programming. The programmes contain a combination of pieces that are technical and lyrical, but only two examples include his own encore compositions. However, it is possible that Sarasate reserved his virtuosic works as unprogrammed encores. By this time, the violinist became known worldwide for his performances of works by Lalo and Saint-Saëns, and was therefore important in the development and dissemination of French repertoire. Figures 7 and 8 specifically illustrate

this feature whilst also respecting audiences' tastes and preferences. Sarasate also gained a reputation for performing canonic works. Nevertheless, he avoided performing certain compositions in selected countries. He avoided Beethoven's Concerto in Germany, where his rival and artistic opposite, Joseph Joachim, was the preferred exponent. In a letter from 1879 to conductor Carl Reinecke, deciding on the repertoire for a concert in the Gewandhaus, Sarasate wrote: '... what to play?... Beethoven, no, they would criticise me too much; What do you think of the 1st Bruch and Raff's Suite for the second half? ...'135 Although many of Beethoven's works were misunderstood during the composer's lifetime, the violin concerto was performed more often than is usually assumed. Whilst there were mixed opinions, violinists such as Baillot and Vieuxtemps performed the work to great acclaim. Like Joachim, Sarasate performed the composition regularly and it became a consistent part of his repertoire throughout his career. Indeed, Sarasate's and Joachim's performances of the work helped secure its place in the canon. Sarasate's performances of the Mendelssohn and Beethoven violin concertos gained him great respect, and were particularly well-received in cities such as London, where his distinctive qualities and sweet tone were admired:

As Herr Joachim had played both very recently, some among the audience were no doubt able to institute instructive comparisons. The rendering of these masterpieces by the Hungarian violinist is broader, more masculine, and more impassioned than that of his brother-artist; but, on the other hand, Señor Sarasate possesses a silvery sweetness of tone peculiar to himself, and another great charm of his playing is the invariably perfect intonation which he maintains in passages of the utmost difficulty. These qualities were fully manifested on the 19th, and the delight of the audience was expressed by numberless recalls.¹³⁷

Figures 9, 10 and 11 show concert programmes from performances in Madrid, Glasgow and Paris. Figure 9, from Madrid in 1887, illustrates Sarasate performing works by Vieuxtemps with his own music, as well as Beethoven. Sarasate regularly performed the first movement of Beethoven's violin concerto with an added cadenza by Saint-Saens. However, note that the programme below publicises prominently 'with cadenza by Sarasate, performed on the violin by himself'. Sarasate utilises the tripartite structure of the concert to demonstrate his stylistic versatility, beginning with a canonic work, then in part two a substantial technical, virtuoso work or lyrical piece, concluding part three with an encore,

^{135 &#}x27;¿Qué tocar?... Beethoven no, me criticarían demasiado.; Le parece a usted bien el 1. ¿De Bruch, y la Suite de Raff en la segunda parte?' Letter Sarasate to Carl Reinecke, Liverpool, 6 December 1879 in Joseph Gold's private archive, quoted in Ferrer, *Ibid*, 214.

¹³⁶ Stowell, *Beethoven: Violin Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33–36.

¹³⁷ The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular, 1 May 1886. Vol. 27, No. 519, 275.

¹³⁸ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 25 March 1877.

¹³⁹ I have not yet located either example.

usually of his own composition. The placement of the pieces also takes into account the level of concentration and vividness of audiences.



Figure 9: Programme Madrid, 22 September 1887

Figure 10, from a Glasgow appearance, is an example of Sarasate's virtuoso recitals, which demonstrated his command of technique. The repertoire performed in this concert divided opinion in audiences and critics between two different styles of performance: Sarasate's showmanship and virtuosity, and Joachim's canonic artistry. This division is

demonstrated in reviews which seem to describe opposite points of view. For example, one reviewer expressed: 'while he interprets in a masterly way the greatest works written for his instrument, he condescends in the same programmes to seek the applause of the vulgar by performing feats more allied to gymnastics than art'. ¹⁴⁰ This last feature is certainly prevalent in the Glasgow programme. W. G. Cusins appeared both as piano accompanist and soloist, a feature common in most of Sarasate's recitals. The first part includes Schubert's *Fantasy in C* and Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, representing the 'substantial work' category. The violin concerto was performed in full with piano accompaniment, a common practice at the time but rarely seen today. Part two is assembled with his lighter, virtuoso works. This example illustrates Sarasate performing a balanced programme with his *Zigeunerweisen* as centre piece at the opening of part two.

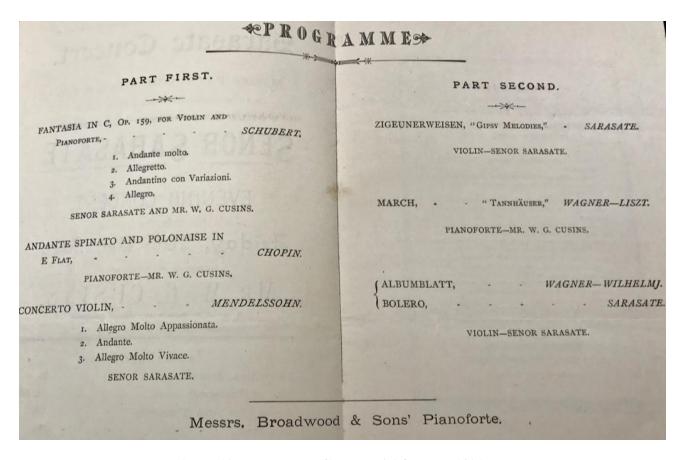


Figure 10: Programme Glasgow, 26 October 1891

Figure 11 shows a recital programme in Sarasate's home city of Paris. In this symphonic concert Sarasate and Berthe Marx performed as soloists, with a wide variety in repertoire. This programme demonstrates Sarasate's prioritisation of the elements of tradition, innovation and virtuosity.

¹⁴⁰ 'Señor Sarasate's Concerts', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol 26, No. 507 (1 May 1885), 266.

PALAIS DU TROCADÉRO
Programme du Deuxième Concert SARASATE
Jeudi 14 Mai 1908, à 3 heures précises
avec le concours de
L'ORCHESTRE COLONNE
Ouverture des "Noces de Figaro" Mozart
Concerto, pour Piano et Orchestre
Symphonie Espagnole, pour Violon et Orchestre ÉDOUARD LALO Allegro non troppo.—Scherzando.—Andante.—Finale.—Allegro vivace. M. SARASATE.
Africa, Fantaisie pour Piano et Orchestre C. SAINT-SAENS M ^{mo} Berthe MARX-GOLDSCHMIDT.
Rhapsodie Asturienne, pour Violon et Orchestre Ricardo Villa (Première audition à Paris.) M. SARASATE.
A. Valse Impromptu) pour Piano seul Liszt B. Sixième Rhapsodie
A. Chansons Russes, pour Violon et Orchestre
Orchestre sous la direction de M. Édouard COLONNE Accompagnateur: OTTO GOLDSCHMIDT — Piano ÉRARD
On trouve des billets: chez DURAND, GRUS, à l'AGENCE de l'Avenue de l'Opéra et au TROCADÉRO.
PRIX DES PLACES: PARQUET, 6 fr.—Loges (la place), 5 fr.—Balcon, 4 fr.— Amphithéatre, 3 fr.—Estrade, 3 fr.—Tribune, 1 fr.

Figure 11: Programme Paris, 14 May 1908

Figure 12 presents important new evidence that Sarasate performed in Dublin, Ireland. ¹⁴¹ According to *The Irish Times*, on Saturday, 12 November 1904, Sarasate played at The Rotunda, Dublin. The programme consisted of Saint-Saëns's Sonata, Beethoven's *Romanza in F*, his own *Chanson Russes*, and a Chopin/Sarasate *Nocturne*, concluding with his own *Jota de San Fermín*. He was accompanied by Otto Neitzel. Sarasate performed a similarly structured programme the following Monday, 14 November 1904. ¹⁴² As well as broadening Sarasate's international reach this programme utilises his tripartite structure.

¹⁴¹ The Irish Times, 7 November 1904 & 12 November 1904.

¹⁴² *Ibid*.



Figure 12: The Irish Times, Dublin 12 November 1904

The following programmes are from separate concert performances by Sarasate and Joachim which took place in Bechstein Hall. Hall. Both artists had recently recorded music for the first time. The repertoire choices for these concerts belong to mature, experienced performers. Figures 13 and 14 demonstrate the development in concert programming at the turn of the century, within the previous contextualised advancement in historicist and canonic repertoire.

¹⁴³ Bechstein Hall was later renamed Wigmore Hall.

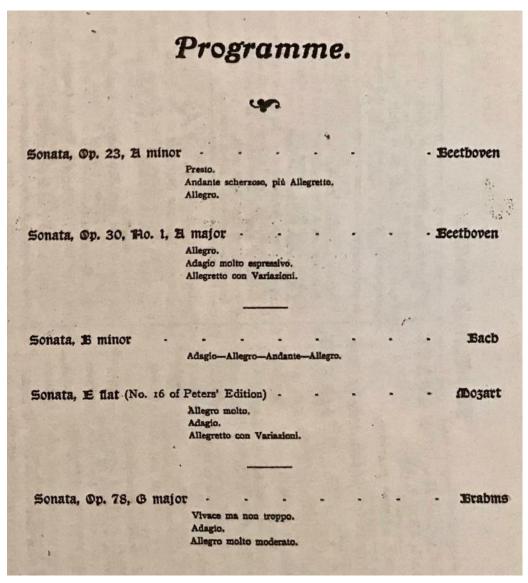


Figure 13: Programme Joseph Joachim (violin) & Leonard Borwick (piano), Bechstein Hall, 10 May 1906

Figure 13 is Joachim's example, which is strikingly contemporary and sonata based. 144 Figure 14 illustrates Sarasate's two performances at the venue two years before. 145 The first concert followed the serious guideline whilst still adhering to Sarasate's traditional recitals with a number of his own compositions. The second performance a few days later, and last at this venue, adhered more specifically to canonic repertoire, with a lack of contemporary works. However, the recital also included virtuosic works and concluded with one of his own traditional works. This resulted in a programme that combined convention and innovation, whilst remaining true to Sarasate's performance origins.

¹⁴⁴ Wigmore Hall Archive, London, Bechstein Hall Programmes 1901–1908. By kind permission of Wigmore Hall.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*.

FIRST SONAT	'A in D minor, for Pian	oforte and Viol	in	c	AINT-SAËN
·	Allegro agitato. Adagio			egro molto.	AIN I-SAEIN
(a) ROMANZA	in F, for Violin				BEETHOVE
(b) CHANSONS	RUSSES, for Violin				SARASAT
	French Melodies, for			SCHUBE	RT-TAUSI
(b) POLONAIS	E in E major, for Pian	oforte			LISZ
	E in E flat, for Violin				-SARASAT
(6) SPANISH	DANCE "Jota de San F	ermin," for Vic	olin		SARASAT
	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer	t Reci	tal) nd Pianofo	orte	BEETHOVE
	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto." Presto.	t Reci	tal) nd Pianofo		BEETHOVE
SONATA in A,	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto." Presto,	t Reci	tal) nd Pianofo iazione.	orte	BEETHOVE
SONATA in A, (a) CHACONN (b) LARGO (c) ALLEGRO	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto." Presto,	"), for Violin a Andante con var	tal) nd Pianofo iazione.	orte	BEETHOVE
SONATA in A, (a) CHACONN (b) LARGO (c) ALLEGRO (a) FEUX FO (b) THE WAY	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto. Presto. B of the Violassai LETS, for Pianoforte ES OF TORQUAY, for	"), for Violin a Andante con var	tal) nd Pianofo iazione.	Presto -Finale.	BEETHOVEI
SONATA in A, (a) CHACONN (b) LARGO (c) ALLEGRO (a) FEUX FO (b) THE WAV (Free	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto." Presto. E Of the Violance ASSAI LLETS, for Pianoforte	"), for Violin a Andante con var	tal) nd Pianofo lazione.	Presto –Finale.	J. S. BAC
(a) CHACONN (b) LARGO (c) ALLEGRO (a) FEUX FO (b) THE WAV (Fre (c) CAMPANE	Op. 47 ("The Kreutzer Adagio sostenuto." Presto. B of the Violassal LETS, for Pianoforte ES OF TORQUAY, for "Paysages Anglais")	it Reci	tal) nd Pianofo iazione. s	Presto –Finale.	J. S. BAC LISZ TO NEITZE

Figure 14: Pablo Sarasate (violin) & Otto Neitzel (piano), Bechstein Hall, 31 October & 8 November 1904

Sarasate's development as a violinist paralleled a growth in repertoire and changes in interpretation. He maintained the virtuoso tradition whilst also establishing new repertoire. Sarasate was part of a select group of violinists, such as Joseph Joachim, who although opposites on stage, influenced the advancement of repertoire. Sarasate inspired new compositions, on some occasions helped composers to edit and develop them, and then disseminated these works around the world. Furthermore, Sarasate's decisions to concentrate on performance and not composition, represent the occurring changes in interpretation of which he was part. The generations that followed looked up to him and used him as an example. Sarasate's profile as a violinist and composer indirectly had an impact on performance traditions in the nineteenth century. Thus, as well as being a contribution to nineteenth-century violin history, this study helps to move a step closer towards relocating Pablo de Sarasate to a position of greater importance in history.

CHAPTER THREE

Sarasate's Artistic Development: Discovering New Documentary Sources

The Sibley Music Library holds a selection of letters from Sarasate to his adoptive mother, Amélie de Lassabathie, which provide insightful information during his early career. ¹ In supplement to this valuable source, I have discovered a further set of 28 letters, telegrams, images and concert programmes which have not been available to the public until now.² These new documentary sources were found as a result of my locating a descendant of Otto Goldschmidt, Sarasate's manager, who graciously shared with me some of his family's legacy. In collaboration with the owner of the letters, I have created a document containing a transcription and translation of the latest correspondence, which is available through this work in Appendix 1. These newly discovered documents have provided details which have enabled me to confirm, correct and complete some of Sarasate's early touring dates, locations and repertoire choices. Although this thesis does not aim to deliver a full account of Sarasate's biography, these new materials which are interrogated for the first time, provide first-hand, essential information. This chapter comprises a detailed account of Sarasate's early career stages. It aims to extend the available knowledge about Sarasate and fill current gaps in the violinist's historiography. The documents also provide insightful details of Sarasate's mental growth and personal relationship with his adoptive parents, the Lassabathies.

Although presenting new evidence is a prominent part of this chapter, the combination of both current research and the newly discovered sources has enabled me to produce a more in-depth study of Sarasate's artistic transformation. Sarasate graduated from the Paris Conservatoire in 1860 and enjoyed several successes in the following decade. As a prize winner, a student of Alard and with several significant musical connections, it would not have been difficult for him to secure certain engagements, most specifically in Paris which, since the 1830s, had become one of the world's most important musical centres.³ Sarasate would have also found himself amongst many other talented violinists completing their studies at the conservatoire each year and competing for opportunities. Careers can take years to develop and rarely emerge instantly.⁴ It took Sarasate some time to become a celebrity, but there were

¹ Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester.

² I came to the realisation that Goldschmidt's family's set of letters and those which can be found at the Sibley Music Library, are part of the same set. Therefore, in order to reunite and complete the collection, I mediated the donation of digital copies of the new set of letters.

³ Samson, The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music, 59.

⁴ Angela Myles Beeching, *Beyond Talent: Creating a Successful Career in Music* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

a few distinct moments, life-changing activities and/or encounters which exerted a significant, long-lasting impact on his artistic and personal development.

This chapter classifies and examines further some of these stages which caused noticeable changes in the violinist, helping the artist to evolve into the renowned figure as he is known today. Approximately ten years after his graduation from the Paris Conservatoire, between 1869 and 1872, Sarasate took part in a series of tours which set in motion his development from a young violinist to a mature artist. In 1869 Sarasate completed his first European tour, subsequently he travelled to North and South America for the first time. During both of these tours, a variety of events led Sarasate to progress from assisting lead performers and forming part of a troupe to performing his own concerts. These three stages are highlighted in this chapter:

- 1. 1869: Corroborating Sarasate's First European tour with Carlotta Patti
- 2. 1870–1871: Sarasate's transformative tour to North and South America
- 3. 1871–1872: North America The making of a Solo Violinist

These transformative stages of Sarasate's career also predate his realisation of how much his Spanishness could be an advantage, and before he secured his successful persona distinctive to him. Therefore, this chapter also examines his image development, his growing celebrity status and his complex fusion of French and Spanish roots, linked to the concept of *Andalucismo*.⁵ However, Sarasate's image, was not consolidated until after meeting Otto Goldschmidt in 1877, who became his manager and assisted him with administrative matters. Goldschmidt became very important to both Sarasate's career and personal life. After his arrival, Sarasate's success grew exponentially. Even though Goldschmidt was an essential component in the violinist's career, there is not a great deal of information about him available today. Thus, the text also delivers new findings on Goldschmidt in order to expand the resources available and highlight the vital influence he had on Sarasate's career. This final task was mostly achieved through archival findings, but the chapter also shares extracts of an additional private family document shared with this author by Goldschmidt's descendant: Goldschmidt's *Memoirs* written for his daughter Berthilia Goldschmidt.

1869: Corroborating Sarasate's First European tour with Carlotta Patti

During the 1860s Sarasate's concert engagements mostly took place in France, with the exception of appearances in London, Spain and Baden-Baden. By 1869, however, he had begun to gain widespread recognition, with critics noting: 'a real transformation, an

-

⁵ See Chapter 1 for further information on this concept and its historical context.

expressive style, a precision and a breadth of sound, that place him today in the forefront'. The same year singer Carlotta Patti broke off her business relationship with impresario Bernard Ullman. She formed her own troupe in order to tour internationally and she invited Sarasate to take part. Figure 15 is a concert programme from this tour, accessible for the first time through this work. As the title of the programme attests, these concerts were centred on Patti, with other artists involved as supporting acts, even though the equal programming among artists might suggest otherwise.

According to a previously unreported letter from Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, his contribution to a particular concert on 15 April 1869 included the first movement of Beethoven's 'Kreutzer' Violin Sonata no. 9 in A major, op. 47, part of his regular repertoire.

The performance of single movements of works was common at the time and Sarasate usually performed extracts from sonatas and concertos. He also performed two of his own compositions *Réminiscence de Martha* op. 19 and *Andante et Gavotte sur Mignon* op. 16, which he reported as enormously successful. Due to one of the singers becoming ill, Sarasate doubled his repertoire and also performed his *Les Adieux* and some 'charming Styrian motifs' with pianist Théodore Ritter.

Although the date of the programme is displayed in Figure 15 as 3 April 1869, this concert was in fact their first performance in Odessa and corresponds to 15 April of that year. Sarasate relates to his mother: 'you probably know that the Greek calendar is 12 days behind ours? April 3rd and therefore our 15th'.

Consequently, the programme displayed is in fact the concert Sarasate refers to in his letter.

-

⁶ '...une véritable transformation, un style expressif, une justesses et une ampleur de son, qui le placent aujourd'hui tout á fait au premier rang'. *Le Ménestrel*, 10 January 1869.

⁷ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 125; for more details on Ullman's role see Laure Schnapper, 'Bernard Ullman-Henri Herz: An example of Financial and Artistic Partnership, 1846–1849' in Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur*, 1700–1914, 130–142.

⁸ JCB personal archive (from here on referred to as JCB only). Reproduced by permission of JCB; According to the University of Nottingham, Turkey and Russia did not adopt the Gregorian calendar until 1917. Therefore, there are discrepancies on the dates of the concert programmes performed in these locations; 'Julian/Gregorian Calendars', *Manuscripts and Special Collections*, University of Nottingham.

https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/researchguidance/datingdocuments/juliangregor ian.aspx (accessed 18 August 2024).

⁹ Letter from Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie, Odessa, 16 April 1869, JCB; The new set of letters are available to read in Appendix 1.

¹⁰ Loc. cit.; Théodore Ritter (1840–1886) was a French composer and pianist who studied with Franz Liszt. See Theodore Presser, 'News of the month', *The Etude Music Magazine*, Vol. 4, No. 6, (Philadelphia, June 1886), 152.

¹¹ *Ibid*.



Печатано съ дозводенія начазьства. — Тип. Л. Цитче

Figure 15: Programme Carlotta Patti, 15 April 1869 at The Odessa Theatre

Whilst Ferrer maps out a series of concerts that took place during Sarasate's career, she provides little detail of the supposed two-month tour during 1869 in which Sarasate accompanied Patti through various locations in Europe and beyond. The unpublished letters, programmes and concert reviews which I have found, confirm new locations and dates as well as correcting others. This allows for an updated list of concerts by Sarasate specifically during 1869. As Table 7 illustrates, the tour took place over three months and the troupe travelled to various cities in countries such as Germany, Austria, Romania, Hungary, Serbia and Russia. Sarasate also mentions travelling via Smyrna, Naples, Corfu and Athens during their return

¹² Ferrer, op. cit.

journey.¹³ In order to illustrate the scope of Sarasate's travels, Figure 16 shows a map from 1867 indicating some of the locations and cities that Sarasate visited during this tour.¹⁴



Figure 16: Map from 1867 marked with locations visited by Sarasate on 1869 tour

In Table 7 below are dates, locations and repertoire for this tour obtained from studying Sarasate's unpublished letters, telegrams and concert programmes. Thus, we now have a better understanding of Sarasate's activities at that time. Although these documents are valuable sources, his letters also indicate that the tour sometimes deviated unexpectedly from the planned schedule with additional spontaneous concerts. For example, Sarasate mentions an initial plan to stay in Constantinople from 14 April to 30 April 1869 and in Odessa from 3 May to 15 May 1869, but these details are incorrect. Table 7 illustrates instead an arrival date in Constantinople of 27 April 1869, as confirmed by a telegram from Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie. 15

¹³ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Odessa, 14 April 1869, JCB.

¹⁴ Alexander Altenhof, Nicole Crespo ed. 'Europe 1867 map en.png'. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International License, https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Europe_1867_map_en.png#, (accessed 18 August 2024).

¹⁵ Telegram Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 27 April 1869, JCB.

Date	Location	Information	Repertoire performed by Sarasate
15 March 1869	Karlsruhe	Concert	-Sarasate <i>Réminiscence de Martha</i> , op. 19 -Sarasate <i>Romance et Gavotte de Mignon</i> , op. 16
			-Beethoven Sonata no. 9 op. 47 'Kreutzer' (Most likely only first movement)
16 March 1869	Heidelberg	Concert	-
17 March 1869	Stuttgart	Concert	-
18 March 1869	Ulm	Concert	-
21 March 1869	Salzburg	Concert	-
22 to 31 March	Travelling to	Travel	-
1869	Bucharest via Pest		
	and Belgrade		
1 April 1869	Bucharest	-	-Sarasate <i>Réminiscence de Martha</i> , op. 19 -William Tell duet with Ritter (unknown)
3 to 6 April 1869	Bucharest	-	-
April 1869	Galatz (Moldavia)	Concert	
April 1869	Braila (Wallachia)	Concert	-
April 1869	Galatz	Concert	-
13 April 1869	Odessa	Arrival	_
14 April 1869	Odessa	Concert	<u> </u>
15 April 1869	Odessa	Concert	-Sarasate <i>Réminiscence de Martha</i> , op.19
			-Sarasate <i>Romance et Gavotte de Mignon</i> , op.16 -Beethoven Sonata no. 9 'Kreutzer' -Sarasate <i>Les Adieux</i> , op. 9 -Styrian motifs with Ritter.
18 April 1869	Odessa	Concert	-Muette. (Possibly refers to Alard's Fantaisie sur la Muette) -Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust op.13 -Mozart Sonata in G, K.301/293a -Sarasate Waltz (details unknown) -Sarasate Les Adieux op.9
20 April 1869	Odessa	Concert	-Sarasate <i>Réminiscence de Martha, op.</i> 19 - <i>Il Trovatore</i> with Ritter (details unknown)
22 April 1869	Odessa	Concert	-Muette. (Most likely Alard's) -Sonata (unknown) -Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust, op.13 -Beethoven Romance (1 or 2 unknown)
26 April 1869	They leave for Constantinople	Travel	-
27 April 1869	Arrival in Constantinople	Arrival	-
3 May 1869	Constantinople	Concert	-
18 May 1869	Vienna	Arrival	-
19 May 1869	Vienna	Concert	
22 May 1869	Paris	Arrival	-

Table 7: Three-month tour with Carlotta Patti, 1869

It has not been possible to ascertain more details of the troupe's schedule in Constantinople, notwithstanding those provided by Sarasate's unpublished documents. However, an existing article by Emre Araci illustrates a concert programme by Patti's troupe

at the Théatre Naum (Constantinople's opera house). ¹⁶ The programme displayed in the article does not specify the date of the concert and it is instead provided by the author as 13 April 1869. However, according to Sarasate's telegram, he did not arrive in Constantinople until the 27 April 1869, therefore the date stipulated by Araci cannot be correct. ¹⁷ Further confirmation can be found in a letter from Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, in which it is specified that the holy week prevented the troupe from giving any concerts until the following week after their arrival. ¹⁸ Consequently, they did not begin to perform in Constantinople until early May 1869.

Sarasate performed a selection of his own compositions during this tour. The repertoire listed in Table 7 demonstrates that he often repeated the same repertoire in different cities. Although most artists repeat programmes on tour, Sarasate was at the beginning of his career and had not yet fully amplified his repertoire. These compositions are his safety choices. As well as the works mentioned above, Sarasate performed his *Moscovienne* op. 12. There are also a few unknown works about which there is insufficient detail to confirm the exact composition, such as the duet with Ritter based on Rossini's overture to William Tell and Il Trovatore. However, Sarasate mentions the work, Le Trouvère, in a letter dated 16 April 1869 as part of a comment in which he details the works that he had performed, all of which are his own compositions; thus, this could be a lost work by Sarasate based on Verdi's opera.¹⁹ Moreover, Sarasate confirms making a collection of 'unused Russian melodies', which he intended to use to create a new piece on his return. ²⁰ Table 7 also displays that each concert contained one canonic work by Mozart or Beethoven, revealing that Sarasate was at the centre of the development in interpretation. His early concert appearances prioritise the performance of his own works, yet he included one canonic work. This balance shifted in later years, with a reduction of the performance of his own works towards the performance of works by other composers.²¹

The recently discovered correspondence with Lassabathie also attests to the range of compliments that Sarasate received after concerts, including many of the qualities, for which he became known, notably elegance and tonal purity.²² Consequently, these were

-

¹⁶ Emre Araci, 'Pablo de Sarasate's Concerts in Istanbul/ Pablo de Sarasate'nin Istanbul Konserleri', *Andante*, 175 (May 2021), 58–62, 61.

¹⁷ The author might not have considered the discrepancies in the calendar systems, but even if these changes are applied to the provided date, it would conclude on the date of 26 April 1869, a day before Sarasate's supposed arrival.

¹⁸*Ibid*, Odessa, 14 April 1869, JCB.

¹⁹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Bucharest, 5 April 1869, JCB.

²⁰ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Odessa, 16 April 1869, JCB.

²¹ See Chapter 2 for repertoire preferences and programming development.

²² Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Karlsruhe, 16 March 1869, JCB.

characteristics that were apparent from a young age. The tour also enabled the violinist to meet fellow musicians, such as Henryk Wieniawski. According to Sarasate on one occasion the two violinists stayed at the same hotel and Wieniawski attended many of his concerts, applauding loudly. The following report by Sarasate demonstrates for the first time the collaboration and support between these artists in a social capacity:

He [Wieniawski] is a charming fellow, and we spend our time making music, trio and quartet at the music dealers with Ritter and other artists. They wanted us to play a two-violin duet at a big concert for charity, but I have no right to dispose of my talent and deflower it outside our business. Wieniawski will be playing tomorrow and Friday at the same theatre as us, and I promise (in exchange for his kindness) to do the Lamazo in the hall and to go and embrace him during the intermissions.²³

The uncovered Lassabathie correspondence also sheds light on personal matters and Sarasate's state of mind during this early stage of his career. Historically, he is usually envisioned as a confident, virtuoso performer, but current research does not discuss the younger, less experienced musician. The following statements can attest to Sarasate's disposition in 1869, as a 25 year old: 'We are getting ready for tonight and I must confess that I am a bit nervous, but I will triumph all the same'. Additionally, he did not yet understand the importance and power of marketing and requested his mother not to send notes to the newspapers, stating that he hated advertising and he should not applaud himself. The perception changed in later years, as his confidence grew, he also discovered the positive impact of advertising. His dedication and work ethic, however, remained unchanged, as is evident in his description of himself as continuously working, but that there was progress relating to his 'security in mechanism and the composure in the execution'.

1870-1871: Sarasate's Transformative Tour to North and South America

Sarasate returned to Paris on 22 May 1869 to continue with various performance commitments. However, the next vital step in his career was the subsequent tour to North and South America. By 1870 he was already regarded as a first-class violinist, performing for royalty such as the King and Queen of Prussia and was described as a 'young and brilliant

²³ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Odessa, 20 April 1869, JCB; I have transcribed the full section of the text as it is an important piece of information regarding two significant violinists who met during Sarasate's early stages of his career.

²⁴ 'On se prépare pour ce soir et pour mon compte je t'avouerai entre nous, que j'ai un peu la venette, mais je triompherai quand même'. Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 15 March 1869, JCB.

²⁵ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Bucharest, 5 April 1869, JCB.

²⁶ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Odessa, 20 April 1869, JCB.

violinist'.²⁷ Other reviews complimented his singular virtuosity.²⁸ Nevertheless, this tour aided his transition and establishment from supporting/collaborating artist to protagonist. Whilst Ferrer provides a detailed biographical account of this particular tour, the discovered materials have aided in providing a supplementary interpretation.²⁹ This segment provides a summary of events but is centred around Sarasate's repertoire and his moulding role. The discussion is an essential step towards understanding the events that followed in 1871–1872, and consequently, Sarasate's journey to independence and transformation into a solo violinist.

The announcement of Sarasate's departure in French newspapers is evidence of his status there: 'our wishes will follow in the footsteps of the charming artist. May he return to us as soon as possible, without letting himself be seduced by American dollars'. Conversely, the decision to undertake the journey was not taken lightly. According to family memoirs, the Lassabathies were against the tour and both León Zárate and Altaldil share a story of Sarasate taking a loan in secret and leaving in the night so as to avoid any arguments. However, the fact that the papers published the news of his departure promptly, and the close relationship he held with his adoptive parents, signify that they would have known of his plans, contrary to Altadil's anecdote of the parents being unaware of his whereabouts for three weeks. Sarasate arrived in New York on 4 April 1870, and stayed in the Americas for the following two years.

Sarasate began performing in New York immediately upon his arrival as part of Patti's troupe. Initially, the tour manager was Max Strakosch, the younger brother of Maurice Strakosch (1825–1887) and brother-in-law of Adelina Patti. According to Sarasate, he was very efficient at organising concerts, but the troupe often performed daily, sometimes more than once a day. Although he was grateful for the opportunities presented on tour, Sarasate expressed his feelings about life on tour in a letter from 12 April 1870, describing himself as a package being dragged around. He suffered constant nose bleeds, due to changes in the weather, and his only comfort was his initial success. The violinist also described Strakosch as secretive, who only shared future plans with the artists at the last minute. This challenged Sarasate's own ideas of independence, as he set out, in his own words, to gain artistic success

²⁷ 'Le jeune et brillant violoniste'. Revue et Gazette Musicale, 15 October 1865.

²⁸ Le Ménestrel, 24 January 1869.

²⁹ Ferrer, Sarasate.

³⁰ 'Nos vœux suivront les pas du charmant artiste. Qu'il nous revienne toutefois le plus vite possible, sans se laisser trop attarder par la séduction des dollars américains'. *Le Ménestrel*, 27 March 1870.

³¹Barco, *Pablo Sarasate*. *Memorias Familiares*, 73; Zárate, *Sarasate*, 72.

³² Altaldil, Sarasate, 30.

³³ Carlotta and Adelina Patti were sisters.

³⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 12 April 1870, US-R.

³⁵ Loc. cit.

and wealth.³⁶ His first impression of the city and its habitants was likewise negative, but as he established himself and encountered new musical experiences this opinion changed. Notwithstanding, Sarasate was used to certain luxuries and the first hotel the group stayed at most definitely kept to these standards. Figure 17 shows a picture of Union Square in New York in the mid-nineteenth century, which displays Everett House, a luxury hotel in the centre of the city.³⁷

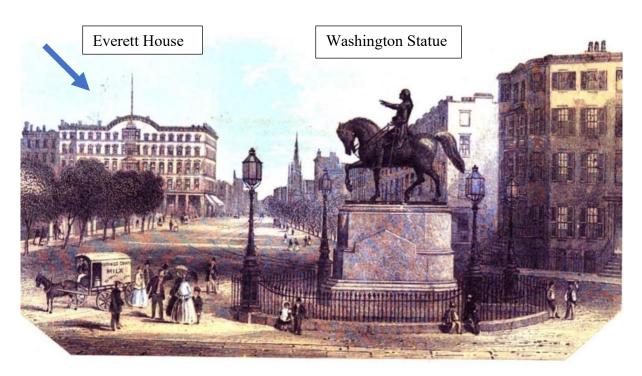


Figure 17: Union Square c. 1850, Everett House on the left

The troupe stayed in New York for a month, before touring North America from 5 May to 23 May 1870. Table 8 below lists some of the concerts that took place, as well as the repertoire that was performed by Sarasate. During these two months he played predominantly as part of Patti's troupe. From his arrival, Sarasate's performances were very well received, some critics describing him as a sensation. *The New York Dispatch*, for example, depicted him as 'an admirable violinist', and of his playing: '[he] produces a full, rich and finished tone from his instrument, which is remarkably pure and free from all technical fault'.³⁸ These reviews demonstrate Sarasate's high quality of playing at this point, but his conviction and overall experience had yet to develop further. Although Sarasate was part of the troupe and not yet a soloist, the fame associated with the Patti sisters provided the violinist with an opportunity for an international spotlight, as well as concert engagements in prestigious concert halls such as Steinway Hall in New York.

2.

³⁶ *Ibid*; Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 7 April 1870, US-R.

³⁷ Nelson's Guide to the City of New York and Its Neighbourhood (New York: T. Nelsons & Sons, 1858), 39.

³⁸ The New York Dispatch, 10 April 1870.

4 April 1870 6 April 1870		IIIIOIIIIAIIOII	Kebertoire
6 April 1870	New York	Arrival	
	Steinway Hall, New York	Carlotta Patti's Farewell Concerts	-Sarasate <i>Réminiscence de Martha</i> , op. 19 -Sarasate <i>Romance et Gavotte de Mignon</i> , op. 16 -Beethoven 'Kreutzer' Sonata no. 9 op. 47 (first movement)
7 April 1870	Brooklyn Academy of Music (Philharmonic Society)	Patti	
8/9/10 April 1870	Steinway Hall	Patti	
17 April 1870	Saint Anne's Church (New York)	Mass with full orchestra	Beethoven Romance in F op. 50
17 April 1870	Peter's R. C. Church (Brooklyn)	Religious ceremony with Patti and the group	Gounod Ave Maria
18 April 1870	Academy of Music (Brooklyn)	Charity concert with orchestra	-D. Alard Fantaisie sur la Muette. -P. Baillot Andantino
20 April 1870	Steinway Hall	Concert with Henri Kowalski	-Mendelssohn Violin Concerto E minor op.64. Andante & Finale -S. Thalberg/ Ch. Bériot <i>Grand duo Concertant</i> for piano and violin on themes from Meyerbeer's <i>Les Huguenots</i> .
27 &	Steinway Hall	27th; 'Mrs. Edward Loder' Benefit concert	-Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust (premiere)
28 April 1870			-Bériot Le Trémolo op.30
		28th: Charity event.	-Wieniawski Russian songs -Sarasate Waltz from Romeo and Juliette
29 April 1870	Academy of Music, Brooklyn	Patti/Kellogg Festival Concert Charity event	Beethoven Violin Concerto in D (first movement)
5 May 1870	Travel to Philadelphia	253	20)
6–7 May 1870	Philadelphia	-	2 pieces + encores including: Vieuxtemps St Patrick's day
8 May 1870	Travel to small town (non-specified) then three concerts in Chicago		
14 May 1870	Detroit	ī	1
15 May 1870	Toronto, Canada	ji ji	33
16 May 1870	Buffalo, Canada	25	155
•	Montreal, Canada	-	
20 May 1870	New York		30
21 May 1870	Steinway Hall, New York	Patti's Farewell Concerts	C
23 May 1870	Departure for Brazil	ì	r
19 June 1870	Arrival in Rio de Janeiro	Ü	ř

Table 8: Sarasate's concerts in North America, 1870

Sarasate began by performing similar repertoire to his 1869 tour, usually two pieces per concert as well as encores. The performances from 6 April to 18 April 1870 reflect this. Sarasate's Réminiscence de Martha op. 19, Romance et Gavotte de Mignon op. 16 and the first movement of Beethoven's 'Kreutzer' Violin Sonata no. 9 op. 47 made regular appearances. Within these particular set of concerts, Ferrer makes reference to a concert at the Steinway Hall on 10 April 1870.³⁹ However, in a letter of 9 April 1870, Sarasate shares details of an evening concert in Brooklyn. Thus, this performance most likely took place at the Brooklyn Academy of Music instead. During the following two years Sarasate added several new works to his repertoire, including Mendelssohn's violin concerto and arrangements of folk tunes, often composed specifically for an occasion. 40 As Table 8 illustrates, these additions to Sarasate's repertoire were utilised in concert only two weeks after arriving in New York. The comparison in repertoire between the first New York performances and those from 20 to 29 April 1870 is an example of Sarasate's rapid progression. He performed movements from Mendelssohn and Beethoven's violin concertos and premiered his *Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust* on 27 April 1870.⁴¹ The performances on 27 and 28 April 1870 also disclose Sarasate performing a work by Wieniawski titled Russian songs, which possibly refers to Wieniawski's Souvenir de Moscow, 2 Russian Romances op. 6.42 This work is of a high technical level, which reveals a considerable progression in technique and stamina.

Whilst in New York Patti performed in Mozart's *Magic Flute* as Queen of the Night, giving Sarasate some freedom to perform elsewhere. Thus, Strakosch arranged several engagements for him. ⁴³ Sarasate then performed alongside other prestigious artists of the time such as singers Clara Louise Kellog, Anna Bishop, Nettie Sterling and pianist Sebastian Bach Mills. ⁴⁴ However, although he was beginning to be respected, referred to as a soloist and an artist of 'the highest order', documentary sources such as announcements and reviews still followed a similar outline: 'enlists the services of...', 'assisted by...' ⁴⁵ Figure 18 is such an example, the announcement of the troupe's scheduled departure for Brazil at the end of May 1870. ⁴⁶

³⁹ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 136–139.

⁴⁰ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 20 April 1870, US-R; Sarasate's repertoire is discussed further in Chapter 2.

⁴¹ Further details on this composition and premiere can be found in Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 137.

⁴² The repertoire displayed on Table 8 for the performances on 27 and 28 April 1870 has been displayed in the same compartment as it is unclear which compositions were performed on which date.

⁴³ The New York Herald, 25 April 1870.

⁴⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 29 April 1870, US-R; *The Evening Post*, 27 April 1870.

⁴⁵ The Evening Post, 27 April 1870; The Evening Post, 16 May 1870; New York Dispatch, 17 April 1870.

⁴⁶ New York Dispatch, 15 May 1870.

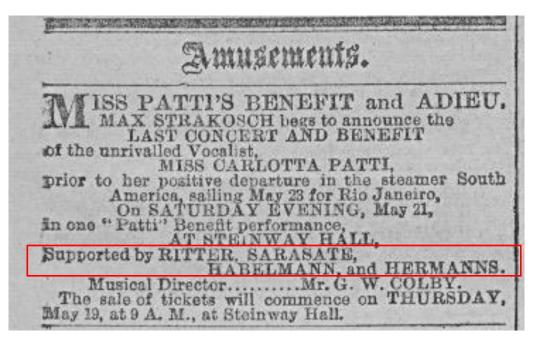


Figure 18: New York Dispatch - Announcement of Patti's Concert

Whilst Sarasate's performances with Patti's troupe had assured him international exposure, he craved his own personal success. He shared in a letter to his mother his disillusion on having to leave New York. As Strakosch would no longer be their manager for the consecutive trip, he offered Sarasate the option of staying in the city, but the violinist felt obliged to fulfil his pre-arranged engagements with Patti. However, he pronounced his intention to return to the United States 'with or without her'. This statement is one of the first indications of Sarasate's sharper focus on independence. During the next six months the troupe travelled through Brazil, Peru, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile under the guidance and responsibility of both the Patti and Ritter families. Sarasate performed a variety of repertoire which included Henri Reber's Berceuse and a variety of his own compositions: Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust op. 13, Caprice sur Romeo and Juliet op. 5, Réminiscence de Martha op. 19 and Jota Aragonesa, a new work, composed whilst Sarasate was in Buenos Aires. Descriptions of the surface of the sarasate was in Buenos Aires.

Sarasate's letters from this time often portray a confident man, but these are personal messages from son to mother. During the South American tour, his confidence continued to grow, specifically regarding the potential to become more successful and to branch out on his own. He reported continuous successes, in equal standing to those enjoyed by Patti. He continues stating that audiences had not experienced a notable violin player since Camillo

⁴⁷ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 29 April 1870, US-R.

⁴⁸ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Pittsburgh, 7 May 1870, US-R.

⁴⁹ See Ferrer's *Sarasate* for further logistical details of this tour.

⁵⁰ Letter, Brazil, Rio 5 July 1870; Letter Buenos Aires, 26 October 1870; This work should not be confused with his later work *Jota Aragonesa* op. 27, Chapter 8 explains the distinction further.

Sivori toured fifteen years prior, thus he 'delighted and astonished them'.⁵¹ His accounts to Madame Lassabathie also suggest the violinist's first celebrity interactions with fans. He describes seeing many posters and portraits of the troupe, as well as being recognised on the street, suggesting he was adored.⁵² The group performed for various personalities such as Pedro II Emperor of Brazil. Sarasate was presented with several gifts, including beautiful additions to his collection of walking sticks, some of which hold astonishing jewels.⁵³ These most likely facilitated the violinist's appreciation for luxurious items, and continued to develop his elegant depiction.

This particular tour also showed a certain growth in maturity. Sarasate stated that he was no longer a 'temperamental and scatter-brained little boy' and that the trip had made him appreciate more the importance of his relationship with his mother. ⁵⁴ On the contrary, a month later he reported being on edge and unstable at the slightest provocation but that everyone spoiled him all the same, the beginnings of a personality yet to develop even more. Various contemporaries noted that Sarasate was a proud man, often patronising. ⁵⁵ The changes in temperament and uneasiness in this particular case, however, were also understandably due to illness and the receipt of news of conflict from Paris. ⁵⁶ The Franco-Prussian war of 1870–1871 was a significant conflict in Europe during which they continued their tour in South America. ⁵⁷

Although the tour contained many successes, a variety of events unfolded which led Sarasate to the independence that he craved.⁵⁸ Whilst the troupe continued their journey to Chile and Peru, strong conflicts between the Pattis, Ritters and the manager of a theatre in Peru resulted in the parting of their ways.⁵⁹ The rupture was not amicable, and upon Sarasate's return to New York by himself he reported: 'I have left the Ritters' who robbed me outrageously'.⁶⁰ This is the first indication as to the adverse finale to the troupe's performances and tour; but several months later the violinist described the affair in more

⁵¹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Brazil, Rio. 5 July 1870, US-R; Camillo Sivori (1815–1894).

⁵² Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Rio de Janeiro, 22 June 1870, US-R.

⁵³ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Rio de Janeiro, 28 June 1870; Letter, Buenos Aires, 12 September 1870, US-R; A selection of his canes are exposed in Pamplona's Museum of Sarasate.

⁵⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Rio de Janeiro, 2 August 1870, US-R.

⁵⁵ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Buenos Aires, 12 September 1870, US-R; Grange Woolley, 'Pablo de Sarasate: His Historical Significance', *Music & Letters*, Vol. 36. No. 3, (July 1955), 238.

⁵⁶ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Rio de Janeiro, 2 August 1870, US-R; Letter Buenos Aires, 12 September 1870, US-R.

⁵⁷ Stephen Badsey, *The Franco-Prussian war: 1870–1871* (Oxford: Osprey publishing, 2022), 5.

⁵⁸ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Detroit, 14 May 1870, US-R; *The Evening Post*, 16 May 1870; For further logistical details of this tour see Ferrer, *Sarasate*.

⁵⁹ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 154; Nicholas Sackman, Bastien Terraz, 'The Letters sent by Pablo Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie, 1870–1872', (University of Rochester: Sibley Music Library, 2020), 33, https://themessiahviolin.uk/SarasateLetters.pdf (accessed 20 August 2024).

⁶⁰ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, May 1871, US-R.

detail. The conflict between Sarasate and the troupe was a significant moment in Sarasate's career; although it was an undesirable experience, it triggered his desire and determination to go out on his own, as well as the need to understand business dealings better. He was owed a substantial amount of money, but since he had gone on tour without a written contract, he could not make any claims to recover his losses. Sarasate recounted these events as a lesson hard learnt and remarked: 'Never again will I be part of a touring ensemble – or I will form my own'.⁶¹

1871–1872: North America – The Making of a Solo Violinist

After the rupture with the Patti troupe, Sarasate returned to New York in May 1871. A further set of 12 letters, housed in the Sibley Music Library, assist our understanding of the events that followed. However, an additional eight letters are now available dated between 1871 and 1872, which were located as part of the previously introduced discovery. ⁶² These documents provide further understanding and insight into Sarasate's third and last stage of the tour, which was particularly important to his artistic development and final transformation into a young but poised solo violinist. ⁶³ There was clearly a substantial difference between the person and artist who left Paris in 1869 and the violinist who returned in 1872. In addition to his development as a solo violinist – greater technical facility, expansion of repertoire and maturing of personality – his performance calendar and profile in the press increased dramatically. The following excerpt from a letter, published in this work for the first time, demonstrates Sarasate's awareness to this development:

Do you remember when we all went crazy when there was a line or two about me anywhere, and how we ran for it, and what satisfaction I got from seeing my name printed on the front of the Hengel papers? Now it would be impossible for me to collect all the articles about me, there would be too many, and I only get the best.⁶⁴

The combination of existing and new documentary sources allows for an expansion of the events that followed in 1871. The violinist's arrival in New York in 1871 occurred midseason so he had to wait until September for his new manager Strakosch to return. He utilised this situation to put together a group of artists to tour Canada, splitting the costs between them. This was one of the few occasions on which Sarasate took an entrepreneurial role, usually preferring to leave such tasks to other individuals. He then spent a month in

⁶³ A transcription and translation of these letters can also be found in Appendix 1, as part of 'Letters sent by Pablo Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie 1869–1872 (Part 2)'.

⁶¹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Montreal, 5 July 1871, US-R.

⁶² See Appendix 1 for further details.

⁶⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Boston, 8 November 1871, JCB.

⁶⁵ Ferrer, Sarasate, 154; Letter, Newport, 11 August 1871, US-R.

Newport resting before the new season, as he had fallen ill. 66 Although Sarasate had a desire to return to Europe during that summer, he articulated the importance of staying in Newport in order to expand his social circle and meet influential people in aid of his upcoming season. The decision was also taken in order to avoid further gossip in Paris regarding the split from Patti's troupe, thus demonstrating Sarasate's growing acknowledgment of the importance of a musician's public image. ⁶⁷ During his stay, he received several attractive offers for the upcoming season but decided to reject them in order to continue his work with Strakosch, who, according to Sarasate, was dealing with all his affairs because one could easily be fooled in the country.⁶⁸

mile. Christina nilsson

AT ST. PATRICK'S HALL, MONTREAL, MONDAY EVENING, September 18th, at 8 o'clock.

MAX STRAKOSCH has the honor to announce to the public of Montreal and vicinity, that M'LLE CHRISTINA

Will give in Montreal, her first and positively only

CONCERT.

On MONDAY EVENING, Sept. 18th,

AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

M'LLE CHRISTINA NILSSON WILL BE ASSISTED BY

Miss Annie Louise Carr,

THE DISTINGUISHED CONTRALTO, (her first appearance in Montreal.)

Sig. P. BRIGNOLI,

THE POPULAR TENOR.

Mons. JAMET,

THE FAMOUS BASSO, from the Italian Opera House, Paris, (his first appearance in Moutreal.)

Senor P. SARASATE.

THE FAVORITE VIO: IN VIRTUOSO.

MUSICAL CONDUCTOR.....SIG. BOSONI

General Admission \$2.00; Reserved Seats \$1.00 and \$2.00 Extra, according to location.

The sale of Seats will commence at MR. H. PRINCE'S MUSIC STORE, on Thursday, September, 14th, at 9 a.m. Parties from the surrounding Cities and Villages, wishing to attend this Concert, can forward to Mr. H. Prince's Music Store, their orders for seats accompanied by the money, and the same will be attended to as promptly as possible at the opening of the sale.

Doors open at 71. Commence at 8.

⁶⁶ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Newport, 11 August 1871, US-R; Sarasate was joined by French tenor Charles Lefranc (1828–1883), Adelaide Philipps (1833–1882) and other artists.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*; Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Pittsburgh, 27 September 1871, US-R.

⁶⁸ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Toronto, 20 September 1871, JCB.

10	rogramme for Monday, 18th Sept., 1871
	AT 6 O CECCRI TIM
	PART I.
1.	TRIO—" Messe Solennelle," (First time in Montreal)
2.	VIOLIN SOLO—Fantasie on Airs from "Faust," SARASAC Senor Pablo Sarasate.
3-	"Angels ever bright and fair," (First time in Montreal)
4.	AIR DU CHALET
	NOBIL SIGNOR—" The Huguenots,"
6.	SPIRITO GENTIL—"La Favorita,"
•	OPHELIA'S GRAND MAD SCENE—HamletAMDRUISE THUMA: (First time in Montecal) M'lle Christina Nilsson.
Mr. to be populated to be popu	In the year 1867, Monsieur Ambroise Thomas, the great French Composer, was engaged to write a Grand Ogen to Imperial Opera House of Parks. The subject selected for the occasion was "Hamist;" the calaborateur of Thomas were the oclebrated Daranate authors, M.M. Barbiers and Carre. The anomatement of a course of produced at the Imperial Opera House, by so renowned a composer on Mons. Anthroise Thomas, and said in authors as M.M. Barbiers and Carre. Created great excitement amongs the oreline and operation was that Shakespeare's "Hamist" was an impossible subject for an operation of the production of the Carrellogue
	PARTII.
8.	DUET—" Martha,"
9.	ROMANZA FAURS Monsieur Jamet (With Harmonium and Plano Obligato)
10.	VALSE—"Bluet," Cones M'lle Christina Nilsson.
	VIOLIN SOLO—" Les Oiseaux du Brasil,"
12.	DUET—"Madre non dormi"—"Il Trovatore,"
CO	NDUCTOR SIGNOR BOSON
_	Steinway Pianos are used at all the Nilsson Concerts.

Figure 19: Programme - Nilsson Concert, 18 September 1871 (2 pages)

The letters also reveal Sarasate's idea of settling in America instead of Paris, due to the opportunities that it held and the life that he thought he could achieve. He did not want to return to Paris without having obtained wealth, and articulated the considerable difference in potential earnings, stating that what he could earn in Paris in one year, he could earn in America in one month. Following the restful month in Newport, Strakosch hired Sarasate to assist in Christina Nilsson's performances from 18 September to 1 October 1871. For the first time, we can examine a two-page concert programme from one of the performances in St Patrick's Hall, Montreal. The programme which is illustrated above in Figure 19 describes Sarasate as 'the favourite violin virtuoso'. The new troupe travelled to Montreal, Buffalo,

⁶⁹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Pittsburgh, 27 September 1871, US-R.

⁷⁰ Reproduced by permission of JCB; I have also mediated the donation of a digital copy to US-R.

Titusville and Pittsburgh.⁷¹ Sarasate continued to perform similar repertoire to that of the previous year; Mendelssohn's violin concerto, among other works, made regular appearances. However, his own compositions still predominated in his programmes. As exemplified in Figure 19, on 18 September 1871, he performed two of his own works: *Fantasy on Faust* and 'Les Oiseaux du Brazil', which most likely refers to *Los Pájaros de Chile*.⁷²

The performances with Nilsson and her troupe took place in September 1871. However, the 3 September of that year, *The New York Herald* mistakenly reported that Sarasate was engaged to take part in The Italian Opera season in October 'as leading violin in the orchestra'. 73 Although Sarasate had until then performed as part of a troupe, there are no records of the violinist performing as part of an orchestra. The Evening Post also similarly reported a completed list of the 'Italian Opera Troupe', which included Sarasate. 74 Instead, existing documentary sources reveal that Sarasate joined singer Lillie Greenough (1844– 1928), known as Lillie Moulton, alongside several other artists in a series of concerts in Boston in New York during October 1871.⁷⁵ Ferrer corroborates Sarasate's performances with Moulton in October, as well as his performances at Steinway Hall with an orchestra conducted by Carlo Bosoni on the 16, 17, 20 and 21 October 1871.⁷⁶ However, the newly discovered letters provide an additional source of evidence, as Sarasate refers to a festival performance in Boston on 3 October 1871, 'with me as the big attraction'. He also mentions there were further concert engagements during October and November of that year.⁷⁷ The letters also reveal that touring stopped for several months due to the Great Chicago Fire of 8-10 October 1871, requiring artists to undertake self-promoted performances in larger cities instead.⁷⁸

Although Sarasate continued to cultivate his artistic reputation, the performances upon his return to New York were still as a supporting act to singers, even if these were some of the most famous prima donnas of the time. However, between January and March 1872 Sarasate performed a selection of concerts with pianist Sebastien Bach Mills at Steinway Hall, in which he was the leading protagonist for the first time. These performances between late January and March, were extremely successful and his profits began to increase

⁷¹ Christina Nilsson (1843 – 1921) was a Swedish internationally successful soprano.

⁷² Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 157.

⁷³ The New York Herald, 3 September 1871.

⁷⁴ The Evening Post, 7 October 1871.

⁷⁵ The New York Dispatch, 15 October 1871; The Era, 12 November 1871.

⁷⁶Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 158.

⁷⁷ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Toronto, 20 September 1871, JCB.

⁷⁸ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, undated, November or December 1871, US-R.

significantly.⁷⁹ Sarasate reports having earned 500 francs each in two separate concerts, where he played just one piece in one and two works in the other. In the 1820s, 25.50 francs approximated £1 and the purchasing power of £19 in 1870 would approximately equal in 2024 to £1,897.83.⁸⁰ Consequently, Sarasate earned £3,795.66 for two concerts. Although these figures already represent a significant sum, his earnings continued to increase in successive years, until he became one of the highest paid musicians.⁸¹

1872 marked the beginning of Sarasate's establishment as an artist. His repertoire continued to expand, and his concerts included a combination of his own compositions, other virtuoso encores, and chamber music, including trios by Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Schumann. Additionally, Sarasate performed the Bruch Violin Concerto in G minor and refers to rehearsing concertos by Saint-Saëns and Spohr. In addition to these expansions in repertoire, Sarasate also increased his collaborations with French colleagues, thus beginning to establish his role in the dissemination of French repertoire. For example, in a letter from January 1872, Sarasate asked Madame Lassabathie to post Madame Grandval's second mass and her Stabat Mater, for an organist to perform in New York. In February 1872 Sarasate's name began appearing in newspaper headlines as protagonist of his own concerts, and as Figure 20 illustrates, other artists began to assist the main performers, which in this particular example refers to 'Mr. Mills and Mr. Sarasate'. By March 1872, Sarasate was referred to as one of the most popular and very best violinists.

The Mills-Sarasate Matinee.

At this entertainment, to take place tomorrow afternoon at two o'clock, at Steinway's, Mrs. Imogene Brown will be the solo vocalist. Besides the solo performances of Mr. Mills and Mr. Sarasate, they will, with the assistance of Mr. Bergner, play a Beethoven trio.

Figure 20: The Evening Post, 23 February 1872

⁷⁹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 9 February 1872, US-R; *The Evening Post*, 29 January 1872

⁸⁰ 500 francs equals £19.60; 'Inflation calculator', *The Bank of England*, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator (accessed 25 August 2024); Toby Faber, *Stradivarius: Five Violins, One Cello and a Genius* (London: Macmillan, 2004), 266–267.

⁸¹ Margaret Campbell, *The Great Violinists* (New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981), 93.

⁸² See Chapter 2 for further repertoire selections as well as Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 162 and 167.

⁸³ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 1 February 1872, JCB; Altadil, Memorias de Sarasate, 32.

⁸⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, January 1872, JCB.

⁸⁵ *The Evening Post*, 23 February 1872.

⁸⁶ The Evening Post, 15 March 1872.

In April and May 1872, instead of performing for other artists, Sarasate appeared either alongside them or as the main artist. In April 1872 *The Evening Post* reported 'Señor Sarasate now one of the most admired violinists in New York, will give a concert at which he will be assisted by Miss Nininger the soprano...'⁸⁷ As Figure 21 illustrates, newspapers announced 'Signor Sarasate's concert'. These performances, full of flare and violin virtuosity, were examples of concerts that were beginning to resemble those for which Sarasate would become celebrated and they were extremely successful. However, as the review displayed in Figure 21 demonstrates, Sarasate was beginning to be respected as an 'an artist in a very high sense of the word'. ⁸⁸ The review praised his mechanical proficiency but also his elegant and profound performance.

MUSIC AND THE DRAMA.

Signor Sarasate's Concert.

The centralization of the musical mania at the Academy would seem to have an unfavorable effect on the concert room. A rose growing in the garden of a peasant has all the properties of one growing in the green-house of a queen, but the mere position of things seriously affects sometimes the estimate which men place on them.

Signor Sarasate is an artist in a very high sense of the word, giving evidence in all his efforts that in him nature and art are twin sisters, and that the latter is rooted in and blossoms out of the former. The violin in his hands is not a mechanical instrument of mere musical declamation, but an eloquent organ to utter forth the beautiful sounds descriptive of nature and the human heart in their most-normal condition. We would instance, as a proof of this, the splendid execution last evening which he gave of themes from Weber's "Der Freischutz."

Figure 21: The Evening Post - Signor Sarasate's concert

Sadly, the newly discovered documents confirm that these early successes were tainted by tragedy. In November of 1871, Sarasate shared his enthusiasm of reuniting with both his parents the following summer in 1872, as he had not felt able to return during the summer of

⁸⁷ The Evening Post, 13 April 1872.

⁸⁸ The Evening Post, 17 April 1872.

1871.89 However, a month later, on the 5th December of that year, Sarasate's adoptive father, Théodore Lassabathie, died. Ferrer discloses some details regarding his death, but not of his initial illness. 90 The letters I have uncovered from 1869 provide new information. 91 Mr. Lassabathie was taken very ill while Sarasate was abroad in 1869; although he recovered, he did not do so fully. 92 As this was his first trip away from home, upon hearing such news, the violinist became extremely upset and shared his love and appreciation for everything that his adoptive parents had done for him. Moreover, he spoke of his intentions of settling near them in the country, but his later ambitions removed that option. 93 When Mr. Lassabathie died in 1871, Sarasate was starting to reach his goals and to accomplish his reason for going to North America, as he was in the process of organising his first solo concerts. The letters indicate that Madame Lassabathie asked Sarasate to return, but he replied with his incapability of returning to Paris due to concerns for his future career: '... I wanted to leave in spite of everything, on receiving your visiting card, and it took the influence of many friends to prevent me from doing so, because of artistic questions. Just as I was about to take my ticket, I was convinced that my return at the moment would have the worst effect because of the four concerts I am going to give...'94

Sarasate held the Lassabathies in the highest regard, but he had a special relationship with Amélie. On the 25 February 1872 Sarasate received a telegram informing him of his adoptive mother's death. 95 The last letter he wrote to her on the 16 February, in which he worries about not receiving news, never reached her:

Whatever your thoughts may be, remember that I love you and you are always in my thoughts at every hour of the day, and especially at night when, before falling asleep, I reflect on the events of my life, the best years of which were spent under your roof in Paris, and at Maisons Lafitte. ... It is very comforting for me to think that when something nice happens there is a sympathetic echo which will answer from afar and rejoice with me – many *artistes* would like as much!⁹⁶

Sarasate concluded his scheduled performances and returned to Paris in May 1872. Although in previous correspondence he shared his intentions to return for the next season, and conceivably settle in New York, he did not return until 1889.⁹⁷ Sarasate inherited from

⁸⁹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 2 November 1871, US-R; Letter, Boston, 8 November 1871, JCB.

⁹⁰ Ferrer, Sarasate, 160.

⁹¹ JCB.

⁹² Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Constantinople, 28 April 1869, JCB.

⁹³ Letter, Constantinople, 28 April 1869, JCB.

⁹⁴ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 1 February 1872, JCB.

⁹⁵ Ferrer, Sarasate, 165.

⁹⁶ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 16 February 1872, US-R; Sackman, 'Letters', 52; Ferrer, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁷ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, 1 February 1872, US-R.

the Lassabathies a substantial sum, but the violinist returned to discover the couple's belongings being auctioned. 98 In order to recover a few, Sarasate had to pay a high price. Figure 22 below displays a copy of the catalogue of the auction, showcased for the first time. 99

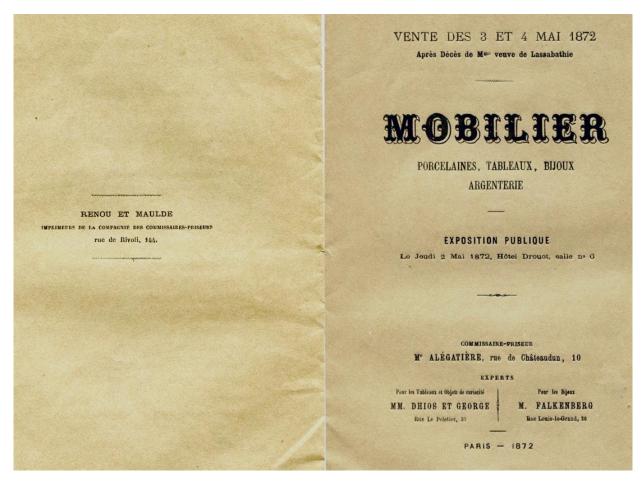


Figure 22: Catalogue of auction after Mrs. Lassabathie's death

Sarasate returned to Paris, having lost two of the most important people to him while he had been abroad. However, even though it would have been a difficult situation, he also returned as a successful solo violinist with many prospects ahead of him. As a violinist he had augmented his repertoire, he developed his technical command, achieved the praise of the American newspapers and gained some wealth. Sarasate achieved what he had set out to do. The following decade was very fruitful; he established himself in the music industry, and his prosperity is confirmed by his signing of an expensive apartment lease in the centre of Paris, at Boulevard Malesherbes. ¹⁰⁰ Moreover, he hired the prominent painter James Abbott McNeill Whistler to decorate it for him, an expensive endeavour. ¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Altadil, Memorias, 30.

⁹⁹ JCB

¹⁰⁰ Woolley, 'Pablo De Sarasate: His Historical Significance', 240.

¹⁰¹ Loc. cit.

Developing Sarasate's persona into the Spanish Celebrity

Sarasate's international experiences during 1869–1872 aided his growth as a professional artist. In 1869 he had instructed Amélie de Lassabathie not to send news to the tabloids, his attitude mirroring that of an ambitious young artist who was not yet established. Although a confident performer, it took time and experience for Sarasate to gain full awareness of his worth and to recognise the possibilities of his career. By the time Sarasate reached South America in 1870 his confidence had grown somewhat, and the first signs of international fame already began to appear. Sarasate continued to develop a celebrity status which became intrinsically linked to his heritage, a connection which in time he learnt to embrace and produced the famed Spanish virtuoso as he is known today. Whilst there are existing studies that have utilised Sarasate's image and his interlinked Spanishness as example, nobody has thus far interrogated it independently. Furthermore, although Pablo Sarasate continues to be a famed name today, documentary sources show that the violinist's celebrity status was beyond current recognition.

Sarasate's improved career focus was aided by the helpful advice from selected peers around him such as Strakosch, and it is evident due to his recognition in the importance of refusing certain proposals. During the tour between 1870–1872, Sarasate was invited to take part in many engagements, some of which he declined. For example, he received a request to perform during a banquet for the Grand Duke Alexis of Russia. However, although the violinist was accustomed to sharing the stage with singers, he was still considered a solo violinist of certain repute, and he was advised that regardless of the payment, he should turn it down. Other artists also declined with the comment that 'they did not care to perform music to the accompaniment of glasses and forks'. ¹⁰² Another case was that of an offer to perform at weekly concerts for executive James Fisk. ¹⁰³ Although the payment was substantial, the organiser wanted the contracted artists to wear a specific uniform that included a designed letter 'F'. Sarasate declined due to not wanting to be branded, seen as belonging to someone else. ¹⁰⁴ These examples of declined offers were wise decisions, even though he often shared his notion of continuously needing to be in the public eye, in fear of being forgotten. ¹⁰⁵

The consciousness of maintaining a public presence indicates an acknowledgement of his emerging celebrity status. His correspondence from 1870 and 1871 demonstrates how Sarasate took advantage of this position, which resulted in various gossip stories - varying

¹⁰² Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, November/December 1871, US-R.

¹⁰³ James Fisk (1837–1872) was an American stockbroker who built a theatre in New York. He is referred to as one of the 'robber barons', see Willoughby Jones, *The life of James Fisk, jr. including the great frauds of the Tammany...* (Philadelphia: Union Publishing company, 1872).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, New York, 13 December 1871, US-R.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 1 February 1872, US-R.

from a woman, furious at being rejected by him, who then tried to blackmail him, resulting in the involvement of the Spanish Consulate, to reports of being revered by many American blondes. 106 He also reported his concert of February 1872 as being sold out; he had finally learned to publicise in the newspapers. Sarasate described that the audience was predominantly female. 107 His stage persona was developing into the idealised public figure, the beginnings of a similar 'rock star prototype', often identified with Paganini. 108 Other accounts described front row women spellbound over his broken string at concerts and reported that Sarasate had the ability to conquer women away from their husbands. 109 This was an effect that was also reported after his solo debut in Vienna, in 1876, where he replaced an indisposed violinist at three days' notice. The Viennese review described him as a magician who entrances his audiences. 110 Manén's description of the same performance is a vivid account of the romanticised effect Sarasate had on his audiences:

The sensation was incredible. Spanish, son of the land of dreams, small in height, thin and of romantic figure, pale, curly and black hair, big eyes of the same colour and somewhat bulging, bringing out from his violin a crystal and enchanted sound, and showing a clean and elegant game, all this favoured for him to conquer the women, the men dragged behind them, the aristocrats and even the followers of the battered colleague Sarasate was replacing. 111

Intrigue and an obscure private life also helped the violinist secure a certain interest from his public. The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona holds a manuscript titled Souvenirs d'une artiste (1886–1904), an example of Sarasate's public following. The volume contains a series of love letters, imaginary conversations between a French lady and Sarasate, encompassing 18 years, and in which he is referred to as 'the adored artist, the glory of our France'. 112 By 1891, he had reached a peak and had become a popular celebrity. That year after a performance in Wichita, Kansas, it was reported that the violinist was called back twenty-three times. 113

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, Rio de Janeiro, 2 August 1870; Letter, Newport ,11 August 1871, US-R.

¹⁰⁷ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 1 February 1872, US-R.

¹⁰⁸ Kawabata, Paganini. The 'Demonic' virtuoso, 71.

¹⁰⁹ Manén, Mis experiencias II, 43; M. Vázquez, La Música en Alemania (Madrid, 1884), 25-26.

¹¹⁰ Illustrirtes Wiener Extrablatt, Evening edition, 23 November 1876, No. 324, 2.

^{111 &#}x27;La sensación fue tremenda. Español, hijo de tierra de ensueños, pequeño de estatura, delgado y de figura romántica, pálido, rizoso y negro el cabello, ojos grandes del mismo color y algo saltones, sacando se su violín un sonido cristalino y encantador, y mostrando un juego limpio y elegante, todo ello le favoreció para que se llevara de calle a las señoras, a rastras de éstas a los varones, a los aristarcos, y hasta a los partidarios del colega doblemente maltrecho que Sarasate sustituía'. Manén, loc. cit.

Woolley, 'His Historical Significance', 239; 'Tu es l'artiste adoré, la gloire de notre France'.

¹¹³ The Wichita Daily Eagle, Kansas, 1 March 1891.

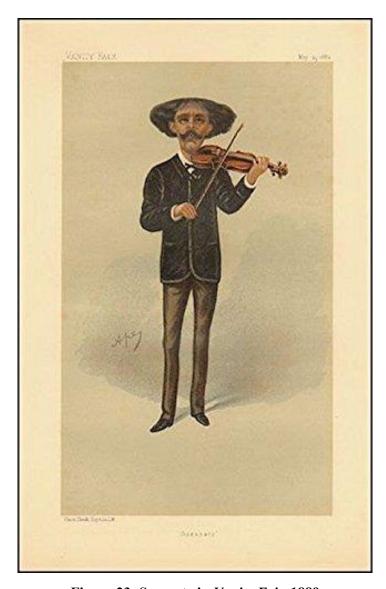


Figure 23: Sarasate in Vanity Fair, 1889

Figure 23 and 24 illustrate two examples of Sarasate's presence in distinguished magazines. In 1889 Sarasate appeared in *Vanity Fair*, a cultured magazine for an elite audience, and in 1892, he was illustrated in *The Strand Magazine*. ¹¹⁴ In addition, there are various advertisements in magazines such as *The Strad*, which utilised Sarasate's endorsement for the publicity of new works and the selling of items such as violin strings which had been named after him – 'the celebrated Sarasate 4th violin strings', a sign of the prominence of his name and its association with excellence. ¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ The Sherlock Holmes short stories by Arthur Conan Doyle, as well as some of Agatha Christie's short stories were first published in the UK in *The Strand Magazine*; Carlo 'Ape' Pellegrini, 'Sarasate', *Vanity Fair*, 1889, Public Domain.

¹¹⁵ 'A. W. Gilmer & Co. Manufacturers and Importers of every description of Musical Instruments and Strings', *The Strad*, Vol. 5, No. 57 (January 1895), 257; *The Strad*, Vol. 5, No. 50 (June 1894), 40–41.

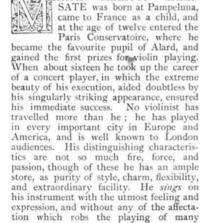


From a Photo, by R. Ribas, Palm's de Mallorca,

SENOR SARASATE.

BORN 1844.

SARTIN MELITON SARA-







violinists of all charm. It is a disputed point among musicians whether Señor Sarasate or Herr Joachim is to be considered the greatest violinist of the age.

Figure 24: The Strand Magazine, 1892

As Figure 24 illustrates, the published article in *The Strand Magazine*, expressed a very positive account of Sarasate as a violinist, but it also demonstrates that the professional comparison between Sarasate and Joachim remained active in their late years and reached these publications: 'It is a disputed point among musicians whether Señor Sarasate or Herr Joachim is to be considered the greatest violinist of the age'. ¹¹⁶ Additionally, as a celebrity, Sarasate's personal life became a centre of gossip, most specifically his non marital status. ¹¹⁷ Although the violinist never married, *Leeds Mercury* reported in 1907 the engagement of

¹¹⁶ George Newnes ed., *The Strand Magazine. An Illustrated Monthly*. Vol. III January to June (London: George Newnes, 1892), 275.

¹¹⁷ Robert L. Gambone, *Life on the Press: The Popular* Art *and Illustrations of George Benjamin Luks* (Mississippi: University Press, 2009), 45; Edna Woolman Chase and Ilka Chase, *Always in Vogue* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954).

Sarasate and an American girl. She was allegedly the daughter of a millionaire, whom he had met in Biarritz, evidence of the violinist's long-lasting celebrity status a year before his death.¹¹⁸

As Manén's recollection suggests, Sarasate's celebrity status was connected to his particular heritage. Although born in Spain, the violinist arrived in Paris as a young child, he studied at the Conservatoire and settled in both the city and the countryside with the Lassabathies. Several accounts share that the violinist was proud of his birthplace, Pamplona, but at times considered himself more French than Spanish. Le Ménestrel once conveyed that he was a 'son of Paris by education and talent'. 119 However, Sarasate's public perception was fundamentally connected to his physical characteristics and personality, which were in turn attached to his Spanish roots. Consequently, these aided in the development of a mystical persona, one that audiences craved. According to George Bernard Shaw, people viewed the violinist as a '...romantic young Spaniard, full of fascinating tricks and mannerisms'. 120 He was a dark eyed and black-haired man who took pride in his looks and was known to be confident, observant and attentive. 121 Other sources transmit similar observations; Enrique Fernandez Arbós relayed in his memoirs that Sarasate always maintained an elegant nature both on and off stage. 122 He also took great care in maintaining his moustache, which he dyed 'coal-black', wore heeled shoes, furs and collected a number of canes adorned with rubies, diamonds, some engraved with his initials. 123 Sarasate thus developed a public image of mystery and elegance embedded in his origins that was ideally placed in a time that described Spain as 'the most romantic and peculiar country in Europe'. 124 This persona, however, took time to develop, with the biggest changes taking place upon his return from the American tour in 1872. Thus, the Sarasate who performed in the 1860s was received differently from the violinist who appeared on stage from the mid 1870s onwards. Kirsty Cooper and Ken Murray reflect specifically on both Sarasate and Albeniz's reception in London. They noted that Sarasate returned to the city in 1874 and was distinguished as a 'fiery and passionate Spanish

¹¹⁸ Leeds Mercury, 19 April 1907.

Wooley, 'His Historical Significance', 241; '...un fils de Paris par l'éducation et par le talent...'. Le Ménestrel, 8 May 1870.

¹²⁰ 24 May 1889. Bernard Shaw, London Music in 1888–1889 as heard by Corno Di Bassetto (Later known as Bernard Shaw), with some further Autobiographical Particulars (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Limited, 1937), 127

¹²¹ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, Newport, 28 July 1871, US-R.

¹²² Arbós, *Memorias*, 111.

¹²³ These can be viewed in The Sarasate Museum in Pamplona, Spain; Arbós, 111–112; Flesch, *Memoirs*, 38.

¹²⁴ Richard Ford, A Handbook for Travellers in Spain. Part I (London: John Murray, Albermarle street, 1855), 5.

musician'; this was in sharp contrast to his debut in 1861, when, although he received positive reviews, papers mistook his nationality and were not as enthusiastic as in later years. 125

An artist who utilised his nationality to create a more successful and marketable persona was not without precedent. For example, as Chopin and Liszt's careers grew internationally, they became more nationalistic, because 'exoticism sells'. ¹²⁶ As James Parakilas points out, in music the depiction of a feeling or an atmosphere is expressed exclusively via the music itself, without the external aid of dance or costumes. ¹²⁷ Parakilas in this instance refers to a 'sexually charged atmosphere, the liberating experience of the dance' as depictions of 'Spanish music'. ¹²⁸ This representation concurs with the exoticized image placed by audiences of the nineteenth century, who preferred stories based on a 'distant land'. ¹²⁹ Within this context, Sarasate represented the idolised image of the man from an exotic land and his virtuosic performances supported this depiction. ¹³⁰ Sarasate's encores were effective both musically and visually, amplifying his showmanship, a similar trait to that instigated by Paganini with his theatricality. ¹³¹

Indeed, exoticism and nationalism can overlap. However, there can be at times a difference between the representation of a nation abroad and its true heritage. ¹³² Sometimes, it is simply a desired specific depiction rather than the full picture, as exoticism according to Hervé Lacombe is but 'a dream of else-where'. ¹³³ In Sarasate's particular case, he utilised the musical inheritance of the south of Spain, which is expressed by the term *Andalucismo*. ¹³⁴ Sarasate's imagery and his reception were connected to this movement. Nevertheless, the violinist embraced his roots in actuality and returned to Pamplona annually due to his love for his place of birth and the running of the bulls. The hotel 'La Perla', where Sarasate always resided when in the locality, still today maintains Sarasate's room in the exact manner as it was then.

¹²⁵ Kirsty Cooper, *The Edwardians and the Making of a Modern Spanish Obsession* (Liverpool University Press, 2020), 211–212; Ken Murray, 'Spanish Music and Its Representations in London (1878–1930): From the Exotic to the Modern', PhD diss. (University of Melbourne, 2013), 83.

¹²⁶ Taruskin, The Oxford History of Western Music, 347.

¹²⁷ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 150.

¹²⁸ Loc. cit

¹²⁹ Ralph P. Locke, 'The Exotic in Nineteenth-Century French Opera, Part 1: Locales and Peoples', *19^{th-} Century Music*, 1 November 2021; 45 (2), 93–118.

¹³⁰ This project does not intend to enter into the complicated subject of Exoticism and Orientalism, to expand on this further see Edward Said and Ralph P Locke's works as specified in Chapter 1.

¹³¹ Kawabata, *Paganini*, 85.

¹³² Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 192.

¹³³ Hervé Lacombe, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Edward Schneider (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 186.

¹³⁴ See Chapter 1 for contextualisation and Chapter 8 for further discussion on Sarasate's compositions based on Spanish themes.

We note a complex relationship between Sarasate's Spanish roots and his affection for France, but it is possible to belong to two different nations. As early as 1861, a critic from *Le Ménestrel* described Sarasate as a Franco-Spanish virtuoso. That publication later remarked on his talent and devotion to the performance of French works, whilst acknowledging his heritage: 'by right of birth, it was necessary to present to the public a Spanish Symphony'. The review refers to Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* op. 21, a work which aided in the advancement of both the composer and Sarasate's career. Parakilas suggests that through this work, Lalo created the style on which the violinist would base his image and career. However, Sarasate collaborated in the work's composition, so it may be assumed that the two musicians helped each other.

Sarasate utilised his Spanishness to create an aura, an image and marketing strategy that lasted through time, but he also found an intricate balance between this imagery and the maintenance of an intact reputation for the performance of more serious works. Sarasate was one of the last of his kind. He was one of the first to forge a career based on the performance of works of his own composition as well as those by other composers; he created a new role in which he was both virtuoso and interpreter. However, in opposition to the pure *Werktreue* representatives, Sarasate performed with certain freedoms, which match the persona often described by his contemporaries. ¹³⁷ According to Goldschmidt's personal recollections, Sarasate despaired over slowness, and lack of mechanism in other musicians. ¹³⁸ Similarly to his career, Sarasate's image progressed gradually. It was not until 1877, after meeting Otto Goldschmidt, that he fully embraced his possibilities and began to profit extensively from his abilities.

Otto Goldschmidt: An Essential Figure to Sarasate's Success

It is well known that Otto Goldschmidt was Sarasate's manager as well as often his piano accompanist on stage, but few sources convey Goldschmidt's importance in the violinist's career development. Consequently, this segment provides the first in-depth account of Goldschmidt's position within Sarasate's career. Although the aims for this research are based on Sarasate, Goldschmidt played a vital role in the violinist's career; thus, it seems relevant briefly to address the absence of biographical details about him. Therefore, this text also provides the first comprehensive account of Otto Goldschmidt.

My investigation sought to uncover Goldschmidt's ancestry, as well as possibly to

¹³⁵ Le Ménestrel, 28 April 1861; '...par droit de naissance, il appartenait de présenter au public une Symphonie espagnole'. Le Ménestrel, 14 February 1875.

¹³⁶ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 162.

¹³⁷ See Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*.

¹³⁸ Goldschmidt, Memoirs, JCB.

find direct descendants. It led me to Goldschmidt's grandson, who graciously shared with me a range of documents which comprised a personal memoir written by Goldschmidt for his daughter Berthilia. The discovery and study of these materials has not only expanded the evidence available on Sarasate, but has also assisted in the clarification of Goldschmidt's own history. He is often mistaken for another gentleman from the same time period with a similar name, Otto Goldschmidt (1822–1907), husband of the soprano Jenny Lind. According to the memoirs, the inaccuracy began whilst they were both alive, and they often received each other's letters. He inaccuracy between both men's identities continues in existing studies, and it is due to the assumption that there was only one Otto Goldschmidt. The inaccuracy can also be due to the lack of research on this particular Goldschmidt, Sarasate's manager, as well as the lack of confirmation on his date of birth and death. Thus, having found the appropriate records, and consequently the grave of Otto Goldschmidt in Biarritz, France, this study can confirm for the first time that the Goldschmidt connected with Sarasate was born in Darmstadt, Germany on the 28 November 1846 and died in 1911.



Figure 25: Goldschmidt's family grave in Biarritz

¹³⁹ Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, JCB; Jean-Claude Beïret Montagné, *Trois Vies. Histoires de Vies Bien Remplies* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2023).

¹⁴⁰ Further documentation can be found in Appendix 1.

¹⁴¹ Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, JCB; The error continues in recent research, examples of which can be found in Ždenko Silvela, *A New History of Violin Playing: The Vibrato and Lambert Massart's Revolutionary Discovery* (Universal Publishers, 2001), 357 and *Historia del Violin* (Madrid: Entrelineas editors, 2003), 270.



Figure 26: Goldschmidt's gravestone in Biarritz

Whilst we know of Goldschmidt's existence in Sarasate's career, nobody has yet undertaken a systematic investigation of the man's life or of his foremost significance in Sarasate's career. For the first time, biographical details can be provided, due to the study of these new documentary sources, as well as an investigation into his lineage. This account reveals how Goldschmidt's background made him an ideal candidate to become Sarasate's manager.

Otto Goldschmidt was one of eight sons, born to parents who owned a timber business. He was brought up in Germany, and attended an English school, spoke many languages and had a basic musical education. An interest in music was encouraged by his parents, who would take the family to see opera and concerts whenever possible. Goldschmidt recounts in his memoirs being able to witness great music for little money in small towns in Germany. Thus, from a young age, he heard artists such as Joachim and Carlotta Patti perform, fuelling his interest in music. It is 1866 he moved to Monterrey (Nuevo León, Mexico) where he remained for the following 10 years. He became a successful merchant, but also continued to develop his piano skills. He arranged opera medleys for military bands and helped develop the city's musical scene. Their business was fruitful, but due to the American Civil War, the family returned home after a long and painful liquidation. In 1876 Goldschmidt returned to Europe, and during his return journey he heard of many artists travelling to the

¹⁴² The details provided in this segment originated from the study of various sources, among others Goldschmidt's *Memoirs*. I was provided access to the full manuscript by the owner. However, a number of excerpts are now available in Montagné, *Trois Vies. Histoires de vies bien remplies*, 2023. ¹⁴³ *Loc. cit.*

opening of Wagner's Bayreuth Festspielhaus, and succeeded in gaining a ticket. He attended the premiere of *Das Rheingold*. He then returned to Mainz where he was established and made daily trips to Frankfurt to attend concerts at the Museumskonzerte.

The first meeting of Sarasate and Goldschmidt was documented by Antonio Peña y Goñi in 1886.¹⁴⁴ Goldschmidt's memoirs, however, provide further details from the perspective of both parties, the study of which allows for the first updated account of the event.¹⁴⁵ The week when Goldschmidt met Sarasate in 1877, he attended all of the concerts in the area, until Friday, 2 February 1877 a concert for which he was unable to find a ticket. Goldschmidt's friend Nauheim had warned him that after having heard this new young violinist play at the rehearsal, people were fighting to get tickets. Goldschmidt attempted every possible way to attend the concert, standing at the door of the gallery and asking all passers-by if they would sell their ticket. One did, and he was willing to pay three times the original price, but a woman asked for the ticket, stating that as a man, he could continue to ask to buy another. Unfortunately, no one else was willing to sell their ticket and so he was not able to attend the performance.

Sarasate performed Raff's *Suite*, Chopin's *Nocturne* and Bruch's Violin Concerto no. 1 in G minor op. 26 with Bruch conducting. Goldschmidt's friends described the violinist's performance enthusiastically and he returned to the station to take his train home to Mainz. There he met 'the young man in black fur with long curly hair, a box with two violins in his hand, who approached and took a seat beside their coupé'. As he spoke Spanish fluently Goldschmidt spoke to the violinist, arranging to meet with him in Wiesbaden the following Monday, where he was introduced to Raff, Bruch and Wilhelm Jahn. Sarasate performed Beethoven's violin concerto and Raff's *Suite* for this performance, and it was so successful that the violinist was asked to perform at the same theatre again the following Thursday. As conductor Jahn could not speak French, Sarasate asked Goldschmidt to mediate. That night Sarasate had earned 400 Marks for the performance; after Goldschmidt's intervention, the violinist was to earn 1900 Marks for his next concert, a substantial increase. After organising another performance for Sarasate in Mainz and assisting his release from a three-year contract with Bernhard Pollini, Goldschmidt officially became Sarasate's business manager.

¹⁴⁴ Antonio Peña y Goñi, 'El que acompaña a Sarasate', La Iberia, 3 May 1886, quoted in Ferrer, Sarasate, 219.

¹⁴⁵ Goldschmidt, Memoirs, JCB.

¹⁴⁶ *Loc. cit.*



Figure 27: Sarasate and Goldschmidt¹⁴⁷

Before 1877 Sarasate had already began to achieve great successes due to his ambition, excellent playing and supportive colleagues. His solo debut in Germany in 1876 is an example of the faith his colleagues had in him. Lalo sponsored Sarasate with 2000 francs to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and the violinist also utilised his own savings. He to assist the expedition and savings all of Sarasate was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and not entirely proficient in monetary matters. He was at times inattentive and stories such as a time inattentive and stories such as a times inattentive and stories are such as a serious su

¹⁴⁷ Reproduced by permission of JCB.

¹⁴⁸ 2000 francs approximately equalled in 2017 to £4,883.50; Faber, *op. cit;* Currency converter, *Loc. cit;* Manén, *Mis Experiencias II. El Joven Artista* (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1964), 44.

¹⁴⁹ Goldschmidt, Loc. cit.

¹⁵⁰ Manén, 44.

¹⁵¹ Ferrer, Sarasate, 220.

matters to Goldschmidt. Because of this, the manager also became the first point of contact in reaching Sarasate. This even applied to young aspiring artists, as he rarely liked to hear other violinists play.¹⁵² Although agents today usually have a roster of artists whom they represent, Goldschmidt was manager to Sarasate alone, but he did aid some young talented artists with advice and introductions to influential personalities. Such is the case with Joan Manén, whose career he helped to launch, when the young violinist moved with his father to Berlin in 1898.¹⁵³ Otto Goldschmidt's brother Enrique, and his son Pancho later became Manén's managers.



Figure 28: Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate (1884) by James McNeill Whistler¹⁵⁴

152 Manén, Mis Experiencias, 58.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*.

¹⁵⁴ James McNeill Whistler, *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 96.2, Oil on canvas; According to a letter, Whistler sent a proof of the painting to sculptor

Goldschmidt's cultural centrality is proven by the numerous references in correspondence with great artists, such as Lalo and James McNeill Whistler. Figure 28 illustrates the painter's creation *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate* (1884), which the violinist referred to as his other self. Correspondence provides evidence of their appointments to create the painting, as well as of their friendship. Sarasate and the painter called each other *frères Fiaschini* (brothers Fiaschini), whilst on one particular occasion, Whistler referred to the violinist as his 'Spanish brother'. As mentioned previously, the violinist hired Whistler to decorate his entire apartment in Paris, a great expense that Sarasate revered.

Goldschmidt's importance to Sarasate's career was also witnessed by his close friends. New York's Morgan Library & Museum holds several documents on Sarasate. One of them is an autograph letter from editor August Durand to Sarasate, examined here for the first time. The section pertinent to Goldschmidt is on page four, although the letter also illustrates Durand's close relationship with Sarasate. As the letter is currently not easily readable, I provide below the transcription and translation of the whole document, following the phrasing style of the letter.

Page 1

Durand – 25 *Mars* 1879

Mon cher Pablito,
Encore 9,000 [d'arrives]
C'est prodigieux. Jamais,
dit Leconte l'agent de change
je n'avais assisté à un crescendo
aussi prolongé produit par un simple coup
d'archet. Mettons qu'il y en ait plusieurs et n'en
parlons plus. Ta lettre nous a fait plaisir a tous.
Adélia te répondra dans quelques jours. Nous
sommes tous grippés ici, c'est la maladie du
moment produite par des variations de
température insoutenables. Il y a 8 jours on
sortait sans paletó. Aujourd'hui

Page 1

Durand - 25 March 1879

My dear Pablito,
Another 9,000 arrivals,
It is prodigious. Never,
Leconte the stockbroker said,
'I have never witnessed such a prolonged crescendo on a single bow stroke.'
Let's say there are several, and let's not talk about it anymore. Your letter was a pleasure to us all. Adélia will reply in a few days. We all have the flu here, it is the disease of the moment caused by unsustainable temperature variations. 8 days ago we were going out without a paletó [long coat]. Today

René François Auguste Rodin (1840–1917). Letter Whistler to Rodin, Paris [June 1885], Archives du Musée Rodin, Paris.

¹⁵⁵ Letter Sarasate to Whistler, Berlin, 16 February [1888], GB-Gu, MS Whistler S18, with permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections and University of Glasgow Court.

¹⁵⁶ Letter Otto Goldschmidt, London, [1884/1895], GB-Gu, MS Whistler G263; Letter Whistler to Mrs Maxse, London, [1886], GB-Gu, MS Whistler M519, with permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections and University of Glasgow Court.

¹⁵⁷ Letter Sarasate to Whistler, Berlin, February [1888], GB-Gu.

¹⁵⁸ Autograph letter signed, Auguste Durand to Pablo Sarasate, Paris, 25 March 1879, D949.S243, US-NYpm.

Page 2: Page 2: It has been snowing all morning! Il neige depuis ce matin! I know you have seen some Je sais bien que tu en as vu and that you have seen many times et que tu en vois bien d'autres but at least in the northern countries mais au moins dans ces pays du nord on prend they take precautions des précautions en conséquence pour bien qu'ils in consequence so that they facilement un peu partout. can easily get about everywhere. J'envoie, comme le Dimanche Goldschmidt un On Sunday I am sending, petit mot à Lalo, pour lui annoncer Goldschmidt a little note for Lalo, to announce le succès de le Romance et du Rondo du to him the success of the Romance and the Concerto. Il est arrive à Vienne petit Rondo from the Concerto. accident que le retienne à la chambre He arrived in Vienna and had a small accident depuis 15 jours. Il est tombé sur une poncé à that kept him in his room bouteilles en a cassé quelques-unes et for 15 days. He fell on a sand bottle and Page 3: Page 3: seriously cut his leg. At last all danger has s'est coupé sérieusement à la jambe. Enfin tout danger est passé. Et maintenant ____ faire. passed. And now, I see you advertised in the English papers. Je te vois annoncé dans les journaux Anglais. Will you pass through Paris, or will you go Passeras tu par Paris, ou iras tu directement à directly to London through Belgium? Londres par la Belgique? What to tell and not to do without forgetting Quoi de raconter à non faire sans oublier le récit the story of the persecutions that your talent des persécutions que ton talent et tes succès t'ont and your successes in the land of the funny valu dans le pays du Rouble Drôle de chose ruble ... this jealousy. Finally, you have it cette Jalousie. Enfin tu t'en as tiré à la drawn to general satisfaction of your friends, satisfaction générale de tes amis, et à la tienne. L and your own. The sale price will rise tira de vente va monter à 9,600. Nous enviserons 9,600. We will consider Page 4: Page 4: à 20,000 at 20,000. Sarasate is definitely the king of the violin. Décidément Sarasate est le rois du violon. Let's add that Goldschmidt is Ajoutons aussi que Goldschmidt est un bon a good prophet! A thousand fond memories. prophète! Mille bons souvenirs. Cet excellent This excellent companion compagnon de tes succès, qui a eu l'honneur de of your success, who had the honour of savoir mettre au lumière un talent sans rival qui knowing how to bring to light an unrivalled vu sa modestie ou son inexpérience aux affaires talent which given his modesty and ne parait pas ____ à un résultat si business inexperience does not appear heureux. Tu ne pas de faire la part de achieved such a successful result. Goldschmidt. You do not to do Goldschmidt's part. Je suis sur que tu penses comme nous I am sure you think like we do Mon bon poignon de main, très affectueux. My good hand, very affectionate. August August

Figure 29: Transcription and Translation: Letter Durand to Sarasate, 25 March 1879

Berthe Marx-Goldschmidt

Goldschmidt married French pianist Berthe Marx (1857–1925).¹⁵⁹ Marx-Goldschmidt, as she often called herself, was a prominent pianist and although Sarasate continued to work with a variety of artists, she became his official accompanist. Reviews were often highly positive, one identifying the duo as 'a singularly perfect ensemble'. ¹⁶⁰ The trio (Sarasate, Goldschmidt and Marx) became inseparable and toured the world together. Concert programmes of recitals by both artists included not only Marx accompanying Sarasate, but also piano solo opportunities. As such, both artists would often receive praise and gifts from audience members, including royalty such as Queen Victoria who sent 'a diamond scarf-pin to Sarasate and a diamond and sapphire ring to Madame Berthe Marx, together with highly complimentary letters, as souvenirs of their visit to Balmoral on October 28 [1891]'. ¹⁶¹ After Goldschmidt's marriage to Marx, however, Sarasate's performances with orchestra diminished. Instead, he preferred to give recitals, a move that was nevertheless immensely successful and profitable. ¹⁶² *Le Ménestrel* reported on Sarasate's tour of England and Scotland between 18 October and 18 December 1890. They performed 31 concerts and earned 125,000 francs, which approximately equals to £306,909.32 today. ¹⁶³



Figure 30: Berthe Marx-Goldschmidt and Pablo de Sarasate c. 1890¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Berthe Marx dates in current research are printed as 1859–1925, but she was born 28 July 1857 and died 11 October 1925.

¹⁶⁰ 'Mr. Sarasate's concerts', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 31, no. 569 (1890), 409.

¹⁶¹ Aberdeen Evening Express, 28 November 1891.

¹⁶² Arbós, 321.

¹⁶³ Le Ménestrel, 21 December 1890.

¹⁶⁴ Reproduced by permission of JCB.

The trio were inseparable, but they also became the centre of gossip. Beatrix Whistler (wife of the painter, James McNeill Whistler) wrote in a letter of Sarasate being 'quite under the thumb of Goldschmidt', and the violinist's sister Paquita accused the manager of having taken advantage of the artist. However, the sister's remark was due to Sarasate's will. The trio became a very close family, and this was reflected in Sarasate's legacy: the violinist left his home in Biarritz to Berthilia Goldschmidt, daughter of Otto Goldschmidt and Berthe Marx, as well as 15,000 francs. He will contained a number of bequests and his two sisters were acknowledged, but the family disliked the Goldschmidts for the changes that Sarasate made to his will in later years, a resentment that is embodied in Natalia Trías Barco's *Pablo de Sarasate. Memorias Familiares*. He must be taken into account, however, that Sarasate did not always have a straightforward relationship with his biological family. The following letter, from Sarasate to his adoptive mother Ms Lassabathie, published in this work for the first time, was written prior to meeting Goldschmidt. Although many years had passed between this correspondence and his death, the letter aids in the understanding of his decisions. For clarity the whole paragraph has been transcribed:

I received the news of the forthcoming marriage of my youngest sister Paca!... At another time it would have given me great pleasure. Although she does not tell me when or with whom - she is the only one of my other parents whom I love, firstly because she does not resemble my other parents, and secondly because she is the only one who wrote to me during my great journey.¹⁶⁸

As the letter attests, Sarasate's biological family did not always maintain a close relationship with him. All of the available documentary sources by both Goldschmidt and Sarasate suggest that the manager had the utmost respect for the artist and his music. He was clearly devoted to the violinist's success and made decisions with Sarasate's best interests in mind. ¹⁶⁹ Furthermore, although Sarasate had begun to reach new heights as a violinist prior to his meeting Goldschmidt, it is impossible to ascertain how successful he might have been without his manager's business mind. Sarasate was clearly passionate about his violin playing but he was not as interested in the entrepreneurship elements of the career; unlike Paganini who kept detailed records. ¹⁷⁰ From business networking to organising his diary, Goldschmidt

_

¹⁶⁵ Letter Beatrix Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, Paris, [15/22 April 1894], GB-Gu, MS Whistler W619, with permission of University of Glasgow Archives & Special Collections and University of Glasgow Court; Francisca Sarasate, 'Recuerdos de Sarasate', *La Avalancha*, 8 June 1921, 127–128.

¹⁶⁶ Documents can be found in The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, but Sarasate's will is reproduced in full in Altaldil, *Memorias de Sarasate*, 604–608. Ferrer also discusses Sarasate's death and legacy in *Sarasate*. *El violin de Europa*, 511–518.

¹⁶⁷ Barco, Pablo de Sarasate. Memorias Familiares, 212–213.

¹⁶⁸ Letter Sarasate to Madame Lassabathie, New York, 27 December 1871, JCB.

¹⁶⁹ Ferrer, Sarasate, 221.

¹⁷⁰ Kawabata, Paganini, 79.

was the reason why Sarasate was able to concentrate on his violin alone. The manager's role in time transitioned into what is today a very big industry. 171

Goldschmidt's arrival in 1877 was crucial to Sarasate's career development, due to the manager's administerial and business talents with which he grew and maximised opportunities for the artist. By the time Sarasate met Goldschmidt, he had developed both from a professional and personal perspective. The talented violinist had begun to succeed internationally due to his ambition and work ethic, but he needed help navigating the business side of the industry. Furthermore, although Sarasate's image developed to a certain extent naturally due to his physical characteristics and audience expectations of the time, his first set of Spanish Dances was composed between 1877 and 1878. The violinist had experimented with Spanish themes previously, but these form his first set of Spanish-based encores, which were both sonically and visually virtuosic. These works helped in the establishment of the virtuosic and exoticized elements of his stage persona. It is not possible to determine whether the idea to maximise his Spanishness originated from Goldschmidt, Sarasate or the combination; nevertheless, the correlation between his association with Goldschmidt and the dates of these work's composition cannot be denied.

Sarasate experienced a great deal between his early studies at the Paris Conservatoire and 1877, with impactful events along the way. Sarasate's artistic development and his acknowledgement of his need of a business partner was in part due to his previous experiences. During his early transformative stages, he evolved from a young violinist to a mature artist. As this chapter has shown, his initial tours from 1869 to 1872 were crucial to his artistic development. The first interrogation of the newly discovered materials in combination with previously known sources has allowed for the provision of new insights, helping to deliver an updated and holistic understanding of Sarasate's artistic development. The violinist's early experiences transformed him and by 1877, at 33 years old, he finally began to see true success as the solo violinist that we know today.

¹⁷¹ See Weber, 'From the Self-Managing Musician to the Independent Concert Agent' in *The Musician as* Entrepreneur, 1700–1914, 105–129 and Paul Allen, Artist Management for the Music Business (New York: Routledge, 2018).

CHAPTER FOUR

Playing Sarasate's Violins: New Perspectives

Sarasate was a highly skilled player, with great technical command, paired with an aura of exoticism that indulged audiences' fantasies. Sarasate's distinctiveness and violinistic characteristics are the product of talent and commitment, but in order to provide a complete understanding of the violinist's capabilities and individuality, the instruments he played also need to be considered. Sarasate's violins are valuable instruments, because of this, they are not often played. Taking into consideration my experience as a violinist, who has performed on a variety of violins, I recognised the possibilities of evaluating Sarasate's instruments as a player. I gained exclusive permissions to closely observe and/or perform on all four of Sarasate's violins, in order to explore the distinct qualities of each instrument. Whilst studies have been undertaken to examine the violins' organological features, nobody has yet undertaken a systematic investigation of Sarasate's instruments, nor has anybody played and/or observed all four violins.¹

In 1908, at the time of his death, Sarasate owned four violins, a Gand & Bernardel instrument and a Vuillaume violin which were both bequeathed in 1909 to the Ayuntamiento de Pamplona, Spain, and two Stradivari; the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius which he bequeathed to the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música in Madrid and the 1724 *Sarasate* Stradivarius bequeathed to the Paris Conservatoire. The 1724 *Sarasate* Stradivarius was the violinist's main performing instrument, whilst the Vuillaume and 1713 *Boissier* were back-up instruments used at different times during his career. As the chapter discusses, the Gand & Bernardel violin was played but it was not one of Sarasate's regular instruments on stage.

Name/Maker	Year received	Dimensions	Currently	Location
(Year)	or purchased		Playable	
Gand & Bernardel	1857	Not available	No	Museo Sarasate, Pamplona
Vuillaume	1866	Not available	Yes	Museo Sarasate, Pamplona
Sarasate Stradivarius (1724)	1866	Length of back: 35.5 cm Upper bouts: 16.7 cm Middle bouts: 11.2 cm Lower bouts: 20.8 cm	No	Musée de la Musique, Paris
Boissier Stradivarius (1713)	1888	Length of back: 35.6 cm Upper bouts: 16.8 cm Middle bouts: 11.1cm Lower bouts: 20.7 cm	Yes	Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid

Table 9: Sarasate's violins

102

¹ Thank you to the staff at the Ayuntamiento de Pamplona, Archivo Municipal de Pamplona (AMP), Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid (E.M.c) and Musée de la Musique in Paris (F.P.cm) for their trust and support.

² Sarasate's testament can be found in El Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, Spain.

Choosing an instrument is a personal experience and it can take time to find the perfect partner, some players spend years searching.³ Musicians who rely on an external instrument will describe that it is not a foreign object but an extension of their body.⁴ In the particular case of stringed instruments, the familiarity unfolds from the initial hold with its particular dimensions to the feeling of the sound vibrating through the skin, and such closeness has the capacity to redirect the inner state of a player to an audience.⁵ A player's preferences as to the violin's size, quality of sound and projection capabilities, as well as the tactile interaction of the instrument are factors that must be considered, which is why not all violins are suited to all violinists. Sarasate's action of choosing, purchasing and keeping of a particular set of violins provides further information that has not yet been studied. Thus far, the violins have mostly been observed and discussed from the perspective of luthiers, curators, musicologists and organologists who, as David Schoenbaim explains, want 'to get the story right and keep things as they were'.⁶ The violins have been observed as the valuable individual objects that they are, but not as the particular chosen tools of a performer.

I had initially hoped to play all three of Sarasate's main performing instruments, in order to discover and define the features of each violin, as well as to establish any similarities or differences. This would not only provide new insight on the violins but also help to create new evidence on Sarasate's preferences and habits as a player. In order to achieve this thoroughly, it would have been necessary to play all three violins, the Vuillaume and both Stradivari. However, it was only possible to perform on the Vuillaume and the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius, as unfortunately the 1724 Stradivarius is not currently in a playable condition. Due to errors in past restorations, an attempt to play the violin now would most likely endanger the violin, and curators at the Musée de la Musique have made the decision not to restore it further, so as to avoid the risk of any additional damage. Nevertheless, I attended a meeting with curator Jean-Philippe Échard, thanks to whom I was able to view the violin upclose and establish some playing characteristics from various markings on the violin. Whilst it was not possible to play the 1724 Stradivarius, the playing of the Vuillaume and 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius provided insightful information on the instruments themselves, as well

_

³ Although many violinists have more than one violin, as Sarasate did, they will often have preference towards one particularly and use it as their main instrument on stage.

⁴ Mine Doğantan-Dack ed., 'The Piano as Artistic Collaborator' in *Rethinking the Musical Instrument* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2022), 5.

⁵ Göran Lundborg, *The Hand and the Brain: From Lucy's Thumb to the Thought-Controlled Robotic Hand* (Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 2013),141; Henrich Heine, 'Musikalische Saison in Paris', *Zeitungsberichte über Musik und Malerei*, ed. Michael Mann (Frankfurt am Main: Insel-Verlag, 1964), 145–6, quoted in and trans. Boris Schwarz, *Great Masters of the Violin: From Corelli and Vivaldi to Stern Zukerman and Perlman* (London: Hale, 1984), 23.

⁶ David Schoenbaum, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013), 8.

as new perceptions on Sarasate as a player. As there are qualities and characteristics that are best expressed through demonstration by playing, this chapter is supplemented by videos. These include this author's impressions and conclusions, as well as rare footage of Sarasate's violins being played live. Although the examination and performance on the violins are an essential part of this chapter, various details regarding the instruments' histories have been discovered, as well as a number of documents which are interrogated and made available for the first time through this work.

Approaching Sarasate's violins

In the 1950s and '60s Michael Polanyi developed the concept of tacit knowledge, based on the fact that 'we can know more than we can tell'. Further work by Donald Schön recognised that 'competent practitioners usually know more than they can say. They exhibit a kind of knowing-in-practice, most of which is tacit'. Since that time a discipline, which in the UK is called practice research, has taken its rightful place as a valuable methodological tool with which to interrogate music. My particular approach to Sarasate's violins blends theory and practice, aiming to generate new knowledge and perspectives. I synthesise my expertise and tacit knowledge, gained from my own practice as a violinist, with experiential evidence gleaned from interacting with Sarasate's violins. As Guy Claxton explains, practitioners cannot always articulate in words the 'know-how'. Embedded videos are included, as a deliberate bridge between theory and practice, additionally to demonstrate and share my research.

In order to maintain certain objectivity and attempt an equal approach to performing both the Vuillaume and the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius, the following parameters were maintained:

- The same recording equipment was utilised
- Videos were not edited or enhanced in order to attempt a realistic representation of the sound as it was live
- I performed on both violins with my own shoulder rest and bow
- There was no prior rehearsal to the documentary videos recorded

-

⁷ Michael Polanyi, *The Tacit Dimension* (London: Routledge, 1967), 4.

⁸ Donald A. Schön, *The Reflective Practitioner: How Practitioners Think in Action* (London, 1983; Aldershot: Ashgate 2/1991), viii; See also Henk Borgdorff, 'The Production of Knowledge in Artistic Research' in *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts* ed. Michael Biggs and Henrik Karlsson (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010/R2012), 44–63.

⁹ Guy Claxton, 'The Anatomy of Intuition' in *The Intuitive Practitioner: On The Value of Not Always Knowing What One is Doing*, ed. Terry Atkinson and Guy Claxton (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000), 32–52, 35.

• Similar extracts of repertoire which were also performed by Sarasate were played. These include: Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, fragments of Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* in D minor op. 21, Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20 and *Zapateado* op. 23 no. 2

The goal of playing Sarasate's violins was to discover their features, their potential, and allocate (if found), characteristics that can enhance the current research on Sarasate's violins and his playing. However, this study does not intend to replicate Sarasate's playing or instruct violinists on his exact manner of playing. Although the violins can provide information, it must be noted that for example, my hands and their approach to pressure of the bow on the violin will realistically be different to Sarasate's. The protagonists are the violins, which were played in the manner of the violinist that I am. Thus, the videos represent my personal style of playing. Although I was aware of nineteenth century practices, and I have indeed been influenced by my research, my style of playing is my own. I did not attempt to perform on the violins as Sarasate would, unless I explicitly aimed to illustrate a particular feature of his playing. This decision was also made due to the understanding that my experience with the violins would be somewhat different to Sarasate's. I performed on violins that have been restored, they have been set up with a modern chin rest, and I played with my own shoulder rest and bow. The videos aim to present the violins and their individuality.

Although the attempt was made to maintain as many similarities as possible when playing the violins, there were certain details out of my control such as available time with the instrument and the room's acoustics. Table 10 displays some of these characteristics. As there was limited time with both instruments, I began recording from the first moment I played each violin. Thus, the videos also illustrate how I got used to the instruments in a very short period of time. In the case of the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius, due to the violin's conservation guidelines and Covid-19 restrictions which had only just begun to be lifted at the time of the visit, my time with the violin was limited to 1 hour.

	Vuillaume	1713 Boissier Stradivarius	
Location	Museo Sarasate, Pamplona	Museum of the Real	
		Conservatorio Superior de	
		Música de Madrid	
Space	Rectangular room/high ceilinged	Square room/ high ceilinged	
Room Acoustics	-Supportive	-Supportive	
	-Low reverberation	-Medium reverberation (slightly	
	-Sound projected easily	boomy)	
	-Clear	-Sound projected easily	
	-Minimal background noise	-Clear	
	_	-Minimal background noise	
Length of session for video	2 hours	1 hour	
recording			

Table 10: Details of video recording sessions with Sarasate's violins

The videos were recorded in the location in which the violins are kept: the Vuillaume in the Museo Sarasate, Pamplona and the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius in the Museum of the Real Conservatorio Superior de Música de Madrid. Although these were different locations, they were comfortable spaces to play in. As Table 10 illustrates, the acoustics of both rooms felt similar, with the only difference being that the space in Madrid was somewhat boomier. However, both spaces provided good support for the violins and they can be heard clearly.

My approach prioritises the perspective of a performing violinist, but certain organological references are made. Dimensions are provided for both Stradivari, but it has not been possible to confirm and include the dimensions for the Vuillaume and the Gand & Bernardel violins. Additionally, this study does not delve into the details of the violins' restoration process, as this task is best suited to a luthier. However, particulars that are pertinent to this work, such as characteristics regarding the current state of the 1724 *Sarasate* Stradivarius have been included. Due to their current status, it was not possible to play the Gand & Bernardel violin and the 1724 *Sarasate* Stradivarius. Therefore, a more observational approach was taken with these violins. However, it was still possible to extract evidence from the violins and combine it with new documentary sources, resulting in the furthering of current knowledge on all four violins.

J. B. Vuillaume Violin

The Museo de Pablo Sarasate in Pamplona, Spain holds Sarasate's Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume violin, which was bequeathed by the violinist alongside his Gand & Bernardel. According to Altadil and the Museo Sarasate, the violinist owned his Vuillaume from 1866, which is why it is also assumed that its purchase was that same year. 12 There is currently no record of the Vuillaume's purchase, but a letter from Sarasate to Ms Lassabathie on 28 July 1871 confirms that the owner of the instrument was Ms Lassabathie, Sarasate's adoptive mother: 'Your Vuillaume has undergone a profound improvement. It is now a very beautiful violin that has had the honour of going into battle with its master several times already, in front of magnificent audiences. I baptised this gentleman in Lima, at Carlotta's benefit concert. He no longer has any fear'. 13

.

¹⁰ Examples of a more organological approach to the violins include: Roberto Jardón Rico, George Stoppani, 'Analysing the 'Boissier, Sarasate': Stradivari à la mode', *The Strad*, 15 December 2023. https://www.thestrad.com/for-subscribers/analysing-the-boissier-sarasate-stradivari-a-la-mode/17356.article (accessed 19 August 2024); Échard, Jean-Philippe, 'Reconstructing the History of the 1724 'Sarasate' Stradivarius Violin, with Some Thoughts on the Use of Sources in Violin Provenance Research', *Galpin Society Journal*, 73, (March 2020), 111–132.

¹¹ Further details are provided below.

¹² Altadil, *Memorias*, 516.

¹³ Letter, Newport, 28 July 1871, US-R.



Figure 31: Sarasate's Vuillaume violin in the Museo Pablo Sarasate, Pamplona

It is established that Sarasate played with the Vuillaume violin from 1866, and he travelled with both the Vuillaume and his 1724 Stradivarius until 1888, when he purchased his second Stradivarius, the 1713 *Boissier*, which replaced the Vuillaume as back-up violin. ¹⁴ It is not possible, however, to ascertain which violin/s Sarasate performed with prior to 1866, but one can speculate that he performed in one or various of the following plausible options: the violin with which he entered the Conservatoire, the Gand & Bernardel prized violin which bears markings that prove the violin had been played often, and/or a loaned violin from his professor Jean-Delphin Alard, Vuillaume or the Conservatoire. ¹⁵ The surviving Gand & Bernardel ledgers show that Sarasate did not purchase nor repair any instruments during the time in question, thus at first glance, he did not yet own any additional instruments.

Although the 1724 Stradivarius was his main instrument, he performed on the Vuillaume violin on many occasions. Correspondence between Sarasate and Ms Lassabathie during his first North and South America tour shows an appreciation for both violins. The 22 April 1870 Sarasate describes an incident in which he fell off a set of stairs on his way to the stage. Fortunately, the Stradivarius only suffered external damage, broken strings and a

_

¹⁴ Altadil, Loc. cit.

¹⁵ A loan of a violin from one of these individuals and/or institutions would not be out of place. Alard was Vuillaume's son in law, and to this day, conservatoires regularly loan out instruments to promising players.

collapsed bridge, which although dangerous it is not comparable to a crushed instrument.¹⁶ Sarasate who suffered minor injuries picked up his Vuillaume violin and continued to perform the concert.

The following segments below confirm that Gand & Bernardel was Sarasate's main locale for repair and acquiring accessories, but the violinist purchased both his Vuillaume and the 1724 Stradivarius from Vuillaume, one of the best makers in Paris, who was also a renowned inventor. This indicates that Vuillaume was centred on violin making and dealing, but not completing minor repairs or selling accessories such as strings. He was a skilled maker, who demanded the best from his workers. Alongside scientist Felix Savart, he tested and experimented on many violins, leading the research on violin making and makers such as Stradivarius and Giuseppe Guarneri. He also restored violins in order to update them to the playing requirements of the time. Vuillaume violins are still distinguished today, in 2021 Ingles & Hayday sold an instrument for £384,000. Moreover, various international artists continue to choose Vuillaume's designs as their main performing instrument. Hilary Hahn plays on an 1865 Vuillaume violin. On the violine of the violine violine violine.

Due to a previous restoration process on Sarasate's Vuillaume, it was possible not only to see the instrument up-close, but to receive the rare opportunity to perform on the violin. The restoration was completed in 2008 by luthier Zeljko Haliti with the purpose of updating the violin so as to be used in specific performances with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Navarra. A previous restoration took place in 1993 by Patxi Atozki, in preparation for a performance by Ruggiero Ricci. Newspapers in 2008 such as *Diario de Navarra*, shared the apprehensions felt by

¹⁶ Letter, New York, 22 April 1870, US-R.

¹⁷ John Dilworth, 'The violin and bow – Origins and Development' in *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin* ed. Robin Stowell, 19; See also Ernest N. Doring and Harvey S. Whistler, *Jean Baptiste Vuillaume of Paris* (Chicago: William Lewis & Son, 1961); Roger Millant, *J. B. Vuillaume: Sa vie et son Oeuvre* (London: Hill, 1972).

François-Joseph Fétis, Notice of Anthony Stradivari the Celebrated Violin-Maker: Known by the Name of Stradivarius: Preceded by Historical and Critical Researches on the Origin and Transformations of Bow Instruments; and Followed by a Theoretical Analysis of the Bow and Remarks on Francis Tourte, trans. John Bishop. (London: Cocks, 1864), 76; David Pantalony, Altered Sensations: Rudolph Koenig's Acoustical Workshop in Nineteenth-Century Paris (Dordrecht: Springer, 2009), 8.

¹⁹ 'The Price History Archives', *Tarisio*, https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/price-history/?Maker_ID=809 (accessed 19 August 2024).

²⁰ 'Hilary Hahn, J. B. Vuillaume, 1865', *Tarisio*, https://tarisio.com/digital_exhibition/hilary-hahn-j-b-vuillaume-1865/ (accessed 19 August 2024).

²¹ Loc. cit; See also: 'Preocupación por el violin de Sarasate', Docenotas.com, 1 October 2008, https://www.docenotas.com/2379/preocupacion-por-el-violin-de-pablo-sarasate/ (accessed 20 August 2024); 'El violín Vuillaume, que perteneció a Pablo Sarasate, restaurado esta mañana en Pamplona', Europa Press Nacional, 27 May 2008. https://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-violin-vuillaume-pertenecio-pablo-sarasate-restaurado-manana-pamplona-20080527140856.html (accessed 23 August 2024).

²² 'El Gremio de Luthieres alerta de un "daño irreparable" a un violín de Pablo Sarasate', *Diario de Navarra*, 5 November 2008, https://www.diariodenavarra.es/archivo/actualidad/20081105/culturaysociedad/el-gremio-luthieres-alerta-dano-irreparable-violin-pablo-sarasate.html (accessed 15 August 2024); Ricci released a Sarasate tribute album in 1994 on Dynamic label.

various associations that believed the restoration could have damaged the violin. This sentiment translates to the current debate of whether instruments should be maintained in their original form or be restored so as to be in condition to be played and heard, as per the purpose for which they were made for. The Director of the Culture Department in Pamplona of the time, Teresa Lasheras, confirmed that the violin was in perfect condition, and it remained so during my visit. As the celebrations for Sarasate's anniversary were approaching in September 2018, I was invited to perform a concert at the Palacio del Condestable with the Vuillaume violin.

Although the violin was in very good condition due to its previous restorations, the strings on the Vuillaume were not in playing condition and needed replacing. However, there was no prior access to the violin before the video recordings, and the performance was the following day, which directly impacted the choice of strings that could be used. Consequently, I selected a set of Pirastro Passione Solo strings. These are gut strings that I have previously used in performance, they are immediately playable and stay in tune longer than other gut strings.²³ With my chosen set of strings I aimed to maintain a gut string impression but with modern applications which allowed the strings to settle nearly instantaneously and provided projection and brilliance in tone. The strings adapted quickly and complemented Sarasate's Vuillaume violin superbly.²⁴

The video <u>Pablo de Sarasate's Violins</u>, <u>Part 1</u> is the first audio-visual entry of this project's objective to review and further understand Sarasate's violins. It begins with a more indepth look at Sarasate's Vuillaume and includes short performances of music specifically selected to provide an overall impression of the violin, demonstrate its sound qualities in different registers and its response to a variety of techniques.²⁵

Playing Sarasate's Vuillaume

The Vuillaume violin had not been played since Tianwa Yang recorded Sarasate's works with the Orquesta Sinfónica de Navarra in 2013.²⁶ Because of this, my first impression upon picking up the violin was not surprising, the violin felt as if it was asleep, but it also clearly had ample potential. The performances that are provided in <u>Pablo de Sarasate's Violins</u>, <u>Part 1</u> are video recordings which were taken immediately, so they not only showcase the violin but also the experience of the violin opening up as it is being played. As the player, I experienced clear growth in sound projection and ease of

²³ 'Passione Solo Violin Strings', *Pirastro*, https://www.pirastro.com/public_pirastro/pages/en/Passione-Solo-00001/ (accessed 22 August 2024).

²⁴ For further descriptions in playing with gut or steel strings see David Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 10–11.

²⁵ Henceforth, click on the blue text to watch supplementary videos.

²⁶ The collection comprises of 4 CDs which were recorded in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2013; Tianwa Yang, *Sarasate: Complete Works for Violin & Piano*, Tianwa Yang, Hadulla. Naxos 8504054, 2018, 4 CDs; This chapter does not include a comparison between Yang's performances and mine due to the strong possibility that the sound in Yang's recordings has been edited.

playing from the first instance of playing the violin until my session concluded 2 hours later, proving that carefully playing these rare instruments can maintain their quality. The sound produced by the violin was at the beginning deep and dark, especially in the G string, a quality that did not surprise me, having played on other French violins in the past, such as Amati Mangenot. However, as my session continued and I got to know the instrument, the sound developed a variety of colours, as well as a balanced and sweet quality, which was maintained even in the higher registers. This is proven most clearly during the short fragment of Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2.

According to Altadil, the Vuillaume violin was made specifically for Sarasate.²⁷ If it was indeed built specially for Sarasate, then Vuillaume might have had his qualities and physical characteristics in mind. ²⁸ Although not rare in French violins, the body and neck felt longer in comparison to my own Italian violin, which meant that the hand had longer distances to travel, and the spaces between fingers were also larger.²⁹ The video Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 1 contains a visual explanation. Additionally, the body was also thicker than what I am used to, thus in order to reach higher positions, I had to stretch my hand and wrist more. A similar comparison can be made between the Vuillaume and the 1713 Boissier Stradivarius. Figure 32 and 33 are pictures of the bodies of both violins in playing position, which can exemplify visually the difference in the body's width between the instruments.

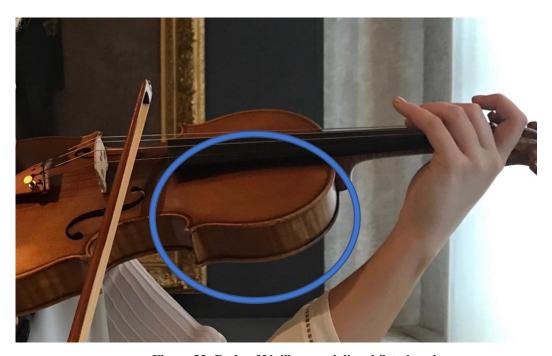


Figure 32: Body of Vuillaume violin whilst played

²⁷ Altadil, *Memorias*, 516.

²⁸ Ihid

²⁹ Dimensions are not available for all of the instruments under the discussion. The videos provided assist further in the illustration of stated differences in size between the violins.



Figure 33: Body of 1713 Boissier Stradivarius whilst played

The video illustrates my impressions and playing of the violin from the first encounter with the instrument, thus the performances also show the process of getting used to the instrument. Even though the violin felt larger to me, it was not difficult to play, there was ease to it, even in high registers, and it projected well without too much effort. A generous sound came out lightly without needing to apply too much weight on the bow. This attests to Sarasate's light touch on the fingerboard, resulting in non-marked left-hand fingers, as the violin does not require the application of much weight on either hand. Moreover, he was known for having a light and sweet sound, and as his recordings attest, he used vibrato selectively, therefore he would have utilised the natural qualities of his violins.³⁰ The video also provides a comparison of fragments played on the violin with continuous vibrato, selected use of vibrato and tempo fluctuations, due to the differences in style of the time and so as to provide broader examples on the violin.

The following day, a violin and piano talk-recital took place with pianist Mark Kinkaid in the Palacio del Contestable, Pamplona for the 110th anniversary of Sarasate's death, a selection of works by the composer were selected for the occasion.³¹ Figure 34 displays the concert programme of the event on the anniversary of his death 20 September 2018, titled 'Sarasate's violin sings once again'. In the spirit of Sarasate's performances, the concert concluded with a number of encores which included Sarasate's *Caprice Basque* op. 24.

-

³⁰ See Chapter 6 for a full analysis of Sarasate's recordings.

³¹ 'Homenaje este jueves a Pablo Sarasate con motivo del 110° aniversario de su fallecimiento', *Europa Press Navarra*, 19 Septembre 2018, https://www.europapress.es/navarra/noticia-homenaje-jueves-pablo-sarasate-motivo-110-aniversario-fallecimiento-20180919185404.html (accessed 18 August 2024).

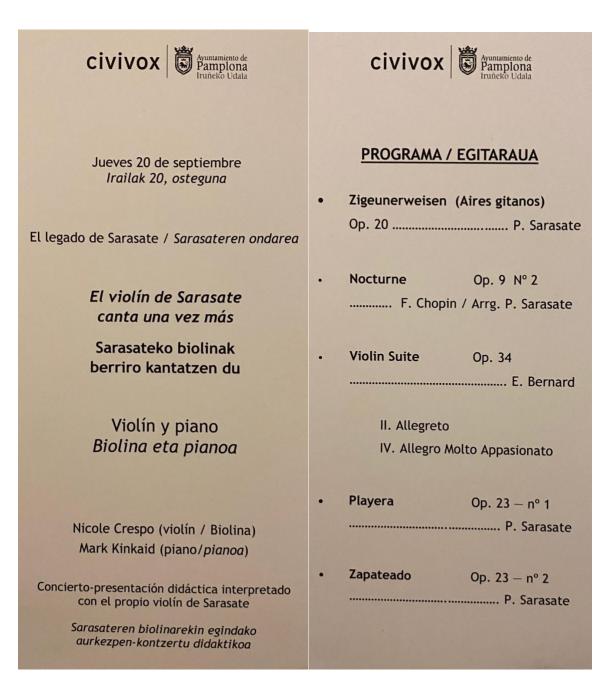


Figure 34: Concert Programme – 20 September 2018, Pamplona

Before the concert, I was provided further access to the violin in order to rehearse with my piano accompanist. By the time of the performance, the distances within the violin were more familiar, as was the range in colour and sound. Overall, having only had a few hours to play, get to know the instrument and for the strings to settle, the resultant performance exhibited the beautiful qualities of the violin excellently. More time with the instrument would have certainly provided a better understanding of the violin's capabilities. Nevertheless, the experience of performing live on Sarasate's Vuillaume violin was extraordinary. The image in Figure 35 below links to a video with highlights from this concert.³²

-

³² Additional link to video 'Pablo Sarasate's Vuillaume Live in Concert': https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dtpblh2Ea_A; The performance was attended by Javier Trías de Mena, Sarasate's grand-nephew (1921–2021).



Figure 35: Video – Highlights of live performance on Sarasate's Vuillaume

The performance also included Emile Bernard's *Suite* op. 34 discovered amongst Sarasate's recital programmes. No other performance or recording of the piece has been located since the late nineteenth century.³³ As per Sarasate's programmes, I used the nineteenth-century concert practice of performing individual movements of works, thus only two movements were played: the second movement *Allegretto* and the fourth movement *Tempo Giusto*.³⁴ As per the short documentary and performances provided, certain qualities in the Vuillaume violin did suggest characteristics of Sarasate's playing. The violin's response and power capability, without too much bow pressure helps to understand the violinist's light touch on both hands, the violin's ease and sophisticated sound in high registers reasons as to the abundant high register passages in Sarasate's compositions, and lastly, a verification of his reputation of an elegant sound aided by a beautifully sounding violin.

The museum in Pamplona also holds various bows which belonged to Sarasate. A violinist's bow is as important as the violin, as sound production can differ according to the bow used. These have not been restored and they are kept in the condition in which they were bequeathed, thus they are for display only. Correspondence between Sarasate and Ms Lassabathie confirms that he had an additional bow during his North and South America tour with an embedded ruby and it was owned by Ms Lassabathie. The bow which is illustrated in Figure 36 was donated to the Cabildo de la Basílica del Pilar de Zaragoza and can be found displayed in the Museo Pilarista. Even if Sarasate's bows had

35 Letter Sarasate to Ms Lassabathie, Newport. 28 July 1871, US-R.

³³ Sarasate also performed Emile Bernard's Violin Concerto; *Le Ménestrel*, 19 October 1890.

³⁴ Further link to video: https://youtu.be/awiCu6e4F0M

³⁶ ©Carlos Moncín/Archivo Heraldo de Aragón. Reproduced by permission of Heraldo de Aragón, https://www.heraldo.es/multimedia/imagenes/aragon/el-joyero-el-coro-y-el-organo-entre-sus-rincones-masbonitos/8/, (accessed 18 August 2024).

been available, it would have been best to play with my own bow and shoulder rest in order to maintain certain neutrality in the playing of the different violins. Moreover, as there was a limited time to get used to the violin, it was also best to perform with a bow and set up that I was familiar with. The Vuillaume violin responded extremely well and as it has been explored, it produced a warm and graceful sound.



Figure 36: Sarasate's bow decorated with a ruby

The Boissier Stradivarius, 1713

Sarasate originally bequeathed the *Boissier* Stradivarius to the South Kensington Museum in London (now the Victoria and Albert Museum), but as per his testament, the violin is now in the Museum of the Conservatorio Superior Real de Música de Madrid. ³⁷ Similarly to Sarasate's Vuillaume, the *Boissier* Stradivarius has undergone a restoration process, updating it according to twentieth century criteria. The original bridge from Caressa Français was replaced in the 1990s with an example that is higher. Additionally, the fingerboard was elongated, and the instrument's tailpiece, nut and pegs were replaced. ³⁸ The instrument's restoration process signifies that the violin, although not played regularly, is in playing condition and I was given the rare opportunity to observe up-close and perform on this instrument. ³⁹

As per the previous experience with the Vuillaume, the *Boissier* Stradivarius was chosen by Sarasate and some of the instrument's qualities are transferable. In this scenario, the violin already had strings which were in good condition, a set of Thomastik: Peter Infeld strings, so there was no need to change them. These are a mixture of synthetic core and

³⁷ Sarasate's testament can be found at the Archivo Municipal of Pamplona.

³⁸ For further details see E.M.c, Ficha 9, https://rcsmm.eu/museo/?aid=coleccion&categoria=stradivarius (accessed 20 August 2024).

³⁹ Thank you to I. Saúl Pérez-Juana del Casal and the Real Conservatorio de Música de Madrid for this opportunity.

stainless steel, in comparison to those added previously to the Vuillaume which were gut strings. The difference between strings is not only in the sound produced but also in the initial touch and pressure from the bow. As William Primrose explains, steel strings often require more tension than gut strings, so the pressure of the bow on the string, and consequently, the sound produced is different. 40 Following Primrose's reasoning, the pressure the player needs to apply to the string on the 1713 Stradivarius is more than that which Sarasate would have needed to apply, thus reconfirming Sarasate's lighter touch. Notwithstanding, having the Peter Infeld strings on the *Boissier* Stradivarius, as well as its restored set-up signified that my experience with the violin was instantly familiar and comfortable.

Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 2 includes footage of performances on the 1713 Boissier Stradivarius in Madrid. The selected compositions are the same to those played with the Vuillaume violin, so as to deliver a simpler comparison of the violins to the listener. The chosen repertoire assists in providing a complete impression of the violins. In addition to the general aim of discovering the characteristics of Sarasate's violins, with the 1713 Stradivarius, I had the supplementary particular goal to discover the reason why Sarasate experienced difficulties with the violin, which according to the violinist, did not respond to him completely. In 1890, two years after Sarasate had purchased the violin, he shared that he had yet not played the instrument in public, as it had so far remained insensitive to his touch. 41 However, his appreciation for the instrument is assured as he also stated that he was keeping the violin for life and refused to sell it. 42 Unfortunately, due to Sarasate's preference towards the 1724 Stradivarius, he rarely played the Boissier in public.

In comparison to the Vuillaume, the *Boissier* had a thinner body, which made quick changes of position easier. 43 This is particularly noticeable in Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's Nocturne during the final cadenza, as the left hand can drop down seamlessly. Musical Example 1 illustrates the fragment which ascends and then descends quickly across the E string. This feature is also visible during the rapid leaps in Sarasate's Zapateado. Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 2 contains performances of these particular extracts as well as further explanations on my own violin.



Example 1: Chopin/Sarasate *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, cadenza

⁴⁰ David Dalton, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*, 111.

⁴¹ Le Ménestrel, 15 June 1890.

⁴² Loc. cit.

⁴³ An example of this can be viewed in the video.

The following two photographs also help illustrate this particular characteristic. The photographs are screenshots from video footage in which I am playing Chopin's *Nocturne*, on Sarasate's Vuillaume (Figure 37) and the *Boissier* Stradivarius (Figure 38). These pictures display the same moment in the music in which I reach a g" on the E string with the fourth finger. As the photos illustrate, when playing on the Vuillaume, as the body of the violin is thicker, my left hand and arm come out more, whilst on the Boissier Stradivarius reaching the same note does not require as much of a pronounced movement. Overall, my hand, both arms and body are visibly more relaxed in Figure 38. The distances between the notes were also larger than on my own violin, yet similar to the Vuillaume, this is because the violin's body was larger as per Stradivarius' design. Thus, these were the distances that Sarasate was used to.



Figure 37: Sarasate/Chopin Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 Figure 38: Sarasate/Chopin's Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 on Vuillaume on Boissier Stradivarius

The videos also illustrate my own progressive adaptation to the violin. Even though it had to occur rapidly, as I had never played this particular violin before, there was an ease to playing it. Many great violins act as amplifiers of the player's idiosyncrasies, and in the case of Stradivari's instruments they often respond and react to the player's most minimal movements, creating an unlimited supply of colour. This was certainly the case with the Boissier Stradivarius. Similarly, Joachim commented on the tone of Stradivari instruments that they have 'unlimited capacity for expressing the most varied accents of feeling'. 44

⁴⁴ W.E. Hill & Sons, The 'Tuscan'. A Short Account of a Violin by Stradivari (W. E. Hill & Sons: London,

^{1891), 7–8.}

Another of the *Boissier*'s particularly impressive characteristics is the ease with which it projected a sonorous sound. Although the room was resonant which provided good support, the violin's power was apparent. It is unquestionably capable of filling a big hall with less effort from the right hand than that needed for other instruments. As well as powerful, the *Boissier* Stradivarius has a vibrant, pure and very clear sound throughout all the different registers. This is most notable during Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* which can be found in the video linked above. The violin produced, nearly effortlessly, a unique brilliance in the sound even in the highest of registers, most specifically in the E string. Although the G string also has a very clear sound, its particular feature is its sweetness. Similarly to the Vuillaume, the 1713 Stradivarius continued to improve and open up as it was played.

Although recent restorations and additions such as a more comfortable chin rest and shoulder rest must be considered, I was extremely surprised at the quality and beauty of the violin from another violinist's perspective. Sarasate's reluctance to perform on the violin must be the result of the violin having needed further restoration, and/or the fact that he bought the instrument at the age of 44. As a more mature man, very used to his 1724 Stradivarius, it could be speculated that he was not capable or willing to adapt. However, the violin is not at fault, and it is one of the most beautiful and balanced sounding violins that I have played.

New Documentary Evidence concerning the *Boissier Stradivarius*, 1713

Until 1888 Sarasate toured and performed with both his Vuillaume and the 1724 Stradivarius. However, in 1888 he purchased a second Stradivarius, the 1713 *Boissier*, which according to Fétis and the Hill's brothers it is one of the highest calibre Stradivari. ⁴⁶ This violin replaced the Vuillaume as the back-up instrument and henceforth he regularly travelled with both Stradivari. Both of these violins are often misidentified in the available literature: Gilbert Chase states 'the violin in which he [Sarasate] played was a Stradivarius of 1724, known as the 'Boissier de Geneve', which he bought in 1866'. ⁴⁷ Sarasate indeed bought the 1724 Stradivarius in 1866, but the name 'Boissier de Geneve' refers to the 1713 Stradivarius now under discussion. Additionally, Fran J. Marber's attribution of 1808 to Sarasate's purchase of the *Boissier* is erroneous. However, it could be an editorial error, as Sarasate was born in 1844, making the suggested date implausible. ⁴⁸

_

⁴⁵ As previously mentioned, the videos have not been edited in order to provide a clear and comparable representation of the sound produced.

⁴⁶ Fétis, *Notice of Anthony Stradivari*, 59.

⁴⁷ Gilbert Chase, *The Music of Spain* (New York: Dover Publications, 1959), 217.

⁴⁸ Fran J. Marber, *Stradivarius*. *El lugar donde Descansa el Alma* (Alicante: Editorial Club Universitario, 2017), 244.

Figures 39 and 40 illustrate newly discovered documents belonging to Goldschmidt's family private archive.⁴⁹ These concern Sarasate's purchase of the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius and are examined through this work for the first time. Figure 39 is a copy of the receipt received by Sarasate for the 1713 Stradivarius, which states a price of 25,000 francs, unlike the published amount in *Le Ménestrel* of 23,000 francs.⁵⁰

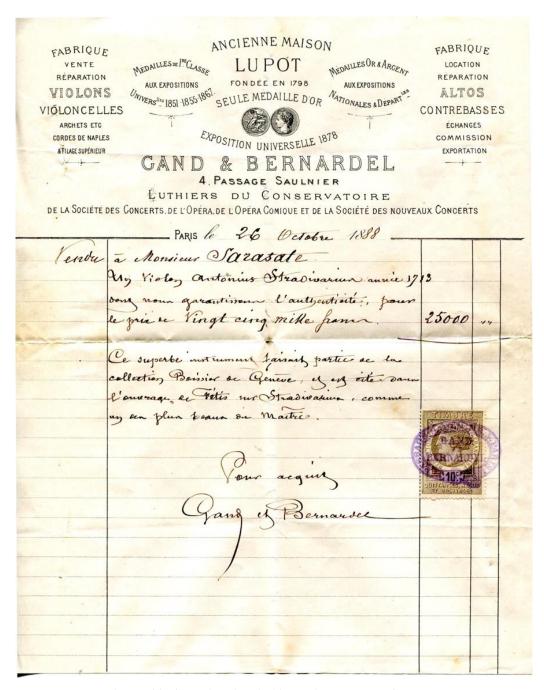


Figure 39: Stradivarius 1713 receipt – sold to Sarasate

⁴⁹ Reproduced by permission of JCB.

⁵⁰ Le Ménestrel, 15 June 1890.

The following is a transcription and translation of the text in Figure 39:

Paris, 26 October 1888

Sold to Mr. Sarasate.

An Antonius Stradivarius violin, year 1713 of which we guarantee the authenticity, for the price of 25,000 francs. This superb instrument was part of The Boissier de Geneve's collection, and it was cited in Fétis' work on Stradivarius, as one of the most beautiful [violins] by the maestro.

Figure 40 is Gand & Bernardel's receipt of cash for the 1713 Stradivarius.⁵¹ August Durand, one of Sarasate's publishers in Paris, gave the firm cash in hand of 12,000 francs on behalf of Sarasate. A letter from Durand to Sarasate in 1879 confirms a close relationship between the publisher and both Sarasate and his manager, Otto Goldsmichdt.⁵² Therefore, the transaction via Durand's hand is not unexpected.

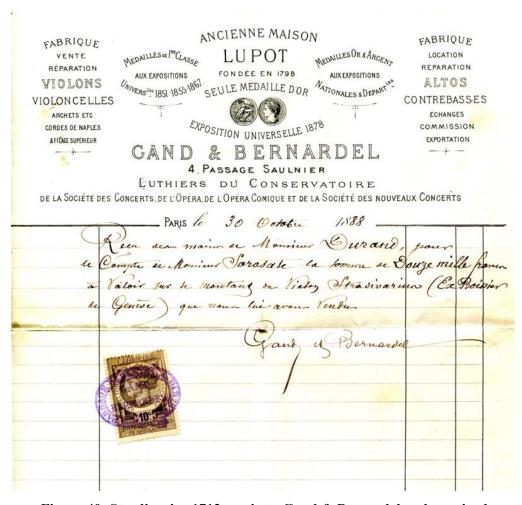


Figure 40: Stradivarius 1713 receipt – Gand & Bernardel cash received

-

⁵¹ Reproduced by permission of JCB.

⁵² Autograph letter signed Durand to Sarasate, Paris, 25 March 1879, D949.S243, US-NYpm.

The following is a transcription and translation of the text in Figure 40:

Received by hand of Mr. Durand, on behalf of Mr Sarasate the sum of 12.000 francs, to be used towards the amount of the Stradivarius violin (ex Boissier de Geneve) that we have sold him.

Although the receipt of the violin is for 25,000 francs, the business owners Gand & Bernardel, sold the violin to Sarasate without profit, as Altadil states.⁵³ Sarasate's account in the Gand & Bernardel ledgers from 1888 to 1892 also shows a purchase of two bows for 150 francs each and a custom-made double case, which are illustrated in Figure 41 below.⁵⁴

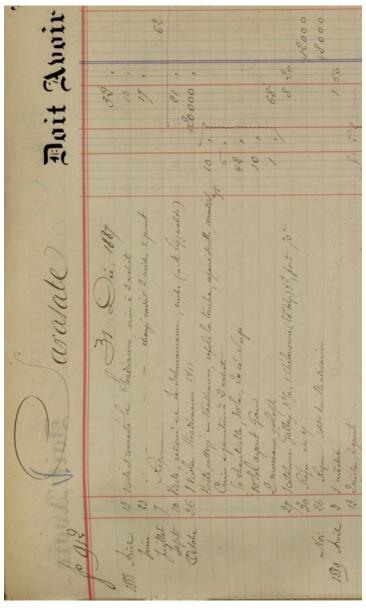


Figure 41: Fragment of Sarasate's account in Gand & Bernardel's ledger (1888–1892)

_

⁵³ Altadil, 513.

⁵⁴ *Grand Livre 1888–1892*, AMPP.

Whilst no other similar documents have been found concerning the acquisition of the instrument, the Gand & Bernardel ledgers confirm Sarasate's purchase in two instalments totalling 20,000 francs:⁵⁵

	Amount	Date	Notes
First instalment	12,000 francs	30 October 1888	Handed in via Durand
Second instalment	8,000 francs	26 November 1888	-
Total	20,000 francs	-	-

Table 11: Details of Sarasate's purchase of 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius

Although Sarasate's purchase of the Stradivarius might have been a considerable amount for the time, it does not compare to what a violin of such calibre by the same maker can reach at auction today. The purchasing power of 20,000 francs in 1870 would approximately equal in 2024 to £78,310.33.⁵⁶ In comparison, in the 1980s various Stradivari were sold for £100,000–£200,000, whilst in recent years they have reached from £1 million to £9.8 million, the amount for which the Lady Blunt was sold in auction in 2011.⁵⁷

The Gand & Bernardel Violin, Strings and Luthiers

Sarasate was admitted to the Paris Conservatoire on the 14 January 1856 and in the years that followed he won a number of prizes in a variety of fields.⁵⁸ Students at the Conservatoire would aim to win as many prizes as possible in order to prove their excellence and improve their future prospects.⁵⁹ The competitions were very well attended and noteworthy periodicals such as *Le Ménestrel* and *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* published the results, hence winning assured exposure in the newspapers.⁶⁰ The Conservatoire had a very competitive system of exams and awards in which a student could be expelled if they had not been entered for an end of year competition after two and a half years of study, which is why they often awarded several prizes in each category.⁶¹ In 1857 Sarasate was awarded the Premier Prix for

⁵⁵ Grand Livre 1888–1892. E. 981.8.27, AMPP, 361.

⁵⁶ In the 1820s, 25.50 francs approximated £1. Thus, 20,000 francs equals £784.3; 'Inflation calculator'. *The Bank of England.* https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator (accessed 25 August 2024); Faber, *Stradivarius: Five Violins, One Cello and a Genius*, 266–267.

⁵⁷ 'Price History: Stradivari, Antonio', *Tarisio*. https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/price-history/?Maker_ID=722 (accessed 19 August 2024); 'Stradivarius violin sold for £9.8. at charity auction', *BBC News*, 21 June 2011. https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-13852872 (accessed 20 August 2024).

⁵⁸ Yvette Isselin, *Manuscrits musicaux du Conservatoire de Musique de Paris*, 1819–1925. AJ/37/197–204 & 259 (Paris: Archives Nationales, 2004); *Revue et Gazette Musicale*, 26 July 1857.

⁵⁹ 'The Public Competitions at the Conservatoire - Paris, August 2, 1880', *Musical Review*, Vol. 2, April to October 1880, 224–225.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ 'Art. 85', Règlement du conservatoire de Musique et de Déclamation; 22 Novembre 1850 in Constant Pierre, Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents Historiques et Administratifs / Recueillis ou Reconstitués (Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1900), 259.

violin and was the sole recipient of the first prize. The decision was met with protest by the audience, even though in the previous year another student of Alard's, Joseph White (1835–1918), had also won the only first prize.⁶² The reaction was counteracted by a press release in which Sarasate's victory was defended. It stated: 'not only does this child play the violin like a master, but he is a musician like music; with a perfect taste, with feeling, with style'.⁶³ As Ferrer notes, both Sarasate's and Altadil's recollection of the prize announcement was that it drew great applause, in opposition to the statements published by Parisian periodicals.⁶⁴ Whether this is simply the memory of a young person, or a purposefully changed story is unknown. Nevertheless, Sarasate won the first prize and as was customary, the winner was gifted a violin made by the luthiers Gand Frères, illustrated in Figure 42 below.⁶⁵



Figure 42: Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin, Pamplona

-

⁶² Revue et Gazette Musicale, 2 August 1857.

^{63 &}quot; ... Non-seulement cet enfant joue du violon comme un maitre, mais il est musicien comme la musique... avec un gout parfait, avec sentiment, avec style... Entre le jeune Sarasate et eux, il y avait la même différence qu'entre un virtuose de premier ordre, un Rode, un Lafont, un de Bériot...". Paul Smith (P.S) (pseudonyme Édouard Monnais). 'Conservatoire Impérial de Musique et de Déclamation. Concours public', *Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris*, 9 August 1857; Paul Bernard. 'Concours du Conservatoire. Deuxième article', *Le Ménestrel*, 2 August 1857.

⁶⁴ Altadil, *Memorias*, 19; Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 61–68.

⁶⁵ The tradition of awarding instruments as competition prizes still remains today in particular events.

The House of Gand & Bernardel had several owners throughout their history, therefore their business' name also changed. Sarasate was bestowed the Gand & Bernardel violin as prize winner by *Gand Frères* and in his testament, he names the instrument 'my Gand violin'. ⁶⁶ Figure 43 lists the workshop owners and their title changes during Sarasate's lifetime.

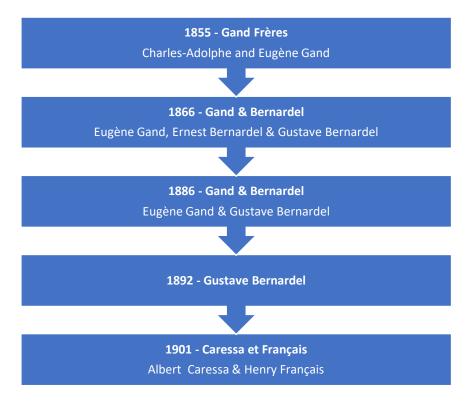


Figure 43: List of workshop owners during Sarasate's lifetime

The Gand workshop was founded by Nicolas Lupot in 1806, and his successors maintained the business until World War II.⁶⁷ Surviving ledgers reveal an account belonging to Sarasate, which records various purchases and repairs from 1859 until his death in 1908.⁶⁸ Sarasate's account in Gand & Bernardel's catalogue from 1854 to 1864 records only a few purchases related to the buying of strings and the re-hairing of bows, which corresponds to the early stages of his career.⁶⁹ These entries are transcribed and translated in Table 12. As the table demonstrates, if the violinist only utilised the services of this company, then his need for

_

⁶⁶ Altadil, *Memorias*, 605.

⁶⁷ See Carla Shapreau, Jean-Philippe Échard, and Christine Laloue, 'Documenting the Violin Trade in Paris, 1930–1945' in Jane Milosch and Nick Pearce ed., *Collecting and Provenance. A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019).

⁶⁸ The Museum of Music Archives Collections in Le Musée de la Musique de la Philharmonie de Paris, see https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/fonds-lupot-gand-bernardel-caressa-francais-presentation.aspx; Jean-Philippe Échard, Pierrick Gaudry, 'An harmonious encoding of instrument values by a 19th century Parisian violin dealer', *Cryptologia*, 2017, 41 (5), 448–458; *Grande Livre/ Dernier Atelier Concerné: Gand Frères, 1854–1864.* E.981.8.36, Archive Musée Philharmonie de Paris, from here on referred to as AMPP. ⁶⁹ *Grand Livre 1854–1864*, AMPP.

a bow re-hair was limited to once a year or once every two years. Even though in 1864 Sarasate returned twice, once in January and again in June, these could have been re-hairs for two different bows rather than the same one, as in 1862 the ledger records two sets of bow hair. In comparison to today's practices, once a year can be considered a normal but quite maximised time frame, as some players rehair their bow every six months. However, for a player practising and performing as regularly and proficiently as Sarasate, once every two years would be a limited timeframe in order to maintain the bow to its highest playing standards. Evidence from 1894, advises 'violinists who play many hours daily usually find that new hair is needed about once a month'. 70 Contrastingly, the *Grand Livre 1888–1892*, during Sarasate's more established years, suggests that his visits to the luthiers increased to up to five times a year for the maintenance of his violins, repairs to bows and the purchasing of strings.⁷¹ In 1891 he made four visits during that year for individual bow rehairs, and in October 1889, the ledger includes an entry for the rehair of six bows. Consequently, Sarasate's early limited visits were most likely due to a combination of requiring fewer hair changes, but also the probability of maintaining costs down during the early stage of his career.

Date	Purchase record	Translation	
20 June 1859	10 Chanterelles Naples 4 fils (blanches), 2 La, 1 Re	10 E strings 'Naples', 4 wire (white), 2 A strings and 1 D string	
13 July 1860	3 La Naples	3 A strings 'Naples'	
10 October 1861	Crins et Garniture à un Archet	1 set of bow hair and garniture for a bow	
16 September 1862	2 Crins	2 sets of bow hair	
16 January 1864	1 Beau Crin	1 set of beautiful bow hair	
12 February 1864	Une Chanterelle Naples 4 fils 4 longueurs	E string 'Naples' four wire, 4 long	
23 June 1864	Crins et Garniture à un archet	Bow hair and garniture for a bow	
27 August 1866	30 Chanterelles Naples 4 fils 4 longueurs	30 E strings 'Naples' 4 wire, 4 long	
11 November 1866	Reçu espècer pour solde	Payment received in cash	

Table 12: Entries in Gand & Bernardel's Grand Livre 1854-1864, Monsieur Sarasate

Table 12 also indicates something of Sarasate's string preferences at that time. Violin strings in the 19th century were made in Italy, Germany, France, England and Russia, but according to George Hart, Italian strings were incomparable in their quality, durability and

-

⁷⁰ H. A. Hofman, 'The violin bow', *The Strad*, Vol. 5, No. 53 (September 1894), 135.

⁷¹ Grand Livre 1888–1892, E. 981.8.27, AMPP.

purity of sound. 72 Specifically, those from Naples were 'smoother and softer than the Roman, and also whiter in appearance', an opinion supported by Louis Spohr. 73 Table 12 above includes entries titled 'Chanterelle Naples'. Chanterelles refer to the violin's E string and 'Naples' signifies that Sarasate was purchasing the strings which were in most demand in Europe at the time, even at the early stages of his career. These were imported to France from Italy and were expensive to purchase.⁷⁴ Spohr asserts in his *Violonschule* that there were three- and four-wire E strings, the four wire ones were more expensive and highly valued by violinists, but they deteriorated more quickly. 75 According to the entries above, these are the strings purchased by Sarasate. In 1866 he ordered 30 Chanterelles Naples, the most expensive E strings. This signifies that the violinist's performance schedule had begun to increase, and he either had sufficient disposable income to purchase high quality strings or he prioritised the purchase, instead of for example, rehairing his bow. The entries remain abundant but similar in consecutive years, with a preference towards strings from Naples except for the G string. On 29 December 1866 Sarasate purchased '2 Gand G strings and 2 ordinary G strings'. ⁷⁶ By 1889 at the height of his career, the number of purchased strings in one transaction increased significantly. For example, on the 10 October 1889 Sarasate bought 120 E strings, 60 A strings and 30 D Naples strings. 77 In addition to strings, the ledgers include entries for repairs to his Stradivarius and Vuillaume, which signifies that although he bought both his Vuillaume and 1724 Stradivarius from Vuillaume, Gand & Bernardel were Sarasate's main luthiers throughout his career.

It was previously documented by Altadil, that the Gand & Bernardel violin made for Sarasate had been loaned to a colleague and the violin perished in a fire in 1874 at the Salle Le Peletier, home to the Paris Opéra. The now-named Gand & Bernardel house replaced the instrument with an identical copy, which was according to Altadil, gifted to Sarasate. For the first time, access to a letter which until now had remained private, reveals new information. The letter was written from Albert Caressa, co-owner of the workshop at the time the letter was written (1908), to Otto Goldschmidt. It begins by providing information about Sarasate's purchase of both Stradivari, this will be looked at further in the succeeding section. However,

_

⁷² George Hart, 'Italian and Other strings' in *The violin: Its Famous Maker and Their Imitators* (London: Dulau and Co., 1885), 21–22; Although sources on this topic are limited, for further information see Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance*, 27–29; Stewart Pollens, *Stradivari* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 123–128.

⁷³ *Ibid*; Ureli Corelli Hill ed., *Spohr's School for the Violin* (New York: Firth & Hall, 1839), 14.

⁷⁴ Mimmo Peruffo, 'Italian Violin Strings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Typologies, Manufacturing Techniques and Principles of Stringing', *Recercare* 9 (1997), 155–203, 178.

⁷⁵ Spohr's School for the Violin, 7.

⁷⁶ Grand Livre 1866–1876, E. 981.8.14,167, AMPP.

⁷⁷ Grand Livre 1888–1892, E. 981.8.27, AMPP.

⁷⁸ Altadil, *Memorias*, 517.

the segment found on the second page of the letter, after the words 'P.S', is most significant to the advancement of Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel's history. The following is a translation of this fragment:

'After some research, I see that the prize violin, given at that time (in 1857) by the Conservatoire, was, in fact, burnt in 1874, at the opera; in whose hands, I do not know: one was sold to him in 1875 to replace it, and it was this one that was lost, at the time of Turban's death; it was replaced again, for nothing, this time, in 1893'.⁷⁹

Anciennes Maisons	
SP. BERNARDEL	Laris, le 13 Octobre 1908
Élève de Nicolas LUPOT	" vous w. contral wien went, are
Fondées à Paris en 1826	the state of the s
Gustave BERNARDEL	
MÉDAILLES D'OR et de 1° CLASSE	The second secon
2 DIPLOMES D'HONNEUR	22
aux Expositions Nationales et Universelles	Cher Mousieur Goldschnidt
depuis 1849 PARIS, LONDRES & ANVERS	Goras Goravernium
SEULE MÉDAILLE D'OR	Caris
Exposition Universelle 1878	him, down a celle speak for 1869
MEMBRE du JURY, HORS CONCOURS	Sarasate avait achete son previes
aux Expositions Universelles de PARIS 1889 & 1900	
LYON 1894, BRUXELLES 1897	Thadivarius eres 1866 ou 1867, cher
7 MÉDAILLES D'OR	J. B. Tuillaume, il l'avait parfé
aux Collaborateurs à Paris, 1889 et 1900	Tarahamas in which is
CIPTOSI O EDINGIA	5000 francs; je n'ai jamais outendu dire qu'il y ait en un
CAKESSA & FRANÇAIS	cutendu dire qu'il y act en un
9	échange; je crois qu'il a achete
Successeurs	Son 1424, Jans aneme reprise.
LUTHIERS	
Conservatoire National de Musique de l'Opéra	Le Boissier 1713, hui a c'te vendu
de l'Opéra-Comique de la Société	par gand et Bernardel en 1888, le
DES CONCERTS DU CONSERVATOIRE ET DES CONCERTS COLONNE	Is octobre; gand le lin a apporté
GRANDS PRIX	à genère où Sarasate & trouvait;
aux Expositions de SAINT-LOUIS 1904, LIÈGE 1905	
EXPOSITION DE MILAN 1906 - HORS CONCOURS	il a été parje 20.000 francs.
MEMBRE DU JURY	Je n'ai jamais su à qui ilarait
R S P.	1 t' . O. P. 1 1 . P P. P.
4, Rue Saulnier, 4	prête son violon de prix (brûle lors
PARIS (9°)	de l'incendie de l'opera for le lui
TELÉPHONE 298-35	avait resuplace, cher nous: du reste
	je crois que le violon n'a pas été brûle;
.0011121.	je bioti gic se viola a ma pier de viale,
	un artiste, Eurban, devenu fou, et on
na famais pu	retrouver l'instrument à sa mort,
c'est à ce more	ent verd 1892 on 93, que notre prédécessent
austa Banan	tal la lica mentiles
Junare Finare	del, le lui a reruplacé. Prien aix de vous vois, pour causer
Je Lerais ?	ren aix de vous vois, pour causer

⁷⁹ Letter from Albert Caressa to Otto Goldschmidt, Paris 13 October 1908, JCB. Reproduced by permission of JCB.

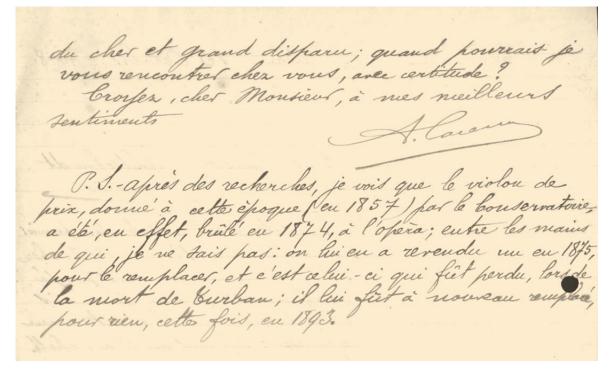


Figure 44: Letter from Caressa to Goldschmidt, 1908

The fire at the Paris Opéra took place in 1873. The letter confirms that the replacement violin was not gifted to Sarasate but rather paid for. Moreover, the violin was lost a second time, and its replacement was then gifted. This is the violin that is currently displayed in the Museo Sarasate in Pamplona, illustrated in Figure 42 above. Due to the changes in ownership of the workshop, if one was to be particular in naming the maker of the violin, the first and original violin was a Gand violin (1857), the first replacement Gand & Bernardel (1875), and the second replacement, if true, a Bernardel violin (1893). However, it has always been referred to as Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin.

Nicholas Sackman describes Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin as 'nothing unique ... just another instrument which emerged from the Gand workshop; all such violins were priced at 240 francs'. 80 This, however, is a severe description when taking into account that the Philharmonie de Paris describes the Gand workshop and its successors as having 'played a key role in French musical instrument making history'. 81 The Gand family were considered excellent makers as were their partners and successors and they were highly regarded in their time. 82 In the 1867 Paris Universal Exhibition, their instruments were

⁸⁰ Nicholas Sackman, 'Pablo Sarasate and his Stradivari violins', (2019), 2, www.themessiahviolin.uk (accessed 10 August 2024)

⁸¹ 'Lupot, Gand, Bernardel, Caressa, Français Collection Presentation', *Archive Collections* (Musée de la Musique, Philharmonie de Paris.) https://archivesmusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/lupot-gand-bernardel-caressa-francais-presentation.aspx?_lg=en-US#frame-304 (accessed 22 August 2024).

reported as 'the best modern string instrument that are to be found in the Exhibition'. 83 Current prices for Gand instruments range from £20,000 to £50,000, and although in comparison to a Stradivarius it is indeed of a lower monetary value, it should not be unappreciated. 84 The majority of professional performers own beautifully sounding instruments within this particular range. Moreover, the work that the instrument is intended for must also be considered: the preferences for a solo, chamber or orchestral musician do differ. The value of an instrument can also vary significantly whether the instrument is being viewed from the perspective of a performer, a luthier or a restorer, and the history of its maker and its past is very influential. In the particular case of this Gand & Bernardel, its past owner and history adds meaningful historical and monetary value to the instrument.

Figure 45 is an image of me placing Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin in its secure crystal box in the Museo Sarasate in Pamplona, after having viewed the instrument up-close. The video Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 1, contains a section in which I show and discuss the Gand & Bernardel violin in more detail. This segment begins at minute 11:15 of the video. As the footage can attest, it was not possible to play this particular instrument as it has not been suitably restored and it has been maintained instead in its original form since its bequest.



Figure 45: Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin in crystal box, Pamplona

⁸³ 'Instrumental notes', *Musical News*. No. 52 Vol. II, (26 February 1892), 197; *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition, Vol. II*, 1867, 211.

⁸⁴ Tarisio, one of the leading international auction houses reported an auction record for the maker of \$54,237 in June 2021.

⁸⁵ This video was subsequently republished in *The Strad Magazine* online.

⁸⁶ Further link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MN4FjSrAqJo

The video displays the Gand & Bernardel instrument in its entirety and the inscription on the violin can be seen clearly. My immediate impressions are captured, exhibiting a few details that might not be instantly evident to an observer. The strings placed on the violin were not gut strings and had been replaced, which means the violin has been inspected. However, these were still visibly old, and without further information, it would not have been prudent to tighten them and risk not only breaking the strings but in consequence, damaging the violin itself. As it is pointed out in the video, and can be seen in Figure 46 below, the mark under the chin in which the varnish has been worn off, points towards it having been played on in the past. There is an additional usage mark on the right-hand side of the violin, which was most likely from the repetitive motion of holding the violin with the right hand in that particular space. Similar markings can be found in Sarasate's 1724 Stradivarius therefore, it suggests that the Gand & Bernardel violin could have been used by the violinist. 87



Figure 46: Sarasate's Gand & Bernardel violin's visible markings, Pamplona

-

⁸⁷ The right-hand side markings will be discussed subsequently during discussion of Sarasate's 1724 Stradivarius.

The Sarasate Stradivarius, 1724

The 1724 Stradivarius, which was titled Sarasate after the violinist's death, was his main performing instrument from 1866 (aged 22) and it was the violin he performed on for most of his career, as confirmed by the violinist in his testament. 88 The instrument was bequeathed to the Paris Conservatoire upon his death, and it remained there until it was transferred to the newly created Cité de la Musique in the late 1990s. Figure 47 is a photograph of the violin which can be found in the Collections du Musée de la Musique.89



Figure 47: Sarasate's 1724 Stradivarius

⁸⁹ Violon, dit le <Sarasate>, Antonio Stradivari, Cremona, 1724. ©Collections Musée de la Musique/Cliché Claude Germain, 2017. Reproduced by permission of Le Musée de la Musique.

Sarasate purchased the 1724 Stradivarius in 1866 from Vuillaume, but there are multiple accounts as to how he came to obtain the violin. 90 A particularly repetitive example found in a variety of sources to this day, refers to the violin having been gifted to the violinist by Queen Isabella II of Spain. 91 These tales began during Sarasate's lifetime, a concept that angered the violinist and was rectified by his manager Goldschmidt in a statement to the newspapers upon the violinist's death: '... the Stradivarius of 1724, on which Sarasate still played in public, and which did not belong to the crown of Spain and had not been given to the artist by Queen Isabella, was bequeathed to the Museum of the Conservatoire de Paris'.92

The anecdotes on Sarasate's purchase of the 1724 Stradivarius continued with suggestions that in order to pay for the instrument, the violinist paid 5,000 francs and traded an unknown Italian violin. 93 However, the newly discovered letter from Caressa to Goldschmidt provided previously in Figure 44 confirms that Sarasate payed 5000 francs for the violin with no exchange. The pertinent section of the letter is extracted and translated below.94

Dear Mr Goldschmidt **Paris**

Sarasate bought his first Stradivarius in 1866 or 1867, from J.B. Vuillaume, paying 5000 francs for it; I have never heard of any exchange; I believe he bought his 1724, without any trade-in.

The Boissier 1713 was sold to him by Gand and Bernardel in 1888, on 20 October; Gand brought it to him in Geneva where Sarasate was; it was paid 20,000 francs.

I never knew to whom he had lent his prize violin (burnt during the opera fire?) or had it replaced it, by us: moreover, I believe that the violin was not burnt, he had lent it to an artist, Turban, who had gone mad, and it was never possible to find the instrument at his death, it was at this time, around 1892 or 93, that our predecessor Gustave Bernardel, replaced it.

I would be very happy to see you, to talk about the dear and great departed; when could I meet you at your home, with certainty?

Believe, dear Sir, in my best feelings

Figure 48: Transcription and Translation: Letter Caressa to Goldschmidt, 1908

⁹⁰ Altadil, Memorias, 512.

⁹¹ Oscar Thompson, Bruce Bohle, *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, 10th ed. (New York: Dodd Mead, 1975), 1922; Ernest N. Doring, How Many Strads? Our Heritage from the Master, a Tribute to the Memory of a Great Genius ... Being a Tabulation of Works Believed to Survive Produced in Cremona by Antonio Stradivari between 1666 and 1737 Including Relevant Data and Mention of His Two Sons Francesco and Omobono (Chicago: William Lewis & Son, 1945), 255; Roberto L. Pajares Alonso, Historia de la música en 6 bloques. Bloque I (Madrid: Visión Libros, 2010), 384; Altadil, 513.

^{92 &#}x27;...le Stradivarius de l'année 1724, sur lequel Sarasate jouait toujours en public, et qui n'appartenait pas à la couronne d'Espagne et n'avait pas davantage été donné à l'artiste par la reine Isabelle, a été légué au musée du Conservatoire de Paris'. Le Ménestrel, 31 October 1908.

⁹³ Altadil, 512; Ferrer, 127.

⁹⁴ Letter from Albert Caressa to Otto Goldschmidt, Paris 13 October 1908, JCB.

Provenance and Restorations

The 1724 Sarasate Stradivarius was Sarasate's main performing violin throughout his career. Therefore, to have played the violin and to have been able to decipher the violin's playing capabilities would have provided new and insightful information. Additionally, such action would have not benefited the research on Sarasate alone, but also the violin itself, as a fine example which has not been heard in a number of years. Since Sarasate, the violin has only been performed on a few occasions in the 1940s by Pierre Ménét and René Benedetti, and by Pierre Amoyal in the 1970's. 95 Unfortunately, due to previous restorations the 1724 Stradivarius is now in a delicate state and it is not playable. This chapter does not aim to provide a luthier's or maker's perspective on Sarasate's violins. 96 However, although this segment provides new details on the violin, derived from my observations in Paris, it is also necessary to firstly add certain particulars of the violin's provenance and restorations that had occurred previously, as they had direct implications to this project.

Sarasate confirms one portion of the violin's provenance in a letter to Ms Lassabathie, in which he asks his mother for the certificate from Vuillaume in which it states that it belonged to Niccolò Paganini. ⁹⁷ Although the certificate has not been found, recent investigations on the violin's history, such as the work of Jean-Philippe Échard, have confirmed Paganini's ownership through the verification of its previous owner, Count Cozio di Salabue (1755–1840) who sold the violin to Paganini in 1817. ⁹⁸ The violin has undergone a series of restorations in the past, but the original neck has been preserved. ⁹⁹ Whilst the neck is original, it is assumed to have been reset twice. The curators in the Musée de la Musique believe that the neck was preserved once by Count Cozio's luthier Giovanni Battista Guadagnini, and then a second time by Vuillaume.

Sackman opposes Count Cozio's involvement in the 1724 Stradivarius history and one of the characteristics that he utilises to suggest the disregard of this historical line is the violin's sonic capacities.¹⁰⁰ He claims that as Sarasate's playing was described as not

⁹⁵ Échard, 'Reconstructing the History', 1.

⁹⁶ Fétis, *Notice of Anthony Stradivari*; Chris Johnson, Roy Courtnall and Yehudi Menuhin, *The Art of Violin Making* (London: R. Hale, 1999); Faber, *Stradivarius: Five Violins, One Cello and a Genius*; Hill's brothers and Francis A. Davis, *Antonio Stradivari His Life and Work: 1644–1737* (New York: 2014).

⁹⁷ Letter New York, [February 1872], US-R.

⁹⁸ Count Ignazio Alessandro Cozio di Salabue (1755–1840); Niccolò Paganini. Letter to Carlo Carii, 21 June 1817 in Roberto Grisley ed., *Niccolò Paganini: Epistolario Volume I, 1810–1831.* (Milan: Skira, 2006), 100–102; Échard, 'Reconstructing the History of the 1724 'Sarasate' Stradivarius Violin, with Some Thoughts on the Use of Sources in Violin Provenance Research', *Galpin Society Journal 73* (March 2020); Doring, *How Many Strads?*, 259.

⁹⁹ The letters 'PG' were found inside. See Charles Beare, Carlo Chiesa, and Duane Rosengard. 'Stradivari, Antonio' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278259 (accessed 17 August 2024); Pollens, *Stradivari*, 67–103; Pollens, *The Manual of Musical Instrument Conservation*.

¹⁰⁰ Sackman, 'Pablo Sarasate...', 2–8.

sonorous but delicate, it cannot refer to the 1724 Stradivarius which Paganini described as highly idiosyncratic due to its power. However, it is probable that the sound production from the violin differed greatly according to the manner in which the performers in question played, for example, because of differences in bow weight and/or chosen strings. For instance, having performed on both Sarasate's Vuillaume and the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius, I can confirm that even though the violinist was described as having an elegant and delicate sound, the violins' sound projection is powerful. Therefore, it is Sarasate's playing approach that was delicate and it was a choice to play in this manner. Moreover, a player can project whilst playing with a sweet tone. Therefore, this particular motive cannot assist in the disregard of Count Cozio's ownership.

Further reasoning in Sackman's article originates from one of the surviving letters from Vuillaume to Achille Paganini, indicating repairs that he carried out on four Stradivari instruments. ¹⁰² The letter in question describes the repairs made to two separate violins, a *violon jaune* (yellow violin) and a *violon rouge* (red violin). Échard and Sackman also come to separate conclusions regarding which violin most likely refers to the 1724 Stradivarius, Sackman suggesting the red violin and Échard the yellow violin. Although Sackman's reasoning derives from the use of primary sources, Échard as curator of the Musée de la Musique in Paris has regular access to the violin and has investigated in detail the varnish of the 1724 Stradivarius. ¹⁰³ After viewing the violin in person, it is likely that the yellow violin is the most plausible answer. Figure 49 is a picture of the violin taken up-close in the conservation lab in Paris. ¹⁰⁴ Although not as visible in the picture, the violin also displayed areas which had very little varnish left due to natural fading with time, as well as the human handling of the instrument. Because of the violin's colouring, the instrument's general appearance was described by Hill as 'unattractive'. ¹⁰⁵ However, the rest of the phrase of that

1

¹⁰¹ Julius Max. Schottky, *Paganini's Leben und Treiben Als Künstler Und Als Mensch Mit Unpartheiischer Berücksichtigung Der Meinungen Seiner Anhänger Und Gegner Dargestellt Von Julius Max Schottky* (Prague: Druck von G. Fanta Nf. 1830), 281–282, quoted in Sackman, 'Pablo de Sarasate...', 3.

¹⁰² Letter Vuillaume to Achille Paganini in Claude Lebet, *Le Quatuor Stradivarius 'Nicolò Paganini': La Correspondance De Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume á Achille Paganini*, trans. Peter Thomas Hill (Spa: Les amis de la musique, 1994), 41–69.

¹⁰³ I had the privilege to attend an appointment with Jean-Philippe Échard to view the instrument and discuss its features, confirming various details in person; Échard. 'Reconstructing the History'; Jean-Philippe Échard, Loïc Bertrand, Alex von Bohlen, Anne-Solenn Le Hô, Céline Paris, Ludovic Bellot-Gurlet, Balthazar Soulier, Agnès Lattuati-Derieux, Sylvie Thao, Laurianne Robinet, Bertrand Lavédrine, and Stéphane Vaiedelich. 'The Nature of the Extraordinary Finish of Stradivari's Instruments'. *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 49/1 (2010), 197–201.

¹⁰⁴ There are multiple official photos and a 3D model available of the violin on the website of the Philharmonie de Paris, Collections du Musée de la Musique.

https://collectionsdumusee.philharmoniedeparis.fr/doc/MUSEE/0161228?_ga=2.170216355.2082749322.16914 17057-226864978.1690804343#biographies (accessed 18 August 2024).

¹⁰⁵ Davis Hill, Antonio Stradivari His Life and Work, 69; Sackman, 'Pablo Sarasate and his Stradivarius violin'.

particular quote also states '[it] captivates all hearers by its tone', which is what a performer such as Sarasate would have been most interested in.



Figure 49: 1724 Stradivarius in the conservation laboratory, Paris

The reason the identification of either violin in Vuillaume's letter is significant, is due to the repairs that he notes as having carried out. For the violon jaune he repaired a split in the front plate, re-barred it, lengthened and raised the neck, inserted a new fingerboard, re-shaped the handle, provided new pegs, tailpiece, a bridge and strings. ¹⁰⁶ Altadil includes the findings of violinist and musicologist Laurent Grillet (1851–1901), who indicates that the 1724 Stradivarius' fingerboard had been elevated but it maintained the original neck, a statement which predated 1909.¹⁰⁷ Although it is not possible to determine with complete certainty which of the violins refers to the 1724 Stradivarius, the most likely possibility is the yellow violin, due to the restoration features found on the violin which will be discussed subsequently.

The 1724 Sarasate Stradivarius today

Presently the violin has no soundpost. 108 The previous post had been adapted poorly and as it could have damaged the surfaces of the violin, it was removed and not replaced. This is why, although the violin is showcased with strings, these cannot be tensioned fully. The current tension on the strings maintains the bridge in place, so as to display the object as a whole, but any further tension would endanger the instrument. The bridge on the other hand, which is illustrated in Figure 50, is an original of the luthiers Caressa & Français, thus most likely the

¹⁰⁶ Letter Vuillaume to Achille Paganini.

¹⁰⁷ Altadil, 512.

¹⁰⁸ The following observations, unless specified otherwise, are the product of my visit to the Conservation Laboratory in the Musée de la Musique in Paris, with curator Échard.

last bridge Sarasate played on and it confirms the prior statement that the violinist returned to this workshop for repairs and maintenance.



Figure 50: Stradivarius 1724 Sarasate – Caressa & Français bridge

The workshop which was previously owned by Gand & Bernardel holds information on their ledgers of repairs to Sarasate's violins upon his return from his North and South America tour in 1872. The Vuillaume violin had a repair worth 1 franc, whilst the Stradivarius had a repair of 15 francs.¹⁰⁹ This repair could refer to the woodworm marks that are apparent on the violin, although the filling of holes due to woodworm was also completed in a later restoration in 1956 by luthiers Millant-Deroux and in 1962 by French luthier Etienne Vatelot.¹¹⁰

Additionally, due to modern imaging, the current curators in Paris were able to identify a piece of wood on the back of the violin, most possibly inserted in order to reinforce it. Vatelot recommended removing it during the 1962 restoration. Unfortunately, they then discovered that in order to place the auxiliary piece of wood, a previous unknown restorer had thinned and scooped out wood from the original back, debilitating the original. Lastly, the bass bar has also been exchanged. However, this could have been done by Vuillaume, who often replaced the bass bar with a stronger example. It is confirmed that he did so to other Stradivari, including the *Messiah* Stradivarius. Apart from the repair mentioned above, the Gand & Bernardel ledgers only record further similar repairs and inspections, thus any other

¹⁰⁹ Grand Livre 1866–1876. E. 981.8.14, AMPP.

Gianpaolo Gregori lists further details of these restorations in 'Archivio della Liuteria Cremonese' http://www.archiviodellaliuteriacremonese.it/en/strumenti/violino-sarasate.aspx (accessed 22 August 2024).
 It is possible that Sarasate might have had access to play the *Messiah* Stradivarius as after Vuillaume died in 1875, Alard purchased it. Alard is alleged to have been the first violinist to play the *Messiah* Stradivarius; William A. Silverman, *The Violin Hunter* (Neptune City, NJ: Paganiniana Publications, 1981), 115–246; Alfred Planyavsky, James Barket, *The Baroque Double Bass Violone* (Lanham Md: Scarecrow Press, 1998), 162; William Ralph Bennett Jr., Andrew C. H. Morrison ed., *The Science of Musical Sound: Volume 1: Stringed Instruments, Pipe Organs, and the Human Voice* (New York: Springer, ASA Press, 2018), 157.

large restorations made to the violin must have been completed by Vuillaume prior to Sarasate's purchase or by other restorers' after his death.

Consequently, the accumulation of all of these factors signifies that the violin is not in a playable condition, and the Musée de la Musique have confirmed that the instrument will be maintained in its original form, without any further restorations. Therefore, it is not possible to play the instrument and gain details regarding the violin's quality and sound. Instead, the opinions of Sarasate's audiences, critics and colleagues of the time are now the remaining sources. Since the 1724 Stradivarius is the most likely violin that the violinist used for his 1904 recordings, these also provide insight into the violinist and the violin's sound. 112 In 1905, a year after the 1904 recordings and at the age of 61, the violinist continued to be praised for his 'accuracy and purity of sound'. 113 Further depictions such as a sweet and delicate sound followed the violinist throughout his career and almost certainly refer to the violin in question. However, as with the 1713 Stradivarius, Sarasate also experienced a few issues with the 1724 Stradivarius. The violinist was contracted to perform 100 concerts during a six month tour of main cities in the United States, Canada and Mexico, between November 1889 and May 1890.¹¹⁴ Understandably, in October 1889, prior to his departure, the Gand & Bernardel records show a long list of orders which included check-ups on both Stradivari, rehairs for six bows, and many strings. 115 However, as with any stringed instrument, long journeys and changes of temperature can affect them severely, thus it is not unexpected that Sarasate received a few negative reviews during this tour. There were a few select occasions on which problems with strings were narrated and words such as rough, squawked and low volume were used to describe his sound. 116 These, however, are an exception, and there are several possibilities that could have affected the violin negatively such as the venue's acoustic, changes of temperature and humidity, harsh, cold winter weather and the artists' own fatigue. After this tour, Sarasate travelled directly to London to begin his Sarasate Concerts in June 1890.

Though I could not play the violin, my visit to the Musée de la Musique provided confirmation on a few additional characteristics about it. Firstly, it was possible to carefully place the violin on my left shoulder in order to replicate a playing position and compare its dimensions from the perspective of a player. The 1724 Stradivarius seemed similar to the 1713 Stradivarius, in that it also had a thin neck and long body, in comparison to the

¹¹² Chapter 6 discusses Sarasate's recordings further.

¹¹³ Le Ménestrel, 14 May 1905.

¹¹⁴ The full contract can be found transcribed in Altadil, *Memorias de Sarasate*, Appendix 3, XXXI–XXXIII.

¹¹⁵ Grand Livre 1888–1892. E. 981.8.27, AMPP.

¹¹⁶ The New York Times, 19 November 1889; The Washington Post, 12 January 1890; Ferrer, 409.

Vuillaume which had a thicker body overall.¹¹⁷ This results in the need for less movement in the left hand when changing positions, but larger distances between the notes. The dimensions provided in Table 13 confirm this, as there is little difference between both Stradivari.

	Sarasate Stradivarius (1724)	Boissier Stradivarius (1713)
Length of back	35.5 cm	35.6 cm
Upper bouts	16.7 cm	16.8 cm
Middle bouts	11.2 cm	11.1 cm
Lower bouts	20.8 cm	20.7 cm

Table 13: Comparison of dimensions between Sarasate's Stradivari

Upon observing the violin, I also noticed three wear marks at the front and bottom of the violin. Figure 51 exemplifies the first spot, a black marking on the left of the violin which corresponds to Sarasate's chin rest. As Chapter 5 discusses, chin rests in the nineteenth century were not as wide as today's examples, they were slimmer as per the marking on the violin. The same image also illustrates a lighter wear marking on top of the black mark, which would correspond to Sarasate's chin.



Figure 51: Sarasate Stradivarius 1724 varnish markings – chin rest

¹¹⁷ Note that I was wearing gloves with the 1724 Stradivarius, and I had to be extremely careful due to its current state, therefore this is only an estimation.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 5 for more information on Sarasate's use of chin rests and shoulder rests.

Figure 52 illustrates the third marking on the right hand-side of the violin, where there is a patch of lighter varnish. My initial deduction was that it corresponded to the wear created by Sarasate's right hand due to often holding the violin in the same particular position: if the violinist is visualised holding the violin in front of him, with the left hand around the neck and with the right hand curled around the bottom of the violin. This repetitive motion could have created the lighter varnish patch in question. Concurring with this hypothesis, a similar marking can also be found on Sarasate's Vuillaume.



Figure 52: Sarasate's Stradivarius 1724 - hand mark



Figure 53: Sarasate c. 1870

However, Figure 53 is a picture of Sarasate as a young man, so we can assume that the violin in the photo is the 1724 Stradivarius. The contrast in the illustration shows similar lighter patches to those found today, so these could have been already in place when Sarasate purchased the instrument. Therefore, they were created by a previous player or custodian wearing the varnish in those particular spots, proving that the violin had been played before Sarasate.

Although both the 1724 and 1713 Stradivari are remarkable instruments, we must acknowledge an additional quality; the actuality that they are violins made by Antonius Stradivari. His instruments are considered among the finest instruments in existence, thus their simple provenance instantly adds value to them, even without being heard. 120 In the nineteenth century, as concert performances relocated from the royal courts to larger concert halls, the sonar power associated with Stradivari instruments became more in demand. 121 An example of their popularity is Paganini's collection which contains a number of instruments by the greatest makers, including Stradivarius, even though he performed on 'Il Cannone', a 1742 Giuseppe Guarneri del Gesù for most of his career. 122 Audiences across time attended concerts not only to hear a performer play but to hear and see a Stradivarius in action. The public's interest is evident in a letter from 1869 in which a general visited Sarasate only to see the Stradivarius which he had heard about. 123 In addition to Stradivari as a maker, a previous celebrity owner can also further increase the value of a violin. 124 Sarasate received a certificate from Vuillaume stating that the 1724 Stradivarius had been previously owned by Paganini, not only would this fact have encouraged the Spanish violinist to purchase the instrument, but it was a supplementary marketing tool. Sarasate asked Ms Lassabathie to send the supposed certificate to New York whilst on tour, which signifies that he wanted or needed to prove its provenance. 125 Upon his death, his testament reveals further admiration and desire to be remembered like Paganini, by donating his violins for conservation 'like Paganini's violin, in Genoa'. 126 The testament continues, 'if some day, in the future, all the instruments of Stradivarius were to be damaged by the violinists, these last two, at least, would remain and serve as models'.127

_

¹¹⁹ AMP.

¹²⁰ Maiko Kawabata, 'The Aura of Stradivari's Violins', *Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music* 12, no. 23 (2014), 61–74.

¹²¹ Gino Cattani, Roger L. M. Dunbar, and Zur Shapira, 'Value Creation and Knowledge Loss: The Case of Cremonese Stringed Instruments', *Organization Science* 24, no. 3 (2013), 813–30, 819.

¹²² Kawabata, 238.

¹²³ Letter Sarasate to Ms Lassabathie, Ulm, 18 March 1869.

¹²⁴ Shapreau, Échard, and Laloue, 'Documenting the Violin Trade in Paris', 190.

¹²⁵ Letter, New York, [February 1872], US-R.

¹²⁶ Le Ménestrel, 31 October 1908; AMP.

¹²⁷ *Ibid*.

Sarasate's bequests were evidently admirable, and the preservation of important historical artefacts is indeed vital, but the core reason behind violin making is for the creations to be played and heard, not to become ornaments. 128 As Fétis wrote, violins become great once they are played. 129 Stradivari's instruments are a work of art from a craftmanship perspective, but his experiments were directed towards the improvement of tone and power in the violin's sound. Furthermore, many of the instruments that are now safeguarded were made famous not only due to Stradivarius, but celebrity performers from the past who gave them a voice. Sarasate took great care of his instruments, and current players also understand their value, but it is true that there are those who might not appreciate their value beyond their playing capabilities. Therefore, the resistance met by curators on letting certain instruments be played is somewhat understandable. 130 However, there are institutions such as the Nippon Music Foundation that sets out conditions to players in which they are obligated to give the instrument a condition check every 3 months, and a loan can be terminated if the instrument is not cared for properly. 131 Consequently, the instrument is taken care of, but it is also played. The main reason behind this line of text, is that both Sarasate's violins that I had the privilege to play, improved as they were played, proving that the careful use of the violins helps in their conservation.

Both custodians in Madrid and Pamplona of the *Boissier* and Vuillaume violins respectively understand this concept, and as such, have guidelines in place for the safe and limited use of these priceless violins, helping to both protect and preserve them. ¹³² Justifiably, as the 1724 Stradivarius is in no current condition to be played, the curators in Paris protect the violin as the historical artefact that it is, although as a player, it is disappointing to understand that its sound will not be heard again. Nevertheless, this author is privileged to recognise that since Sarasate, I am likely so far, the only player to have viewed up-close, examine and in those cases for which it was possible play, all four of Sarasate's violins.

Approaching these instruments as a violinist has allowed for a closer and more intimate understanding of their features, whilst also expanding and confirming characteristics of Sarasate's playing and his relationship with his violins. As such, it was possible to rediscover all four violins, placing them under the limelight once again, and in some cases

_

¹²⁸ Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, R. L. Barclay, Dale C. Carr, and Jeremy Montagu, 'Preserving Historical Instruments', *Early Music* 22, no. 3 (1994), 541–43.

¹²⁹ Fétis, Notice of Anthony Stradivari, 73.

¹³⁰ Hill and Davis, Antonio Stradivari His Life and Work, 239.

¹³¹ 'Preservation and Maintenance of Instruments'. *Nippon Music Foundation*. https://www.nmf.or.jp/english/biz/preservation.html (accessed 22 August 2024).

¹³² 'El Stradivarius de Pablo de Sarasate es declarado Bien de Interés Cultural'. *El Economista.es*, 10 April 2014. https://ecodiario.eleconomista.es/musica/noticias/5696682/04/14/El-stradivarius-de-Pablo-Sarasate-es-declarado-Bien-de-Interes-Cultural.html (accessed 18 August 2024).

reviving their sound. Although it was not possible to play the Gand & Bernardel violin or the 1724 Sarasate Stradivarius, our knowledge and their history has been expanded. The 1713 Boissier Stradivarius has proved to be a splendid example. It has a sonorous and pure sound, so it can only be assumed that its restoration has benefited the violin in such a way that it is now in better condition to be played than when Sarasate had access to it and felt unable to feel at ease with it. The Vuillaume is also another fine example, which has a sweetness of sound like no other, and although Sarasate decided to travel with the 1713 Stradivarius as back up instead of his Vuillaume from 1888, it was due in part to its marketing power and cultural expectations. His decision does not, however, lessen the quality of the Vuillaume in any way, as it is a fine violin with multiple colours, and sonar power of its own. Lastly, the fact that Sarasate was able to purchase these instruments at the age of 22, not only alludes to their accessibility but that the violinist had the means to buy them. Sarasate was a high calibre player, but he also played on high quality instruments from a young age. The ownership of these violins could have aided his career due to the reputation of the Stradivari and Vuillaume name. Additionally, they would have assisted in the quality and progress of his playing, due to the ease with which these violins produce sound, as well as the range of colours available.

CHAPTER FIVE

An Examination of Sarasate's Posture, Technique and Stage Presence

Pablo de Sarasate's father's itinerant lifestyle prevented him from remaining with the same teacher for any length of time. Whilst Sarasate did not acquire the teachings of the French violin school rigorously, he developed distinctive qualities and was thus liberated from being exclusively identified with a particular school at an early age. Fernández Arbós explains, 'Sarasate played unlike anyone had up to that time or did afterwards'. The high level of mastery the violinist achieved prior to arriving in Paris is confirmed in Delphin Alard's recollection upon hearing Sarasate perform for the first time. Alard reminisced: 'on first instance he is an accomplished performer, and I cannot teach him anything. However, it is good that he came, because here in Paris he will contemplate artistic horizons that do not reach Spain'.³

Even though Sarasate's skills and individuality are evident through his recordings and original compositions, his French-based musical education with Manuel Rodriguez and the four years at the Paris Conservatoire reinforced his connection with the French violin school. Otto Goldschmidt described Sarasate's playing with parameters such as '...transparent, clean and elegant'. These sentiments suggest the concept of elegance and naturalness for which the French violin school was known. However, his connection is most obvious when comparing Sarasate's features with foundations and traditions set by the French violin school. Therefore, to understand Sarasate's practices they must be situated within established Francophone treatises written by Pierre Baillot, Pierre Rode and Rodolphe Kreutzer, as well as Alard, Sarasate's teacher in Paris. Furthermore, iconographical sources are central to this study, as they provide visual information, aiding in the delivery and providing a clearer representation. However, awareness must be made as to the different angles from which photographs were taken, the circumstances in which such materials were created, as well as the purposes for which they were taken, such as promotional photos.

¹ Arbós, *Memorias*, 112.

² 'Sarasate tocaba como nadie lo había hecho hasta entonces ni lo hizo después'. Arbós, *loc. cit.*

³ 'De buenas a primeras es un consumado maestro, y yo no le he de enseñar nada. Conviene no obstante que haya venido, porque aquí en París contemplará horizontes artísticos que no se vislumbran desde España'. Arturo Campión in Julio Altadil, *Memorias de Sarasate* (Pamplona: Imprenta de Armendía y Onsalo, 1909), 17.

^{4 &#}x27;...transparente y dúctil, limpio y elegante'. Manén, Mis experiencias II, 45.

The symbiosis between the French violin school and Sarasate's own characteristics are crucial to understanding him as a violinist. Sarasate's French base is the starting point to understanding his technical facilities and individuality. The corroboration of French treatises, his most-performed repertoire and iconography help to shed light on the violinist's specifics. The particulars considered in this chapter are posture, bow hold, preferred techniques and their artistic application on stage. The distinct manner in which the violin and bow are held, as well as the violinist's preference for particular techniques aid in the description of Sarasate's renown. An exploration of these elements takes place in the following sections and is contextualised within parameters of other national schools.

Posture

Violin pedagogy has undergone a considerable transformation through time, because of demands in repertoire and technique.⁵ Of the concepts presented in violin pedagogy, posture is an issue fundamental to all violinists. Posture encompasses the way violinists stand, the placement of their feet, how the arms are held, how fingers are placed, how and where the actual instrument is placed, i.e. laterally or centrally, and lastly, the use or lack of shoulder support and its derivatives. Instructions on general posture for violinists have evolved objectively due to the study of physiology and anatomy, as well as subjectively due to changes in style.⁶ Additionally, there is also consideration for historical evolution, as the chin rest was once placed on the right side of the tail piece instead of the left-hand side or the middle. The adjustment allowed for further freedom of the left hand. Lastly, posture is directly connected to sound quality as a result of particular right-arm movements, including forearm speed, elbow and wrist placement. These contribute to variables in pressure, bow speed and bow changes. However, in order to examine these qualities, video footage or a large amount of bowing and fingering score markings would be required. As neither of these are available, this will not be discussed in detail.⁷

In 1802 Baillot, Rode and Kreutzer were commissioned to document a standard of violin technique for use at the recently established Paris Conservatoire. They also composed a series of études designed to improve and demonstrate such technique.⁸ Subsequently, Alard

_

⁵ See Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing the Violin 1751*, ed. David D. Boyden (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952); Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violonschule* (Augsburg, 1756). Reference hereinafter: Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1951); Jeffrey Pulver, 'Violin Methods Old and New', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* 50 (1923), 101–27.

⁶ Yuri Yankelevich, *The Russian Violin School. The Legacy of Yuri Yankelevich*, ed. and trans. Masha Lankovsky (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 13.

⁷ The available scores belonging to Sarasate at the AMP contain very few written markings.

⁸ Rodolphe Kreutzer, 42 Studies for violin, ed. Ivan Galamian (New York: International Music Company, 1963); Pierre Rode, Twenty-Four Caprices for the Violin, ed. Harold Berkley (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1943).

published a further treatise and accompanying études, which Sarasate studied. The various French-language treatises all agree on the general standing position for a violinist. The body and head should be kept upright whilst leaning the weight slightly towards the left foot but without leaning the body, so as to allow freedom to the right side. The right foot must be somewhat ahead and turned outwards, as demonstrated in Figure 54. Baillot also confirms the importance of a correct standing position with a list of eleven steps in the aim of achieving the best way to stand. 10 These include the avoidance of bringing forward the left hip and keeping the chest open and shoulders back.

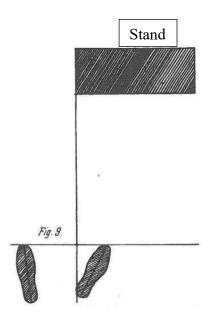


Figure 54: Baillot L'Art du violon (1834), position of feet in relation to the music stand

Figure 55 is a promotional photograph of Sarasate at his home in Paris, dating c. 1900. 11 The photograph deliberately portrays Sarasate as an elegant musician, instead of intending faithfully to reproduce his actual mode of performance, as was customary at the time. However, from the many iconographical sources we can draw upon, this particular example is the clearest representation of Sarasate's performing position. A comparison between the guidelines in Baillot's treatise and Figure 55 reveal similarities between Sarasate's posture and the French violin school's teaching on this matter, particularly as regards to standing position, feet and violin placement. However, the photo displayed below can also be misinterpreted. Figure 55 links to a video which provides a visual explanation of the following analysis.

⁹ Delphin Alard, École du Violon. Méthode Complète et Progressive (Madrid: Romero y Marzo, 1877).

¹⁰ Baillot, L'Art du Violon. Nouvelle Méthode (Paris: Imprimerie du Conservatoire de Musique, 1834), 11; See also Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, 34.

¹¹ AMP.



Figure 55: Pablo Sarasate at his home Boulevard Malesherbes, Paris c. 1900

If we observe Sarasate's feet placement as forward-facing, it might appear that his right foot is in a straight line, looking at the camera, whilst his left foot is angled, in opposition to the French violin school's guidelines. However, I noticed a minor twist in his body, which led me to the following steps, demonstrated in the video provided:

- 1. Consider Sarasate's posture having started at an angle, rather than looking at the camera.
- 2. Next, place the feet with a straight back according to Baillot's guidelines, as seen in Figure 56 below.
- 3. Then, slightly twist the body in order to look at the camera.

By following these steps, we can duplicate Sarasate's posture as displayed in Figure 55. Consequently, Sarasate does follow the French violin school guidelines on posture. Whilst actioning this experiment, I also observed Sarasate's left arm and elbow are close to his chest. Although this is partly due to the location of his left hand, it also leads to reasoning that Sarasate's placing of the violin is in a central, but somewhat left position. Additionally, Sarasate's left shoulder is raised, most likely due to the absence of a shoulder rest.



Figure 56: Violin placement and standing position in Baillot L'Art du violon, (1834)

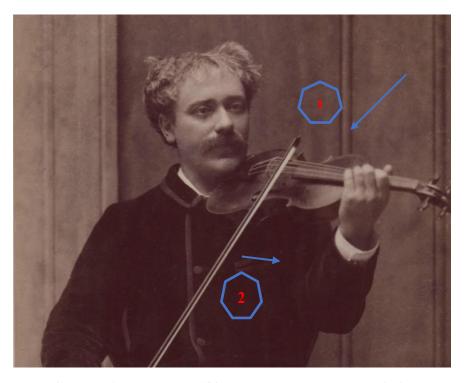


Figure 57: Sarasate in London, c. 1895, arrows added to show violin placement

Finally, in Figure 57 above, as Baillot suggests, Sarasate's violin rests on his collarbone, covering most of his left shoulder, whilst held by the lower left jaw and supported by the left hand. The left shoulder under the violin is in its natural position, but is inclined very slightly forward and tilted upwards, aiding in the hold of the violin, see number 1. ¹² Sarasate's left arm is close to his body, with no visible space between body and arm, see number 2; the violin is tilted inwards. This confirms the previous statement of Sarasate's violin placement being central, but not as prominent as Baillot's in Figure 56.

These characteristics in posture differ from other national schools, although the differences are often small fluctuations. ¹³ One common feature, however, is the position of the feet. Leopold Auer, Joseph Joachim and Louis Spohr all agreed on this point, which follows the previously illustrated French guidelines. ¹⁴ In contrast, Flesch viewed it as unstable and advised towards a more neutral position with weight distributed evenly between both feet. ¹⁵ Nevertheless, Flesch, who examines and combines several schools, does agree on the position of the violin. It is to be placed on the collarbone and held neither too far to the left, nor to the right, in order to maximise the easiness of drawing the bow in a parallel line with the bridge. With regard to the height, Flesch's descriptions direct to a conclusion of freedom in movement, as each possibility (too low, too flat, too high) contains its own weaknesses. ¹⁶

We must note that these written sources are only guides, and often violinists' who in theory belong to a particular national school, are seen in photographs deviating from the guidelines. However, there are some distinctive features that are more easily identified than others. For example, Auer, representative of the Russian violin school, recommended maintaining the violin in a higher position, the scroll tilted upwards. This position allows the use of gravity for movement in the left hand, allowing more freedom of movement and thus, helping to achieve smoother shifts. Although this advice is most likely intended to action whilst performing, it does result in a distinctive posture. Jascha Heifetz was a pupil of Auer and he is often seen in iconographical sources with the violin raised upwards, as seen in Figure 58. However, this mode of playing is not permanent, thus he can also be seen with the violin in a more balanced position in Figure 59.¹⁷

¹² Reproduced by permission of The Library of Nineteenth-Century Photography, ed. Nicole Crespo; Louis Spohr, *Violinschule*, trans. C. Rudolphus (London: Wessel & Co., 1832), 4; Milsom, *Romantic Violin Performing Practices, A Handbook* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), 129.

¹³ See Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance Practice, 1985.

¹⁴Spohr, *Violinschule*; Joachim, Moser, *Violinschule*; Karl Courvoisier, *The Technique of Violin Playing: The Joachim Method* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006), 7.

¹⁵ Flesch, The Art, Vol. 1, 3.

¹⁶ Flesch, 17.

¹⁷ Portrait of violinist Jascha Heifetz, 1900–1938. RP-F-F01494, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; Billy Rose Theatre Division, The New York Public Library, Jascha Heifetz playing violin in a scene from the motion picture Carnegie Hall, 1947. Image ID: 56944187, US-NYphil.



Figure 58: Portrait of Jascha Heifetz c. 1920



Figure 59: Jascha Heifetz, 1947

Posture has changed and what we observe amongst the majority of violinists today is an assortment of examples of the Russian violin school and the Franco-Belgian school. In the twenty-first century, the placement of the violin is particularly lateral, the body is straight, and feet are parallel to each other with body weight equally dispersed in order to create balance. Advice on posture has also shifted over time, but the foundations for an effective posture remain. Figure 60 is an illustration, which although it was acquired from Ivan Galamian's *Principles of Violin Teaching* (1962), it exemplifies posture that is often seen in today's players. The blue arrows added to the photograph, point towards the lateral positioning of the

violin, as well as the right elbow, which in this illustration is situated in preparation for playing at the tip of the bow. ¹⁸ Note, however, that during the action of performance, posture will inevitably alter due to natural movements during musical expression and the various technical feats to be performed. Nevertheless, obtaining a good basic posture is vital. The way the body must be placed in order to play the violin is not a natural position for the human body. Strain on the arms and neck can result if the violinist is not aware of detrimental habits, such as bending the back, excessive neck elongation or pressure under the chin. Therefore, regardless of a violinist's preference of violin school and method of playing, the end goal should always be to play in the manner that does not harm the physical body.



Figure 60: Standard mid 20th and 21st century violin position

Above all, the player should aim for a healthy and relaxed position, which should serve them throughout their career, as well as enabling them to reach their full potential. Alard's *École du violon* recognised the importance of obtaining 'an elegant and natural posture'. ¹⁹ By the 1920s, Flesch warned of detrimental problems that can occur if a stable posture is not achieved. In 1962, Galamian reinforces the player's need to 'feel at ease' and states exact instructions as unnecessary. ²⁰ A decade later, Paul Rolland and Yehudi Menuhin continue to emphasise balance and relaxation. Robin Stowell furthers the conversation by

¹⁸ Ivan Galamian, *Principles of Violin Playing and Teaching* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1962), Illustration 34, 52; Chapter 5, Video 1, linked above, explains the development of posture further. ¹⁹ Alard, *École du violon*, 14.

²⁰ Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing*; Ivan Galamian, *Principles of Violin Playing and Teaching*, rev. ed. (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 2013), 12.

differentiating between the needs of a soloist and orchestral player.²¹ Similarly to the separation between a violinist sitting down or standing, the personal physical attributes contribute to the selection in posture by each violinist. Instrumentalists with differing physical attributes cannot attempt to obtain the exact same posture and over the course of a career, a violinist is likely to experiment with differences in posture, reflecting their artistic growth and extended knowledge. Thus, creating a more personal, comfortable position.

Shoulder and Chin rests

Shoulder rests

Whilst we cannot be certain of the exact date of the invention of the shoulder rest, an early patent from the USA suggests this device dates from around the turn of the twentieth century.



Figure 61: Patent for violin shoulder rest 31 January 1882 by Francis L. Becker

_

²¹ Paul Rolland, *The Teaching of Action in String Playing: Developmental and Remedial Techniques for Violin and Viola*, (Illinois: Illinois String Research Associates, 1974, 2nd ed., 1986); Yehudi Menuhin, *Six Lessons with Yehudi Menuhin* (London: Faber Music, 1971); Adrian Eales, 'The Fundamentals of Violin Playing and Teaching', in Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, 101.

Figure 61, dating from 1882, shows a model by the violin maker Francis L. Becker, and several other patents appeared soon after. Iconographical sources dating from 1860 show Sarasate and his contemporaries without a shoulder rest, implying that no such support was available at the time. Further images of Sarasate late in his career also show no evidence of a shoulder rest.

Prior to the invention of the shoulder rest, violinists made use of padding in their jacket or a cushion to affect the same results. Flesch reported that Sarasate had an 'abnormally high arching chest', which provided natural support and created an ideal position for his violin. The use of padding is confirmed via treatises of violinists such as Ferdinand David and Louis Spohr. Figure 62 displays an image from Spohr's 1832 violin treatise. This method, which was later used by Fritz Kreisler, is similar to the use of a sponge. At 20th century violinists such as Isaac Stern and Pinchas Zukerman, who perform without a shoulder rest, usually placed a sponge under their shirt or jacket, filling the space of the neck and allowing for a more stable position.

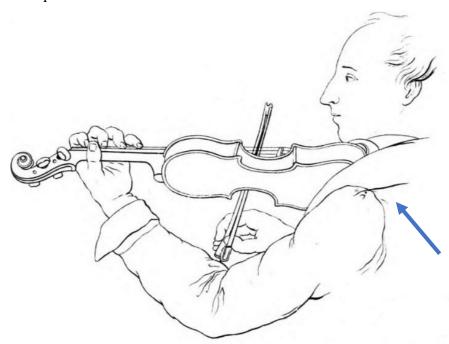


Figure 62: Violin placement in Spohr Violinschule (1832)

Whilst stability is one of the main factors in deciding whether or not to use a shoulder rest, there are also other factors to consider. Firstly, the height of a shoulder rest can be altered, the violinist can adjust it depending on the size of the neck and obtain a stable, balanced position. However, this position is then locked and does not allow movement to the

²² Carl Flesch, *Memoirs*, ed. and trans. Hans Keller (Harlow, Essex: Bois de Boulogne, 1973), 41.

²³ Ferdinand David, *Violinschule* (Leipzig, 1864), trans. as *Violin School*, ed. B. Listemann (Boston, Oliver Ditson Company, *c*. 1880), I, 7; Spohr, *Ibid*.

²⁴ Flesch, *The Art*, *Vol. 1*, 15.

violin in performance. Secondly, violinists who dislike the use of shoulder rests, often describe reduced projection, because of the legs of the rest touching the violin. However, in a similar manner, not using a shoulder rest can dampen the sound through the touch of the shoulder with the back of the violin. Thirdly, if the violinist learns to perform without support incorrectly, it can lead to painful consequences, as often, in order to maintain the violin in position, the shoulder is raised, the neck has further tension, and it is common to bend forward. Furthermore, when not using a shoulder rest, the player should place the violin on their collarbone and avoid twisting the instrument to the left.²⁵ This reasoning refines the motive behind the use of a central violin position until the shoulder rest was invented. Consequently, violinists began to place the violin laterally with more support under the chin.

On the other hand, using a sponge is often advantageous as it creates some stability, yet maintains the freedom in movement to the violin. Nevertheless, the ability to shift between positions cleanly and without raising the shoulder has to be mastered and there should be no obstruction or tension to the neck. The decision on which support mechanism to use is personal and often relies on the violinist's early years education. I perform with a shoulder rest, but in the past I have experimented and performed without one. Today, there is a wide range of players who differ in opinion and the range of options available are infinite. The foremost goal, however, should remain to play in a relaxed and healthy manner.

Chin rests

Spohr has been credited with creating the first chin rest around 1820, a tool which enabled the player to hold the violin more comfortably and securely. The advent of the chin rest enabled further progress in technique, particularly as regards to reaching positions higher than first, second and third position. This development facilitated the full usage of the violin's register, thus further aiding the development of virtuosity. We can trace the development of the chin rest during the end of the nineteenth century in images of prominent virtuoso violinists. In Figure 63, the 36-year-old Sarasate is shown with an early example of a chin rest on his violin. The chin rest is slim, so part of the violinist's chin is still placed on the wood of the violin. This particular version created additional friction so as to aid the hold of the violin but does not have the support of a modern-day chin rest. As a violinist who is now used to the more advanced chin rests, I tried an example of this particular model, and it resulted in a very uncomfortable position.

_

²⁵ Stanley Ritchie, *Before the Chinrest: A Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-chinrest Technique and Style* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), xv; Baillot, *Ibid*.

²⁶ Stanley Ritchie, Before the Chinrest, xi.



Figure 63: Sarasate's chin rest, c. 1880, London

Figure 64 shows a picture of Sarasate of similar age, although slightly older than in Figure 63, with a chin rest that more closely resembles those used today.²⁷ However, when taking into account the evidence provided by Sarasate's violins in Chapter 4, it is more likely that the violinist's chin rest preference was of the slimmer example.



Figure 64: Sarasate c. 1890

153

²⁷ JCB.

Figure 65 shows Sarasate twenty years later, towards the end of his career.²⁸ The image exemplifies Sarasate's return to the usage of a slim but more advanced chin rest than that illustrated in Figure 63. This example covers a wider section of the violin, enabling more of the chin to rest on the device and not the violin. The latter position also allows for more comfort and a better hold of the instrument.



Figure 65: Sarasate's chin rest, 1899

Lastly, Figure 66 illustrates a 69-year-old Joachim, seven years before his death, who is utilising a chin rest which mirrors contemporary examples.²⁹ The added indentation in the centre and supplementary height allows for further comfort and ease in the hold of the violin. In addition, a smaller proportion of space needs to be filled between shoulder and chin.



Figure 66: Joseph Joachim, c. 1900

154

²⁸ Pablo Sarasate (1899), Biblioteca Virtual del Patrimonio Bibliográfico, Spain, CC BY license.

²⁹ © The Trustees of the British Museum. Reproduced under CC BY-NC-SA 4.0 license.

Bow Hold

Physical Attributes

Bow hold and its management fundamentally affect a violinist's sound and technique, enabling each player to create a distinct style. In the 19th century, Auer attributed the individuality of Joachim, Wieniawski and Sarasate to their bespoke method of holding the bow, due to each having 'differently shaped and proportioned arm, muscles and fingers'.30



Figure 67: Sarasate's left hand, c. 1900



Figure 68: Joachim's left hand, c. 1900

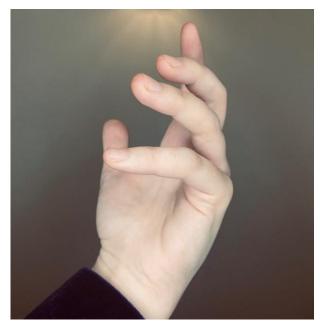


Figure 69: Nicole Crespo's hand, 2024

³⁰ Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach It, 15.

A player's specific physical attributes help to determine features in their playing. In support of this, Sarasate is often described as an effortless and elegant player. His recordings bear witness to his graceful bow and finger speed, a result of his relatively small hands and light thin fingers, which can be seen in Figure 67.³¹ Figure 68 is the hand of Joachim, Sarasate's antithesis in physique and playing style, who has larger hands and thicker fingers.³²

Figure 69 is a photo of my hand, which resembles more Sarasate's than Joachim's. Accordingly, as I have small hands and light thin fingers, I also have a predilection for playing fast. In comparison to players with bigger hands, I require bigger stretches to achieve double stops such as tenths, yet my smaller hands allow me to play easily in high registers. Therefore, we can see from these images how each violinist's hands can, to some extent, represent in miniature the type of player they are. Whilst Sarasate was described by reviewers as playing elegantly, lightly and fast, Joachim was more often depicted with adjectives such as strong, deep and moderate.

National schools - Bow holds

The establishment of music conservatoires fostered the emergence of national schools of violin playing, with which individual players could be associated regardless of their own nationality. These national schools respectively established a particular method of playing, which includes bow holds. However, in time, some bow holds developed (French), some were forgotten (German), and two remain as the most used today: the Franco-Belgian and Russian bow holds.

The evolution in player's preferences regarding their choice of bow hold has been determined by the prioritisation of comfort and ease, in order to utilise the bow's full capabilities in the freest manner. The selection is often a natural development due to a players' individual features, abilities and personal experience. Violinists and violin teachers pass on their preference in lessons with students or via pedagogical works, and these are usually indicative of the national violin school with which they identify. The various existing bow holds each have a particular placement of the fingers on the bow, wrist, elbow, and point of support.

The following descriptions of the leading national bow holds are a guideline, a starting point for violinists to experiment and find their own, individual, preferred method of playing. Auer, who taught several prominent violinists such as Mischa Elman and Heifetz, did not advise on a particular method of holding the bow. Auer specifies that his advice is based on

156

³¹ Pablo de Sarasate: [Moulage de la main du célèbre violoniste et compositeur espagnol], gallica.bnf.fr/F-Pn.

³² La main de Joachim: [Violoniste, chef d'orchestre et compositeur austro-hongrois], gallica.bnf.fr/F-Pn.

long personal experience and 'there can be no exact and unalterable rule laid down... I have found it a purely individual matter'. Turthermore, the Russian bow hold was predominantly used by his disciples rather than himself. A practical example of individuality and the fusion of national schools over time is the notion that Ivan Galamian was a student of Konstantin Mostras in Moscow; Mostras had been taught by Auer of the Russian violin school, who was a student of Joachim, of the German school. Regardless of the differences in the method of playing, national schools and their exponent violinists attempt to achieve a comparable goal: the performance of works with the outmost artistry and the domain of violin technique in order to do so.

Franco-Belgian and Galamian Bow Hold

The most commonly used bow hold today is the Franco-Belgian bow hold, developed from the French violin school and comprises of a variant named the Galamian bow hold. This bow hold's most illustrative feature is that the hand is tilted towards the index finger, but the wrist does not drop down as prominently, as can be seen in the Russian bow hold (see Figure 74 for comparison). Regarding finger placement, it is recommended for the thumb to be placed opposite the middle finger, which acts as main support. The index finger is usually placed between the first and second joints (Figure 71), and ahead of the other three fingers. The distance between the first finger and the rest often differs according to personal preference. In comparison to Sarasate's bow hold, there is a further forward inclination, and the fingers are further apart. The current Franco-Belgian bow hold places the elbow at a certain distance from the body, whilst Sarasate would have played with a lower right-arm, as per the examples above, which was generally the approach to bowing in the early nineteenth century.³⁴ However, this bow hold with a higher elbow, provides better control than the others and allows for more bow pressure and natural use of the weight of the arm. In the early twentieth century, Eugène Ysaÿe was a particular propagator of this method of bowing, which facilitated certain techniques, such as those which required the bouncing of the bow.

The Galamian bow hold is based on the Franco-Belgian but concentrates more profoundly on the natural shape of the hand. This shape can be found by dropping the wrist slightly, without the bow, and connecting the thumb and middle finger. The Principles of Violin Playing and Teaching by Ivan Galamian contains detailed instruction on this particular bow hold. It provides thorough descriptions of hand postural changes according to the

³⁴ Philip, *Performing Music in the Age of Recording*, 191–192.

³³ Auer, Violin Playing, 12.

³⁵ Galamian, Principles of Violin Playing and Teaching, 44.

location of the bow on the violin (tip, middle or heel), as well as additional variations depending on the right-hand bow technique to be used (*staccato*, *spiccato*...).





Figure 70: Franco-Belgian bow hold, 1924³⁶

Figure 71: Index finger, point of contact – Franco-Belgian bow hold

German Bow Hold

Figure 72 below displays the old German bow hold. It was based on the notion that our fingertips are the most sensitive, but it is no longer in use. The thumb was placed opposite the middle finger (similar to Franco-Belgian but unlike the French school), and as seen in figure 73, the index and middle fingers were rested on the first joint. Like the French violin school, Spohr recommends the need for a curved hand with no separation between the fingers. The wrist must be held high and the elbow low, as close as possible to the body. In order to hold the bow with the fingertips, the knuckles are required to bend and thus, does not create the most flexible position for bow changes. Flesch recollects Joachim using this bow hold and describes his changes at the heel accomplished with stiff fingers and a combination of wrist and rotating forearm movement, which according to the violinist was 'difficult to describe'. ³⁷

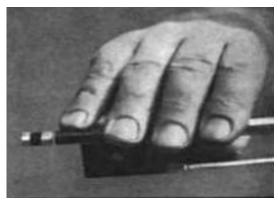


Figure 72: German bow hold, 1924³⁸



Figure 73: Index finger, point of contact – German bow hold

³⁶ Flesch, *The Art, Vol. 1*, Illustration 18.

³⁷ Flesch, *Memoirs*, 34.

³⁸ *Ibid*, Illustration 17.

Russian Bow Hold

The most prominent characteristic of the Russian bow hold is the sharp leaning of the hand, which is illustrated in Figure 74 below. The index finger is placed on the bow between the second and third joint, often close to the base joint (Figure 75). This is the deepest of all the bow holds which moves the wrist forward and allows for less flexibility at the heel, but more general speed. Although the elbow is placed similarly to the Franco-Belgian bow hold, the Russian hold controls movement from the arm, rather than the fingers and wrist movements in the Franco-Belgian manner.³⁹ Nathan Milstein and Jascha Heifetz used this type of bow hold, and as they demonstrate, the deepness on the bow can produce a profound sound. In comparison, the French bow hold is lighter and produces an equally beautiful but more elegant approach to sound.



Figure 74: Russian bow hold, 1924⁴⁰



Figure 75: Index finger, point of contact – Russian bow hold

Sarasate and the French Violin School

The French violin school's fundamentals in posture, bow hold and style of playing prioritised naturality and elegance. The goal was to develop the student's natural abilities in order to achieve what Alard described as a pure and powerful sound, without the use of tension. Figure 76 illustrates posture and bow hold in Alard's *École du Violon*, 1844 and Figure 77 shows Bériot's *Méthode du Violon*, 1858. Both illustrations represent guidelines from two of the most prominent representatives of the French violin school. They exemplify the bow hold at the heel with a low elbow, which allows the wrist to move somewhat upwards naturally. The main agreed notion for the wrist within bow holds was that it should be flexible, and both wrist and finger pressure can be used for changes of tone.

³⁹ Flesch, *The Art, Vol. 1*, 54; Yankelevich, *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Flesch, *Memoirs*, Illustration 19.



Figure 76: Illustration of posture in Alard's *École du Violon* (1844)

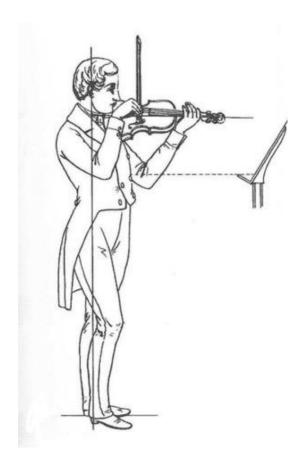


Figure 77: Illustration of posture in Bériot's Méthode de Violon (1858)

Whilst we have no footage of Sarasate in performance, our understanding of his use of the bow relies solely on documentary sources. The following description of Sarasate's bow hold, and in turn, the French violin school, is based on a combination of treatises by Bériot, Kreutzer, Rode and Alard, as well as my own experimentation following Sarasate's available bow positions. Additionally, particular photographs such as those in Figure 78 and 80 have been selected to assist in the representation. However, these depictions of Sarasate often show his bow hold at the point or at the centre of the bow. The chosen photographs were most likely intended as promotional use, therefore Sarasate does not hold the bow at the heel in order to avoid obstructing the image with a high right hand. This is still customary today.



Figure 78: Sarasate in Munich, 1884

Figure 79: Sarasate's right hand. Munich, 1884

Auer described Sarasate using all of his fingers on the bow; whilst maintaining delicacy in his passage work, he developed a free and singing tone. 42 Even though Sarasate held the bow primarily with his thumb and index finger, the grasp and distribution of the weight of the bow on the hand is different to what we are accustomed today. Presently, the thumb is placed opposite the middle finger. However, Alard recommended that the thumb be placed in the middle of the 4 fingers and allowing the rest of the hand to fall naturally. 43 Sarasate's thumb is not visible in the selected photographs but he followed Alard's advice. When the thumb is placed in the middle, the hand naturally shapes the fingers closer together

⁴¹ Franz Hanfstaengl, *P. de Sarasate/c. Fr. Hanfstaengl, Munich*, 1884, gallica.bnf.fr/F-Pn; JCB.

⁴² Leopold Auer, loc. cit.

⁴³ The terminology used in this section is 'thumb', '1' or index finger, '2' or middle finger, '3' or ring finger, '4' or little finger.

and with no separation, as seen in Figure 78. The little finger is placed lightly on the bow. This finger's role is most important when on the heel as it supports the weight of the bow, whilst when the bow is near the tip it can on occasion, leave the bow temporarily. 44 Sarasate's finger placement corresponds to the instructions set out by the French violin school, which expresses the importance of flexibility. However, this particular placement does not allow the player to utilise the full capacity of the finger's movement. Correspondingly, after seeing Sarasate perform, Juan Manén reported that he had a way of using the bow in a flexible yet immobile approach. 45 He did not flex the fingers as newer treatises at the time suggested. 46 The description confirms a lack of mobility in finger movement of the right hand. Yet, according to Manén's succeeding statement, it did not prevent Sarasate from creating a smooth and delicate sound. He conveys it originated from Sarasate's 'velvety placement of the bow on the string'. 47



Figure 80: Sarasate *c.* **1870**

⁴⁴ Baillot, 477.

⁴⁵ Juan [Joan] Manén lived between 1883–1971. He was a Catalan violinist and composer, who grew up listening to Sarasate perform live and played for the violinist on various occasions; Juan Manén. *Mis experiencias*, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1944); Lionel Salter, 'Manén, Joan [Juan]', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29502 (accessed 22 August 2024).

⁴⁶ Manén, *Mis experiencias*, 3 vols., 60.

⁴⁷ '...por la manera aterciopelada de frotarlo sobre las cuerdas'. Manén, *loc. cit.*

Figure 80 exhibits the next stage of an upward bow. Sarasate is seen placing the bow further down, closer to the centre of the bow.⁴⁸ The right arm and elbow are close to the body, in line with the French violin school guidelines and in contrast to how many violinists appear today. This arm placement means that Sarasate's wrist could move slightly forward as seen in Figure 80. As Baillot suggested, it is a natural occurrence of this bow hold. However, Figure 81, shows an older Sarasate, who although is using a similar bow hold, is separating the arm somewhat from the body.⁴⁹ Figure 78, 79, 80 and 81 display Sarasate's bow inclined towards the scroll. This is the initial bow position and use of bow hair advised by Alard. However, Alard also acknowledged the need to adjust to a full set of hair bow when performing techniques such as *detaché*, *martelé*, *sautillé* and *tremolo*.⁵⁰



Figure 81: Sarasate in London c. 1895

Technique

Sarasate acquired a reputation as a violinist with impeccable technique and perfect intonation, and indeed, Baillot explained that the requirements for a good performance are precise intonation, rhythm and cleanness, elements which are still prioritised today.⁵¹ However, for

⁴⁸ JCB

⁴⁹ Reproduced by permission of The Library of Nineteenth-Century Photography.

⁵⁰ Alard, École, 5.

⁵¹ Baillot, L'Art du Violon, (1834), 251.

Baillot, musical expression was more important than clarity and accuracy. Technique should be a tool, mastered so as to perform with simplicity, allowing artists to express themselves in service of the music. ⁵² George Bernard Shaw described Sarasate's playing in similar terms, alluding to his skills as 'necessary equipment as a first-class workman, as something which only concerns the public through its musical result'. ⁵³ Similarly, violinist Itzhak Perlman continues to advise to this day on the skill of playing with simplicity. 'You do not want the listener to realise what you are doing'. ⁵⁴ According to the following review, Sarasate achieved that: 'What surprises us first of all, in this artist, it is this marvellous facility with which he overcomes the serious difficulties'. ⁵⁵

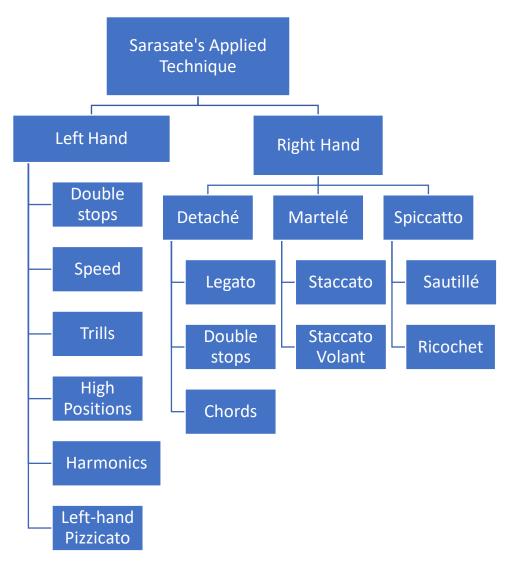


Figure 82: Left- and right-hand techniques most used by Sarasate

⁵² P. Baillot, P. Rode and R. Kreutzer, *Méthode de violon par MM. Baillot, Rode et Kreutzer, rédigée par Baillot* (Paris: Le Roy, Au Magasin de Musique du Conservatoire Royal, 1802), 158.

⁵³ Shaw, Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism, 2, 330.

⁵⁴ Itzhak Perlman, *MasterClass Video Lesson*, https://www.masterclass.com/classes/itzhak-perlman-teaches-violin (accessed 17 August 2024).

⁵⁵ 'Ce qui nous surprend tout d'abord, chez cet artiste, c'est cette facilité merveilleuse avec laquelle il surmonte les difficultés sérieuses...' *Le Ménestrel*, 29 October 1876.

An interrogation of Sarasate's repertoire sheds light on the techniques that he mastered. His compositions, as well as pieces dedicated to him continued to extend the existing repertoire, whilst also embracing new techniques such as left-hand pizzicato and ricochet. Additionally, the violin concertos and showpieces that he chose to perform provide information on the techniques that he favoured. A joint interrogation of these works aids in the creation of a musical identification and allows for a better understanding of Sarasate's capabilities. Consequently, it has been possible to list the left- and right-hand techniques most used by Sarasate, as illustrated in Figure 82.⁵⁶

Left-hand Technique

Whilst both Luis Iberni and Flesch acknowledge Sarasate's position at the forefront of violin technique, Flesch highlights Sarasate's effortless use of his left hand, without excessive finger hammering on the fingerboard. He also recollects the violinist's fingertips as smooth and ungrooved, as well as the lack of finger indentations. Thus, confirming the avoidance of extreme left-hand finger pressure. However, the numerous recollections of Sarasate's clarity in sound and articulation suggests he had refined control and independence of finger movement. Pedagogical works associated with the French violin school, such as those by Baillot and Alard, account for flexibility in finger movement and adjusted finger pressure to acquire evenness and clarity of articulation. S7 Sarasate's precise but effortless and relaxed approach to violin playing is ideal in order to perform advanced techniques and clarifies his facility with double stops and speed.

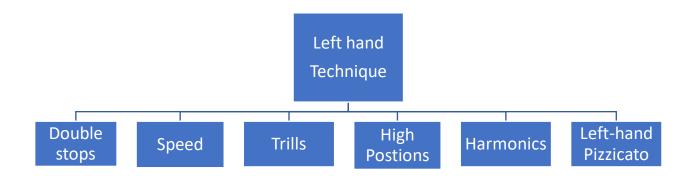


Figure 83: Sarasate's left- hand technique

⁵⁶ Certain musical combinations and patterns such as the use of diatonic, chromatic scales, *Bariolage* or his fondness for passages on the G string will not be mentioned until Chapter 7. Tone production, vibrato and portamento will be discussed separately in the following chapter with the aid of his surviving recordings from 1904; For additional information on violin technique see Simon Fischer, *Practice* (London: Peters Edition, 2004); Also, works by Flesch, Galamian and Stowell.

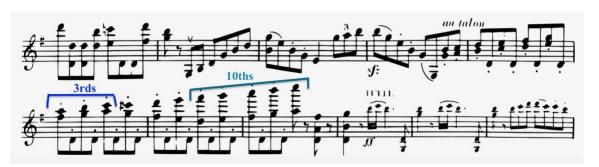
⁵⁷ Baillot, L'Art, 14; Alard, École du Violon, 11; Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance, 79–80.

165

_

Double stops are abundantly present in all of Sarasate's compositions. However, these are usually grouped in specific sections, and are mainly thirds, sixths and octaves, avoiding fingered octaves and tenths. Both fingered octaves and tenths utilise the extension of fingers and were still relatively new. Baillot's 1834 treatise is the first to discuss fingered octaves. In 1924 Flesch recollects the extent of its avoidance among violinists. If the extension of the hand is not used often, it can prove tiring and straining for people with small hands. Works such as Édouard Lalo's *Symphony Espagnole* op. 21 (1874) and Camille Saint-Saëns's *Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso* op. 28 (1863), both of which were dedicated to Sarasate, make little use of double stops. For example, the former contains only a few examples of four note chords and the latter similarly includes four note chords and one section of double stops. Both Lalo and Saint-Saëns favour lyricism, high positions, trills, sections on the G-string and speed above other technical possibilities in works written for Sarasate.

Their effective use of Sarasate's best qualities enabled Lalo and Saint-Saëns to share the accolades these works received following their performance. For example, Sarasate's performance in Leipzig on 9 October 1876 was celebrated thus: 'The virtuoso achieved the greatest success and the works he performed were appreciated at their true value'. Sarasate's favoured violin concertos also follow his preference towards lyricism, G string sections and high-speed passages. Nevertheless, his capacity for performing double stops in a comfortable manner is evident. Bruch's violin concerto in G minor op. 26, one of Sarasate's most performed violin concertos, contains abundant double stops throughout the third movement, including a section of tenths (Example 2).



Example 2: Bruch violin concerto, 3rd mov. – double stops with tenths, bars 50–58

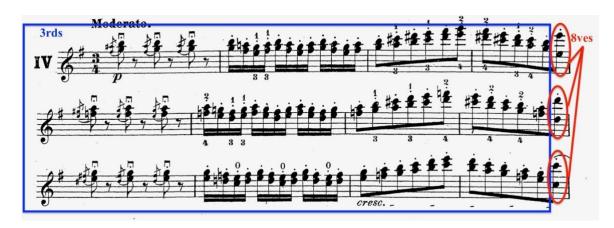
⁵⁸ Stowell, Violin Technique, 147; Flesch, The Art, Vol. 1, 43.

⁵⁹ 'Le virtuose a obtenu le plus grand succès et les œuvres qu'il faisait entendre ont été appréciées à leur juste valeur'. *Le Ménestrel*, 29 October 1876.

⁶⁰ Chapter 5, Video 2 provides examples: https://youtu.be/xxGWNdjbdqI

⁶¹ Max Bruch, Violin Concerto no. 1, op. 26 (Paris: Durand, c. 1900).

Beethoven's violin concerto in D major op. 61, another favourite of Sarasate, begins with octaves and Sarasate's own *Carmen Fantasy* op. 25, contains 46 consecutive bars of thirds at the beginning of the last and fourth section (Example 3).⁶²



Example 3: Sarasate Carmen Fantasy – double stops, bars 1–12

One of Sarasate's most identified qualities, in addition to his sweet tone, was his effortless speed. According to various critics Sarasate often played with bewildering speed, which did not influence the quality and cleanness of his sound. This feature is most noticeable in his recordings of 1904, and one that frequently astonished audiences. However, it was also a quality that critics occasionally reprimanded during performances of specific repertoire such as the Mendelssohn's concerto in E minor, op. 64. Although his performances of the work were repeatedly admired and noted for bringing out Sarasate's best qualities, they sometimes remarked on the 'excessive speed adopted in the final movement'. 63

Sarasate is often recalled by contemporaries as an ideal of technical perfection, a violinist gifted with rare dexterity. According to a critic from *Le Ménestrel*, his trills and use of high positions were of 'a desperate purity for other virtuosos'. ⁶⁴ Most of Sarasate's compositions utilise the full range of the violin, with concentration of passages on several positions, which include the top high end of the instrument. ⁶⁵ Sarasate also includes wide jumps between positions, often from first position to the higher ranges of the violin. ⁶⁶ Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen* and *Carmen Fantasy* are examples of such exercises, as is Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* (Musical Examples 4 and 5). Another feature of Sarasate's playing and

⁶² Sarasate, *Carmen Fantaisie de Concert* (Paris: Choudens, c. 1882); Chapter 7 and 8 contains further information on Sarasate's compositions.

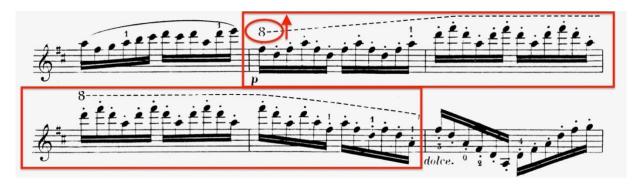
⁶³ 'Señor Sarasate's Concerts', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol 26, No, 508 (June, 1885), 331.

⁶⁴ '...ses trilles et ses notes suraiguës sont d'une pureté désespérante pour les autres virtuoses'. *Le Ménestrel*, 29 October 1876.

⁶⁵ Chapter 5, Video 3 provides further examples: https://youtu.be/JCGhO-LlilY

⁶⁶ First position is the lowest position on the violin, the hand being placed near the scroll. The use of higher positions of the violin was relatively new and was aided by the development of the chin rest.

a technique considered a staple in his compositions is left-hand pizzicato. This technique is predominantly used in his Spanish based compositions such as *Malagueña* and *Caprice Basque*, most likely imitating the sound of a Spanish guitar. However, as illustrated in Example 5, it can also be found in Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole*, proving Sarasate's influence in its creation.⁶⁷



Example 4: Lalo Symphonie Espagnole – high positions, bars 367–372



Example 5: <u>Lalo Symphonie Espagnole – left-hand pizzicato & high range jump</u>, bars 344–355

What made Sarasate exceptional was not his use of these techniques individually, but the way he combined them in a single composition and the ease with which they were executed. A salient example is *Zapateado* of 1880 where Sarasate combined in a short, 5-minute composition trills, jumps to high positions, harmonics, left-hand pizzicato and double stops; all to be achieved at speed.⁶⁸ As Flesch articulates, listeners during Sarasate's time

⁶⁷ Édouard Lalo, *Symphonie Espagnole*, op. 21 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk et Cie, c. 1875); Example 5 links to Chapter 5, Video 4 with examples.

⁶⁸ See Chapter 8.

were still used to scraping fiddlers, thus, a violinist such as Sarasate with impeccable technique and smooth sound was distinctive.⁶⁹

Right-hand Technique

Right-hand technique embraces the method in which the bow is held as well as the various ways in which the violinist utilises the bow to create a range of different sounds. Figure 84 shows his most frequent bow strokes, which are in fact a summary of all the currently available bowing options. We note an accord with a *Le Ménestrel* critic who in 1876 described Sarasate thus: 'His right wrist is prodigious and perhaps there is no artist who can argue that he wins the highest prize as regards to the handling of the bow'.⁷⁰

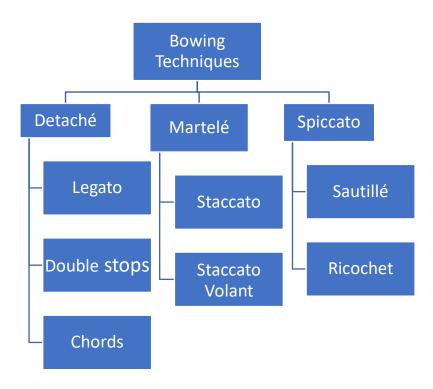


Figure 84: Sarasate's most used bowing techniques

The most discussed bowing topic is tone production, which is affected by three variables: speed, pressure and point of contact. The only available direct resource of Sarasate playing live are his recordings of 1904, which do not allow for a visual representation of Sarasate's manner of holding, placing and using the bow. Nevertheless, memories from his close circle can shed light on some of the characteristics. According to Flesch, Sarasate played with a constant stroke in the middle of the bow and hardly ever approached the

⁶⁹ Flesch, Memoirs, 39.

⁷⁰ 'Son poignet droit est prodigieux et peut-être n'est-il aucun artiste qui puisse lui disputer la palme en ce qui concerne le maniement de l'archet'. *Le Ménestrel*, 29 October 1876.

bridge.⁷¹ This corresponds with the cleanness in sound often attributed to Sarasate. Avoiding playing close to the bridge would have affected his possibilities in projection but aided in the evenness and overall quality of the sound. This habit is confirmed by Manén's recollection of Sarasate's efficient use of the bow, with a gentle approach of drawing the bow across the strings.⁷² The elegance and quality of his *detaché* and *legato* respectively, was attributed to lightness in his fingers and wrist by Alexander Mackenzie. According to Mackenzie, Sarasate performed 'with shut eyes, one could not distinguish any change of bow; and in the gracefully smooth action of the right arm lay the main secret of his fine phrasing'.⁷³ Lastly, Sarasate's uniform lightness and balance in the right arm suggests a similar approach to double stops and chords, in opposition to the overuse of pressure, which can break the sound.

The two groupings of *martelé-staccato-staccato volante* and *spiccato-sautillé-ricochet* differ principally in whether the bow is kept on the string or the bow is thrown on the string. The first group consists of short, pressured bow strokes which interfere with the natural vibration of the strings. *Martelé* and *staccato* differ mainly in the corresponding pressure accents. *Martelé* conforms to one pressure accent and *staccato* as many pressure accents as notes are in the music. Figure 85 from Flesch's *Art of the Violin* demonstrates this difference.⁷⁴

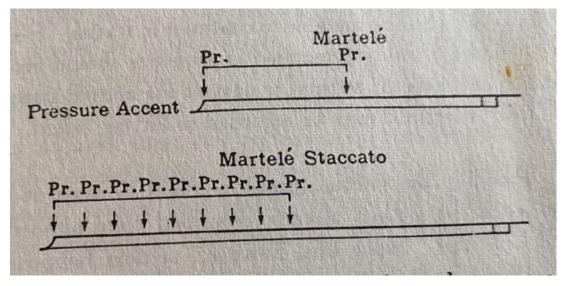


Figure 85: Differences in martelé and staccato pressure accents

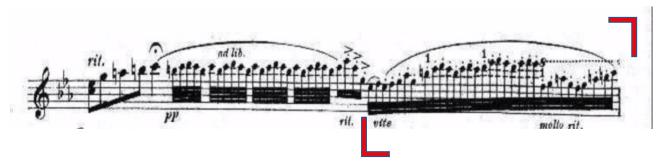
⁷² Manén quoted in Iberni, 129.

⁷¹ Flesch, Memoirs, 39.

⁷³ Alexander Mackenzie, 'Pablo de Sarasate: Some Personal Recollections', *The Musical Times* 49, no. 789 (November 1, 1908), 694.

⁷⁴ Flesch, *The Art, Vol. 1*, 69; Figure 85 links to Chapter 5, Video 5 with further explanation and examples: https://youtu.be/n7K2GxEh1FA

These bow strokes contain similarities in the method of action, but *martelé* is more severe, deriving from the French 'hammered' and rarely emerges in Sarasate's repertoire. It does, however, appear in Alard's preparatory studies which Sarasate learnt as a student. On the contrary, upward bow staccato passages are an important feature in Sarasate's technique. Note Musical Example 6 from Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen*. The rapid version of the stroke is called *staccato volante* or *flying staccato*. The stroke is defined as a combination between *martelé* and a thrown *staccato*, with the bow raised after each note. Sarasate is mentioned to have performed it at the extreme point of the bow, as recalled by a performance of Mendelssohn's violin concerto in which Flesch remembers this particular placement of the bow during the third movement.⁷⁵



Example 6: Zigeunerweisen upward staccato passage, bar 22

The second group of strokes are those which are thrown on the string and comprise of *spiccato, sautillé* and *ricochet; spiccato* and *sautillé* are the two most used by Sarasate.

During *spiccato*, the violinist is in control of each stroke; for *sautillé*, the violinist has to let the bow jump, using the natural bounce of the bow. Bachmann recalled Sarasate having a 'marvellous *spiccato*', produced at the point of the bow. ⁷⁶ However, spiccato is produced from the middle of the bow or near the frog. There is not sufficient hand control at the tip of the bow to produce an eloquent spiccato. Therefore, the placement of the bow suggested by Bachmann is not probable. Nevertheless, there is footage of Heifetz playing with a loose spiccato at the tip of the bow, thus, Bachmann's statement although improbable, could also be correct. The nature of Sarasate's repertoire includes both of these strokes, but his notorious characteristic of performing with great speed signifies a natural and fully developed *sautillé*. Long semiquaver passages with high tempo markings are common in Sarasate's repertoire, as well as his compositions, examples include both endings to *Caprice Basque* op. 24 and *Habanera* op. 21.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Flesch, Memoirs, 39; Flesch, The Art, 77.

⁷⁶ Bachmann, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, 168.

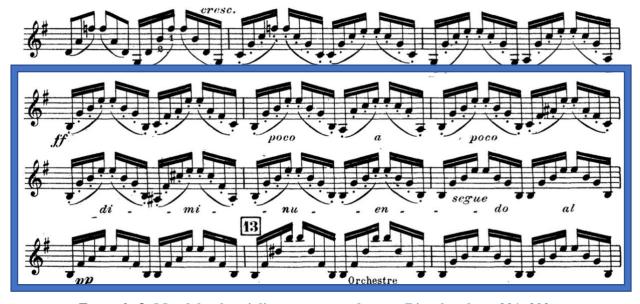
⁷⁷ Chapter 5, Video 6 provides further explanation and examples: https://youtu.be/8Qdop0hLXNg

Lastly, a well-known piece that utilises *ricochet* continuously throughout the composition and which appears often in Sarasate's programmes is Bazzini's *La Ronde des Lutins* op. 25, see Musical Example 7 below. This composition is a distinct representation of Sarasate's technique domination as it includes: double stops, harmonics, G string passages, left-hand pizzicato, high register passages, spiccato and ricochet. In spiccato every note is played actively, the player is in control. The bow is thrown on the string and picked up, but in ricochet the jump is left to the natural bounce of the bow, the violinist only gives an initial impulse, and several notes are played within one bow stroke in the same direction.

Mendelssohn's violin concerto, one of Sarasate's most performed works, also includes a full passage of ricochet in the first movement's cadenza (Musical Example 8).⁷⁸ Most violinists to date continue to perform the originally written cadenza, although there have been some examples of violinists such as Joshua Bell, who on occasion replace the written cadenza with a composition of their own. There is no record of Sarasate performing anything else but Mendelssohn's original cadenza.



Example 7: Bazzini La Ronde des Lutins op. 25, bars 49-63



Example 8: Mendelssohn violin concerto, cadenza – Ricochet, bars 291–302

⁷⁸ Chapter 5, Video 7 provides an example: https://youtu.be/sQcQpB3oxWA

Stage Presence

A correct posture also has aesthetic properties, as it can aid a performer's success or failure, a topic that can be applied to any discipline. Regardless of the music being played, audiences often listen not only with their ears but also with their eyes. Enrique Arbós, violinist and friend to Sarasate, describes the Spaniard's stage presence as a polished act that proved to be as significant to his career as his technical and artistic abilities. Arbós recalls Sarasate and his violin as being one body with effortless capacity. The violinist would often casually look around the hall with eyes almost closed, whilst smoothing his moustache, unconcerned until the exact moment in which the bow attacked his violin.⁷⁹



Figure 86: Pablo Sarasate c. 190080

Baillot discussed the particular importance in posture as an element that can charm a performance. Posture allows gracefulness to accompany movement and increases the appeal of a performance by showcasing the violinist unmistakably as master of the instrument, as an artist that can conquer the most difficult of music effortlessly.⁸¹ In 1909 Julio Altadil recalled exactly this impression during Sarasate's performances, expressing that audiences never saw

⁷⁹ Arbós, *Memorias*, 83–85.

⁸⁰ Reproduced by permission of JCB.

⁸¹ Baillot, *The Art of the Violin*, 15–16.

Sarasate make any painful gesture or frown. His body was straight, firm and gave the sensation of 'security, precision and mastery'. 82 Similarly Manén, a younger violinist and admirer of Sarasate, compared Sarasate's stillness to critics' reference to Paganini's, in which they implied that he must have had both his feet nailed to the floor. By comparison, Sarasate's lack of rocking motions were of unquestionable elegance. 83

Sarasate became known for polished elegance, both as a violinist and as a person who always strived for a perfect appearance. In order to achieve this, he arranged his hair carefully and performed from memory so as to avoid wearing glasses. ⁸⁴ The polished elegance was accompanied by a careless attitude on stage recollected by Harriet Kreisler who describes Sarasate's theatrical skills, leaving the public waiting. Just as the public thought he was ready to play, he would slide the violin off his shoulder, place his monocle and observe his public. ⁸⁵

Arbós also describes Sarasate's calmness on stage, with no preoccupation, careless so as to have forgotten his bow on one occasion and only realising as he was about to begin playing or a few occasions when violinist and orchestra began to perform different compositions. Stories such as these, humanise the virtuoso violinist, who in confidence also answered Arbós' question of whether he ever got nervous with such answer: 'Mire usted'. Arbós continues by noting Sarasate's heart thumping rigorously, which was followed by dizziness in the dressing room. Moments later, Sarasate appeared on stage smiling and conquered one of his biggest triumphs. The recollection by a close friend contrasts to the sight by everyone else concisely expressed in the following recollection by Flesch:

It was a unique experience to see this little man stride on to the platform with genuine Spanish *grandeza*, superficially calm, even phlegmatic, to witness how, after some stereotyped movements, he began to play with unheard-of sovereignty and, in a rapid climax, put his audience into astonishment, admiration and highest rapture.⁸⁹

Sarasate's posture, stance and approach to performing on stage directly impacted the audience's impressions of the violinist during his performances but also before he began to play. Thus, a good posture is not only important for maintaining an instrumentalist's physical health as well as easing the performance of the highest technical demands, but because of the confidence that it can portray. Sarasate's confidence most likely also originated from his own personal acknowledgment and trust in his technical mastery. His repertoire choices show us

⁸² Altadil, Memorias, 474.

⁸³ Manén, 31, quoted in Espejo, Sarasate, 46.

⁸⁴ Arbós, 111–112; Flesch, *Memoirs*, 38.

⁸⁵ Recollected by H. Schonberg, Virtuosi (Buenos Aires: 1986), 147.

⁸⁶ Arbós, loc. cit.

⁸⁷ Translation: Look; Arbós, *Memorias*, 188.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*.

⁸⁹ Flesch, loc. cit.

the high levels of technique that he maintained, and his capabilities comprise of all of the techniques that are still currently been used.

The various elements of this chapter begin the process of expanding our knowledge on Sarasate's features as a violinist. Even though he did not begin his musical education in Paris, and he was taught by a variety of teachers at an early stage, his posture and bow hold connect him further to the French violin school. Sarasate's playing developed within the parameters of the French violin school, becoming one of their representatives. However, Sarasate's slight lateral shift to the left in his violin placement also reveals the early stages of the development which would lead to the placement seen in today's violinists. Whilst Sarasate's affinity with the French violin school is evident, Carl Flesch reminds us that great violinists cultivate habits based on their own personal features, fusing elements from a representative school with their own characteristics, thus creating an individual artist. 90 Artists often outgrew the school they represented, demonstrated by Sarasate's career, but this was encouraged by the French violin school:

If the performer has the seed of true talent, he will eventually establish a style for himself in which he will express himself as a whole; he will take on that character of originality belonging to those who say what they feel, and who write or perform only according to the inspirations of the heart and the bursts of imagination.⁹¹

As this chapter continues to demonstrate, Sarasate is part of a group of players who created or secured repertoire, extended technique and cultivated distinct styles. Sarasate incited progress in the world of performance and became an essential figure to the development of violin playing.

⁹⁰ Flesch, *The Art of Violin*, vi.

⁹¹ Baillot, 477.

CHAPTER SIX

Sarasate's 1904 Recordings

In 1904 Pablo de Sarasate became one of the first recorded artists, joining the likes of Joseph Joachim.¹ Sarasate completed a total of nine recordings with Cie française du Gramophone, the French subsidiary company of The Gramophone Co. Ltd. established in 1899. Seven of Sarasate's recordings are a selection of his own compositions for violin and piano as well as his arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 in E flat major. The added exception is his recording of the unaccompanied and extravagantly performed *Prelude* from J. S. Bach's Partita for Violin no. 3 in E major, BWV 1006, see Table 14.

Number	Composer	Title	Duration
1	J.S. Bach	Prelude from Partita for Violin no. 3 in E major BWV 1006	2:51
2	Sarasate	Introduction and Caprice-Jota op. 41	3:57
3	Sarasate	Introduction and Tarantella op. 43	3:06
4	Sarasate	'Miramar' Zortzico op. 42	2:53
5	Sarasate	Caprice Basque op. 24	3:13
6	Sarasate	Zigeunerweisen op. 20	5:51
7	Sarasate	Spanish Dances op. 21 no. 2, Habanera	3:41
8	Sarasate	Spanish Dances op. 21 no. 6, Zapateado	3:20
9	Chopin/Sarasate	Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 in E flat major	4:26

Table 14: Sarasate's recordings, 1904

In 1903, Joseph Joachim made five recordings, as illustrated in Table 15. In comparison to Sarasate, Joachim's repertoire choices display a wider range in genre and style. Whilst two works display Joachim's role as arranger, he only recorded one of his own compositions. His chosen repertoire provides a balanced approach: two works for violin solo by J. S. Bach, one melodic composition and two virtuosic works. In contrast, Sarasate recorded nine works, eight of which intend to display his virtuosity. As Sarasate's recordings were made one year after Joachim, it is possible that his inclusion of Bach was determined by the developing perceptions of the time.

176

¹ The Symposium record label compilated old recordings of great violinists across history and issued a collection of CDs, *The Great Violinists*. Pablo Sarasate's recordings can be found as: *Pablo de Sarasate*, *The Great Violinists*, *Vol. 21 (1904–1915)* (Symposium: SYMPCD1328, 2011); Gramophone Company, *Catalogue of "Red Label" Gramophone Records [1904]*, 1st ed. (Bournemouth: E. Bayly, 1972); James L. Creighton, *Discopaedia of the Violin*, *1889–1971* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974).

Number	Composer	Title
1	J.S. Bach	Partita for Violin No. 1 in B minor, BWV 1002, Tempo di Bourrée
2	J.S. Bach	Sonata No. 1 in G minor, BWV 1001, Adagio
3	Joachim	Romance in C major, op. 20
4	Brahms/Joachim	Hungarian Dance No. 1 in G minor
5	Brahms/Joachim	Hungarian Dance No. 2 in D minor

Table 15: Joachim's recordings, 1903

Although these recordings are a valuable source to determine the violinists' stylistic choices, there are also limitations to be considered. As Robert Philip explains, these recordings are a restricted depiction of what artists would have achieved in a concert platform due to technological limitations.² Electrical amplification was not developed until the 1920s. Instead, during the early recording process, the performer's sound was gathered by a large horn.³ Due to space restrictions artists recorded with an upright piano, and there were also time constraints. There was a maximum time length that could be recorded of 'three to four minutes per side', which is why it is likely Sarasate chose to begin his Caprice Basque op. 24 from the second section of the piece, Allegro Moderato. 4 Most of Sarasate's recordings, as specified in Table 14, do not exceed four minutes, the two exceptions are the Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 in E flat major which was achievable to record on one side, and Zigeunerweisen, recorded on two separate sides. Further limitations include the restrictions on reproducing dynamics, and the psychological difficulty of recording limited takes, with no possible editing.⁵ Conversely, is it better or worse to be unaware of the ability to edit a performance? Sarasate's recordings are an example of the fresh and individualistic performances of his time, which are contrasting to the current, unachievable thrive for perfection, resulting from our recording industry.

According to letters written during his lifetime and the various recollections from colleagues, Sarasate most likely approached these recording sessions with confidence. A report from The Dresden Daily in 1906 stated: 'It was Sarasate who said that he rarely read

⁴ '78' in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2003,

² Philip, *Ibid*, 28.

³ *Ibid*, 27.

https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.J403600 (accessed 20 August 2024); See also Gordon Mumma, Howard Rye, Barry Kernfeld, and Chris Sheridan, 'Recording' in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2003, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.J371600 (accessed 22 August 2024); Andrew Blake, 'To the millennium: music as twentieth-century commodity', The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 489.

⁵ See Mark Katz, Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010).

what the critics had to say about his performance; his main object was to please his audience...' Custodia Plantón states that Sarasate was given a further opportunity to record in 1908, but he declined due to his belief that recordings ruined his art. It is possible that Sarasate did not enjoy the recording process, due to his career having always involved an audience. Sarasate's notion of performance was as a live act, and not interpreting works into a device.

The pianist in Sarasate's recordings is likely to have been his regular partner Otto Goldschmidt or Otto Neitzel who accompanied Sarasate during his tour of UK and Ireland in October and November of 1904. Neitzel's involvement may indicate that Sarasate's recordings were made in London instead, although documentary evidence attests to Sarasate's journey from London to Switzerland, followed by his return to Paris in December 1904. According to Alan Kelly and the EMI Music Archive, the majority of recordings at this time were made in Paris and the location is only noted in the catalogue when these were made elsewhere. Sarasate's entries in the catalogue do not specify a location nor a date, and the 78 rpm discs by the violinist performing *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20, *Zapateado, Spanish Dances* op. 21 no. 6, and *Tarentelle* from *Introduction and Tarantella* op. 43, all include the engraving 'Paris'. This reasoning concludes that the most liable scenario is that Sarasate recorded in Paris, accompanied by Goldschmidt. Additionally, during Sarasate's recording of *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20, he can be heard expressing short instructions to the pianist in Spanish. This detail also suggests Goldschmidt as Sarasate's piano accompanist for the 1904 recordings, as the pianist was a fluent Spanish speaker.

We must also consider Sarasate's age of 64 at the time of the recording. According to Carl Flesch, both Joachim and Sarasate declined in their last years. Sarasate began to 'play sharp and he lost his vibrato'. However, a review by Amédée Boutarel in May 1905, regards Sarasate as a violinist 'with no rival, with accuracy and purity of sound, absolute ease of execution and impeccable virtuosity'. Therefore, although it is prudent to be aware of the

⁶ The Dresden Daily, 9 November 1906.

⁷ Plantón, *Pablo de Sarasate*, 162.

⁸ Pablo L. Rodríguez, 'De la Manière des Zigeurner. On Pablo Sarasate's 1904 recordings' in *Henryk Wieniawski and the 19th Century Violin Schools*, ed. Maciej Jablónski and Danuta Jasińska (Poznań: The H. Wieniawski Musical Society, 2006), 146–147.

⁹ Ferrer, Sarasate, 492.

¹⁰ Alan Kelly with the cooperation of the EMI Music Archive, London. *His Master's Voice/ La Voix de Son Maitre. The French catalogue. A Complete Numerical Catalogue of French Gramophone Recordings made from 1898 to 1929 in France and elsewhere by The Gramophone Company Ltd/ compiled by Alan Kelly with the cooperation of the EMI Music Archive, London* (London: Greenwood Press, 1990), xxiv.

¹¹ Flesch, *Memoirs*, 40.

¹² 'M. Sarasate, ne connaît pas de rival parmi le violonistes pour la justesse et la pureté du son, l'aisance absolue de l'exécution et l'impeccable virtuosité'. Amédée Boutarel, *Le Ménestrel*, 14 May 1905.

limitations and restrictions of these early recordings, they can be examined as a partial but close representation of Sarasate's violin playing.

Notwithstanding the limitations, Sarasate's recordings produced in Paris are the only available aural evidence of Sarasate in performance. Due to the lack of editing, these recordings are authentic, and they closely resemble live performances. They are vital to achieving a holistic understanding of Sarasate's performance practices. His repertoire choices reflect his stage performances and provide critical evidence of Sarasate performing his own works. The compositions were made with the intention to illustrate the violinist's capabilities. Therefore, the recordings are useful towards understanding the representation of Sarasate as a violinist, and his performance style distinctive to him. If we also take into account the fact that Sarasate did not become a teacher by choice, unlike many others in his time who did, the concept of individuality becomes additionally rooted in Sarasate's playing.

Sound in Early Recordings

Sarasate and Joachim's recordings from 1904 and 1903 respectively are a direct link to their tone production. Although there are limitations in sound quality, the recordings are valuable and allow a fuller understanding of each violinist. Joachim's recording of his own composition Romance in C Major attests to the references of a strong, well projected sound and the recording of the Bourrée from J. S. Bach's Violin Partita No. 1 in B minor, BWV 1002 demonstrates strong attacks, clear articulation and from the string grasping for the opening chords, as well as impeccable intonation throughout the double stops, with only minor imperfections. Joachim's playing reaches the listener with more clarity and fullness of sound than Sarasate's. Either Sarasate was placed further from the recording device or his sound projection was not as powerful as Joachim's. However, Sarasate and Joachim were known as contrasting violinists, Flesch describing them both as 'the two poles of the axis around which the world of the violin had turned'. 14 Sarasate was delicate and concentrated on virtuoso programmes, the recordings prioritise that violinist. Joachim's selected compositions for the recordings are by Bach and Brahms, prioritising the composer versus the performer. The recordings of the pieces composed by the violinist himself, however, shed light to his virtuoso past. 15 The full list of Joachim's recordings portray a violinist with a deep sound and sombre personality.

Another factor to consider when discussing sound is not only the player, but the instrument they are using. The violinist is an individual, and the person will usually transfer

¹³ Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, 43.

¹⁴ Flesch, Memoirs, 79.

¹⁵ Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*.

their qualities to the violin being played. However, there are certain characteristics that upon performing on Sarasate's violins coincide with my archival findings. Examples of these are Sarasate's preference and power on the G string and the sweetness in sound in higher positions and on the E string. I experienced these characteristics naturally when performing on his Vuillaume and the 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius. ¹⁶ The videos linked below contain a description of my experience performing on these violins, which aided me in the practical understanding and affiliation to Sarasate as a violinist. ¹⁷

Timbre

Sarasate's singing-like sound and charming interpretations of melodic compositions became distinctive characteristics of his playing. Jacques Thibaud expressed that Sarasate 'literally sang on the violin, like a nightingale', Leopold Auer similarly described his sound as 'dazzling and of supreme singing quality,' whilst the Russian Musical Society stated 'Sarasate dazzles with purity of sound'. 18 The comparable descriptions of the violinist's tone convincingly confirm its quality, as well as its association to the human voice. This feature which endorses Sarasate's connection to the French violin school, can also be a direct consequence of the violinist's upbringing. Sarasate's regular visits to the opera in Madrid during his childhood are also likely to have influenced his sound. Additionally, according to Goldschmidt's memoirs, Sarasate's adoptive father Monsieur Lassabathie had a box at the Théâtre Italien in Paris where the violinist continued to grow up listening to the greatest Italian singers of the time: 'Mario, Grisi, García, Viardot, Penco, Rubini, etc'. 19 In contrast, an example from *The Musical Times*, after commenting on his neatness, describes Sarasate's tone as agreeable and thin.²⁰ The review in full does not proclaim a positive attitude to both composer and performer; Sarasate having just performed one of Lalo's violin concertos. Although the comment was most likely intended to be critical, it does confirm Sarasate's lighter, more delicate touch when using the bow. In consequence, the review highlights the differentiation and preference by some audiences towards a fuller, deeper, on the string sound,

¹⁶ See Chapter 4 for further details.

¹⁷ Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 1; See also: Pablo de Sarasate's Violins, Part 2.

Recollected by Frederick H. Martens in *Violin Mastery, Talks with Master Violinists and Teachers* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919), 265; Auer, *Violin Playing as I Teach it, 72*; 'Sarasate éblouit par la pureté du son'. *Le Ménestrel*, 23 December 1883.

¹⁹ Otto Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, JCB; Giovanni Matteo Mario (1810–1883), known as Mario was a celebrated Italian tenor; Giula Grisi (1811–1869) celebrated Italian Soprano; Pauline Viardot-García (1821–1910), French mezzosoprano and composer of Spanish origin; Rosina Penco (1823–1894), highly praised Italian operatic soprano; Giovanni Battista Rubini (1794–1854), celebrated Italian tenor.

²⁰ 'Philharmonic Society', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 16, no. 376 (1874), 511.

a tone affiliated to the contrasting violinist Joachim, who was more popular in the British press.²¹

Sarasate was not a representative of power in sound, instead he was attributed with having a sweet, elegant tone, which is coherent when combining the information encapsulated in previous and subsequent chapters of technique and mode of playing the violin.

Furthermore, delicacy and lightness are indeed what comes through in his recordings. A component of Sarasate's influence was due to having obtained a reputation for neatness and lack of friction. Sarasate's eloquence derived from both left- and right-hand technical mastery. The left hand was efficient, with clear left-hand finger movement, and customarily precise intonation. Additionally, the violinist purposely aimed to achieve an ideal sound with the movements and gracefulness of his right-hand, distinguished by elegance and smoothness, a distinctive and contrasting feature to other violinists of the time. ²² It is not until Heifetz's era in which cleanness in tone production became a regular and expected characteristic in all violinists. ²³

The aim towards creating an individual tone was encouraged in French practices. Baillot in *The Art of the Violin* warns against imitation and the sacrifice of musicality. ²⁴ The lack of recordings during Sarasate's time would have aided in the development of the violinist's individuality and pure sound, creating a broad spectrum and allowing originality to flourish without the masses of outside influence. Therefore, such contrast between Joachim's and Sarasate's bow usage and tone production is expected. Sarasate's individuality also originated from the style of repertoire he favoured. He often combined virtuosity, through his Spanish Dances, and melodic compositions, such as his arrangements of Chopin's works. The repertoire chosen for his recordings attest to this. However, Sarasate prioritised virtuosity and technical facilities and as such there are only brief moments in which we are able to fully examine Sarasate's sound qualities. Sarasate's recording of Chopin's *Nocturne* in E flat major op. 9 no. 2, provides passages in which Sarasate indulges in melodic moments, helping to confirm the depictions of his sound as silky and elegant. In comparison to Joachim, the sound produced suggests a softer right-hand touch on the string. Instead of deep pressure, on the string sound, Sarasate performs with lightness in his right hand and arm. The consequence of this is that Sarasate would have had to perform with longer, wider strokes, changing bow

²¹ Joachim's influence is concurred when Cambridge University conferred him the degree of Doctor of Music in 1877; 'Philharmonic Society', *London Evening Standard*, 4 May 1864; 'The Joachim Festivity at Cambridge', *Illustrated Sporting and Dramatic News*, 17 March 1877.

²² Flesch, Memoirs, 39.

²³ Philip, Performing Music in the Age of Recording, 12.

²⁴ Baillot, L'Art du Violon, 140–4, quoted in Stowell, Violin Technique and Performance Practice, 136.

often, whilst Joachim could utilise more pressure on the string and slower bows, not having to change bow as often. These are two different approaches to tone production which are representative of the violinists they were and the repertoire they performed. Additionally, Sarasate's approach and general lower volume is confirmed in a set of orchestral scores found at *The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona*. All dynamics of all instruments in the score are marked in pencil, lowered from what is written in the edition. However, this variant should be taken into consideration, as it is common practice when performing with soloists, to lower dynamics and for the orchestral players to be more aware of their projection.

The lack of friction in the sound is difficult to assess given the limitations of the recording technology in 1904, but Sarasate's quality when playing in the G-string is not. Although it has been established that Sarasate was generally not a violinist with a powerful sound, his use and preference for *sul G* passages is not surprising. The recordings reveal power and depth of tone when he reaches the G string. The closeness to the recording apparatus can be a possible factor for the additional tone power and quality, however, the combination of preference for this technique and sound indicates that it is a quality embedded in Sarasate's playing. Furthermore, the maintenance of quality and sweetness during the harmonics in *Habanera*, *Spanish Dances* op. 21, no. 2, also exemplify Sarasate's extraordinary tone quality.

Vibrato

Whilst tone quality is a subjective aspect due to the variety in perception according to the preferences of listeners, within sound there are elements that can be applied to change the natural tone of the violin. The oscillations created by *vibrato* for example, can increase the warmth and quality of the tone. Inventions such as chin rests and shoulder rests allowed for a more secure and comfortable placing of the violin, and in turn influenced the development and use of many violin techniques, including vibrato. The combination of vibrato with an early chin rest and no shoulder rest is certainly possible but it would have been less comfortable and might cause a player to create tension in the neck and shoulder in order to secure the violin.²⁶

Baillot's *L'Art du Violon*, a staple of the French violin school, includes a variety of methods for *undulating* the sound. According to Baillot it can be achieved by varying the pressure with the bow, left hand rocking movements (*vibrato*) and a combination of both methods simultaneously.²⁷ In accordance with the traditions of the time, Baillot advises

²⁵ See Katz, Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music.

²⁶ Milsom, Romantic Violin Performing Practices, 131.

²⁷ Baillot, 137–9; Stowell, *Violin Technique*, 208.

against overuse and recommends beginning and finishing the note without vibrato for intonation purposes.²⁸ Flesch extends the discussion to parameters that are still in use today. In order to create vibrato, the impulse can originate from the finger, wrist or arm; often, a variety of these are used. He also expresses the opinion that to obtain the perfect vibrato, a violinist must use all three.²⁹ Once the movements are understood, several types of vibrato can be created: slow, fast, wide or narrow. The location and particular finger on the string will affect the method and type of vibrato, but most violinists have a preference towards one particular form.

The most notable transformation in vibrato practices occurred during the beginning of the twentieth century. Until that point in time and with the exception of Geminiani, violinists had utilised vibrato mostly as an ornament, to change the sound and create tension during a long note or specific moment.³⁰ Treatises by Leopold Mozart, Spohr and Baillot attest to this practice, as well as a recollection by Jelly d'Aranyi in which Joachim advised a student the following: 'Never too much vibrato! That's circus music'.³¹ This attitude changed, utilising vibrato in a continuous manner so as to enhance the tone of the violin unceasingly.³² Auer's teaching years are placed in the transitional period, he was a teacher who discouraged his students from utilising continuous vibrato, in favour of the older practice, fighting against it and in his own words, often without success.³³ Jascha Heifetz, one of Auer's most successful students, alongside Fritz Kreisler, became influential advocates of the continuous vibrato.³⁴ Many accredit Kreisler as the foremost influence of this development, which progressed to not only continuous but also rapid vibrato.³⁵ This practice does not allow the natural tone of the violin to come through and it is avoided further with the prevailing inclination in the avoidance of open strings.

Sarasate is placed in the pre-transitional period and utilises the direct tone of the violin, only applying vibrato during specific moments, such as long notes. Sarasate's teacher, Alard, does not mention vibrato in his treatise, suggesting a lack of importance instilled by his teacher or an assumption towards its personal nature. Sarasate also tailors his vibrato to the music he was playing. In contrast, Joachim's use is very clearly ornamental, even in his

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Flesch, *The Art*, 39.

³⁰ Philip, Early Recordings and Musical style, 203.

³¹ J. Macleod, *The Sisters d'Aranyi* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1969), 48; Philip, *loc. cit*; Stowell, *Violin Technique*, 202; Leopold Mozart, *Versuch Einer Gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Johann Jacbon Lotter, 1756); Louis Spohr, *Violin School*, trans. John Bishop (London: Robert Cocks & Co., ca. 1850); Baillot, *L'Art du Violon*, 1834.

³² *Ibid*, 108.

³³ Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach It, 24

³⁴*Ibid*, 106; Philip, *Performing Music*, 106.

³⁵ Stowell, *Beethoven: Violin Concerto*, 193–195.

Romance in C Major, a contrasting piece to Bach or Brahms, in which the violinist could have indulged and instead the direct tone of the violin can be heard. It confirms Joachim following his own advice of not utilising too much vibrato. Sarasate's recordings combine two opposite sides of the violinist's repertoire and does allow an entry into Sarasate's vibrato usage, but it is not enough to provide a full spectrum. The question remains, what kind of vibrato would Sarasate have used for example in a violin concerto, where technique and melody are fused? Also, both Joachim and Sarasate's recordings suggest that vibrato was used more often then is assumed at this time. Rather than continuous vibrato having appeared abruptly, it is more likely that its development was linear and a natural progression. Sarasate's usage of vibrato in Chopin's piece, which creates warmth in the tone, and lack of in his own Zigeunerweisen, allures to an understanding of its usage and its implications.

Sarasate's recordings confirm a select use of vibrato, although his recorded legacy includes compositions of fast tempo with difficult techniques. Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* in E flat major op. 9 no. 2, a composition slower in nature, contains multiple long notes, in which Sarasate utilises vibrato almost on a continuous basis; the violinist briefly stopping to allow shorter valued notes such as quavers and cadenza moments to sing senza vibrato. According to Manén, Sarasate's vibrato was extremely slow, a characteristic that is confirmed in the recording, but it is also broad, merging into the singinglike style of his sound, imitating the vibrations of the natural voice.³⁷ This reproduction is unsurprising from an era in which vocal technique was often referred to for violin practices.³⁸ On the other hand, Joachim's use of vibrato throughout the recordings is scarce, often notes can be heard without any vibrato. When Joachim utilises vibrato, it is close and fast, just as Flesch describes.³⁹ Joachim's vibrato fits within the parameters of an ornament, used only in specific moments, and as it is rather fast, it is very noticeable. In comparison, Sarasate's vibrato is slower and wider, moulding into the calm nature of Chopin's composition and changing the warmth of the tone, fittingly for such a piece. Sarasate's recording of Miramar (Zortzico) op. 42, Habanera, Spanish Dances op. 21 no. 2 and Caprice Basque op. 24 return the violinist to utilising vibrato with a select usage. In comparison to Joachim, it is still used more often, is not as ornamental, and it is somewhat blended into the sound. Furthermore, Sarasate's use of vibrato in the opening of Zigeunerweisen op. 20, specifically the first three notes, is surprisingly bare, a performance that would be unheard of today. 40

³⁶ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, 118.

³⁷ Manén, Mis experiencias II, 60.

³⁸ Milsom, *Theory and Practice*, 144.

³⁹ Flesch, *Memoirs*, 38.

⁴⁰ Katz, Capturing Sound, 98.

Portamento, Fingering and Shifts

Portamento is noted by Auer as one of violin's greatest effects, but like vibrato, only when used in moderation and good taste. Both Auer and Flesch criticise the frequent abuse with which portamento was used in the early twentieth century. Auer also recommended a development of good judgment through the observation of its use by good singers. Unlike vibrato which developed from being used sporadically to continuously, portamento has had the opposite progression. Its usage has transformed from abundance to scarcity. Early recordings demonstrate regular appearances, as frequent as with every change of position, whilst this has developed to a preference towards subtlety and 'clean' playing. There are violinists today such as Itzhak Perlman who indulge in portamento usage when performing romantic repertoire, and as such they create a pathway towards old-school manner of playing. However, today, the general contemporary accord is to minimise the use of portamento.

Portamento is an uninterrupted shift with a slide between two notes, and there are various methods according to the fingering being used. Flesch recommends two and regards another as a 'devilish invention', see Example 11.⁴³ The first (a), sliding with one finger uninterrupted (glissando). Secondly, the B-portamento (b), in which the beginning note slides to an intermediary finger and the second finger interrupts the slide. Thirdly, the L-portamento (c) in which the slide is predominated by the intermediary note to the second note. These methods are labelled after the first letter of the note that characterises each portamento: B-portamento -'Beginning note' and L-portamento- 'Last note'.⁴⁴ Alard does comment on the usage of portamento and similarly to other pedagogues such as Spohr, recommends the usage of the B-portamento.⁴⁵ However, Alard describes two exceptions in which L-portamento may be used: when the notes are separated by one or more strings and a slide to a harmonic.⁴⁶ These exceptions allude to a slight acceptability for the L-portamento and according to Flesch, Sarasate introduced a discreet form of the L-portamento, which was later reintroduced by Kreisler.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach it, 22 & 30; Flesch, The Art of Violin Playing, Book I, 30.

⁴² Philip, Early Recordings, 143.

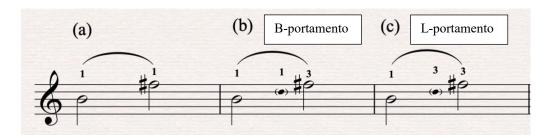
⁴³ Flesch, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁴ Flesch, *The Art of Violin Playing I*, 30, quoted in Philip, *Early Recordings*, 145.

⁴⁵ For a detailed commentary on the development of portamento through time see Philip, *Early Recordings and Musical style* and Stowell, *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*.

⁴⁶ Delphin Alard, *École du violon/ Escuela de Violin*, trans. Antonio Romero y Andia (Madrid: Romero y Marzo, 1877), 68.

⁴⁷ Philip, *Ibid*, 145; John Dunn, *Violin Playing* (London: *The* Strad Office, 1898), 31, quoted in Philip, *loc. cit.*



Example 9: Three methods for fingering portamento

As Philip states, commentary from various sources on Sarasate's use of portamento is contradictory. Thus, I examined the scores belonging to Sarasate further. At Through the inspection of fingerings and bowings, I had hoped to understand Sarasate's decision-making. However, all of the scores encountered belonging to him are strikingly devoid of markings. Excluding one or two bowings and fingerings in a select number of compositions, Sarasate's hand-written scores and editions are untouched. Either they were never marked, or he destroyed the annotated versions. Therefore, various possibilities can be presumed regarding Sarasate's approach to practice: 1 - he was a spontaneous player, making decisions during performance, 2 - he made decisions in advance, but committed everything to memory or 3 - he did not mark the score because he often made changes, and did not want to commit to one option. Although first editions are available which contain a number of fingering and bowings, there is no way of confirming that these are exactly the suggested markings by the Spanish violinist. Therefore, as documentary evidence limits our understanding, Sarasate's recordings are our most direct methods of understanding the violinist's use of portamento.

Sarasate's recording of *Habanera* provides a view of his delicate and selective approach to the use of portamento. The shifts are never too close together and are usually employed when changing to a high position. The L-portamento as described by Flesch, quick and discreet, is heard in the recording, an example of which is bar 19 (Example 10).⁴⁹ However, in bar 78 (Musical Example 11), Sarasate does a rapid movement from a double stop in thirds (e'' and g'') to a consecutive double stop in thirds (c''' and e'''); such a fast movement suggests that Sarasate is most likely shifting with the same fingers, thus in this example he is utilising example 'a' from above.

⁴⁸ AMP

⁴⁹ Sarasate, Spanish Dances II. Habanera op. 21 no. 2 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1878).



Example 10: Sarasate Habanera, L-portamento, bars 18 to 19

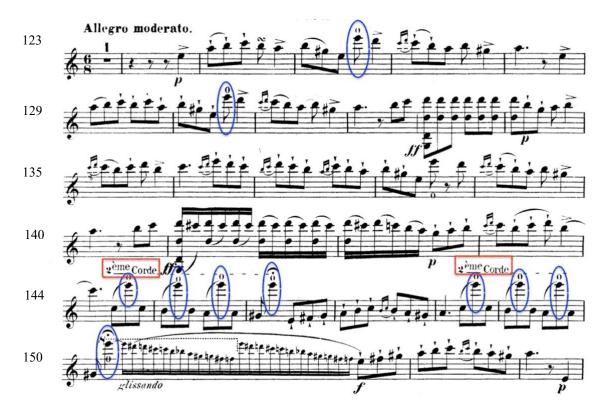


Example 11: Sarasate *Habanera*, portamento (a), bars 77 to 78

Sarasate employs all three of the methods previously mentioned. However, bars 93–108, the scale passage, contains no portamento at all, and is performed impeccably clean. Additionally, bars 109–124, the most melodic moment of the piece, in which Sarasate could have indulged with portamentos, contains a very delicate balance, with only a few, well selected slides. If today's standards on the use of portamento are considered, in which consecutive sliding between notes is not heard as often, then Sarasate applies portamento frequently. However, if we consider instead that at the time of the recording, it was very common for artists to use portamento repeatedly, then within that context, Sarasate does not utilise portamento as often as it could be expected.

Caprice Basque is an example that illustrates a pattern in Sarasate's use of portamento. Bar 126, which falls at the beginning of the Allegro Moderato showcases Sarasate's hand impulse to the e''' harmonic at the top of the A string. He repeats this movement 10 times in the space of 30 bars, see Example 12 below. This movement and slide up to a harmonic placed on top of the string is a slide that reoccurs in many of his compositions and recordings. Furthermore, from a visual point of view, it would have been very effective and playful to audiences. In contrast, Miramar (Zortzico) op. 42, revisits the balanced approach of the Habanera. Portamentos are used often but in most cases, when ascending, changing to at least two positions above from the notated pitch. Its use is not frequent, instead an effective tool to change the sound and create a sweetening effect. Sarasate's pure sound, absent of effects, can also be heard in the recording. The violinist

achieved a balanced, delicate method of utilising portamento, which to the listener sounds natural, yet effective.



Example 12: Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 123-152

In his recording of his arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne*, Sarasate indulges often and utilises portamento more often than in his other interpretations. Moreover, he employs all three methods, including the neglected L-portamento. Frequently, slides are used descending, ascending and close together. Although Sarasate employs all methods of portamento, the one finger slides are the most heard. The *Introduction and Caprice Jota* op. 41, also contains a substantial amount of portamento during the melodic moments. The most contrasting piece in Sarasate's recordings is the performance of Bach's *Prelude* from Partita No. 3 in E major, BWV 1006, which contains clean shifts and no portamento. However, this is understandable, due to the motor rhythm throughout the composition and the speed at which Sarasate performs it. Thus, there are not many opportunities to apply it. To date, there is a wide debate regarding approaches of performing style in Bach's compositions, but the discussion cannot be applied to Sarasate's performance, as he chose to play a composition that adhered to his virtuosic pattern. Sarasate's choice of repertoire attests to the opinion that he would have performed in the manner appropriate to him as a violinist and less so, to the period of the composition he was performing.

Tempo and Technique

Tempo

Sarasate's 1904 recordings demonstrate one of the qualities that critics and audiences often allude to when describing Sarasate's playing: effortless speed. Although his fast playing is a skill and indeed would have been an effective method of astonishing an audience, the most noticeable feature to highlight is the effortlessness within the high speed. There is a difference between a violinist playing fast and a violinist performing fast, whilst being effortless, elegant, tasteful and maintaining a beautiful sound. These qualities are heard in Sarasate's recordings despite the limitations in quality and his more mature age, which alludes to the violinist's exceptional capabilities. The following examples aim to display Sarasate's speed and the violinist's facility with specific techniques.

The most immediate distinguishing characteristic of Sarasate's recording of J. S. Bach's *Prelude* from Partita for Violin No. 3 in E major is the vast speed Sarasate embraces. He completes the performance in 2 minutes and 40 seconds, with an average metronome mark of =158. Table 16 below displays a list of violinists and their respective completion timings of the same piece. The violinists chosen are distinguished examples throughout history in order to create a comparison across a broad spectrum, although historically informed performances have been excluded. Sarasate's performance is the fastest and confirms his own remark that 'I play that [the *Prelude*] faster than anyone else!'. The chosen recording by Menuhin is of an older age, but only nine years older than Sarasate's age at the time of recording. There are other recordings of the same violinist when he was younger that encapsulate a faster timing. This discrepancy suggests the differences and developments in taste and skill that occur to musicians as they age. However, Sarasate's recording was made during Sarasate's older years, thus, are we to assume that Sarasate might have performed this piece faster? or, does it confirm that Sarasate's skills were as sharp as they were at a younger age.

⁵⁰ Augustin Hadelich, *Home Video: Bach Praeludium E Major*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f5v2HWE-0dI (accessed 23 August 2024); Jascha Heifetz/ J. S. Bach, 'Partita for solo violin No.3 in E Major, BWV 1006: I. Preludio'. *The Heifetz Collection, Volume 17. Bach: Sonatas & Partitas.* Recorded in 1952, RCA-Gold Seal/Sony Music Entertainment, 09026617482, 1996; Hilary Hahn/Bach. 'Partita No. 3 in E Major, BWV 1006: I. Preludio'. *Hilary Hahn plays Bach.* Sony Classical, SK 62793, 1997; Yehudi Menuhin. *Yehudi Menuhin plays J.S. Bach. Partita for solo violin No. 3 in E Major (Prelude), 1985*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYa4nuBwmWo (accessed 23 August 2024).

51 '¡Eso lo toco yo más de prisa que nadie!', Arbós, *Memorias*, 406.

Performer	Date	Age at time of recording	Duration	Average Metronome markings
Pablo Sarasate	1904	60	2:40	=158
Augustin Hadelich	2020	36	3:06	=138
Jascha Heifetz	1952	51	3:13	=128
Hilary Hahn	1997	18	3:32	=120
Yehudi Menuhin	1985	69	3:40	=115

Table 16: Comparison of recordings of J.S Bach's *Prelude*Partita No. 3 E major BWV 1006

Whilst Sarasate's choice of tempo may have been influenced by the time constraints of the technology of his time, it does corroborate his predilection for playing fast. It is evident that the violinist prioritised giving a virtuosic and energetic performance above a depiction of perfect, technical violin playing: an example of the French violin school's conception of technique serving the purpose of music. Sarasate's rendition of the *Prelude* is very distinguishable and contrasting to contemporary examples. Arbós comments that the playing of Bach was not one of Sarasate's strengths. Sarasate regarded Bach's compositions more effective for practice rather than the stage, indicative of Bach's reception at the time. Sarasate deferred including Bach's compositions in his repertoire until his latter years.⁵²

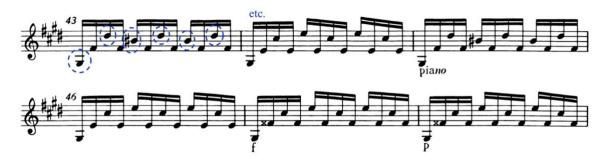
Nevertheless, the choice to record this composition confirms the growing popularity of the time in reviving past works and demonstrates Sarasate's skill. At times, the high speed of Sarasate's playing creates the effect of transforming single semiquavers into double stops, grouping the harmony. His speed does not interfere with clear spiccato passages, such as the one illustrated in Example 13 but towards the end of the recording, it does interfere with cleanness, as we can hear the passing of open strings.



Example 13: J.S Bach *Prelude* Partita No. 3 E major BWV 1006, bars 16–21

⁵² Arbós, *Memorias*, 185.

Lastly, an elegant differentiation between notes comprising of the melody line and those which are accompaniment can be heard for example in passages such as the one highlighted in Example 14 which comprises bars 43 to 48.⁵³



Example 14: J.S Bach *Prelude* Partita No. 3 E Major BWV 1006, bars 43-48

Sarasate chose to record a majority of fast-paced compositions. However, there is one exception, his arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* in E flat major op. 9 no. 2. This was one of Sarasate's most performed pieces during his career. The slow-paced composition displays Sarasate's balanced approach and beauty of sound, whilst maintaining his virtuosity through small bursts of improvisatory-like cadenzas. The cadenzas, however, are not played in his usual, full virtuosic form, but rather they are ornamental and often include long pauses. Additionally, the last cadenza of the piece is shortened, replaced by a chromatic ascending and descending short passage, to accommodate the recording technology. Sarasate's faster passages are performed without endangering the cleanness or elegance of his sound, always maintaining naturality and inclusion of the piece. Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's piece is not performed often, therefore a thorough comparison of tempo is ineffective. However, Sarasate's overall tempo is a fraction slower than Heifetz's recording of the same piece. Sarasate's overall tempo is a fraction slower than Heifetz's recording of the same piece.

Effects of Tempo in Performance Practice

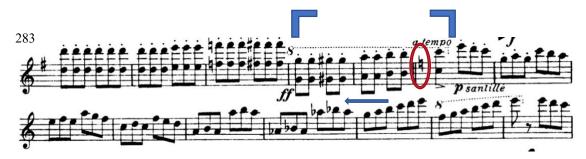
As in his recording of Bach's *Prelude*, Sarasate has an inclination to play all fast passages found in his recordings at vast speed, and documentary sources suggest that this predisposition occurred during live performance as well. The *Tarantella* from *Introduction* and *Tarantella* op. 43 is performed at an average of =120, which is maintained until the end of the piece. There is no variation in speed, nor evident need to slow down for the pizzicato

⁵³ J. S. Bach, *Partita No. 3 E Major BWV 1006*. Neue Bach-Ausgabe, ed. Günter Haubwald (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958).

⁵⁴ Fabian, loc. cit.

⁵⁵ Jascha Heifetz, André Benoist/Frédéric Chopin/Sarasate, 'Nocturne, op. 9 no. 2 in E Flat major (1990 Remastered)', *Jascha Heifetz · Frédéric Chopin The Heifetz Collection - Vol. 1 (1917 - 1924); The Complete Acoustic Recordings*. Recorded in 1918, BMG Music, 2011.

elements, jumps from low to high positions in the violin, quick runs or G string passages. Sarasate's speed is metronomically constant and showcases a controlled and clean ricochet. However, there is a deliberate ritardando in bar 286, 2 bars prior to entering into the last section of the piece and coinciding with the final key change, as seen in Example 15.⁵⁶ The previous constant fast speed and the selection of slowing down only once, enables Sarasate to create a contrasting and effective moment of tension.



Example 15: Sarasate Introduction et Tarantelle op. 43, bars 283-296

A factor that would have taken place in Sarasate's decision to record the *Allegro* Moderato from Caprice Basque op. 24, is that the particular chosen extract is an excellent demonstration of Sarasate's most used and preferred techniques.⁵⁷ Each variation is performed in the expected fast speed accustomed to Sarasate's style. However, in contrast to the example Introduction and Tarantella op. 43, each variation is separated by a minor ritardando. The constant speed is maintained within the variations regardless of the techniques being used. These include passages of semiquavers with harmonic jumps to the top end of the violin, three note chords to be performed in triplets and maintaining speed, left-hand pizzicato similar to Paganini's Caprice No. 24 op. 1 and the combination of fast semiquavers in very high positions, as well as arpeggiated across the violin. Although these passages are performed with virtuosity, clarity and elegance by Sarasate, two further distinguishable moments can be heard during the variations set out in bar 170 and bar 222. Example 16 are bars 170 to 179 from Sarasate's Caprice Basque, in which he writes a melody with simultaneous left-hand pizzicato.⁵⁸ In Sarasate's recording, as well as playing this particular section within its speed, Sarasate maintains perfect precision and the pizzicato does not interfere with the quality of the melody on the right-hand.

⁵⁶ Pablo Sarasate, *Introduction et Tarantella*, op. 43 (Leipzig: Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, 1899).

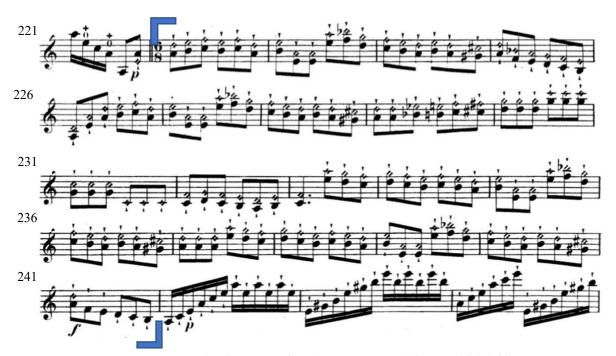
⁵⁷ For further information on Sarasate's most used right and left-hand techniques see Chapter 5. For a more detail view of Sarasate's compositions see Chapter 7 and 8.

⁵⁸ Pablo Sarasate, *Caprice Basque* op. 24 (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, 1880).



Example 16: Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 170-179

Example 17 illustrate bars 221 to 244 from *Caprice Basque* op. 24. The particular section to be referred to consecutively is bar 222 to 241, in which Sarasate writes a passage of harmonics. In order to maintain his speed Sarasate plays the quavers spiccato, but the shortness and speed do not interfere with the quality of the harmonics. Even across the lack of quality in the recording, the harmonics are clear and clean. Furthermore, Sarasate employs several glissandi during the passage and finalises with a broader ritardando, contrasting with those previously employed during the piece. Sarasate slows down, emphasising strongly the 6 quavers in bar 241, in order to restart at full speed in bar 242 and conclude the piece with his natural virtuosity.



Example 17: Sarasate Caprice Basque op. 24, bars 221-244

These examples examined above reveal a pattern in Sarasate's own performance practices relating to his own compositions. There is a predilection for fast, continuous speed with brief, select moments of ritardando, a method of forming tension within his compositions, whilst maintaining an effective virtuoso performance. Sarasate executes these

compositions to showcase his abilities with apparent ease, naturalness and certainty of execution.59

Technique - Deviation from the score

According to Flesch, neither Joachim nor Sarasate mastered a 'normal staccato', but Sarasate's recording of *Zigeunerweisen* contradicts this.⁶⁰ Figure 87 shows bar 23 of the composition, which as the recording demonstrates, Sarasate performs using staccato volant or flying staccato. Although a normal staccato and staccato volant utilise different right-hand and bow pressure, the latter is a development of the first. The *flying staccato* is lighter and faster, releasing the bow after every note; a technique considerably harder to master than normal staccato. 61 Sarasate's lightness and quality attests to the violinist's right-hand skill and contradicts Flesch's statement. Leopold Auer's description of Sarasate's staccato volant as 'infinitely graceful' confirms the discrepancy. 62

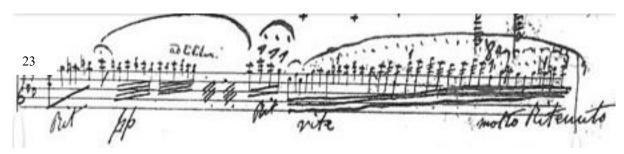


Figure 87: Sarasate Zigeunerweisen op. 20, bar 23. Autograph manuscript

Example 18 below displays two further examples of staccato passages recorded by Sarasate. 63 These are found in bars 115–116 and 119–120 of Sarasate's Zapateado op. 23 no. 2. As in the previous recordings, these passages are executed within a constant, fast speed, whilst maintaining a sense of elegance and clarity in the sound. The overall recording of the composition preserves this character, rarely utilising rubato and pauses.

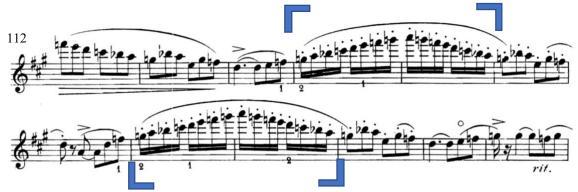
⁶¹ See Chapter 5.

⁵⁹ Fabian, 'The Recordings of Joachim, Ysaÿe and Sarasate, 198; Shaw, Shaw's Music: The Complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes, 2, 365.

⁶⁰ Flesch, The Art of Violin Playing: Book One, 69.

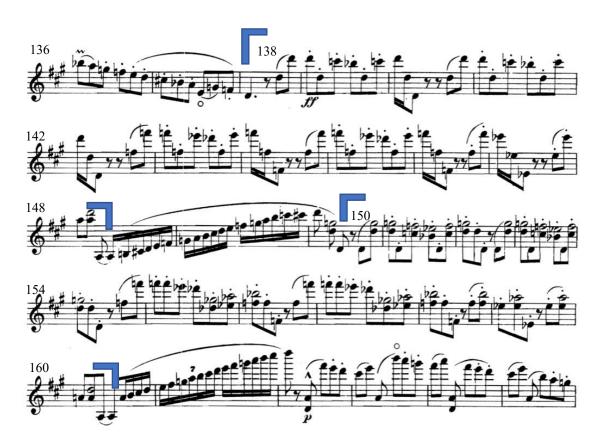
⁶² Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach It, 72; Autograph manuscript. Pablo Sarasate, Zigeunerweisen op. 20 for violin and piano, US-NYp.

⁶³ Sarasate, Zapateado op. 23 no. 2 (New York: Carl Fischer, 1892. Plate 3327).



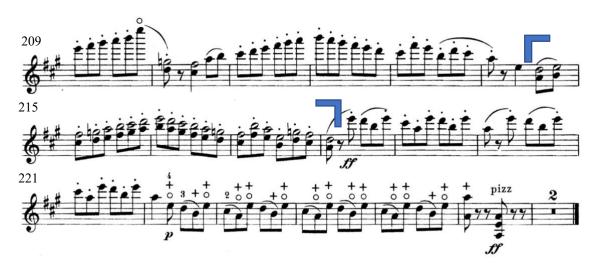
Example 18: Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 112-123

Sarasate's recording of *Zapateado* also provides an example of Sarasate's regard of the score as a guide, as he deviates from the written score during his interpretation. In minute 2:04 of the recording Sarasate arrives at bar 150. The autograph score and first edition contain a passage of harmonics during bars 150–160. Sarasate instead of playing harmonics, repeats the passage found in bars 138–148, as seen in Example 19. The avoidance of harmonics could be due to several reasons. The first and most reasonable explanation is an acknowledgement of the lower quality in sound that could be produced in recordings at that time. Thus, Sarasate could have decided to avoid a large passage of harmonics that might not be audible.



Example 19: Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 136-165

However, there are other instances in the piece where Sarasate maintains the written harmonics, such as the passage displayed in Example 20, bars 214–218. Furthermore, in his recording of *Habanera*, *Spanish Dance* op. 21 no. 2, Sarasate does not omit any of the harmonics written from bars 31–41. The second reason is a simple memory loss moment, although as the work's creator this seems unlikely. Moreover, this is a piece that the violinist performed often and there is no hesitation upon arriving at the particular passage. Thirdly, a convincing option is that Sarasate could have been accustomed to performing the piece in this manner, and as such, it is recorded in this way.

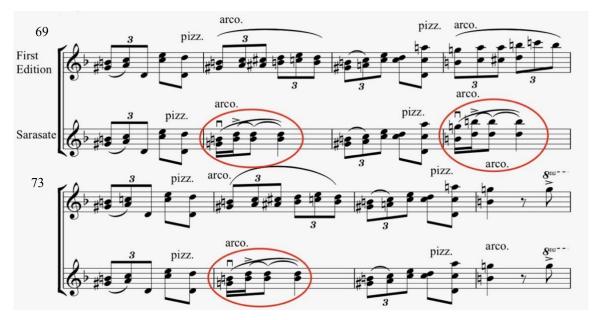


Example 20: Sarasate Zapateado op. 23 no. 2, bars 209–228

Sarasate's recording of *Zigeunerweisen* also provides examples of deviation from the score. On occasion he varies the rhythm, changing quavers into semiquavers, plays extreme fast passages alongside the elongation of others, and adds supplementary, non-written, small ornaments. However, these deviations aid in creating an illusion of improvisation, in character with the piece. In contrast, Sarasate's rendition of *Habanera* contains a number of differences from the score, which are not relative to the character of the work. Example 21 illustrates one of these differences. The first line shows bars 45–52 as written in the first edition, fully arco and with no pizzicato. The second line is a transcription of Sarasate's rendition of those bars. Sarasate performs bars 45–52 in the manner of bars 53–60, by adding the right-hand pizzicato on the last note of every other bar. This results in an additional pizzicato on the last note of bars 45, 47, 49 and 51. Sarasate repeats this same passage (line 2 of Example 9) during bars 69–76, instead of playing the originally written and published line which includes additional triplet double stops, as seen in Example 22.



Example 21: Sarasate *Habanera*, *Spanish Dance* op. 21 no. 2, bars 45–52. Comparison of First Edition and Sarasate's recording



Example 22: Sarasate *Habanera*, *Spanish Dance* op. 21 no. 2, bars 69–76. Comparison of First Edition and Sarasate's recording

Lastly, Musical Example 23, an extract from Sarasate's *Caprice Basque*, shows a descending chromatic scale highlighted in a red square. Although not marked in the score, it is regularly performed using ricochet, which accomplishes a visual virtuosic moment. Sarasate can be heard in his recording of 1904 doing this action and finishing the scale with a pizzicato, instead of arco. To create such effect, the violinist creates an initial impulse, and the rest of the glissando is left to the natural bounce of the bow (the initial impulse is what is

practised to gain control), whilst the left-hand glides downwards, a very effective move both visually and audibly.



Example 23: Sarasate Caprice Basque, bars 144-152

Sarasate's Performance Style in Context

It is not often that we encounter evidence of compositions performed by the composers themselves. Sarasate's recordings provide insight into how the violinist intended these compositions to be performed. The following comparison of recordings through time, aims to shed light on the versatile approach to violin performance, which also allows for a better understating of Sarasate's playing. It is not, however, a commentary on how Sarasate's compositions should be played, because I believe that Sarasate's advice would have been for each violinist to perform in the manner in which is true to themselves.

Performer	Recording Date	Age at time of recording	Duration
Pablo Sarasate	1904	60	4:26
Jascha Heifetz	1918	17	4:38
Mischa Elman	1959	68	5:25
Isaac Stern	1963	43	4:48
Ruggiero Ricci	1990 ⁶⁴	72	4:15

Table 17: Comparison of recordings – Chopin/Sarasate Nocturne op. 9 no. 2

Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 is one of the clearest examples to showcase preferences in tone, tempo, and the usage of vibrato and portamento. The four violinists selected are Mischa Elman (1891–1967), Jascha Heifetz (1901–1987), Isaac Stern (1920–2001) and Ruggiero Ricci (1918–2012). The five violinists including Sarasate demonstrate widely divergent interpretations at different ages.⁶⁵ All the recordings

⁶⁴ The recording was re-released in 2001, but the original recording was released in 1990.

⁶⁵ Mischa Elman, Joseph Seiger, Sarasate/Chopin, 'Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 in E Flat major', *A Portrait of Mischa Elman, Disc 3*. Recorded in 1959, Vanguard Classics, 8888, 2009; Jascha Heifetz, André Benoist,

are performed for violin and piano, except for Stern's recording which is for violin and orchestra.

Sarasate plays an interesting example of the ornament in bar two and performs a different concluding cadenza to what is written, possibly because of time constraints. Stern's recording, a more recent version, also deviates from the score. Sarasate pauses on specific notes as some of the other violinists do but does not linger on them as much as for example, Elman. Out of all of the violinists chosen, he is the most flexible with tempo through the whole recording. Elman's tempo ranges both extremes, at times he slows down almost to a stop and yet performs the cadenza with extreme fast virtuosity, because of this his overall timing is 5:25. Heifetz's overall tempo is the fastest, however, because he is flexible with the tempo moving forward and backwards in a seamless way, his recording concludes at 4:38. Ricci who remains the most constant of them all, plays the fastest version at 4:15. Sarasate's forward moving direction concludes his rendition at 4:26, the second fastest.

Elman's sound is the most distinctive, because of his slow and wide continuous vibrato, and accentuates singular notes often, which is unusual in comparison to the long phrases by the other violinists. Stern's recording contains the most emphasis on long melodic phrases. Elman certainly uses more vibrato than Sarasate and appears to be using more bow, with an on the string sound. As can be expected, Heifetz has the deepest sound and uses a continuous, fast vibrato.

Example 24 below is a transcription of the first four bars of the *Nocturne*. The transcription contains the portamento and slur signs as heard in these recordings. ⁶⁶ Sarasate generally maintains the long lines but often takes separate bows. The most noticeable difference is the portamento usage. Sarasate begins the piece with a slide from the b^{b'} to the g'', in a similar way to Elman and Heifetz. Stern and Ricci on the other hand keep the beginning clean. Sarasate's portamentos are mostly downwards, however, he does ascend to the d''' in bar four, then maintains the d''' and c''', moving forward on the next four notes just to stop quite a long time on the last c'' of the semi quavers, returning to tempo straight after.

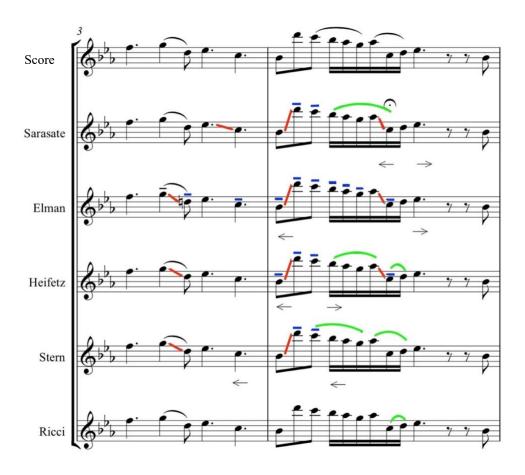
Chopin/Sarasate, 'Nocturne, Op. 9, No. 2, in E-Flat', Jascha Heifetz. The Heifetz Collection - Vol. 1/ (1917–1924) The Complete Acoustic Recordings [1990 Remastered]. Recorded 4 October 1918, RCA Red Seal, ARM4-0942, 1975; Isaac Stern, Arthur Harris, Frank Brieff, Milton Katims and Columbia Symphony Orchestra, 'Chopin Saraste, Nocturne in E-Flat major, Op.9, no. 2', "Humoresque" - Favourite Violin Encores. Recorded

in 1963, CBS Masterworks/Sony Music Distribution, #45816, 1990); Ruggiero Ricci, James Wilhelmsen, Sarasate/Chopin, 'Nocturne No. 2 in E flat major, Op. 9, No. 2 (arr. P. Sarasate)', Chopin, F.: Nocturnes (Arr. for Violin and Piano). The Ricci Collection, RR028, 1990, 2001.

⁶⁶ The baseline for the comparison in Example 24 marked as 'Score' is transcribed from Chopin, Frédéric/Pablo Sarasate, *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 (Paris: Durand & Fils, n.d).

Although visually, Example 24 gives the impression that Heifetz utilises portamento the most, some of these slides are small, purposely made, changes of position which are discreet to the listener. On the other hand, Heifetz, similarly to Sarasate although more obvious, uses a slow B-portamento, such as in the first two notes. Bar 1 to 2 contains two portamentos one after the other, but they are very discreet. Stern's use of portamento is reserved with barely audible changes of position. However, these smaller slides, create a bigger impact when the violinist utilises the full force of the slide such as when he jumps to higher positions, reaching high notes. Stern's rendition is extremely clean and elegant, he utilises portamenti but in a discreet manner. Ricci, whose recording is the latest date, contains no audible portamentos in the first four bars. His interpretation concurs to mainstream, 'modern' expectations. The rendition is beautiful, elegant and clean but it is the one with the fewest tempo changes and portamento. Overall, these recordings allude to the development in each of their time frame.





Example 24: Comparison of performance practices in Sarasate/Chopin Nocturne op. 9 no. 2

In contrast to Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen* has been recorded extensively, having become a standard piece of repertoire for any violinist, and a favourite virtuosic show piece. The recordings selected in this occasion, aim to provide a wide range of differences in performance style through time and only violin and piano recordings have been chosen.⁶⁷ As well as Sarasate, the violinists selected are Elman, Heifetz, Yehudi Menuhin and Julia Fischer. Note, however, that Sarasate's recording omits the second movement, which is why it is significantly shorter than the other examples. Table 18 shows an average recording length for *Zigeunerweisen* of approximately 8 minutes. The exception is Elman's recording which almost reaches 10 minutes, due to choosing to perform the second movement at a slower speed than what is frequently heard.

⁶⁷ Mischa Elman, Joseph Seiger, 'Zigeunerweisen, Op.20', *A Portrait of Mischa Elman, Disc 3*. Recorded in 1959, Vanguard Classics, 8888, 2009; Jascha Heifetz, Samuel Chotzinoff, 'Zigeunerweisen, Op.20 (1990 Remastered)', *Jascha Heifetz - The Heifetz Collection – Vol.1 /1917–1924 (The Complete Acoustic Recordings)*. Recorded in 1919, RCA, G010002643905S, 2011; Yehudi Menuhin, Abraham Makarov, 'Zigeunerweisen, Op. 20', *Yehudi Menuhin The Menuhin Century - Historic Recordings*. Recorded in 1932, Warner Classics, 2564677705, 2016; Julia Fischer, Milana Chernyavska, 'Zigeunerweisen, op. 20', *Julia Fischer: Sarasate*. Decca, 4785950, 2014.

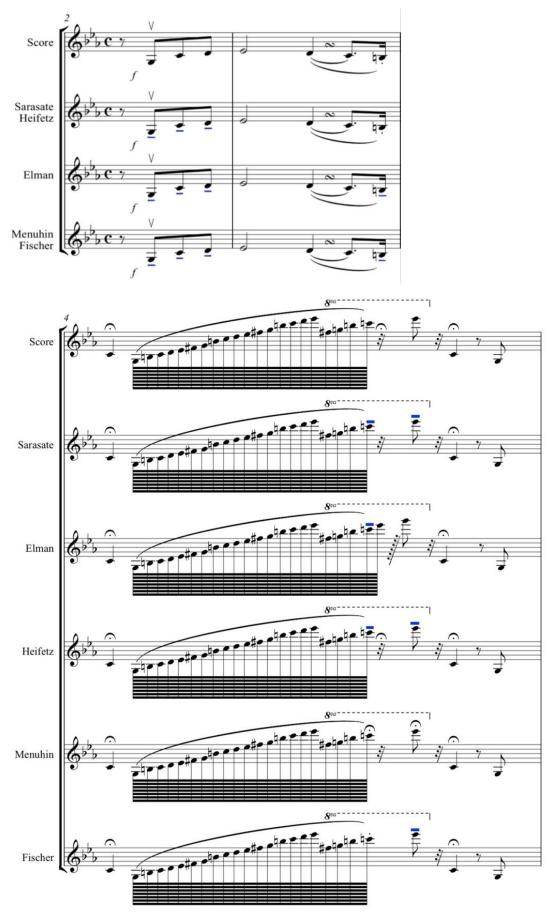
Performer	Date	Age at time of recording	Timing
Pablo Sarasate	1904	60	5:51
Mischa Elman	1959	68	9:54
Jascha Heifetz	1919	18	8:32
Yehudi Menuhin	1932	16	7:43
Julia Fischer	2014	30	7:52

Table 18: Comparison of recordings - Sarasate's Zigeunerweisen

The violin part of this composition begins straight away with an improvisatory character and forte dynamic. The first five bars, as transcribed in Example 25, already provide a spectrum of difference between these violinists. Sarasate performs it rather straight, the first three notes are accentuated but in tempo. There is only one portamento in bar 4, and his vibrato is slow and wide. Both the small ornaments and the cadenza-like passage are played very fast, yet clear. This particular passage alludes to Sarasate's agile left-hand fingers. The two chords from bar 6 of the piece are played with assertion and are equal in length. These same two chords are performed very differently by Elman, who adds a harmonic to each of the chords. Elman's first three notes are also more pronounced than Sarasate's. He plays the cadenza passage slower than Sarasate, so we are able to hear every single note clearly and he performs the notes at the end without a rest (bar 4), adding an extra g''' after the e''' flat. Heifetz plays the first three notes in a similar way to Sarasate, straighter with a small indentation in each note but without spending too much time on each note. He also separates the last note of bar 3, the b natural, in a similar way to Sarasate. He continues without flexing the tempo until bar 5, where he moves around with the semiquavers in an appropriate manner due to the character of the piece. The following chords are performed broken.

Menuhin's recording is the most distinctive in comparison to the rest. His first three notes are as accentuated as Elman's but indents the first note the most. The following ornament in bar 3 is played by distinguishing every single note, he then performs the cadenzalike passage extremely fast and maintains the top c''' and e''' flat the most. Similarly to Heifetz, in bar 5, he does not start the passage with a portamento, instead playing it clean and placing the portamento between the two e' flats. He also performs the semiquavers of that same bar with a lot of flexibility and concludes with two, very strong, broken chords. Lastly, Julia Fischer's first three notes are very strong, accentuated and most like Elman's but more sustained. The cadenza passage is fast, but every single note can be heard, she plays straight in tempo, in the direction of the last top note, which she holds with fast vibrato. The two first Gs of bar 5 are linked by a delicate ascending slide, which is very contrasting to the following

attack and quick descending passage. Bar 5 is played fully with a sustained and deep sound, which finalises with the two chords being performed with a strong attack in one bow each.

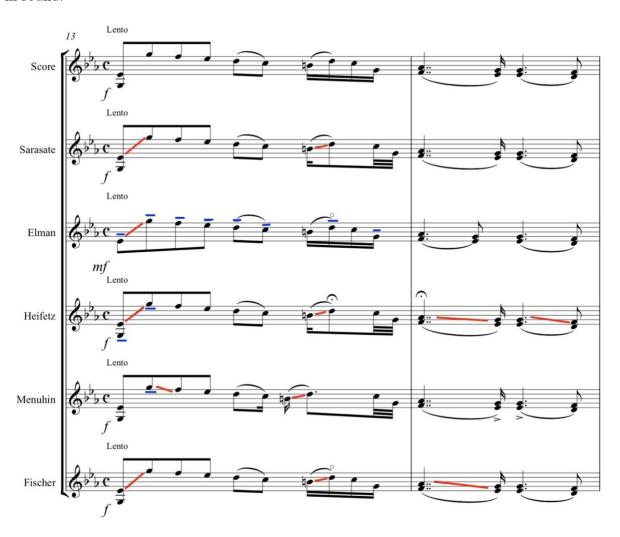


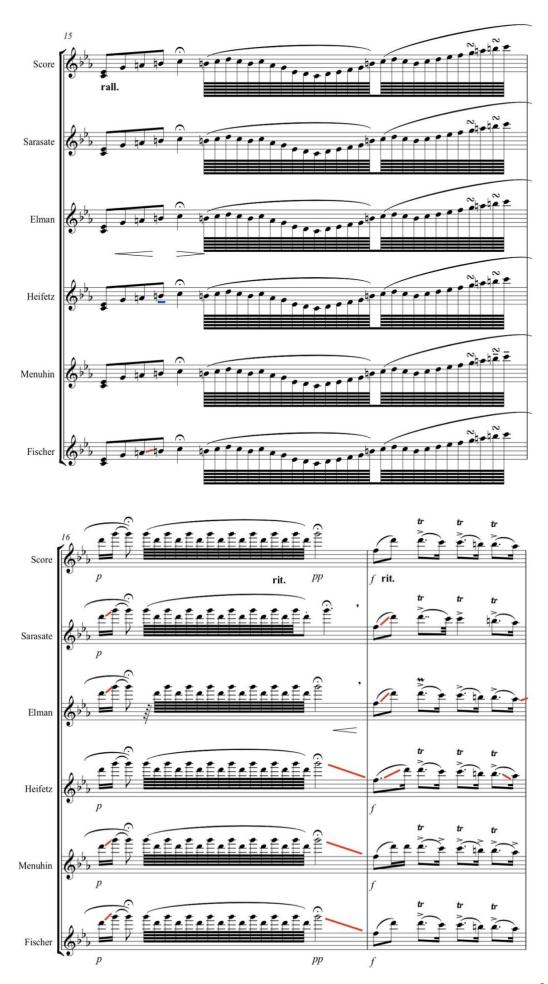


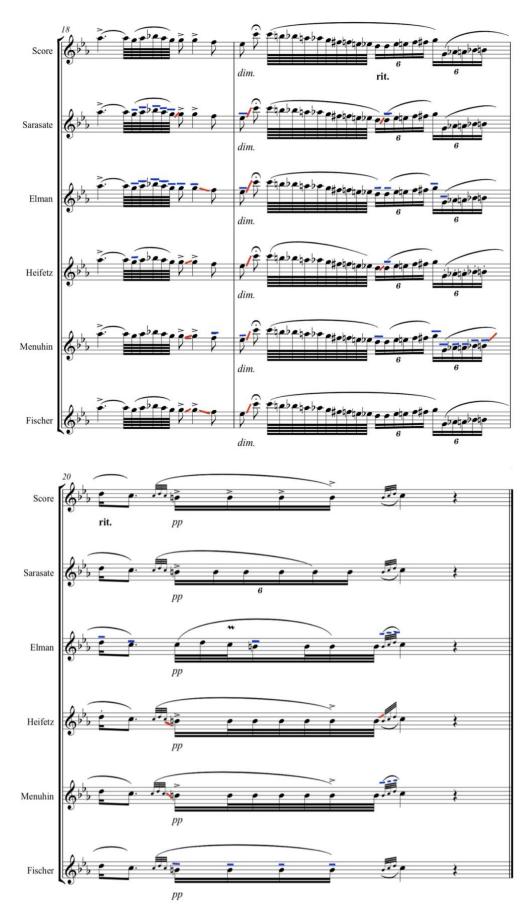
Example 25: Comparison of performance practices in Zigeunerweisen op. 20, bars 2-6

After the introduction, the following *Lento* section, provides numerous instances in which the violinist's differences in decision making is clear. Sarasate begins the *Lento* with an ascending portamento. In the next seven bars, he only slides four more times. Twice in order to get to a higher positioned note and the other two are same, consecutive notes, which he differentiates by using portamento between them. The tempo is flexible, and as such there are some rhythms that are changed because of it, as illustrated in Example 26. He continues to do the ornaments and cadenza-like moments very fast and deviates from the score by adding notes such as those in bar 20 of the piece. The trills in bar 17 are so fast that the second note of each beat is often not audible, because of this I have transcribed a different rhythm that illustrates this. Elman's rendition, in a similar way to the *Nocturne*, performs the *Lento* very slow, and finishes the recording at 9:55, two minutes longer than the average performance. He also accentuates each note and is very flexible with the rhythm. It is the most fragile and delicate of all the *Lento* interpretations. He employs portamento often, uses a harmonic in bar 13, the cadenza moments are fast but clear for every note and he takes his time throughout.

Elman omits the trills in bar 17 and adds an additional ornament in bar 20. It is a very distinct interpretations to anything else I have ever heard. Heifetz also follows several similar traits than during his rendition of *Nocturne*. He plays the *Lento* faster than the others, but also plays around with the tempo the most, moving forward and backwards, sustaining notes for longer and using portamento very often. The cadenza-like moments are fast, so fast that in bar 16, the g''' and d''' successive rhythm, sounds like a trill. In comparison to the others, he is the first to add spiccato to bar 19 and adds several extra notes in bar 20 in a similar way to Sarasate. Menuhin also adds several extra b' naturals in bar 20, and instead of spiccato, accentuates the last sextuple of bar 19. The whole recording is very powerful, Menuhin sustains the sound and accentuates often, utilising portamento both ascending and descending. Lastly, Fischer's interpretation is the most loyal to the score. She does not add extra notes in bar 20 and maintains the dynamics very close to what is written in the first edition of the score. However, she does produce a sound that is both delicate and powerful, using portamento only in specific moments that are stimulating, because of the contrast to her purity in sound.







Example 26: Comparison of performance practices in Zigeunerweisen op. 20, bars 13-20

Overall, the recordings represent the era of each violinist and aid in the contextualisation of Sarasate's playing. His use of vibrato is selective, although he employs it more than what might be expected. However, in comparison to Heifetz or Fischer, Sarasate's use of vibrato is small, and his vibrato blends into the sound, instead of the big movements created by Heifetz and Fischer. Sarasate does use portamento often and of different kinds, but the most interesting facet of comparing all these recordings is the vast differentiation between the players. Their sound, their approach to performance and their intentional additions are very distant from our recordings today. The difference between these players is astounding, yet the difference between players today is often minimised. Furthermore, many of the edits that these players have included into their rendition, including Sarasate in his own compositions, is not an expected event today. On the contrary, very few interpretations today deviate from the written score in a manner that is individual to the performer.

Sarasate's recordings provide insight into the violinist, which when analysed in comparison to other violinists across time provides invaluable data. Notwithstanding the technology limitations, Sarasate's recordings corroborate many of the characteristics described in documentary accounts, such as his singing-like, elegant sound as well as his neatness and lack of friction. In comparison to Joachim, they also confirm a lighter sound. Thus, it is likely that Sarasate utilised the bow with wider strokes and less pressure. Additionally, Sarasate's contemporaries describe a predilection for playing fast, but it is significant to recognise that this predilection, or his ambition to create striking interpretations, does not disturb the cleanness of his sound, or his delivery of difficult technical passages. Sarasate's predilection for fast playing in compositions such as Bach's *Prelude* also endorses his loyalty to his own individual performance style, which is embedded in his virtuosity. Eventhough changes in interpretation were occurring, Sarasate's recordings demonstrate that he maintained his reputation as an established virtuoso until his death.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Progression in Technique and Identity: Sarasate's Uncharted works and Zigeunerweisen

Sarasate's early interest in composition can be seen in his first work *Valse*, a short piece for piano dated 1853, written when he was eight years old. However, during his studies at the Paris Conservatoire, Sarasate only attended two years of harmony classes with Henri Reber. In the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* Gustave Chouquet, critic and curator of the Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire in Paris, writes: '... [Sarasate] secured a *premier accessit* in 1859, but shortly after relinquished the study of composition for the more tempting career of a concert player'. Sarasate's choice of studies, career path and composition catalogue suggest that his interests lay predominantly in performance and not in composition.

As Clive Brown observes, 'it became increasingly uncommon in the later decades of the nineteenth century for violinists to compose their own concertos'. In support of that view we note that Sarasate did not write violin concertos, sonatas or symphonies. Instead, his compositions focus on the salon genre and virtuoso category. Whilst Henryk Wieniawski's compositions also prioritise the virtuoso category, he wrote two violin concertos, his Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor, op. 22 still frequents the concert hall today. Although Joseph Joachim did not compose sonatas or symphonies, he wrote three violin concertos, and notably took up the role of editor for violin sonatas and chamber music. Of all three violinists, Sarasate's career was the most centred in performance, and his compositions, which manifest in various lengths, were created to showcase the violinist's ability, elegance and charm.

Sarasate was surrounded by musicians such as Lalo and Saint-Saëns, who dedicated to him a significant amount of repertoire. These fruitful collaborations may themselves account for a lack of genre diversity in Sarasate's own music. As the first interpreter of Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* and Saint-Saëns's three violin concertos it is possible that Sarasate did not feel the need to compose in such genres, or he simply was not interested. Sarasate's compositions provided a contrast to the larger works that he performed, revealing a recognition of his audiences' taste for music which was both structurally clear and enjoyable. In writing for violinists, Sarasate maximized the sound and capabilities of the instrument, but

¹ AMP.

² Gustave Chouquet, 'Sarasate, Martin Melitón', *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, Vol III (London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1894), 227.

³ Ferrer, Sarasate, 96.

⁴ Clive Brown, 'Polarities of Virtuosity in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', in *Niccolò Paganini*. *Diabolus in Musica*, ed. Andrea Barizza and Fulvia Morabito (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 48.

these also became an intricate part of his artistry, and although he wrote virtuosic compositions, 'there was the same charm in his compositions as in his playing'. ⁵ The genesis and style of Sarasate's compositions developed parallel to the growing successes in his career and his own advancing technical facilities. By focusing directly on Sarasate's compositions we can use them to mirror his development as a violinist. Sarasate's early works differ greatly from his latter and most recognisable compositions such as Zigeunerweisen and Carmen Fantasy. His earlier works are reminiscent of the repertoire he performed as a young violinist and Alard's influence is strong. As Sarasate's skills and priorities progress, so do his compositions, and so does the length, quantity and quality of virtuosic characteristics.

Although Sarasate's skills as a performer are undisputed, his organisational skills were not; his disorganised manner is highlighted in Goldschmidt's personal memoirs. 6 It is after Goldschmidt's arrival that Sarasate's compositions become organised systematically. Sarasate's early output contains a series of missing opus numbers, and there are a select number of compositions, such as Los Pájaros de Chile, Capricho which have only been discovered in recent years. In 2009, Ramón Sobrino, Ara Malikian and Maria Nagore Ferrer collectively created a new and complete edition of Sarasate's works in two volumes: Pablo Sarasate. Obras Completas. 8 This edition rearranges Sarasate's compositions chronologically and restructures them with a new labelling system 'S-N' (Sobrino-Nagore). This chapter respects the previous opus system, but the new chronological order offered is utilised, as it has been produced from thorough archival research.9

It is useful to consider Sarasate's compositions in five groups, in order to examine and interrogate the symbiosis between his music and his practice as a violinist:

- 1. Opera fantasies
- 2. Salon music and French inspired works
- 3. Voyage inspired compositions
- 4. Transcriptions and Editions
- 5. Spanish themed Nationalistic compositions

The five categories align with different levels of Sarasate's success, career and artistic growth. There is a difference between the first opera fantasises written in the 1860s which prioritise the melodic line, to those written 10 years later, in which Sarasate displays more technical

⁶ Goldschmidt, Memoirs, JCB.

⁵ 'Pablo Sarasate. An Appreciation', *Daily News (London)*, 22 September 1908, 6.

⁷ Pablo Sarasate, Los Pájaros de Chile. Capricho for violin with piano accompaniment (Madrid: Instituto Complutense Ciencias Musicales, 2009).

⁸ Pablo Sarasate, ed. Ramón Sobrino and Ara Malikian, Pablo Sarasate, Obras Completas (Madrid: Música Hispana. Publicaciones del Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2009).

⁹ Several works do not contain opus number.

ability and stamina. Sarasate often borrows from his surroundings in order to create his works, whether from popular operas of the time, or inspired by the countries he visited. As the chapter demonstrates, he often transcribes the borrowed melodic material almost exactly, but he also expertly transforms it, in order to maximise the capabilities of the violin in his hands. *Zigeunerweisen* is such an example. This composition was a turning point for the violinist, hence why it is discussed independently. Due to the quantity and importance of the Spanish based nationalistic compositions, they are discussed separately in Chapter 8. In comparison, many of the works reviewed in this chapter are little known today, as are his transcriptions and editions, thus this work brings them to wider attention.

The Impact of Venues

From the middle of the nineteenth century, the salon concert was an important means for performance, and a type of venue of equal importance to the opera house and concert hall. ¹⁰ Whilst concert life and performer's expectations changed rapidly in the first half of the century, salons continued to be a dominant part of a performer's career and helped many young performers to thrive. Chopin for example, admitted that audiences made him anxious and he was better placed in the salons of Paris and London, he thus rarely performed in concert halls. ¹¹ Sarasate performed in some of the most distinguished salons, such as those of Rossini and Pauline Viardot, appearances which helped establish, and later, solidify his reputation. ¹² These occasions were the motivation behind the creation of Sarasate's opera fantasies. He also composed a selection of short, romantic pieces with sentimental character, for the sole purpose of being performed in these locations, hence they are referred to in this chapter as Salon Music.

As Sarasate progressed into the larger concert hall and began to tour more regularly, his compositions developed into his more technically demanding virtuosic works. He steered away from composing works which prioritised the violin's melodic quality alone. Although a few of his earlier works re-appear in his concert programmes, most of them disappeared. Therefore, Sarasate's progression in concert venues had a direct impact on his repertoire creation and performance.

¹⁰ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, 147–148.

-

¹¹Ibid; John Irving, 'The Invention of Tradition' in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, ed. Samson, 209; See also Weber, *Music and The Middle Class*.

¹² Ferrer, Sarasate, 81.

Opera Fantasies

In 1862, two years after completing his studies at the Paris Conservatoire, Pablo Sarasate began composing works to perform in the salons, often in collaboration with pianist Louis Diémer. Most of these works were published soon after their composition, and they manifest Sarasate's predilection for the operatic fantasy, a genre especially popular during the nineteenth century. Sarasate's compositions reflect the fashion in Parisian salons of the time, revealing that he was at the start of his career, and aware of the importance of cultivating his audience. As Henri Maréchal wrote, '... for the Parisian middle classes the Opéra-Comique remained the alpha and omega of the art of music ... only arrangements [of well-known operas] had any standing'. Other virtuoso violinists such as Wieniawski, Ernst and Alard also created works within this genre.

Sarasate's opera fantasies often combine lyrical melodic lines and fast, technical variations but with simple harmonic changes. He utilises melodic material from popular operas of his day, such as Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, Rossini's *Othello* and Verdi's *La Forza del Destino*. ¹⁵ Sarasate's close musical relationship with Gounod is acknowledged once more due to the composer's own study of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* in which he comments on the influence it had upon his whole life and describes it as 'uninterrupted perfection'. ¹⁶ Rossini's works had been mounted at various Parisian opera houses, thus it is not surprising that Sarasate chose to make such arrangements. Verdi's libretto for *La Forza del Destino* is based on the play *Don Álvaro o La Fuerza del Sino* (1835) by Spanish author Ángel de Saavedra, which could have sparked interest in the young Spaniard. Additionally, Léon Escudier (1821–1881) was Verdi's French editor and published both Verdi's score reduction and Sarasate's *Fantasy*. ¹⁷

Sarasate's affinity with this genre was influenced both by Alard's own works in the genre as well as his regular attendance at the opera in Madrid and later, in Paris. 18

Additionally, Sarasate's studies in Paris and the acquaintances of his adoptive parents brought him into contact with prominent operatic composers including Gounod and Bizet. Apart from works by Verdi, Weber, Rossini and Mozart, the majority of operatic material adapted by

-

¹³ Charles Suttoni, 'Piano fantasies and transcriptions', in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford Music Online, 2002, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O005677 (accessed 17 August 2024).

¹⁴ Hervé Lacombe, *Les voies de l'Opéra Français au XIXe Siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), translated as *The keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Edward Schneider (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 13.

¹⁵ Sarasate's knowledge of this repertoire is suggested by holdings in Pamplona's Archivo Municipal which contains several full opera scores including Mozart's *Don Giovanni* K 527.

¹⁶ 'Gounod on Mozart's "Don Giovanni", *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular 32*, no. 581 (1891), 396–98. ¹⁷ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 100.

¹⁸ Chapter 4 refers to regular trips to the opera with both Sarasate's mother and later on with Sarasate's adoptive father who had a box at the Théâtre Italien in Paris.

Sarasate was French, including Gounod's *Faust* (1859), *Mireille* (1864) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1867), and Halévy's *La Juive* (1835). This is most noticeable in his works between *c*. 1863 to *c*. 1868.

In 1870 Sarasate revised and published a new version of his *Fantasy* based on Gounod's *Faust* and in 1872 he composed his only German-based fantasy *Le Freischütz*. *Fantaisie*, based on Weber's opera. The operatic fantasy genre disappeared almost completely from his repertoire and compositions in Sarasate's latter and more established performance years (from around the 1880s), but it was a popular genre for the first 10 years of his career. Subsequently, Sarasate took precedence with other styles and genres until 1903 and 1907, when he composed and published two fantasies on two Mozart operas: *Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart* op. 51 and *Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart* op. 54. Table 19 lists predominantly published works. A few examples such as *Duo sur L'Eclair*, a collaboration with pianist Diémer, have only been identified in archival sources, thus they have not been included.¹⁹

Title	Composition date	First published edition
Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino de Verdi. Dedicated 'À son ami Mr. F. de Valldemosa'	c. 1863	c. 1864
Souvenirs de Faust. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Henri Brochon (Marie de Bordeaux)'	c. 1863	c. 1865
Grand duo concertant sur La Juive. (Collaboration with Louis Diémer).	c. 1863	c. 1864
Hommage à Rossini. Souvenirs. (Barbier, Moïse, Othello), Grand Duo de Concert. (Collaboration with Louis Diémer). Dedicated 'Offert à ma meilleure amie et mère d'adoption. Sarasate'	c. 1865	c. 1866
Fantaisie sur La Dame Blanche de Boïeldieu. Dedicated 'À mon ami L. Diémer'	1866	2009
Caprice sur Mireille de Gounod op.6. Dedicated 'Hommage à Charles Gounod'	1866	c. 1867
Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow. Morceau de concert op. 13	c. 1868	c. 1875
Roméo et Juliette de Gounod. Caprice op. 14. Dedicated 'À Madame A. de Lassabathie'	c. 1867	c. 1867
Mosaïque sur Zampa de Hérold op. 15. Dedicated 'À son ami Aimé Gros'	c. 1864	c. 1868
Romance et Gavotte de Mignon op. 16. Dedicated 'Hommage à Ambroise Thomas'	c. 1868	c. 1869
Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Ch. Gounod. Dedicated 'À mon ami Arthur Napoleão de Rio de Janeiro'	c. 1870	c.1874
Le Freischutz. Fantaisie. Dedicated 'To my friend Aimé Gros, from Lyon'	c. 1872	c. 1874
Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart op. 51. Dedicated 'À Madame Berthe Marx Goldschmidt'	1903	1904
Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart op. 54. Dedicated 'A Antonio Fernández y Bordas, Professeur de violon au Conservatoire royal de Madrid'	1907	1908

Table 19: Sarasate's compositions – Opera Fantasies

_

¹⁹ For further analytical information on these compositions see: Sarasate, Sobrino, Malikian ed., *Ibid*; Sarasate's *Carmen Fantasy* (1881) is also based on operatic themes. However, the work's length, high technical level and prominence in Sarasate's repertoire signifies that it is best to categorise it within his Spanish based works discussed in Chapter 8; Composition dates referenced from Ferrer and Sobrino, *loc. cit.*

In 1913 Bachmann referred to Sarasate as an 'exceptional, and elegant arranger, capable of transforming any theme'. ²⁰ This characteristic is evident in many of his compositions which frequently utilised popular materials for his creations, but it is more evident in his operatic fantasies. These often appear transcribed for the violin exactly as originally written for the singer. The use of these melodies resulted in audiences recognising the melodic line immediately, thus becoming popular amongst concerts. ²¹ Musical Example 27 is an extract from Sarasate's *Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino de Verdi*. ²² This is an early work, published *c*. 1864 without an opus number and for which Sarasate draws on material from the opera's third act. The example includes two lines for comparison. The first line is a transcription of the singer's part from the opera, which belongs to the *Agitato* from Act III, Scene VIII where Alvaro sings 'Non io, fu il destino...'. ²³ The second line illustrates Sarasate's violin part from bar 17 to 30. As it is evident, except for minor differences, the violinist replicates the melody exactly an octave above.



Example 27: Comparison Verdi La Forza del Destino and Sarasate. Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino de Verdi, bars 17-30

²⁰ Alberto Bachmann, Les Grands Violonistes du Passé (Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1913), 283.

²¹ F. W. Sternfeld, 'Faust', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, 2002, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O003911 (accessed 22 August 2024); Suttoni, 'Piano fantasies and transcriptions'.

²² Chapter 7, Video 1 exemplifies it on violin: https://youtu.be/bIIYtpIj5ww

²³ Sobrino, XXXVII.

Although the violin is capable of playing the melody as written in line one, the edit to the higher octave is more suitable for the violin, especially taking into consideration the sweetness in sound that Sarasate would have wanted to achieve. Projection is also easier on the E string and a greater quality can be achieved for this melody when played at the higher range. As well as changing timbre, these transformations were also utilised by the violinist to add difficulty and demonstrate his technical abilities. Bars 29–30 of the same extract are an example. The inserted double stops add difficulty to the composition, not only by the playing of the intervals themselves but also because of the goal of performing them without interfering with the melodic line.

Hommage à Rossini. Souvenirs is a collection of themes from Le Barbier de Séville, Moïse et Pharaon and Othello. The piece was written in collaboration with Diémer, and both artists premiered the work in 1866 at one of Rossini's weekly concerts.²⁴ The composition demonstrates the equality of its collaborative genesis, both violinist and pianist are matched in importance and virtuosic character. Whilst the composition is high in virtuosic character, it is mostly due to the provenance of the material and the semiquaver and demi-semiquavers fast variations. The technical difficulty lies in spiccato passages, register jumps and at times speed, but above of all, in the maintenance of its character and simplicity. Although it contains a few octaves and other double-stops, these only appear occasionally. The level of technical command does not yet compare to the difficulty found in later compositions.

Initial Development

The 1 February 1864 Sarasate performed at the Salle Herz in Paris with Diémer. They performed three works: Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino Verdi, Souvenirs de Faust and Grand duo Concertant sur La Juive. These compositions re-enact and maximise Sarasate's qualities, as stated by the following review: 'Today he is a complete virtuoso, combining purity, accuracy, sound energy, exquisite feeling, penetrating charm'. Although the compositions performed were some of Sarasate's most frequently played repertoire of that time, Souvenirs de Faust was one of Sarasate's most played pieces throughout his career. He wrote two versions, although Goldschmidt informed Altadil of the violinist's intention to write a third one, dying before doing so. These works are based on Gounod's Faust, which according to Frederick William Sternfeld 'became the most popular of all Faust operas'.

²⁴ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 83.

²⁵ Revue et Gazette Musicale, 24 January 1864.

²⁶ Altadil, *Memorias de Sarasate*, 523.

²⁷ Sternfeld, 'Faust'; Lorma Fitzsimmons, Charles McKnight, *The Oxford Handbook of Faust in Music* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

Sarasate's first exploration of *Faust* was composed *c*. 1863 and published in 1865 by Gounod's own publisher Choudens. ²⁸ The work and Sarasate's performance of it was greatly received by reviewers: '...the charming piece of Faust, deliciously interpreted, was the triumph of the young violinist'. ²⁹ *Souvenirs de Faust* belongs to an earlier style of composition, one that resembles his professor's Alard works. ³⁰ Sarasate seems to follow his teacher's approach and avoids the over disruption of melodic lines, thus making the primary material more obvious and recognisable to the listener. Overall, the early compositions contain a more balanced approach between melodic lines and virtuoso passages. Whilst his latter compositions include a wider range of technical and flamboyant displays, and often, complete absence of simple singing lines. These works are quite different to the Spanish-based compositions for which he became well known.

Souvenirs de Faust begins with an ad libitum melodic line contrasted with double stops in varied intervals. ³¹ Musical Example 28 shows the first 19 bars of the piece, which demonstrates a combination of both double stops that require both fingers changing together with passages of single finger changes with a bottom or higher pedal note and with time to do so, due to the chosen tempo and rhythm.³²



Example 28: Sarasate Souvenirs de Faust, bars 1–20

²⁸ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 103.

²⁹ '...le ravissant morceau de *Faust*, délicieusement interprété, a été le triomphe du jeune violoniste'. *Le Ménestrel*, 16 December 1866.

³⁰ Le Ménestrel, 19 January 1862.

³¹ Sarasate, Souvenirs de Faust (Paris: Choudens, c. 1865), Plate A.C. 1172.

³² Chapter 7, Video 2: https://youtu.be/b0jNxBWnHyY

This section is followed by an *Andante* which includes a melody to be played on the G string, one of Sarasate's traits. The consecutive *Valse* contains spiccato quavers but continues to maintain a simple approach. As we advance towards the end of the piece it includes other double stops and intervals such as octaves, three note chords and semiquavers.

During 1867 and 1868 Sarasate composed three further opera fantasies, immediately before the arrival of *Nouvelle Fantaisie* in 1870, Sarasate's second version on Gounod's *Faust. Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod* op. 14 (c. 1867), *Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow* op. 13 (c. 1868) and *Romance et Gavotte de Mignon* op. 16 (c. 1868) show Sarasate's initial experimentation with larger and more complicated works. These, however, still have reminiscence of the earlier stage. Sarasate's *Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod* has several sections, and it is similar in structure to Sarasate's initial arrangement on *Faust.*³³ However, although more advanced, from a technical point of view it is similar to *Hommage à Rossini, Souvenirs*. The work contains several single lines, singing melodies as displayed in Musical Example 29, examples which in later works are rarer.³⁴



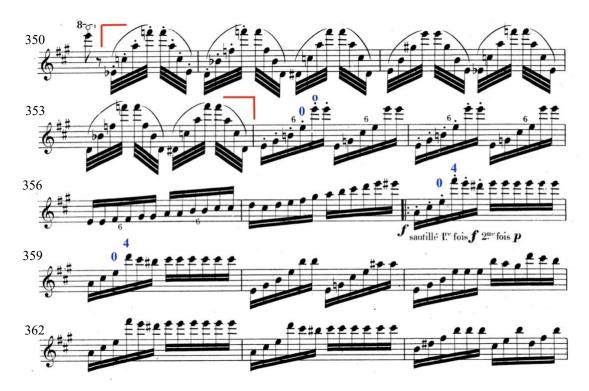
Example 29: Sarasate Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod, bars 285-304

The work also includes a *Valse* closely related to *Souvenir de Faust* with use of the violin's higher register, as well as spiccato and a few examples of double stops (thirds and octaves) used only in a sporadic manner. The final *Allegretto* and both *Moderatos* showcase the capabilities of the violin with semiquaver and demi-semiquaver passages. Due to the tempo markings these are not intended as very fast passages, although Sarasate's preferences signify that he most likely performed them at a higher speed. Nevertheless, the nature of the

³³ Sarasate, Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette, op. 5 (Paris: Choudens, n.d. [1868). Plate A.C. 1536.

³⁴ Example 29 links to Chapter 7, Video 3, which provides the example on violin: https://youtu.be/oKdQFKzsN60

passages allows the violinist to perform and display these in a more elegant manner. The spiccato semiquavers can be enjoyed somewhat, releasing the bow with small, lighter movements. The violinist can take more time and thus, portray a calmer and sophisticated image on stage, instead of a possibly rushed and breathless violinist. Cleverly written passages utilising the open E string before jumping to higher positions also help in providing this character. Musical Example 30 illustrates a passage which utilises the E string (0) prior to jumping to fifth position. This decision provides additional time for the hand to travel whilst the E string is being played, requiring less speed in the shift, and helping to achieve an image of eloquence during performance.



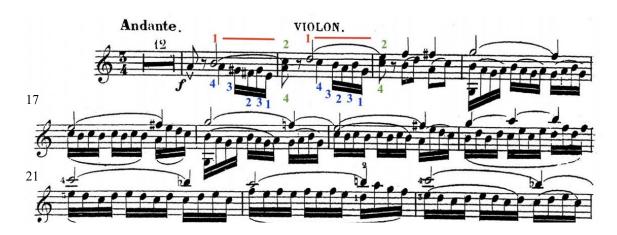
Example 30: Sarasate Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod, bars 350-364

In contrast, the same musical example provides a passage of demisemiquavers highlighted in red which requires the full movement of the right arm as it encompasses all four strings. The left hand in turn is positioned similarly to a spread chord. Although this provides another example of Sarasate utilising fingered octaves, the technical ability needed to play such passage does not compare to later compositions, as it stays in the same part of the finger board for the 4 bars. The final passages are separated by a section of octaves, Moderato, that can be described as a grandiose moment before finalising the piece with demisemiquavers, ascending arpeggios and a big finale. Sarasate' Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod is a lesser-known work, yet it is full of grace, brilliance and lyrical melodies.³⁵

³⁵ Example 30 links to Chapter 7, Video 4: https://youtu.be/vCRBVHfGh28

Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow and Romance et Gavotte de Mignon are also lesser-known works, both written c. 1868. In a letter Sarasate wrote to his adoptive mother from New York in 1870, he mentions having performed Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow as part of the programme and Romance et Gavotte de Mignon as an encore due to the vast applause. If we combine the violin techniques and use of a particular tessitura from both compositions, we find a selection of technical features new to Sarasate's compositions but that the violinist then moving forward uses often: the use of chords within semiquaver passages, natural bow spiccato in groups of 4 and 6, slurred demi semiquavers scales, passages of harmonics and harmonics after semiquaver triplets, ricochet, arpeggios, chromatic descending octaves and sixths, passages alternating double stops with open strings and lastly, the finishing of a piece with two short quavers followed by a long paused minim two octaves below. Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow also includes several double-stop, demisemiquaver passages which attests to the violinist's left-hand proficiency even at the early stages of his career.

Lastly, there is a comparison to be made between the beginning of *Souvenirs de Faust* (refer back to Musical Example 28) and the start of *Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow* (Musical Example 31).³⁷ Both pieces contain similarities due to the use of double stops that are changed by the movement of single fingers whilst one remains unmoved, rather than both fingers moving at the same time. These are combined in both examples with regular double stops. However, overall, *Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow*'s length and technical insertions prove it to be a strong directional predecessor to his *Nouvelle Fantasie*.



Example 31: Sarasate Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow, bars 13-23

³⁶ '...j'ai paru hier devant le Public américain dans l'immense Salle de Steinway, et j'ai été salué par les applaudissements de plus de 2,000 personnes. Rappels, Bis après mon morceau de Martha, j'ai du jouer la Gavotte de Mignon. ...', Letter New York, 7 April 1870.

³⁷ Sarasate, *Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow. Morceau de concert*, op. 19 (Paris: Brandus & Cie, n.d. [1875]). Plate B. & Cie. 12029.

Establishing New Foundations

Nouvelle Fantaisie dates c. 1870 and was published around 1874. The work coincides with Sarasate's consolidation of his virtuosic personality and technical abilities, as well as the beginning of the following stage in his career from 1870 to 1876. From 1870 to 1872 Sarasate undertook his first tour to North and South America, a trip that exposed Sarasate to new artists and surroundings. By 1873, the violinist is described as having a 'pure and irreproachable game', whilst he also continued to maintain his reputation of nobility and grace. Nouvelle Fantaisie contains a new selection of music from Gounod's opera and there is an immediate upgrade in technical difficulty. Nouvelle Fantaisie could be regarded as a culmination of the violinist's development within this early stage, as there is a clear change in the violinist's technical abilities and stamina.

Nouvelle Fantaisie is the second version of Sarasate's works on Gounod's Faust. There is a seven-year gap between Souvenirs de Faust and Nouvelle Fantaisie, which presents us with an opportunity to study Sarasate's artistic development, particularly in terms of the later work's technical demands. In comparison to Souvenirs de Faust, the Nouvelle Fantaisie begins with a stronger, ff character which includes double stops (initial ones use open strings and fifths), three note chords, a passage of sixths in bar 18 which ascends to the high register of the violin and sextuplet semiquavers; a more elaborate start. The work also contains G string melodies, further passages of double-stopping, octave semiquavers, wider interval jumps, fast semiquaver passages, chords and a high register passage that concludes the composition. The difference between the Valse sections on both pieces alone shows a higher need for technical ability. However, one of the most notable differences between both versions is the wider use of the violin's tessitura in Nouvelle Fantaisie. Souvenirs de Faust utilises higher notes only on limited occasions, the piece does not go above fifth position except for in four occasions, and these are either at the end of a scale or an octave jump to a harmonic as seen in Musical Example 32. In comparison, Nouvelle Fantaisie maintains passages in higher positions and the shifts are wider in range, Musical example 33 illustrates a few examples.⁴⁰

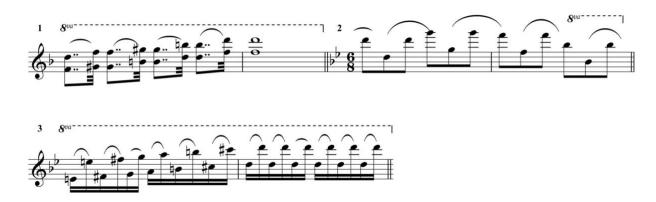


Example 32: Fragments from Sarasate Souvenirs de Faust

³⁸ '...son jeu, toujours pur et irréprochable'. Revue et Gazette Musicale, 28 December 1873.

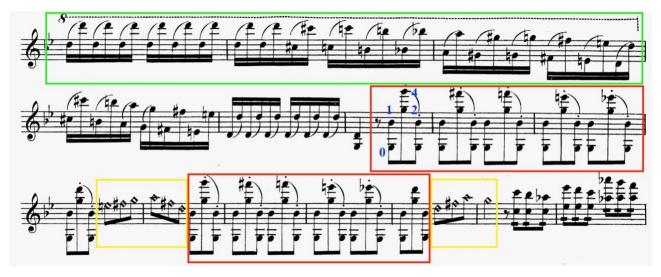
³⁹ For an in depth look at the original arias used see Sobrino and Malikian's edition, as well as Ferrer, Sarasate.

⁴⁰ The examples are linked and illustrated in Chapter 7, Video 5: https://youtu.be/vRxrkYlEL_Y, and Chapter 7, Video 6: https://youtu.be/YKQl-N5VdKg



Example 33: Examples from Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Ch. Gounod

Another notable difference between both compositions is the placing of technical passages. The first version focusses the difficulty at the end, whilst the second version spreads it out, with only small breaks in between, demonstrating a development in stamina and skill, a closer representation of a mature Sarasate. Although there are a few simple melodies, overall, *Nouvelle Fantaisie* shows an increase in technical difficulty as shown in Musical Example 34.⁴¹ The chosen fragment comprises of descending octaves in the high register of the violin (green), and harmonics (yellow) followed by triplet double stops (marked with red squares), the first one of which can only be performed at that speed with a fingered octave (2 on g'', 4 on higher g''') and maintaining the first finger on fifth position on the D string for the previous b'.⁴²

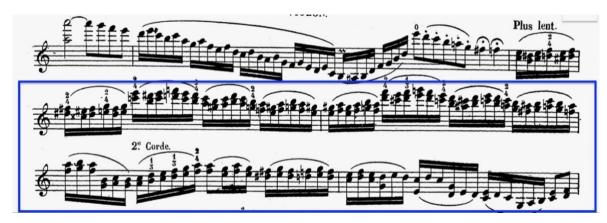


Example 34: Sarasate Nouvelle Fantaisie, bars 155–169

⁴¹ Sarasate, Nouvelle Fantaisie sur 'Faust', op. 13 (Paris: Choudens, n.d. [1874]), Plate A. C. 2609.

⁴² Chapter 7, Video 7: https://youtu.be/EzYWIUwHcSM

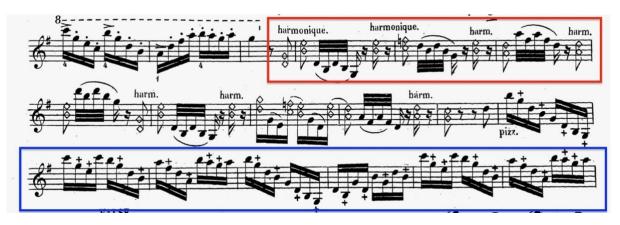
The last opera fantasy Sarasate composed, until he revisited the style at the end of his career, was *Le Freischütz. Fantaisie*, written approximately in 1872.⁴³ Sarasate's advances in compositional density and technique had already taken place with *Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Gounod*. Therefore, it is not surprising that *Le Freischütz, Fantaisie* which was composed two years later, has a strong violin part with complex techniques throughout. These include long passages of thirds (Example 35), high register fast passages, octave and tenth jumps (Example 36), double stop trills, harmonics (Example 37), double stop trills, and very importantly, left hand pizzicato (Example 37), which had only been introduced once previously in *Moscovienne* op. 12, around 1867.



Example 35: Sarasate Le Freischütz. Fantaisie, continuous double stops



Example 36: Sarasate Le Freischütz. Fantaisie, high positions



Example 37: Sarasate Le Freischütz. Fantaisie, harmonics and left-hand pizzicato

⁴³ Madame Lassabathie died in 1872; Sarasate, Le Freischütz. Fantaisie (Paris: Choudens, c. 1874).

Although the piece is very strong in technical elements, Sarasate continued to combine such character with simpler melodic passages, which allows the listener to enjoy the melody and take a break from the technically denser passages, which due to the contrast become more impressive. Both *Le Freischütz, Fantaisie* and *Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow* also include violin solo introductions which resemble operatic recitatives, but also demonstrate Sarasate's confidence. The violinist did not return to the genre until 1903 with his *Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart* op. 51 and *Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart* op. 54 in 1907.⁴⁴ These compositions introduce an unexpected element, passages of tenths. The use of this interval in double stops is not a regular addition for Sarasate and it is one that he uses very rarely, even in his later works. Musical Example 38 shows such passage which can be found in *Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart* op. 54, composed in 1907.⁴⁵



Example 38: Sarasate *Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart* op. 54 – passage of tenths

Sarasate's early opera fantasies appeared regularly in concert programmes at the time of their composition, but except for his arrangements on *Faust*, by the 1880s they disappear from his repertoire completely. These works are replaced by violin concertos, works by Saint-Saëns and Lalo, and his Spanish based compositions, a transition that follows the development in performance practices of the time and the violinist's own maturity, both personal and professional.⁴⁶

Salon Music and French Inspired Works

During Sarasate's early years, he often performed in prominent salons, and as well as composing his opera fantasies, he composed a number of French inspired works. These works, listed in Table 20, create a contrasting effect to his other more virtuosic works. They are titled in relation to their purpose and nature: *Rêverie, Les Adieux, Souvenir de Domont. Valse du salon,* etc. The selected compositions are all written prior to 1870, before he began his larger solo tours and performances in concert halls.

⁴⁴ See Long Long Kang, 'Pablo de Sarasate and His Magic Flute Fantasy: A Performer's Analysis and Performance Guide', PhD diss. (University of Memphis, 2015).

⁴⁵ Sarasate, *Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart*, op. 54 (Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1908). Plate Z. 4651.

⁴⁶ See Michael Musgrave, 'Performance in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, ed. Colin Lawson and Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 600–610.

Title	Composition Date	First Published Edition
Fantaisie-Caprice	1862	1982
Rêverie op. 4. Dedicated 'À Madame de Lassabathie'.	c. 1866	c. 1866
Confidences. Romance sans paroles op. 7. Dedicated 'Á Mademoiselle Marguerite Delaborde'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
Souvenir de Domont. Valse de salon op. 8. Dedicated 'À madame Henri Périac'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
Les Adieux. Mélodie op. 9. Dedicated 'À Mademoiselle Marie Lefébure-Wély'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
Sérénade Andalouse op. 10. Dedicated 'À Madame Lucien Auvray'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
Sommeil. Mélodie op. 11. Dedicated 'À M. de Lassabathie'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
Moscovienne op. 12. Dedicated 'À M. Albert Glandaz'.	c. 1867	c. 1867
<i>Prière et Berceuse</i> op. 17. Dedicated 'À Madame Pauline Guillot de Sainbris'.	c. 1869	c. 1869

Table 20: Sarasate's compositions – Salon music until 1869

The compositions from 1862 to 1869 are not well-known. Sarasate played them in concert at the time of their composition and they were published, but except for Les Adieux. Mélodie op. 9, they are not referred to again by Sarasate, most likely due to the changing priorities in repertoire. Most of the compositions in this group are short and prioritise the melody line, without much interference of technically demanding elements. Confidences. Romance sans paroles op. 7 is the most striking of these, as it does not contain any technical elements that could be expected from a composition by Sarasate. It is lyrical throughout, faithful to the title of the work. Additionally, although Rêverie op. 4, and Les Adieux do contain passages of double stops, they are not as challenging as other works, thus fulfilling their intended purpose.⁴⁷ Similarly to his early operatic fantasies, the violinist's role can be compared to that of a singer, above all to perform with beauty of sound and elegance. In contrast, Souvenir de Domont. Valse de Salon takes on the character of a salon piece idyllically with a fast-paced valse, whilst also embracing Sarasate's virtuosic appeal. This is achieved by the inclusion of a few selected, more technical passages, which although are not the most technically demanding, they are well placed and visually effective. An example can be found in the work's finale, which is illustrated in Musical Example 39 below.⁴⁸ The passage includes quaver chords which require full movement of the right arm across all four strings, from one end to the other. However, these often utilise the open strings of the violin facilitating the task of the violinist. It is then followed by ascending broken octaves, which culminate in the high register of the violin.

-

⁴⁷ See Ferrer for further analytical and contextual details on these works.

⁴⁸ Chapter 7, Video 8: https://youtu.be/jdy0I1i76mk



Example 39: Sarasate Souvenir de Domont. Valse de Salon, finale

Moscovienne op. 12, however, returns to the mixing of melody and technical command, as seen in his earlier compositions. Sarasate introduces more advanced technical passages in regularity, which includes for the first time, the addition of left-hand pizzicato. In time, Sarasate establishes his technique and creates works that mirror the violinist's full range of abilities, but until Moscovienne, the previous works represented the younger performer. This piece, however, begins to show signs of Sarasate's experimentation in technique and composition, and hints at what Sarasate will achieve later on. In April 1867, the same year of Moscovienne's creation, Sarasate premiered both Saint-Saëns's Violin Concerto in A Major and the Introduction and Rondo capriccioso. Therefore, Sarasate's increase in technique difficulty and aspiration to compose works of a higher calibre is expected. However, during the same years, Sarasate continued to perform in salons. Thus, Prière et Berceuse op. 17, which was written two years later in 1869, returns to the shorter and simpler style. 1867 is also the year that Sarasate composed Sérénade Andalouse op. 10. Although the title indicates an Andalusian serenade, and Sarasate attempts to include Hispanic elements with rhythm and guitar like accompaniment, it does not represent the Andalusian style or a Spanish theme.

After 1869 Sarasate did not revisit the genre until 1885 with *Ballade* op. 31. Table 21 displays the works composed between 1900 and 1907 within this category. However, by the 1880's Sarasate was an established performer. He was no longer performing in salons but

⁴⁹ Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 115.

international concert halls and so his music also reflects that change. Because of this, the compositions listed below will not be considered as salon pieces, but instead, a subcategory of French-inspired compositions.

Title	Composition Date	First Published Edition
Ballade op. 31. Dedicated 'à Díaz-Albertini'.	c. 1885	c. 1885
La chasse. Morceau caractéristique op. 44. Dedicated 'À César Thomson'.	1900	1901
Nocturne-Sérénade op. 45. Dedicated 'À Émile Sauret'.	1900	1901
L'esprit follet op. 48 Dedicated 'À Monsieur Adolphe Tavernier'.	1902	1904
Le rêve op. 53. Dedicated to: 'A Marianne Eissler'.	c. 1907	1909

Table 21: French inspired works, 1870-1908

The works listed which include *La chasse*, *Nocturne-Sérénade* and *Le rêve* were very well received. Sarasate returned to a style that although popular, was likely to have been considered old-fashioned. At the turn of the twentieth century, the initial division between salon and serious music already existed, a separation that is more profound today. Nevertheless, although these works contain similarities with the previous salon-style compositions, they show the mark of a more experienced violinist whose technique had developed. In the case of those written in the 1900s, composed by a reputable performer with an established audience.

Ballade op. 31 was likely inspired by Chopin's own works in that genre which by that time were well-known.⁵¹ Previous to this composition in 1885, Sarasate had written a range of transcriptions on Chopin's works in 1876–1877, thus the *Ballade*'s creation is not unexpected. However, the more original elements enable the work to stand out amongst Sarasate's compositions.⁵² Ballade has been incorporated in the section of French inspired compositions, due to the larger context of the work, but it contains additional provenance in style. Although it is not based on Hispanic melodies, it contains suggestions of Hispanic elements through rhythm.⁵³ This is most noticeable at the beginning of the piece, where Sarasate utilises improvisatory like motifs, such as those seen in Musical Example 40.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Stefaniak, Schumann's Virtuosity, 88.

⁵¹ Taruskin, The Oxford History of Western Music, 367.

⁵² Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 386.

⁵³ Ferrer, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ Examples 40 and 41 link to Chapter 7, Video 9: https://youtu.be/tSwwMRiMTZE; Sarasate, *Ballade*, op. 31 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk et Cie, n.d. [*c*. 1907]). Plate S.D.S 6000.



Example 40: Sarasate Ballade op. 31, bars 1-8

Ballade is a much larger scale composition in comparison to his previous music and makes further technical demands. For example, it contains additional use of the violin's higher register in both slow and fast passages, as well as long sections in double stops without pause, chromatic harmonics and left hand pizzicato simultaneous to bowed strings. Musical Example 41 below shows the last 14 bars of the piece which attests to some of the previously mentioned techniques, a descending scale in harmonics in yellow and left-hand pizzicato whilst maintaining a long note in red.



Example 41: Sarasate Ballade op. 31, final 14 bars

Voyage Inspired Compositions

As the following statement shows, Sarasate was aware of his development during his first tour to North and South America (1870–1872). In 1871 he refers to his technical progress:

I practise the violin like a madman, and, between us, I will soon be the finest violinist of the period. My technical progress is incredible; even just a few years ago I would not have been able to play my new compositions. I hope to make quite an impact when I return later on.⁵⁵

Sarasate's letters demonstrate a range of opinions on the locations he visited, which included Canada, Brazil, Peru and Argentina. The tour exposed him to a wide number of cultures, with some first impressions being more positive than others.⁵⁶ The letters reveal an immediate fondness for Brazil, whilst it took time for him to warm up to New York. The new locations and fresh perspectives encouraged the violinist not only to improve his technique, but to progress and modify his previous compositional style. Table 22 lists compositions that Sarasate wrote throughout his life which are not inspired by Spanish themes, rather by other cultures or places that he visited. Most of these are not generally known today, as his most successful and renowned compositions were those which integrated Spanish themes and/or rhythms. The one exception that occurs is Zigeunerweisen. Sarasate's first deviation from his opera fantasies was with Los Pájaros de Chile, Caprice for violin and piano accompaniment (c. 1870).⁵⁷ This work is not only the first non-operatic composition by Sarasate, but the violinist's first attempt at creating a piece directed at a specific audience or inspired by specific location. In the example of this composition, Sarasate composed it during their stay in Lima.

Title	Composition Date	First edition
Los Pájaros de Chile, Capricho. Dedicated 'A S.E. el Presidente de la República de Chile Sr. D. J. J. Pérez'. (Published in Madrid, 2009)	c. 1870	2009
Zigeunerweisen op. 20. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Frédéric Szarvady'.	1877	c. 1878
Airs Écossais op. 34. Dedicated 'À Eugène Ysaÿe'.	1891	1892
Mélodie Roumaine transcrite pour violon avec accompagnement de piano op. 47. Dedicated 'À mon ami le Docteur Charles Blazy'.	c. 1901	1901
Barcarolle Vénitienne op. 46. Dedicated 'À son ami le Docteur Otto Neitzel'.	1901	1902
Chanson Russes d'aprés Kaschine et Gurileff op. 49. Dedicated 'À Monsieur G. Remy, Professeur au Conservatoire de Paris'.	1902	1904

Table 22: Compositions inspired by international tours 1870–1908

⁵⁵ Letter 28 July 1871.

⁵⁶ New York, 9 April [1870]; *Ibid*, 22 June 1870.

⁵⁷ Chile's Birds. Caprice for violin and piano accompaniment.

The compositions listed in Table 22 are some of the clearest examples of Sarasate composing for a specific audience. However, with the exception of Zigeunerweisen, these works are not well-known today and are not often played on stage. In 1891 Sarasate composed Airs écossais op. 34, dedicated to Eugène Ysaÿe. The piece was created after a fruitful and extensive tour of the United Kingdom. Sarasate performed in Scotland and became enchanted by its land, as recalled by his friend Alexander Mackenzie. Some of Mackenzie's own compositions are based on Scottish traditional melodies, thus he most likely introduced Sarasate to a number of traditional tunes. 58 Airs écossais elegantly combines the folkloric character with virtuosic elements; For example, by combining rapid demisemiquavers with an open string as seen in Musical Example 42, circled number 1, yet only a few bars previously Sarasate wrote a passage of thirds, sixths and octaves, circled number two in the example. The composition overall contains the majority of the violins' and Sarasate's technical capabilities: left-hand pizzicato, harmonics, use of the violin's high register both on the G and the E string, double stops and chords, whilst also maintaining its folkloric nature.⁵⁹



Example 42: Sarasate Airs écossais op. 34, bars 53-56

Barcarolle vénitienne op. 46 and Mélodie roumaine op. 47 were written in 1901 just before one of Sarasate's busiest tours to Italy and Romania. 60 He composed these works in order to be performed in their respective countries. *Mélodie roumaine* is a transcription of a Romanian melody, a direct act of creating a piece with material that would be recognised and would exhibit Sarasate as respectful towards the country he was visiting. ⁶¹ Sarasate was deliberately appealing to and accommodating local taste. Moreover, it does not contain his usual virtuosic passages but instead maintains and respects its lyrical nature throughout. He does so similarly in Barcarolle vénitienne, but additionally, he transforms the melodic line and includes a few virtuosic passages with double stops and descending chromatic scales, a

⁶⁰ Ferrer, 475.

⁵⁸ Alexander Mackenzie, 'Pablo Sarasate: Some Personal Recollections', *The Musical Times* Vol. 49, no. 789 (November 1908), 693-695.

⁵⁹ Chapter 7, Video 11: https://youtu.be/NdhWRz q9eO

⁶¹ See Ferrer for more details on the background of these pieces.

remembrance of his earlier style. During the same tour, Sarasate also visited Russia and composed *Chanson russes d'après Kaschine et Gurileff;* a piece based on Russian melodies, which he then performed often until his death in 1908.

The one exception within this category of lesser-known works is *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20 which remains one of Sarasate's most played works. Flesch described it as 'the most popular and most grateful virtuoso piece of all time'. 62 Sarasate often performed the piece as a finale or an encore, and it was included in the programme of his penultimate concert on 11 July 1908. 63 Its success is proven further by the number of editions and arrangements that were published in Sarasate's lifetime and after his death. The piece has been arranged for many instruments such as solo piano, trumpet and cello, and can be found in most violinist's repertoire catalogue. Although the work is not considered a 'serious' piece, it has evolved into a piece of canonical status. Due to the prominence of the work, and its technical characteristics, *Zigeunerweisen* will be explored independently and in more detail. The work, although not the most technically challenging in comparison to later works, embodies the beginning of a new style of playing, and channels the virtuosity of his consecutive Spanish Dances.

Zigeunerweisen

During Sarasate's three-month tour with Carlotta Patti in 1869, we can now confirm he visited Budapest, Bucharest and Constantinople. However, although Sarasate had visited Hungary previously, it was not until his following visit, whilst performing two concerts on 7 and 9 March 1877, that Sarasate was fully immersed in Hungarian culture. These performances were part of a tour of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire with pianist Anton Door. The examination of unreported materials reveals that the artists travelled for 40 days, gave 28 concerts and found 'disorder and chaos'. However, it was after one of these concerts that Sarasate attended a dinner in which he heard Pál Rácz's Gipsy Orchestra for the first time. Due to the Paris exhibitions, music by gipsy ensembles had grown in popularity and were no longer a novelty. Goldschmidt confirms that it was after this performance that Sarasate was inspired to compose his 'Gipsy Tunes' (*Zigeunerweisen*). The visit in 1877

⁶² Flesch, Memoirs, 41.

⁶³ Altaldil, *Memorias*, 524.

⁶⁴ See Chapter 3 for a list of locations of this tour.

⁶⁵ Ferrer, Sarasate, 230.

⁶⁶ According to Goldschmidt's *Memoirs*, the tour was badly organised, JCB.

⁶⁷ Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, JCB; Dezsö Legány, *Ferenc Liszt and his Country*, 1869–1873, trans. Gyula Gulyás (Vinkeveen: Franz Liszt Kring, 1997), 257; Sárosi, 'Gipsy Musicians', 15; Kim, *Liszt's Representation of Instrumental Sounds on the Piano*.

⁶⁸ Loc. cit.

was a source of inspiration for Sarasate, but it can now also be confirmed, that it was during this visit, after his performances in Pest, that the violinist met Liszt. Ferrer previously confirmed via letters Liszt's interest in attending Sarasate's concert, but the newly found sources by this author, corroborates his attendance at the concert and the visit that followed. Goldschmidt tells of an occasion when Liszt appeared at Sarasate's hotel, and speaking to the violinist for several hours. Five months after this visit, in August of 1877, *Zigeunerweisen* was created and premiered shortly after in Leipzig. It is dedicated to Frederic Szarvady, politician and former Hungarian Embassy Secretary in Paris.

During the nineteenth century, the composition of music with folkloric elements, themes or music from a particular nation was common practice. This was in part due to its reception by audiences as exotic. ⁷⁰ *Zigeunerweisen* fits this category, but it also differs from it. Sarasate's previous works were composed with the intention to be performed in a particular country, so as to resonate with the local audiences. However, *Zigeunerweisen*, also often referred to as *Gipsy Airs*, was inspired by a specific culture but with the intention to be performed worldwide. The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona holds various multi-national scores by several composers, some of which are based on Hungarian themes and are dated before *Zigeunerweisen* 's creation in 1877. Examples of these are Joseph Joachim's arrangement of Franz Liszt *Rhapsodie Hongroise* no. 12 and Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst's *Airs Hongrois* op. 22.⁷¹ Similarly to these works Sarasate adopts Hungarian folk melodies, rhythms and patterns to create *Zigeunerweisen*.⁷²

Joshua S. Walden states that *Zigeunerweisen* is 'predominantly original'.⁷³ However, as the following shows, Sarasate used a selection of melodies from small pieces and folk songs by Hungarian composers Ede Bartay (1825–1901), János Bihari (1764–1827) and Elemér Szentirmay (1836–1908). A compilation of these works can be found in Sarasate's musical library at the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona.⁷⁴ Similarly to his earlier works, the violinist often utilises the borrowed material with little or no amendment. Musical example 43 illustrates the piano right-hand part from Bihari's *Lassu Magyar* (line 1), which can be found

⁶⁹ Ferrer, Sarasate, 228; Goldschmidt, Ibid.

⁷⁰ Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth Century Music*, 25; For further information on this topic see Ralph P. Locke and Edward Said.

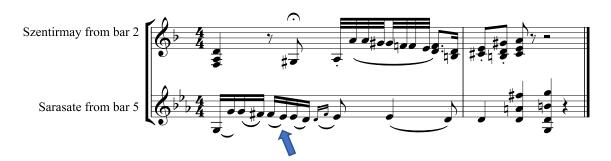
⁷¹ Franz Liszt/Joseph Joachim, *Rhapsodie Hongroise* (Leipzig: J. Schberth & Co., c. 1871); H. W. Ernst, *Airs Hongrois*, op. 22 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, *c*. 1850).

⁷² There is large literature on the subject of what constitutes as Hungarian, and this work does not enter within this particular debate. However, as it will be shown below, Sarasate utilised melodies composed by several Hungarian composers to create *Zigeunerweisen*.

⁷³ Joshua S. Walden, *Sounding Authentic: The Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 99.

⁷⁴ Ede Bartay, 30 Eredeti Magyar Zenedarab Régi Magyar zene Szerzoktol, Bihari, Csermák, Lavotta, Rózsavolgyi, Ruzitska. s.a.t. (Pest: Táborszkyés Parsch, 1873); See Ferrer's work for further examples.

in *30 Original Hungarian Pieces* by Ede Bartay, the director of the Hungarian National Conservatory. Sarasate's *Zigeunerweisen* begins with the initial motif introduced by the piano accompaniment, then repeated by the violin as exemplified in the second line of the same example. Although transposed to C minor, the thematic material is very similar to Bihari's written theme and throughout the composition Sarasate maintains the augmented seconds created by the raise of the fourth and the seventh. Musical Example 43 points to such an example with a blue arrow. According to Bálant Sárosi, the interval provides a distinguishing gipsy character performed by local musicians. However, the origin of such an interval would most likely have been an expressive gesture rather than a harmonic purpose as many of these musicians were untrained on the theoretical aspects of composition.



Example 43: Comparison - Bihari *Lassu Magyar*, bars 2–4 and Sarasate *Zigeunerweisen*, bars 5–6

Another example can be found in *Zigeunerweisen*'s *Un peu plus lent* section. Sarasate transcribes the melody from a popular Hungarian song, *Csak egy szép lány van a világon* (*There's only one fair girl in the world*) by Szentirmay (originally János Németh, 1836–1908), who was one of the most famous composers of Hungarian popular songs in the second half of the nineteenth century. At the time of publishing Sarasate claimed to have thought it to be a popular gipsy song. On 10 December 1883, after being made aware of his mistake by the composer, Goldschmidt sent a letter of apology on behalf of Sarasate and the reprints of 1884 acknowledge the authorship of the melody. The letter stated: 'Mr. Sarasate had heard the melody from gypsies and had been told that it was popular'. 79

⁷⁶ Bálant Sárosi, *Gipsy Music*, trans. Fred Macnicol (Hungary: Corniva Press, 1978), 27; For further markers of *Style Hongrois* see a comparison of Joseph Joachim's works in Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*, 329–340.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*; See Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 233.

⁷⁸ Maria P Eckhardt, *Franz Liszt's Music Manuscripts in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986; reprinted, New York, Pendragon, 2008), 53.

⁷⁹ Peter Jost, *Filched Melodies- Sarasate's Zigeunerweisen (Gipsy Airs) Under suspicion of Plagiarism* (G. Henle Verlag Online, 2013), https://www.henle.de/blog/en/2013/08/19/filched-melodies-%E2%80%93-sarasate%E2%80%99s-%E2%80%98zigeunerweisen%E2%80%99-gypsy-aires-under-suspicion-of-plagiarism/ (accessed 28 August 2024); The manuscript letter can be found in Eckhardt, *loc. cit.*

Example 44 below compares Szentirmay's song and Sarasate's melodic line. We note that there are only mild variations between the two sources. Most distinctively, Sarasate transcribes the song an octave above the original, to highlight the higher register of the violin, but also because the violin can sing more freely in this register. If indeed Sarasate had heard the song directly from gipsy performers, the few changes in rhythm that occur could have been the interpretation of the performers Sarasate heard which he then transcribed. He also includes additional dynamic and expressive markings in order to direct the violinist as much as possible. Unlike the improvisatory artists who would have performed Szentirmay's song, Sarasate wrote for performers who are used to reading from a score and not improvising.

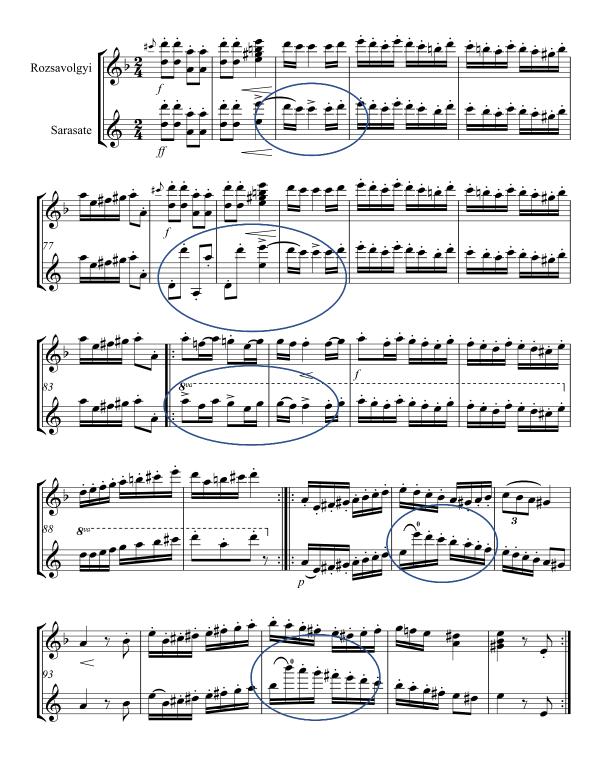


Example 44: Comparison of Szentirmay Csak egy lány van a világon and Sarasate Zigeunerweisen, Un peu plus lent, bars 49-64

Sarasate completes the final section of *Zigeunerweisen* with material from various Hungarian composers. However, the most striking example is the beginning of the section which is nearly an exact replica of *Lassu Magyar* by Mark Rozsavolgyi. 80 This particular piece can be found in Bartay's book and was also used by Liszt for his Hungarian Rhapsody no. 13.81 Musical Example 45 shows a comparison of Rozsavolgyi's material in line one with Sarasate's violin part in line two. Although there are not many differences between the melodic material, the few changes that Sarasate makes, are cleverly placed to direct the performer of the work in its interpretation. Moreover, although they might be minor edits in the score, Sarasate's changes augment exponentially the virtuosic capability of the piece. As illustrated in the example below, he does this by writing the part up an octave (bar 84) and by adding jumps to a higher register harmonic from which the line descends (bar 91 and 95).

⁸⁰ The composer was one of the first to compose *Csárdas*.

⁸¹ Ferrer, Sarasate, 237.



Example 45: Comparison of Rozsavolgyi 'Frissa' from *Lassu Magyar*, bars 1–28 and Sarasate *Zigeunerweisen*, bars 71–97

Contrasting Perspectives

In the mid twentieth century, Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály assumed the responsibility of highlighting the difference between Hungarian music and Gipsy music, that which had been popularised during the nineteenth century. 82 They noted Sarasate's piece 'Gipsy Melodies' as an example of this misperception.⁸³ In nineteenth century Hungary, the term 'gipsy music' meant Hungarian music performed by the Zigeunerkapellen and did not refer to Gipsy music per se.⁸⁴ Bartók refers to Liszt as the culprit for the misconception of terms and his role in facilitating a development of a false Hungarian tradition. Haraszti and Sinclair on the other hand, accused them of misrepresenting Hungarian music and believed in Liszt's exemplification of gypsy music. 85 Although a central subject, this project does not intend to enter into the details of these opposing opinions. However, the fundamental aspect of the argument aids in the emphasis of Liszt's musical understanding of Gipsy music and the interpretative freedom that derives from it. In this context, Sarasate's Zigeunerweisen is a representation of what Sarasate believed to be and others collectively called *style hongrois*. 86 It was influenced by Liszt and other previous Hungarian compositions, inspired by a gipsy orchestra and composed as a recompilation of melodies by popular Hungarian composers. Although Bartók and Kodály disagree, the Hungarian violinist Leopold Auer admitted that as a born Hungarian himself, Sarasate's composition 'fully justifies its title'. 'It is written absolutely in the style and character of that original type of music which one may hear played at its best in the large cafés and restaurants of Budapest, the Hungarian capital'.87

Structure

Like many of Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies, and the songs on which Sarasate based his piece, Zigeunerweisen follows the structure of the Csárdás, a Hungarian national dance, derivative of the Verbunkos which originated c. 1835.88 The csárdás combines a slow followed by a fast section. The slow sections were known as Lassan or Lassú, were in 4/4 and represented pride.

⁸² Béla Bartók, '1921', Essays (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 69; Bartók, '1943', 361; See also Jonathan Bellman, *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998),

⁸³ Zoltán Kodály, Folk Music of Hungary (California: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960), 7.

⁸⁴ Anna G. Piotrowska, Gipsy Music in European Culture from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, trans. Guy R. Torr (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013), 49.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 40; József Ujfalussy, Béla Bartók, trans. Ruth Pataki (Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971), 57; David E. Schenider, Bartók, Hungary, and the Renewal of Tradition: Case Studies in the Intersection of Modernity and Nationality (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 9.

⁸⁶ Csilla Pethó, "Style Hongrois": Hungarian Elements in the Works of Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Schubert', Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, 41 (2000), 199–284.

⁸⁷ Leopold Auer, *Master Works and their Interpretation* (New York: Carl Fischer, 1925), 157.

⁸⁸ Jonathan Bellman, 'Csárdás', in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06918 (accessed 22 August 2024).

The fast sections known as *friska* or *friss* intended to achieve extreme speed. The pieces Sarasate borrows from are all structured in the traditional binary *Lassu-Frissa*, except for some pieces by Bihari which have three movements: *Lassu-Trio-Frissa*. *Zigeunerweisen*'s structure similarly follows the csárdás binary form if we consider as parameters speed, character and tonality. It contains a *Lassu*, slower section in C minor and a *Frissa*, fast section in C Major/A minor. However, Sarasate subdivides each section further and forms 4 clear sections separated by piano introductions: *Moderato*, *Lento*, *Un peu plus lent* and *Allegro Molto Vivace*. These sections can be grouped to form a three-movement piece. The *Moderato* serves as an introduction and it is followed by the *Lento* which showcases the violinist with a range of techniques and collectively form the first movement. The consecutive *Un peu plus lent* embodies the slow and lyrical second movement, followed by the final *Allegro Molto Vivace* which begins with a striking piano accompaniment in *ff*, and introduces the violin to its fast finale.

Performing Zigeunerweisen: A Case Study

Lassu/First Movement: Moderato & Lento

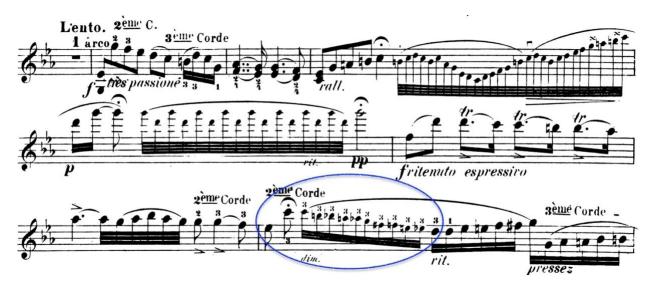
The first section, *Moderato*, is an introduction that unfolds the style and strong character of the piece. Sarasate adds a variety of musical embellishments in an improvisatory style, transforming a simple melody into a virtuosic impactful showpiece that enables the performer to flourish from the beginning of the work. The following video shows a live performance of the beginning of the piece.



Figure 88: Video – Zigeunerweisen. Moderato Live Performance

The video illustrates these flourishes which are concentrated as fast runs in the form of arpeggios and ascending and descending scales. The runs utilise the full length of the violin's register and is visually striking due to its speed. The full use of the G string is also utilised in the very characteristic manner of Sarasate's compositions.

The *Lento* is framed by the repetition of themes followed by an assortment of technical variations. The section itself begins with a short introduction by the piano, followed by a melancholic slow melody, marked *très passionné* played by the violin. As Example 46 displays, Sarasate continues to add similar embellishments as those found at the beginning of the piece. ⁸⁹ However, there is a new technical insertion, rarely found in his earlier works, which is the descending by semitone glissando with one finger. The difficulty lies in the clarity of each note being heard and should not be played as just a regular descending glissando from top to bottom.



Example 46: Zigeunerweisen. Lento, bars 12-19

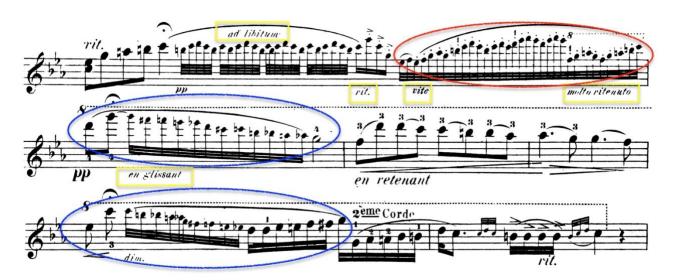
The following passage contains an additional significant element to Sarasate's technical development. He introduces for the first time the use of *flying staccato*, which has been circled in red in Example 47. 90 Sarasate's later works regularly include a variety of right-hand techniques, including *staccato*, but it is not until *Zigeunerweisen* that he begins to experiment, be more playful with the right-hand and introduce a larger combination of right-hand technical elements. The passage continues with further examples of descending arpeggios by semitone, both of which begin at the very top of the E string. Note, however, that the example in bar 24 includes the annotation, *en glissandi*. This indicates that for this particular example the hand can descend more smoothly, without the need to provide clarity

-

⁸⁹ Sarasate, Zigeunerweisen op. 20 (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, n.d. [1878]). Plate 1381.

⁹⁰ See Chapters 5 and 8 for further info on Sarasate's use of *staccato*.

in each descending note. Furthermore, the passage illustrated in Musical Example 47 is an explicit example in which Sarasate provides detailed suggestions in order to help the performer to interpret the style of the piece. Bar 23 alone contains four directional markings: *ad lib., rit., vite* and *molto rit.* 91 The suggestions in that bar are often followed, but Sarasate's markings are most likely intended to show the liberties that can be taken, rather than for them to be obeyed precisely. This is confirmed by Sarasate's 1904 recording of the piece, in which he makes small changes to the improvisatory elements, but not to the core score.



Example 47: Zigeunerweisen. Lento, bars 23-28

The work continues with a range of variations, each of which contain a range of distinctive violin techniques, aiding in the imitation of the improvisatory character. The piano accompaniment part is also simple throughout the work, which enables the violinist to play more freely. 92 These variations contain the use of long fast bows, trills, harmonics, left hand pizzicato and *sautillé*; all of which are used by Sarasate in plentiful in his future compositions.

Lassu/Second movement: Un peu plus lent

The following <u>Un peu plus lent</u> contrasts from the previous material because of the change in colour and style. The virtuosic variations are replaced by a lyrical, continuous melody, in character with the qualities of a second movement. After displaying a range of technical abilities, the piece turns to display the beauty of sound. Accordingly, the French violin school was notorious for its representation of sound as a human voice. All of the sections above combine tonally by holding C minor, evident in the piano's tonic pedal, and complete the *Lassu* section of the composition.

⁹¹ An image from the autograph manuscript score is provided in Chapter 6 and contains the same wording.

⁹² Walden, Sounding Authentic, 100.

Frissa/Third movement: Allegro Molto Vivace

The <u>Allegro Molto Vivace</u> enters with a contrasting change in all facets: tonality (C Major), dynamics (ff), character (fast, playful) and rhythm. The dotted rhythms and fermatas are replaced by a sequence of six- and eight-bar phrases of continuous fast semiquavers; The improvisatory material is replaced by vivid fast playing with added combinations of right- and left-hand pizzicato, double stopped thirds, broad string crossing, harmonics, and complete use of the violins' register. The technical passages are made more challenging by the speed that it requires. This movement portrays the climax of the piece which continuously shows off the skills of the violinist and invites the player to accelerate (plus animez) until the very last note, where it reaches the ultimate climax with two pizzicato chords, which are often performed arco.

Approaching Zigeunerweisen

Sarasate's approach to interpreting works representing a different culture is respectful. This is demonstrated in a letter from the violinist to Alexander Mackenzie, in which he describes his intention to transform himself in order to fit a composition. Sarasate writes: 'I will endeavour on this occasion to show myself as a pure-blooded Scot - minus the costume - and to prove that the national music of your country is one of the most beautiful and poetic that exists in the world: you know that I am fanatic about it'. 93 The piece he refers to is Mackenzie's *Pibroch Suite*, and as is clear from the letter, Sarasate intended to respect the roots of its origin and perform in a manner that represented such culture.

Zigeunerweisen was written in order to encapsulate the culture and surroundings that Sarasate had witnessed whilst on tour. In 1854, Prosper Mérimée described gipsy music as wild, happy and free, thus, to direct how such a piece should be performed would be against the nature of the composition. 94 Consequently, Sarasate wrote a text at the beginning of the composition alluding to the free interpretation of the piece, fitting to the rom character to be portrayed: 'It is impossible to indicate the exact interpretation of this piece. It should be performed very freely almost *ad libitum*, according to the individuality of each one, getting as close as possible however to the manner of the Gipsy'. 95 However, there are instances, examples of which have been illustrated above, in which Sarasate directs the performer in a detailed manner. Although artists in the nineteenth century generally performed more freely

⁹³ Mackenzie, 'Pablo de Sarasate: Some Personal Recollections', Musical Times, 694.

⁹⁴ Quoted in Alain Antonietto, 'Histoire de la Musique Tsigane Instrumentale d'Europe Centrale' (Études Tziganes 1/1, 1994), 110.

⁹⁵ 'It is impossible to indicate the exact interpretation of this piece. It should be performed very freely almost *ad libitum*, according to the individuality of each one, getting as close as possible however to the manner of the Gipsy'.

in comparison to today, Sarasate's directions would have been useful to any violinist reading the score. By creating *Zigeunerweisen*, Sarasate not only brought the music to the stage but he provided violinists worldwide with an opportunity to perform in an improvisatory way, even if they do not have that skill. Today, this observation is more applicable, since classically trained instrumentalists do not usually train in the art of improvisation. Sarasate's written improvisations have aided in the maintenance of an art and culture that today, only but a few inherently maintain. However, it is also significant to note that even though the piece is based on popular gipsy melodies, Sarasate created an emblematic, classical, violinistic piece. Therefore, a balance needs to be found between taking note of the culture it belongs to and the expectation of audiences breaking plates and dancing on tables as Mérimée recalls. ⁹⁶

Transcriptions and Editions

Sarasate made a number of transcriptions and editions, which are an unfamiliar aspect of the violinist. Auer described the ending of virtuosity as having been replaced by 'compositions of more genuine musical value', claiming also that Sarasate's main contribution was not his famed Spanish pieces, but rather his performance of the great violin works. ⁹⁷ Indeed, although Sarasate's Spanish Dances are famed today, his contribution towards the establishment of canon repertoire is less known. Examples are the violin concertos by Bruch, Mendelssohn and Lalo, which Sarasate promoted. In a similar way, the editions and transcriptions created by Sarasate demonstrate an additional aspect of the violinist's career. Table 23 lists the transcriptions and editions made by Sarasate that I have sourced.

Title	Composition/ Edition Date	Role
La Fée d'Amour (Die Liebesfee) op. 67 by J. Raff	1856	Editor
Nocturne de Chopin op. 9 no. 2	c. 1876	Arranger
Nocturne de Chopin op. 27 no. 2	c. 1876	Arranger
Three Waltzes by Chopin: Valse in A minor op. 34 no. 2, Valse in F Major op. 34 no. 3, Valse in A Major op. 64 no. 3	Unknown	Arranger
Les vieux maîtres français du violon au XVIIIe siècle:	c. 1889	Editor
Guignon: Allegro de la 1e Sonate		
Leclair: Sarabande et Tambourin		
Mondonville: La chasse de la IVe sonate		
Senaillé: Allegro de la IXe Sonate		
Guitarre op. 45 no.2 by Moszkowski	c. 1890	Arranger
Célèbre Largo de l'opéra Xerxes de Haendel	c. 1891	Editor
Bach: Aria de la Suite in D	1904	Arranger

Table 23: Sarasate's transcriptions and editions

-

⁹⁶ Antonietto, 'Histoire de la Musique Tsigane', 110.

⁹⁷ Ihio

Sarasate's Chopin Transcriptions

Sarasate created a select number of transcriptions based on Chopin's music which are listed in Table 24 below. 98 Chopin's reception is exemplified by the actions of Mendelssohn and Schumann, who in 1840 established a syllabus for music history in Leipzig's new conservatoire, creating the following canonic groups: Bach and Handel; Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven; Schubert; Mendelssohn and Chopin. 99 The arrangement of Chopin's works was an endeavour taken by many prominent instrumentalists in the 19th and 20th centuries. Noticeable arrangements for violin include those by August Wilhelmj, Nathan Milstein, Heifetz and most recently, Joshua Bell. Additionally, arrangements for other instruments such as cello and guitar can be found by David Popper and Francisco Tárrega.

Sarasate's Chopin arrangements are little known today, although they were composed during an important stage in his career. In 1876 Sarasate began his first tours as a solo violinist and made his German debut with Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2. It became one of his most performed compositions, as well as chosen for his recordings in 1904. In addition, Sarasate wrote a transcription of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2 but did not often appear in his programmes. Both of Sarasate's *Nocturne* arrangements display an avoidance of complex techniques in favour of a combination of singular melodic lines with fast passages, which indicates that these arrangements were most likely initially intended for the salon and belong to Sarasate's earlier era.

Today, neither of these arrangements are performed regularly, but throughout the history of recordings, Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 appears significantly more often. A Naxos research reveals that out of four albums, four contained Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 whilst only one, Tianwa Yang's complete recordings of Sarasate, contained the arrangement of the *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2. 100 Yang also records Sarasate's arrangements of the three waltzes. Unfortunately, there is little information available on them, although manuscript scores can be found in Pamplona, and Joseph Gold published the works in 1982. 101 Whilst Gold previously stated that he published these works for the first time, the British Library holds an edition published in 1939. 102 These works are short and light pieces, with few technical demands, and they do not appear in

_

⁹⁸ The autograph manuscript scores are to be found at the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona.

⁹⁹ Samson ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth Century Music*, 276.

¹⁰⁰ Tianwa Yang, Sarasate: Complete Works for Violin & Piano. Tianwa Yang, Hadulla. Naxos 8504054, 2018, 4 CDs.

¹⁰¹ AMP; Joseph Gold, 'About This Recording', liner notes for Tianwa Yang and Markus Hadulla, *Sarasate, P. de: Violin and Piano Music, Vol. 4 – Transcriptions.* Naxos 8.572709, 2014, CD.

¹⁰² Frédéric Chopin and Pablo de Sarasate, *3 Waltzes. Freely arranged for Violin and Piano. 1. Waltz. Op. 34. No. 2. 2. Waltz. Op. 34. No. 3. 3. Waltz. Op. 64. No. 3. Sarasate transcriptions,* rev. ed. H. Mlynarczyk (London: A. Lengnick & Co., 1939).

Sarasate's programmes, thus they were most likely intended for the salon.

Title	Composition	First
	Date	Edition
		Date
Nocturne de Chopin op. 9 no. 2. Dedicated 'À son ami Aimé Gros'.	c. 1876	c. 1877
Nocturne de Chopin op. 27 no. 2. Dedicated 'À son ami Alfred	c. 1876	c. 1877
Turban'.		
Three Waltzes by Chopin:	Unknown	1939
Valse in A minor op. 34 no. 2		
Valse in F Major op. 34 no. 3		
Valse in A Major op. 64 no. 3		

Table 24: Transcriptions of Chopin, 1876–1877

Sarasate's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 enabled the violinist to showcase his quality of sound fully and portray a contrasting sentimentality to his Spanish dances, full of fire. A review from *Le Ménestrel* quotes a performance in Portugal in which Sarasate received an extraordinary ovation. It refers to Chopin as the 'poet among all poets' and enthusiastically describes Sarasate's performance as ideal. ¹⁰³ The reason behind the popularity of this particular transcription, separately from the attractiveness of Chopin's music of the time, is the flawless balance Chopin creates. Sarasate capitalises on this feature and develops it to suit the violin. The piece allows the violinist to sing and indulge in the melodic line, whilst also providing moments in which to demonstrate technical ability. Examples of this are Musical Example 48, bars 9–12 which contain a mixture of double stops that start by reaching an octave of b flats, and Musical Example 49, bar 14 which shows a combination of rapid ascending sequences.



Example 48: Chopin/Sarasate *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, bars 9–12



Example 49: Chopin/Sarasate *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, bar 14

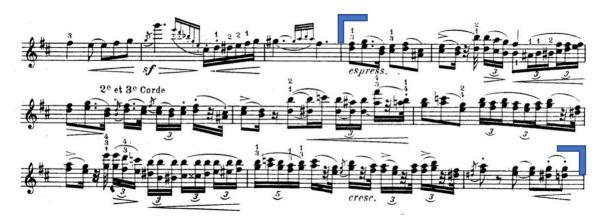
242

¹⁰³ 'Mais que dire de la manière idéale avec laquelle il interpreté le sentimental nocturne en mi bémol de Chopin, le poète entre tous les poètes? ...Aussi, quelle ovation!' *Le Ménestrel*, 26 June 1881.

In contrast, Sarasate's arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2 contains additional passages of continuous double stopping. As shown in Musical Examples 50 and 51, the arrangement intends to maintain the right hand of the piano part, including the double-stopped passages. ¹⁰⁴ Sarasate changes the original key of D flat major to D major, a key that is better suited to the violin.



Example 50: Chopin Nocturne op. 27 no. 2, bars 10-18



Example 51: Chopin/Sarasate *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2, bars 7–17

¹⁰⁴ Frédéric Chopin, *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2, in *Friedrich Chopin's Werke. Band IV* (24–31) (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. [1878]). Plate C. IV. 7–8; Frédéric Chopin, Pablo Sarasate, *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk et Cie., [*c*. 1876]). Plate D. S. & C. 2357.

However, whilst on the piano the double stops can be played as intended and the melodic line maintained, it is harder to achieve the same result on the violin. The arrangement makes few technical demands overall, except for when attempting to create the serenity and peacefulness attached to the composition whilst performing continuous double stops. It is possible, but it requires a great deal more practice, in order to find the right colour whilst maintaining equal balance of sound in two strings, as well as correct intonation.

Contrastingly, *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2 allows for the violinist to concentrate on the beauty of sound, with a melody on one string that can be easily sung. The work also contains moments to display the violinist's technical command with double stops and fast runs, but these are located in short specific moments, without interfering with the melodic line. For this reason, Sarasate's arrangement of *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2 is not as commonly performed, as it does not hold the same quality of balance as *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2. Moreover, in opposition to the various mentions of Sarasate performing his arrangement of *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2, there are yet no accounts of Sarasate having performed his transcription of *Nocturne* op. 27 no. 2.

Other Arrangements and Editions

In addition to Sarasate's transcriptions of Chopin's works, the violinist took the role of arranger and editor in a few select occasions in his later years. As Table 25 illustrates, these works were completed in majority towards the end of his life and reveal a predominance of French music. However, two prominent baroque pieces are also included, the *Celebrated Largo from Handel's opera Xerxes* and Bach's *Air from Suite in D*.

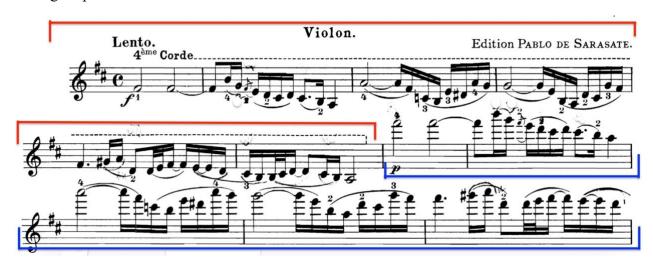
Title	Edition	Year
La Fée d'Amour (Die Liebesfee) op. 67 by J. Raff	Mayence: B Schott's Söhne	1856
Les vieux maîtres français du violon au XVIIIe siècle:	Paris: Durand & Schoenewerk	c. 1889
Guignon: Allegro de la 1e Sonate		
Leclair: Sarabande et Tambourin		
Mondonville: La chasse de la IVe sonate		
Senaillé: Allegro de la IXe Sonate		
Guitarre op. 45 no.2 by Moszkowski	Leipizig: Peters	c. 1890
Célèbre Largo de l'opéra Xerxes de Haendel	Paris: Durand & Schoenewerk	c. 1891
Aria de la Suite in D by Bach	Leipzig-Berlin: Zimmermann	1904

Table 25: Sarasate as editor and arranger

These pieces demonstrate how Sarasate promoted and revived music of the past, including Bach's *Chaconne* from Partita no. 2 BWV 1004. However, Sarasate continued to perform a majority of his regular repertoire, and only occasionally included works from the past. Moreover, of the editions in Table 25, he only added *La Fée d'Amour* by J. Raff and

Aria de la Suite in D by Bach to his programmes. This suggests that Sarasate, even late in life, was inclined to perform works that endorsed his stage persona, that which his audiences wanted to hear from him specifically, whilst adding a few elements of transformative repertoire in order to stay with the times.

Whilst Sarasate did not act as editor on many occasions, the scores which were possible to examine, illustrate and corroborate two particular features of Sarasate's playing preferences. Firstly, a tendency to play passages on the G string, and secondly, a confirmation that even if Sarasate was indeed including repertoire from the past in his programmes, he would perform them within his virtuosi manner. This is most notable in Sarasate's edition of Bach's *Aria* from Suite in D.¹⁰⁵ As Example 52 illustrates, Sarasate suggests playing all of the opening melody on the G string, starting in sixth position, an action which would be frowned upon today. This is followed by a repetition of the melody two octaves higher, again utilising the higher positions of the violin.



Example 52: Bach Aria de la Suite in D, arranged by Sarasate

Concluding remarks

Sarasate's earlier works are lesser known but it does not signify that they are minor in quality or importance. They are instead essential, as they demonstrate Sarasate's development as a violinist and the progression which lead to his individual identity. The early works show a violinist who is composing works within the traditions that surround him, most likely composing that which he believed was expected of him. These works also showcase his technical advancement and prove that his left-hand ability was very high from an early stage. An example of the violinist's capabilities can be seen in many of his works, but some examples such as his *Nouvelle Fantaisie* portray this more clearly. Although Sarasate did not

 105 J. S. Bach/Sarasate, $Aria.\ Extrait\ de\ la\ Suite\ d'Orchestre\ en\ R\'e$ (Leipzig-Berlin: Zimmermann, 1904).

continue to perform on stage many of his early works, a few examples remained in his repertoire, such as *Souvenirs de Faust*. However, it is from *Zigeunerweisen* that the violinist commences a new technical and compositional phase. Approximately a year before, in 1876, Sarasate also created his arrangement of Chopin's *Nocturne* op. 9 no. 2. Both works became two of Sarasate's most performed compositions on stage throughout his career. Additionally, from the point of view of violin technique, he begins to include more right-hand techniques and becomes more experimental and playful. These traits return in his latter compositions based on Spanish themes. These works, which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, helped the violinist secure an individualistic image, and are to this day, his most well-known works. The findings of this chapter, as well as those discussed consecutively, collectively aid in the depiction of Sarasate's career development and advances further the goal of this work, to prove his importance in the establishment of violin technique and performance practices.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Sarasate's Technique: Interrogating the Spanish Dances

By the mid 1870s, Sarasate's international reputation had grown into that of a distinguished performer. He returned to Paris after completing his tour in North and South America in May 1872. From 1872 to 1876 he premiered compositions by Bruch, Lalo and Saint-Saëns and in 1876 performed for the first time in Germany. Although Sarasate was beginning to establish a successful career, all of these prior experiences and events led the violinist to compose encores based on his Spanish roots, which consequently also helped him establish and mystify his public persona. Assisting this development were his friendships with Lalo and Bizet, who were also composing music based on Hispanic idioms. As James Parakilas notes, they 'did not hesitate to capitalize on his Spanish identity'. In 1875 Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole* and Bizet's *Carmen* were published. A year previous, in 1874, Sarasate had composed his own first Spanish-themed composition, *Airs Espagnols*. This work is an important transitional piece for Sarasate, as it shows the younger artist blending with the new, as such the piece will be discussed in its own category.

From 1876 onwards, Sarasate toured the world as a solo violinist, as a more established artist with his own personalised style and character. His most successful music was written from 1877, the majority of which were based on his Spanish roots. These compositions became his trademark. Table 26 lists Sarasate's compositions based on Hispanic idioms written between 1874 and his death in 1908. After 1883, there is a two-year gap across all genres in which there is an absence of new works. Whilst it is not possible to ascertain with certainty the reasons behind this, Sarasate's father, Miguel Sarasate, died on 11 August 1884. Additionally, Sarasate confirms cancelling his travel arrangements to Pamplona due to a cholera epidemic that year. From 1885 until his death in 1908, he continued to compose Spanish-based compositions as individual works but also parallel to other genres such as opera fantasies.

¹ Chapter 3 explores this further.

² Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 161.

³ Letter Sarasate to Baldomero Navascués, Paris, 27 June 1884, quoted in Altadil, *Memorias*, 311; 'The Cholera Epidemic of 1884', *Nature*, 30 (1884), 629–630.

Title and dedication where known	Composition Date	First Published Edition c. 1874	
Airs Espagnols. Dedicated 'To my friend and compatriot Lorenzo Pagans'.	c. 1874		
Spanish Dances II. Habanera op. 21 no. 2. Dedicated 'An Joseph Joachim in Verehrung und Bewunderung'.	1877	c. 1878	
Spanish Dances. I. Malagueña op. 21 no.1. Dedicated: 'An Joseph Joachim in Verehrung und Bewunderung'.	1878	c. 1878	
Spanish Dances III Romanza Andaluza op. 22 no. 1. Dedicated 'Frau Norman-Neruda gewidmet'.	1878	c. 1879	
Spanish Dances IV Jota Navarra op. 22 no. 2. Dedicated 'Frau Norman-Neruda gewidmet'.	1878	c. 1879	
Spanish Dances V Playera op. 23 no1. Dedicated 'à Hugo Herrmann'.	1879	1880	
Spanish Dances VI Zapateado op. 23 no. 2 for violin and piano. Dedicated 'à Hugo Herrmann'.	1879	1880	
Caprice Basque op. 24. Dedicated 'A mi amigo y compañero Otto Goldschmidt'.	1880	c. 1880	
Fantaisie de concert sur Carmen de Bizet op. 25. Dedicated 'À Monsieur Hellmes Berger, Directeur du Conservatoire de Vienne'.	1881	c. 1882	
Spanish Dances VII op. 26 no. 1. Dedicated 'à Leopold Auer'.	1882	1882	
Spanish Dances VIII (Habanera) op. 26 no. 2 Dedicated 'à Leopold Auer'.	1882	1882	
Jota Aragonesa op. 27. Dedicated 'Dedicada a mi amigo Julio Enciso'.	1882	c. 1884	
Spanish Dances. Serenata Andaluza op. 28. Dedicated 'A Francisca Sarasate de Mena'.	1883	c. 1883	
Le Chant du Rossignol op. 29. Dedicated 'A Teresina Tua'.	1885	1885	
Bolero op. 30. Dedicated 'A Monsieur Marsick'	c. 1885	c. 1885	
Muiñeira. Théme Montagnard op. 32. Dedicated 'Al Exmo. Sr. Conde de Morphy'.	c. 1886	c. 1887	
Navarra. Duo for two violins op. 33. Dedicated 'A la Exma. Diputación de Navarra'.	c. 1888	1889	
Peteneras. Caprice Espagnole op. 35. Dedicated 'À Madame Berthe Marx'.	c. 1893	1894	
Jota de San Fermín op. 36. Dedicated to 'À son ami Louis Diémer'.	1894	1894	
Danse Espagnole Adiós Montañas mías! Célebre Zortzico de Joaquín Larregla op. 37.	c. 1894	1895	
Viva Sevilla! Danse Espagnole op. 38. Dedicated 'a Indalencio Romero'.	1895	1896	
Zortzico de Iparaguirre. Danse Espagnole op. 39. Dedicated 'a Rosita Piazza'.	1896	1898	
Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole op. 40. 'À Mlle. Berthe-Ottilia Goldschmidt'.	1898	1898	
Introduction et Caprice-Jota op. 41. Dedicated 'À Joseph Debroux'.	1899	1899	
Miramar. Zortzico op. 42. Dedicated 'À Sa Majesté Maria Christina Reine Régente d'Espagne'.	1899	1899	
Jota de Pamplona op. 50. Dedicated : 'À Monsieur Édouard Nadaud, Professeur au Conservatoire de Paris'.	1903	1904	
Jota de Pablo op. 52. Dedicated 'A E. Fernández Arbós'.	1906	1908	

Table 26: Sarasate's Spanish based compositions, 1874–1908

Although Sarasate's Spanish heritage was most likely the initial inspiration for his compositions on Spanish themes, we note that nineteenth-century Paris was a focus for the reproduction of Spanish culture. Émigrés and exiles from Spain, including writers, painters and musicians settled in Paris looking for opportunities. In literature, writers such as Victor Hugo, transformed Spain's history into fiction, portraying images of a nation that fought for freedom and creating mystical and tempting worlds, which the public craved. Stage works like Jean Coralli's *Le Diable Boiteux* and paintings such as Édouard Manet's *Mademoiselle V. in the Costume of an Espada* also featured the representation of Spanish costumes and idioms. Spanish dances such as the bolero became a frequent social dance, regularly appearing in salons and on the main stages. The bolero also became one of the most used mediums to represent Spain and its spirit. However, tourists who travelled to Spain reported that the Spanish dances in Spain were not as attractive as the ones staged in the theatres of Paris and London. The performances had been tailored to fulfil the imagination of their audiences.

These depictions regularly concentrated on music and characteristics representative of Andalucía in the South of Spain, by which the particular region's idealisation resulted in it becoming a representation of all of Spain. This fashion was referred to as *Andalucismo* and occurred partially due to the *costumbristas*, who in the mid-19th century exported images in various forms such as paintings and books which popularised a romantic and traditional vision of Spain. ⁷ Sarasate's contemporaries Enrique Granados and Albéniz also depicted cities in Spain through music, more often than not utilising the Andalusian heritage. ⁸ Distinguishing characteristics such as melodic ornamentation and modal harmony allowed their listeners to easily identify the music and its exotic Spanish qualities. However, back in Spain critics recognised a misrepresentation of Spanish music, Basque music critic Ignacio Zubialde, who founded the *Revista Musical* in Bilbao in 1896, stated that 'the eternal confusion between Spanish music and Andalusian music continues to overshadow the true concept of the Hispanic art'. ⁹

_

⁴ Llano, Whose Spain: Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 193.

⁵ Chapter 1 includes more details on this topic, aiding in the contextualisation of Sarasate's Spanish Dances; Marieta Cantos Casenave, Daniel Muñoz Sempere, eds., *Otherness and National Identity in 19th-Century Literature* (The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2022).

⁶ Sean M. Parr, *Vocal Virtuosity: The Origins of the Coloratura Soprano in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Oxford University Press, 2021); K. Meira Goldberg, Ninotchka Devorah Bennahum and Michelle Heffner Hayes eds., *Flamenco on the Global Stage: Historical, Critical and Theoretical Perspectives* (Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland, 2015), 76.

⁷ Ibid, 150; Smith, op. cit., 41; Hess, Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain.

⁸ Nelson R. Orringer, *Lorca in Tune with Falla: Literary and Musical Interludes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 112.

⁹ 'La eterna confusión entre música española y música andaluza que continúa ofuscando el verdadero concepto de arte hispano'. Ignacio Zubialde, *Revista Musical*, Bilbao, December 1909, quoted in Celsa Alonso, 'La música Española y el Espíritu del 98', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana*, 5 (1998), 79–107, 95.

Sarasate used this model for most of his Spanish compositions. In the late 1870s, when Sarasate first started composing Spanish themed works, the violinist followed the Spain depicted in audiences' dreams rather than reality. ¹⁰ In fact, many of his compositions are based on themes originating in the south of Spain, rather than his own northern heritage. As Sarasate's career progressed, he began to utilise dances from other regions, including *jotas* from Navarra and the Basque *zortziko*. The compositions referred to in this chapter were written when Sarasate was an established performer, thus they are an ideal resource to explore the violinist's preferred techniques and capabilities. As this Chapter shows, Sarasate's Spanish Dances exhibit a highly skilled player. However, beyond their technical elements, these pieces were also used by the violinist as exhibition works. They contain elements that are both visually and aurally attractive to audiences, and they were typically well received by Sarasate's spectators.

Airs Espagnols: The Beginning

Airs Espagnols is Sarasate's first published composition based on Spanish themes. Both structurally and technically this work synthesises elements of both the younger violinist and the established performer. Airs Espagnols should be regarded as a transitional piece, in which Sarasate begins to discover the marketing potential of embracing his nationality, as other composers like Frédéric Chopin, Henryk Wieniawski and Antonín Dvořák. Sarasate was ideally placed to embrace his Spanish heritage, as the Parisian espagnolade was a growing movement during the nineteenth century. During the 1820s and 1830s Spain became an object of fascination; audiences began to crave these exotic lands both artistically and as a destination to travel to, as proven by literature such as Richard Ford's A Handbook for travellers in Spain from 1845. The volume was published by John Murray, who also issued several other handbooks for travellers on a wide range of destinations. 12

The Spanish Dances that followed *Airs Espagnols* are ordinarily one continuous short piece, although some works contain divided uninterrupted sections or variations such as *Caprice Basque*. However, they are not often separated by individual movements such as in *Airs Espagnols*. The division of this work results in a multi-section composition, in the style of Lalo's *Symphonie Espagnole*, although on a smaller scale. This work is likely to be Sarasate's first attempt at a larger structured piece, and thus likely to be the predecessor of *Zigeunerweisen's* three movements. Figure 89 illustrates the structure of *Airs Espagnols*. In

¹⁰ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 147.

¹¹ Christoforidis and Kertesz, Carmen and the Staging of Spain, Prelude (2).

¹² Fauser and Everist, eds. *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer*, 295; Richard Ford, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (London: Murray, 1847).

the first movement, the violin part instantly refers harmonically to the Iberian sound, a sound that is often identified with the use of the E Phrygian mode. The following *Andante* changes the mood of the piece distinctively and the double bar after the *Moderato* indicates the separation from the previous movement. In a conventional violin concerto setting this would be comparable to a slower second movement. The third movement concludes the piece with a virtuosic finale, *Même mouvt très rhythmé*. The overall structure of the composition could suggest that this was Sarasate's first and only attempt at creating a work which resembles a violin concerto.

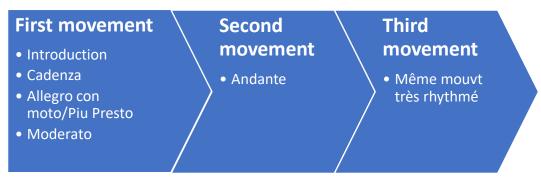


Figure 89: Airs Espagnols' structure

As regards to Sarasate's choice of thematic material, *Airs Espagnols* resembles previous operatic fantasies. However, Sarasate collates melodies from an assortment of folkloric songs which include a variety of Spanish dances, including the malagueña, fandango and jota. Sarasate's later works are, in comparison, usually based on one form of dance only. In a letter from 1870, Sarasate shared his accomplishment of composing a new work titled *Jota Aragonesa*, and the autograph score of *Airs Espagnols* found in the Archivo Municipal de Pamplona contains a written annotation at the start of the third movement which notes 'Jota Aragonesa'. It could be assumed that they are the same work, as composers often recycle previously composed music and/or re-arrange its original purpose. Ferrer similarly proposes that the initial unknown individual work *Jota Aragonesa* was later integrated into *Airs Espagnols*. Therefore, it could be supposed that Sarasate's initial objective was to create a one-dance work, comparable to his later compositions, but for reasons unknown, he changed his mind.

Most of the borrowed material used in this work was taken from the collection: *La Joya de Andalucía: miscelanía de aires característicos para piano* by Juan Cansino from

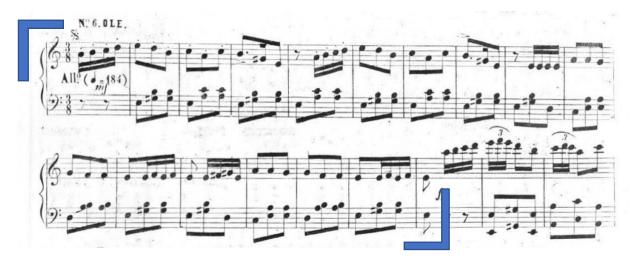
¹⁴ For a deeper structural analysis and origins of the Spanish Dances see Ferrer, *loc. cit.*

251

¹³ Ferrer, Sarasate, 188.

¹⁵ Letter Buenos Aires, 26 September 1870, US-R; Ferrer, Sarasate, 150.

1870.¹⁶ The manner in which Sarasate uses the original thematic material is similar across his compositions in that he borrows it quite accurately.¹⁷



Example 53: Juan Cansino Olé no. 6, bars 1-15



Example 54: Sarasate Airs Espagnols, bars 1–19

¹⁷ Sarasate, Airs Espagnols op. 18 (Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk et Cie., n.d. [1874]). Plate D.S et Cie. 1730.

¹⁶ The collection can be found as part of Sarasate's musical library in The Archivo Municipal de Pamplona, Spain. Additionally, a digital copy of the collection is available at the BDH: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000165197&page=1 (accessed 27 August 2024); See Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 187–192.

Musical Example 53 above shows the beginning of the song 'Olé' from Cansino's collection. The comparison of this material with Example 54, the introductory accompaniment of *Airs Espagnols*, reveals many similarities. Sarasate's 22-bar introduction is a replica of Cansino's 15 first bars. Sarasate maintains the melodic line and harmony, transforming it only by changing from **8** to **4** and doubling the rhythmical values.

The work also heralds elements found in later works. For example, the use of the E string to interrupt the theme at the beginning of the composition resembles its use in *Habanera* from his *Spanish Dances* op. 26 no. 2 (Example 56 and 57). However, upon examination it became evident that the use of the E string in this manner also develops from one composition to the next. Musical Example 55 shows a selection of notes in which there is both the need to use the fourth finger in the A string to cover the E as well as an open E string. The E on the last beat of each bar could also be played with a fourth finger, but then the contrasting, bright sound of the open E string would not be utilised. In consequence, and depending on the violin and strings been used, the passage could sound drier and less effective.



Example 55: Sarasate Airs Espagnols, bars 24–27

In comparison, the selected passage from *Habanera* in Example 56, allows for the continuous bright sound of the open E string creating a bell-like and striking effect. Additionally, Example 57 illustrates the first bar of the beginning of the last movement of *Airs Espagnols* in A major (§3), followed by an example from Sarasate's *Navarra for two violins* op. 33 also in A major (§3). Both works distinctively use the same key and rhythmic motif which appear throughout his works.¹⁸



Example 56: Sarasate Habanera, bars 140–143

-

¹⁸ These examples are illustrated in Chapter 8, Video 1: https://youtu.be/Pz6rMgscjnk



Example 57: Sarasate Airs Espagnols and Sarasate Navarra

Whilst intermediate in terms of the violinist's artistic and technical development, Airs Espagnols also contains technical elements which helps us to identify Sarasate's playing and status as an established violinist. Many of these techniques are manifested in later works, which include left-hand pizzicato resembling a Spanish guitar, full phrases on the G string which utilise the deepness of the violin creating a contrasting sound, the use of the high register of the violin specially in faster passages, double stops and harmonics. There is, however, one element in the piece that is not often utilised afterwards, and that is the violin solo cadenza-like motifs. Although Zigeunerweisen from 1878 does contain small fragments of the kind, these aim to represent and specifically imitate the improvisational character of gipsy music. However, the fragments found in Airs Espagnols emulate the nature of the improvisatory cadenzas regularly performed by eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century artists. Following the example of artists such as Spohr, these short cadenzas were often preprepared and written out, which among other things, eases the role of the accompaniment upon re-entering. 19 Even though the work was the violinist's first attempt of its kind, creating a virtuosic work based on Spanish themes; it became very successful both in his own hands and of others. In 1883 Le Ménestrel records a performance of Airs Espagnols by the American violinist Arma Senkrah, and another performance the same year by Sarasate's friend Enrique Fernández Arbós.²⁰

Sarasate's Spanish Dances: Origins

Sarasate composed eight *Spanish Dances* between 1877 and 1882, which were organised and often published in pairs. He also composed two additional pieces, *Jota Aragonesa* op. 27 and *Danzas Españolas*, *Serenata Andaluza* op. 28 in 1882 and 1883 respectively, which were published as individual works. After a two-year break, the violinist continued with the composition of similar styled Spanish dances but presented as individual, stand-alone works. Although Sarasate was born and lived in Spain during his youth, his particular choices of material for his compositions suggest him finding and selecting such music in Paris. Sarasate

¹⁹ David Rowland, 'Performance Practice in the Nineteenth-Century Concerto', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto*, ed. Simon P. Keefe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 246.

²⁰ Le Ménestrel, 11 March 1883; 29 April 1883; Arma Senkrah (born Arma Loretta Harkness, 1864–1900) was an American violinist.

was born in Pamplona (north of Spain) and lived in Madrid in his youth, but the music selection often originates in the south of Spain, specifically Andalucía.²¹ Sarasate capitalised on the trend set by his contemporaries, in which compositions were created to evoke a specific taste of Spain.

Table 27 lists Sarasate's *Spanish Dances* as well as later Spanish-styled works, organised by the origin of the predominant dance (some works use several dances). We must remember Spanish dances have a rich history and were born of a variety of influences, some dances are associated with more than one region. The appointed dances and locations in the table below serve only as a preliminary overview to aid in the classification of Sarasate's works.²² His introduction to this compositional style between 1877 and 1883 includes 11 works, 7 of which are based on Southern dances. The remaining four works comprise of two habaneras, one zortziko, a northern dance from the Basque region and a jota from Navarra. Moreover, of the 25 works displayed on Table 27, 12 are based on dances from Andalucía. Therefore, Sarasate chose materials that represented the Spain that audiences wanted to hear and those which fitted with the imagery that had been popularised. Furthermore, as Judith Etzion explains, these were not typically danced by the upper middle class in Spain. The fandango, jota and the bolero were traditionally danced by peasants, servants and gypsies, whilst the upper middle class preferred the waltz and the polka instead.²³

From 1885, however, Sarasate utilised a greater number of dances, giving a truer depiction of Spain's rich culture. He particularly included a predominance of dances and rhythms from the north of Spain, these include various jotas from Navarra, zortzikos from the Basque Country and a muiñeira from Galicia. 1885 is also the year in which Sarasate wrote *Ballade*, his return to composing a French-inspired work, a style which he had not used since 1869. In the years that follow until his death, Sarasate's compositions are a mixture of the styles he used during his career, returning also to the operatic fantasy in 1903 with *Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart* op. 51, a form which he had left behind in 1872 when he composed *Le Freischutz. Fantaisie* op. 14.

_

²¹ Harvey, 'A piece of the Exotic', 40; Kerry Murphy, 'Carmen: *Couler Locale* or the Real Thing?' in *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830-1914*, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 297.

²² For more information on Spanish dances see Juan Vergillos, *Nueva Historia del Flamenco* (Córdoba, Spain: Editorial Almuzara, 2021); Alicia Espejo Aubero, Amparo Espejo Aubero, *Glosario de Términos de la Danza Española* (Madrid: Librerías Deportivas Esteban Sanz, 2001); Rocío Espada, *La Danza Española: su Aprendizaje y Conservación* (España: Librerías Deportivas Esteban Sanz, 1997).

²³ Judith Etzion, 'The Spanish Fandango: From Eighteenth-Century 'Lasciviousness' to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism,' *Anuario musical: Revista de musicología del C. S. I. C.* 48 (1993), 242.

Origin	Dance	Title	Composition Date
Andalucía	Malagueña	Spanish Dances I Malagueña op. 21 no.1	1878
Andalucía	Polo	Spanish Dances III Romanza Andaluza op. 22 no. 1	1878
Andalucía	Playera/Seguidilla	Spanish Dances V Playera op. 23 no.1	1879
Andalucía	Zapateado	Spanish Dances VI Zapateado op. 23 no. 2	1879
Andalucía	Vito	Spanish Dances VII op. 26 no. 1	1882
Andalucía/Aragón	Fandango/Jota	Jota Aragonesa op. 27	1882
Andalucía	Malagueña y Polo	Spanish Dances. Serenata Andaluza op. 28	1883
Andalucía	Fandango y Malagueña	Le Chant du Rossignol op. 29	1885
Andalucía	Bolero (descendant of Seguidilla)	Bolero op. 30	c. 1885
Andalucía	Petenera	Peteneras. Caprice espagnole op. 35	c. 1893
Andalucía	Seguidillas	Viva Sevilla! Danse Espagnole op. 38	1895
Andalucía	Fandango	Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole op. 40	1898
Navarra	Jota	Spanish Dances IV Jota Navarra op. 22 no. 2	1878
Navarra	Jota	Navarra. Duo for two violins op. 33	c. 1888
Navarra	Jota	Jota de San Fermín op. 36	1894
Navarra/Aragón	Jota	Introduction et Caprice-Jota op. 41	1899
Navarra	Jota	Jota de Pamplona op. 50	1903
Navarra	Jota	Jota de Pablo op. 52	1906
Basque country	Zortziko	Caprice Basque op. 24	1880
Basque country	Zortziko	Danse Espagnole Adiós Montañas mías! Célebre Zortzico de Joaquín Larregla op. 37	c. 1894
Basque country	Zortziko	Zortzico de Iparaguirre. Danse Espagnole op. 39	1896
Basque country	Zortziko	Miramar. Zortzico op. 42	1899
Havana, Cuba	Habanera	Spanish Dances VIII (Habanera) op. 26 no. 2	1882
Havana, Cuba	Habanera	Spanish Dances II. Habanera op. 21 no. 2	1877
Galicia	Muiñeira	Muiñeira. Théme Montagnard op. 32	c. 1886

Table 27: Sarasate's compositions based on Spanish dances organised by region

Virtuosity and Technique in Sarasate's Spanish Dances

Manuel García's family and other musicians such as Fernando Sor and Dionisio Aguado were highly responsible for the promotion of Spanish music in France.²⁴ Spanish guitarist, composer and dancer Sor, who had settled in France and performed for Rossini, also aided in the promotion of and enthusiasm for the guitar. However, as Parakilas observes, Spanish music did not identify with virtuosity until Sarasate.²⁵ Saint-Saëns's Introduction and Rondo Capriccioso op. 28 and Lalo's Symphonie Espagnole op. 21 precede Sarasate's Spanish dances but were written for, and with the help of, the violinist. These particular works by Saint-Saëns and Lalo include various elements with rhythmic patterns and ornamentation inspired by Spanishness, which intend to aid in the characterisation of the work. Although there are certain technical passages, these do not compare to the full demonstration of Sarasate's capabilities. Lalo and Saint-Saens's pieces are more symphonic, they are intended for the concert hall and combine an equal prioritisation of both quality in compositional substance and violin technique. These works do not equal the technical level, showmanship or firework display that can be found in Sarasate's own compositions. It is possible that Sarasate was inspired by the Paris exhibitions, the gypsies he saw perform, his conversations with colleagues or a combination of them all, but his Spanish dances are a perfect blend of his personality, heritage and skill. They are also the most accurate representation of the violinist's technique. These are compositions that aided in the development of his persona and the characterisation of his virtuosity, and they are works which he continued to perform at the height of his career.

Similarly to Paganini's 24 Caprices, the set of techniques in the Spanish dances encapsulate Sarasate's technical capabilities whilst also providing him with an effective method of astounding his audience both aurally and visually in performance. The concepts of theatricality and virtuoso showmanship were essential to the success of the performers' brands. Sarasate's staging of technical dominance and the ease with which he would have performed, targeted the audiences' eyes on him and as a result it reinforced the soloistic figure. Sarasate's audiences unanimously describe the violinist performing with ease and elegance at all times, therefore it is possible that his technical capabilities were beyond what

²⁴ Many Spaniards fled to France in the 19th century, see Montserrat Bergadà, 'Musiciens Espagnols à Paris entre 1820 et 1868: État de la Question et Perspectives d'Études,' in *La Musique entre France et Espagne: Interactions Stylistiques, 1870–1939,* ed. Louis Jambou (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), 17–38; Casares, Alonso González, *La Música Española en el Siglo XIX*, 16.

²⁵ Parakilas, 'How Spain got a soul', 161; Smith, Op. cit.

²⁶ Bruno Moysan, 'Virtuosité Pianistique: les Écritures de la subjectivité', *Romantisme*, vol. 128, no. 2 (2005), 51-69; See also Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, 141–142; Weber, *The Musician as Entrepreneur: 1700-1914*; Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*.

we find in the scores, as logically he would have avoided performing compositions that could risk his reputation. His small physique can attest to the lack of or infrequent use of larger interval double stops such as tenths and fingered octaves which require either a big hand or a compromising stretch for a potentially smaller hand such as Sarasate's. Paganini on the other hand was known to have had unusual physical attributes, which had direct consequences to his skills. He had above average stretching capabilities resulting in an interval stretch span of three octaves with ease. Although Paganini made use of his attributes, an absence of intervals such as tenths in Sarasate's music can also be attributed to their general lack of use during that period of time. Auer comments on fingered octaves having never or seldom been mentioned during his youth and he was never asked to practise them by any of his teachers Joseph Hellmesberger, Jacques Dont, nor Joachim. 28

Figure 90 recapitulates some of the techniques most used by Sarasate, as recognised in previous chapters. However, each of these technical elements have diverse levels of difficulty according to how they are used in the music which are maximised in his Spanish Dances.

Left-hand

- Double stops: thirds, sixths and octaves
- High positions including a predominance for G-string passages
- Left-hand pizzicato

Right-hand

- Staccato & Staccato volant
- Spiccato, Sautillé & Ricochet

Figure 90: Summary of Sarasate's distinguishing left- and right-hand techniques

The following sections discuss in detail Sarasate's use of these techniques, as well as their development in difficulty specifically within his Spanish Dances. The combination of technical elements as well as the speed in which they are intended to be played, as Sarasate's own recordings prove, are what makes the Spanish Dances visually and audibly virtuosic. Moreover, the various technical elements not only depict the violinist's abilities but are also a valuable tool in the representation of the dances individually. Each element, aided by

-

²⁷ Stowell, *Violin Technique and Performance Practice*, 111; Alessio Pedrazzini, Alessandra Martelli and Silvio Tocco, 'Niccolò Paganini: The Hands of a Genius', *Acta bio-medica: Atenei Parmensis*, 86, 1 (May 2015), 27–31.

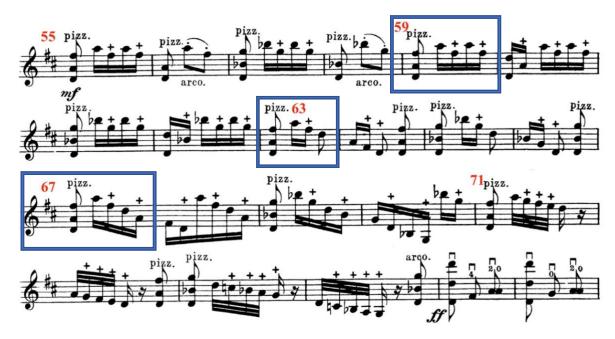
²⁸ Auer, Violin Playing, 49.

traditional rhythms such as the Basque zortziko, recreates movements and gestures traditionally danced.²⁹

Left-hand Technique

One of Sarasate's most used and distinguishing techniques is the combination of right- and left-hand pizzicato in various formats. This technique was widely used by virtuoso violinists such as Paganini and performed by Sarasate regularly. The violinist's vast use of such technique in his compositions, however, is not only a display of ability but an integral part of his image and his creation of Spanish-inspired compositions. The percussive element created from its use can mirror and imitate a variety of sounds that aid in the musical representation of Spanishness, such as a guitar, the stamping of feet in dances such as flamenco, the sound of castanets or clapping.

In his *Malagueña* op. 21 no. 1, illustrated in Example 58, Sarasate utilises a combination of arco, right and left-hand pizzicato to musically and visually sketch rhythm and character.³⁰



Example 58: Sarasate Malagueña op. 21 no. 1, bars 55–76

The particular passage represents the accompaniment of the guitar and amplifies in intensity in several stages. First, he removes the arco quavers in bar 59 and replaces them with left-hand pizzicato semiquavers, that is followed by a change of rhythmic pattern in bar 63. Bar 67 then returns to the semiquaver pattern with a melodical amendment, and the passage

259

²⁹ Tao-Chang Yu, 'Spanish Dances for Violin: Their Origin and Influences', Dissertation Doctor of Musical Arts, (Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, 2006), 1.

³⁰ Sarasate, Spanish Dances I. Malagueña op. 21 no. 1 (Berlin: Simrock, n.d. [1878]). Plate 8023.

concludes with four sets of demisemiquaver left-hand pizzicato that leads into the arco three note chords beginning in bar 74.³¹

The *Malagueña* is the first instalment of Sarasate's *Spanish Dances*, which he paired with *Habanera* op. 21 no. 2 when it was published. Although the *Habanera*'s tempo is usually moderate, Sarasate contrasts the slower *Malagueña* with a faster *Habanera* which includes the distinguishing triplets on the violin line over quavers in the piano accompaniment.³² The original folk songs used in these pieces are evidence as to the collaboration between composers of the time and the success of folk Spanish music in Paris. The violinist uses two folk songs for his *Malagueña*: *El chacho moreno* by José Melchor Gomis and *Bajelito nuevo* by Manuel García, which is part of his collection *Caprichos líricos españoles* (Paris, 1830). García also published *Chansons espagnoles* in 1819, a collection from which many French composers borrowed material, including Bizet.³³ Bizet also used Iradier's habanera *El Arreglito* for *Carmen*. Lalo based the third movement *Intermezzo* of his *Symphonie Espagnole* on Iradier's *La Negrita* and the violin's melody line is a replica of the original song.³⁴ To complete this interconnected cycle, Bizet accompanied Sarasate for the premiere of Lalo's Sonata for violin on 29 November 1873 at a concert of the Société Nationale.³⁵

Subsequent publications paired a slow, expressive composition with a faster and virtuosic one, the latter concentrating the full display of technique. Sarasate's *Spanish Dances* III op. 22 are also such an example. *Romanza Andaluza* op. 22 no. 1 is paired with *Jota Navarra* op. 22 no. 2, the first of seven jotas he composed. Although *Romanza Andaluza* is slower than *Jota Navarra* and begins with a simple melody, it also comprises of some double stops, including a descending scale in sixths. However, the main challenge for the performer is not to allow the technical elements to distract from the intensity and depth of lyricism in the melodic lines. *Jota Navarra* on the other hand contains a different kind of difficulty and it is one of his most challenging works, as it incorporates Sarasate's customary mixture of violin techniques, expected at high-speed completing a composition intended as a full display of virtuosity. It comprises of a variety of double stops and three note chords, as well as several jumps that require swift and defined precision from the left hand: from trills to double stop semiquavers, from spiccato to harmonics and top register E jumps. There are also harmonic

_

³¹ Chapter 8, Video 2: https://youtu.be/bAsOmk Z8kc

³² Ferrer, Sarasate, 247; Tao Chung, Spanish Dances, 18–19.

³³ Smith, Bizet's Carmen Uncovered, 14.

³⁴ Sebastián Iradier's *La Negrita* is an Habanera that is note well-known today; *Ibid*, 137; François Lesure, *Échanges musicaux franco-espagnols XVIIe-XIXe Siècles: actes des Rencontres de Villecroze*, *15 au 17 octobre 1998* (Villecroze: Académie Musicale de Villecroze, 2000), 156.

³⁵ Hugh Macdonald, *Bizet* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 205.

passages, high register motifs and arpeggios. Characteristically, the composition also incorporates four kinds of right and left-hand pizzicato. Example 59 illustrates a passage of right-hand pizzicato, highlighted in red, combined with immediate arco, double stopped, spiccato motifs in blue.³⁶ The pizzicato chords are not signalled in some editions with the plus sign (+) which would signify that they were intended to be played with the right hand.³⁷ However, the transition from right hand pizzicato to arco is too fast to be played accurately, so they are commonly played with the left hand.³⁸



Example 59: Sarasate Jota Navarra, bars 66-77

Musical Example 60 shows a section of left-hand pizzicato whilst maintaining a long arco note, a technique first used by Paganini. This is not a comfortable passage, but it is eased by the pizzicato on the left-hand being an open string.



Example 60: Sarasate Jota Navarra, bars 88-91

Sarasate extends this technique in *Caprice Basque* op. 24.³⁹ The passage replaces the long note in *Jota Navarra* with a melody line which has to be played with no interference from the added pizzicato on the left hand. The first eight bars include an open string pizzicato, but from bar 178, Sarasate replaces and interchanges the pizzicato with a G on the E string, which depending on the placement of the hand can be uncomfortable and hard to achieve cleanly. Sarasate's *Muiñeira*, *Théme Montagnard* op. 32 contains a similar example to *Caprice*

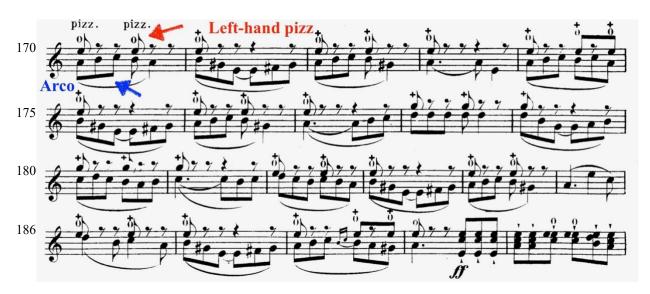
³⁶ Sarasate, Spanish Dances IV. Jota Navarra. op. 22 no. 2 (Berlin: Simrock, n.d. [1879]). Plate 8071.

³⁷ For example: Sarasate, *Spanish Dances*, op. 22 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1898).

³⁸ Chapter 8, Video 3: https://youtu.be/aHN Ea s2U

³⁹ Chapter 8, Video 4: https://youtu.be/BuXrdLgTeGk; Sarasate, Caprice Basque op. 24 (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, n.d. [1880]). Plate 1580.

Basque. The 38-bar long passage helps maintain the lively and traditional character of the piece.



Example 61: Sarasate Caprice Basque, bars 170-190

Lastly, Examples 62 and 63 illustrate Sarasate's most commonly used combinations of right- and left-hand pizzicato which appear in *Jota Navarra* and were previously seen in *Malagueña*. Example 62 is an example of left-hand consecutive pizzicato, in which after one arco note, usually spiccato, the rest of the fingers on the left hand are utilised to pluck the descending scale.



Example 62: Sarasate Jota Navarra, left-hand consecutive pizzicato, bars 101-103

In contrast, Figure 63 intertwines left-hand pizzicato notes with spiccato arco notes (shown in red), this particular example is one of various that can be found in the composition. The same image also demonstrates the mixture of techniques that Sarasate often uses within a short passage, this particular example shows an ascending arpeggio reaching the high register of the violin, highlighted in blue and harmonics in yellow.



Example 63: Sarasate Jota Navarra, bars 125-130

The last of the three sets combines *Playera* op. 23 no.1 and *Zapateado* op. 23 no. 2, the most contrasting. Although they can be played individually, they are often also performed one after the other as they complement each other well. *Playera* is the slowest and most simplistic of the *Spanish Dances* technically speaking, but it is also the most melancholic, with a sad, penetrating and improvisatory character. ⁴⁰ *Zapateado* on the other hand is a contrasting, fast, technical composition in § and it was one of Sarasate's most performed encores, as evidenced by archival findings. Figure 91 shows the last eight bars of the autograph score, signed 'San Sebastián, 1 de Agosto 79, Pablito'. ⁴¹

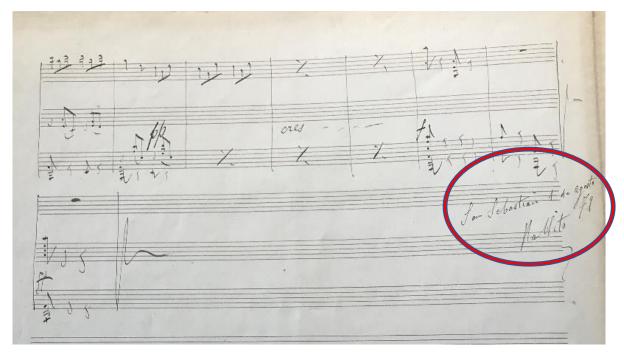


Figure 91: Sarasate Zapateado. Autograph manuscript score

The Zapateado was a traditional Spanish dance, very popular in the nineteenth century, in which the action to *Zapatear* predominates.⁴² The name derives from the sound produced by the feet whilst dancing, through the stamping of the floor.⁴³ In 2016, The Spanish National Ballet company organised a homage to dancer Antonio Ruiz Soler at the Teatro de la Zarzuela in Madrid. The programming included a <u>choreography to Sarasate's *Zapateado*</u>, a video of which can be seen on YouTube.⁴⁴ The performance is a visual example and a comprehensive representation of the dance character the piece is based on. The violinist utilises technique and rhythm to draw a musical sketch of a dance. Example 64 is an example

⁴⁰ See Ferrer, *Sarasate*, 289.

⁴¹ AMP.

⁴² Sally Sanford, 'Zapateado', in *Grove Music, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/97815615 92630.article.L2215144 (accessed 24 August 2024).

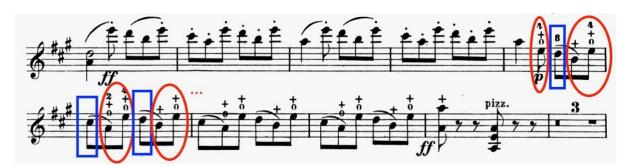
⁴³ Manuel Ríos Vargas, *Antología del Baile Flamenco* (España: Signatura Ediciones de Andalucía, 2002), 30.

⁴⁴ Additional links are available in page xi.

in which Sarasate utilises a descending octave pitch with a semiquaver rhythm, followed by a naturally accentuated quaver note on the G string, which contrasts to the previous motif and aides in the illustration of the foot stamp both visually and aurally.⁴⁵



The pizzicato elements in this piece are similar to those found in *Jota Navarra*, but in this instance instead of representing a guitar as they do in *Malagueña*, they represent the sound and rhythm of dancing feet. Musical Examples 65 and 66 depict the two types of pizzicato that can be found in *Zapateado* and strengthens the argument of being one of Sarasate's fundamentals. Example 65 illustrates the interchanging of one spiccato arco note (square in blue) with left-hand pizzicato (red circles). This example also shows further instances of one spiccato arco note followed by a rapid left-hand pizzicato move. Although these are visually very effective, the passage also highlights the extreme jumps that follow which add difficulty and further theatricality to the passage. In order for the left-hand pizzicato to be clearly audible, Auer suggests to 'draw back the arm to the left, into a position which is the exact reverse of the usual position of the arm'. ⁴⁶ Auer's suggestion is based upon creating a better angle for the fingers to pluck the string efficiently. However, in order to make the jump and notes that follow, as illustrated by the arrows in Example 66, the violinist needs to release the hand immediately after the last open string pizzicato to be able to reach the next note.



Example 65: Sarasate Zapateado, bars 50-58

-

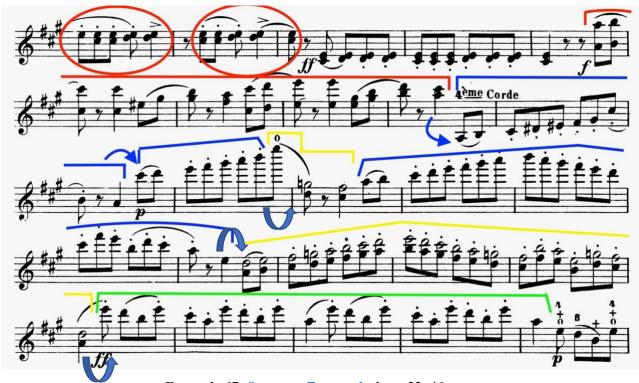
⁴⁵ Sarasate, Spanish Dances VI. Zapateado op. 23 no. 2 (Berlin: N. Simrock, n.d. [1880]). Plate 8151.

⁴⁶ Auer, Violin Playing as I Teach it, 56.



Example 66: Sarasate Zapateado, bars 91-94

Although *Zapateado*'s pizzicato elements are one of Sarasate's hallmarks, as with his other compositions the difficulty lies in the variety of techniques utilised at the speed intended to be played and their interconnections. ⁴⁷ Musical example 67 illustrates a notorious passage in *Zapateado* which is repeated at the end of the piece. It includes a variety of elements such as double stops (red), ascending scales towards the top register of the violin, first one in bar 30 on the G string only (blue) and two others on the E string after that (blue), harmonics (yellow) and a spiccato passage which has been colour coded as green due to its tongue-twister nature. However, the passage's true difficulty lies in the jumps between these elements which have been marked with arrows. The leaps are visually very effective, and they are often between opposite ends of the violin, such as in bar 30 and 32. Furthermore, the circled motifs in red highlight the off-beat accentuated nature of the piece, which needs to be maintained in order to preserve its character whilst accurately playing the passages without slowing down.



Example 67: Sarasate Zapateado, bars 22-46

⁴⁷ Chapter 8, Video 5, Zapateado excerpts with Sarasate's Vuillaume violin: https://youtu.be/4qxTZmz3s5M

Sarasate's fourth collection of *Spanish Dances* op. 26, *VII* no. 1 and *VIII* no. 2 were never officially given any other titles. ⁴⁸ Contrastingly to the previous collections, although they are similar in character, both paired works maintain a slower pace. *Spanish Dance VII* is the most melodic of the two, with slower tempos but with added improvisatory elements. These include new additions to Sarasate's technical library, such as the harmonic chromatic passage in bar 208, illustrated in Example 68.⁴⁹



Example 68: Sarasate Spanish Dance VII, bar 208

Due to the interrogation of Sarasate's compositions and editions, we can ascertain that he often chose to play complete melodies on the G string. These passages rarely reach higher than fifth position, most likely in order to maintain tone quality during the melody, but there are occasions in which he surpasses it. Musical example 69 shows a passage in Spanish Dance VII in which Sarasate refers to a high passage on the G string, marked pp (red square). Although Miguel Perez-Espejo is correct in his observations of difficulty in the passage and of its delivery, I believe this request from the composer was deliberate.⁵⁰ If we take away the pressure and speed of the right hand to create the passage dynamically as pp, it will indeed take away its clarity, creating a hoarse sound which could have been a desired effect. However, Sarasate's violins and their capabilities must also be considered. Having performed on both his Vuillaume and the Boissier-Sarasate Stradivarius from 1724, I can confidently say that these instruments are more capable than most.⁵¹ As mentioned in the videos created specifically on my experience of performing on these violins, playing in very high positions and maintaining clarity was facilitated by the instrument. Therefore, Sarasate's request to play this passage in the G string with a dynamic of pp is not as unexpected as initially thought. Moreover, although we also need to consider other elements such as strings and bow, Sarasate as a violinist would have undergone the limitless experiment that is creating a personalised set up. These compositions are of his own making; thus, he would have only written that which he was able to play at a very high level. Example 70 illustrates an additional passage from Spanish Dance VIII in which the line ascends up the G string a third higher than before. 52

⁴⁸ Ferrer, Sarasate, 326.

⁴⁹ Sarasate, Spanish Dances VII op. 26 no. 1 (Berlin: Simrock, 1882). Plate 8261.

⁵⁰ Pérez-Espejo, 'Pablo Sarasate: The Violinist', 124–125.

⁵¹ See Chapter 4 and the provided videos for further details.

⁵² Sarasate, *Spanish Dances VIII* op. 26 no. 2 (Berlin: Simrock, 1882). Plate 8261.

Fortunately, this passage is marked with a dynamic of *mf* with a crescendo at that specific moment, allowing the violinist to use more bow and easing the quality in sound during the passage. Other compositions such as *Jota Aragonesa* op. 27 also reach similar heights.



Example 69: Sarasate Spanish Dance VII, bars 144–167

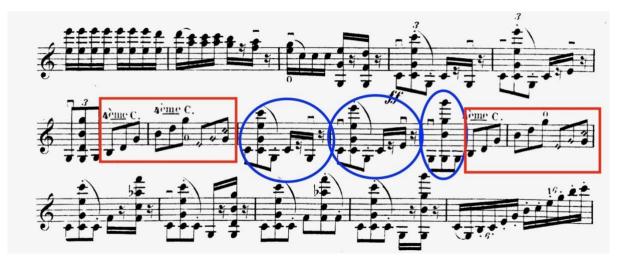


Example 70: Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 44-62

Spanish Dance VIII reaches a further third up on the G string in bar 229, which has been highlighted in Musical Example 71 below. The red squares show the ascending passage which finishes on the harmonic g'', found at the very top of the violin on the G string. Although it is very high, it is a clever decision. Most natural harmonics continue ringing after playing them, and so the hand can be released at said position early. Thus, by playing the harmonic G at the end of the ascending scale, the violinist plays a visually impacting line, whilst creating the opportunity for the player to release the left-hand immediately after playing it and return swiftly to complete the following three harmonics.

The same example also demonstrates Sarasate's use of four note chords, illustrated in blue circles. These appear in various instances during the piece at several degrees of difficulty; those shown below, however, are the most interesting as although Sarasate does not usually play fingered octaves, the violinist would need to do so. Each chord of the example increases in difficulty. The first chord is played in third position: it requires the first finger to create a fifth for the c' and g' and the second and third finger are then placed for the e'' and c'''. This is a straight-forward chord for an experienced violinist, although its ease is increased if the violinist has thicker fingers. However, to create the second chord, the bottom

three notes are placed in third position: the first finger creates a fifth with the c' and g' and the second finger is placed on the e'' on the A string, the fourth finger then extends to reach the octave higher e''', creating a fingered octave. The third chord also extends the fourth finger, ultimately producing the spacing of a fingered octave. Similarly to the first chord, depending on the violinist's hand, the level of difficulty can change on these chords. In Sarasate's case, and taking into consideration previous chapters, it is possible that he would have had to stretch his finger considerably. Nevertheless, it seems highly likely that Sarasate did indeed play fingered octaves or he could at least stretch his fourth finger to achieve the necessary position.



Example 71: Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 223-238

Spanish Dance VIII's frequent use of double stops is one of the elements which accounts for its technical difficulty. However, Sarasate's compositions are meant to be a show of skill, but in order to be impactful, they need to be played with ease. For this reason, the compositions contain contrasting melodic passages in between each technical display. This exercise is similar to technical and musical breaks in works by Paganini, as [he] did not wish to look like he was working hard'. Spanish Dance VIII contains several examples of this model, which not only gives the violinist an opportunity to slow down but also gives the listener a chance to process the music. The contrast of virtuosic and melodic elements enriches both, allowing all passages to excel and result in an even more virtuosic composition.

Similar to the representation of a guitar with the use of pizzicato elements, double stops are also used in Sarasate's compositions to mimic the sound of folk instruments and their playing techniques. *Muiñeira* op. 32 is such an example.⁵⁴ The first 56 bars of the piece represent the Galician bagpipes, and it is achieved by utilising open strings as pedal notes.

-

⁵³ Kawabata, *Paganini*, 14.

⁵⁴ Sarasate, *Muiñeira*. *Thème Montagnard* op. 32 (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, n.d. [1887]). Plate 1885.

Musical Example 72 shows the first 15 bars, which includes a 9-bar introduction of double stops using at least one open string and characterised by the added acciaccaturas. The following melody line continues the G open string pedal.⁵⁵



Example 72: Sarasate Muiñeira, bars 1-15

Another composition that prioritises traditional instruments is Navarra. Duo for 2 violins op. 33, although in this case it replicates the gaitas, txistularis and drums from Pamplona's annual San Fermines.⁵⁶ The initial slow melody heard in *Navarra* is the same melody masses of people listen to right after 'El Chupinazo', the firing of the rocket in the square of the city hall which marks the start of Las Fiestas de San Fermín. The melody is then followed by a selection of traditional songs. Navarra is a composition for two violins which today is still performed regularly, but as well as the range of different techniques that are meant to be achieved, the difficulty lies in the ensemble. The lines of both violins are often identical except for being a third apart. In order for the piece to reach its full effect both violins need to play rhythmically together and perfectly in tune as one. The composition is both a tribute to Navarra and its famous summer festivities, as well as a tribute to his teacher Alard. The composition, an op. 33, is the only example of Sarasate's for more than one violin. Coincidentally, Alard's op. 33 is the Symphonie Concertante no. 2 for two violins and orchestra, which Sarasate and Alard performed together in Paris on 19 April 1861.⁵⁷ Sarasate's *Navarra* is technically more demanding, but it contains rhythmic motifs found in Alard's work. Example 73 illustrates a passage of triplet and sextuplet semiquavers found in the last movement Allegretto in Alard's Symphonie Concertante, whilst Example 74 is Sarasate's comparable motif from *Navarra*. 58

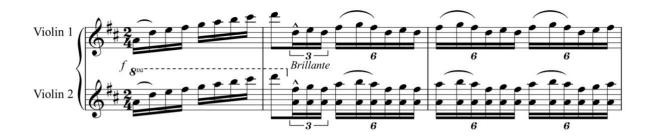
269

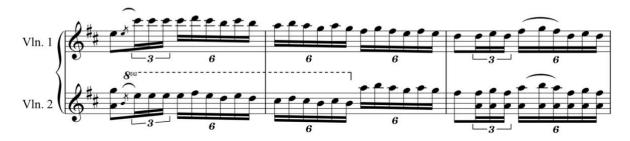
-

⁵⁵ Chapter 8, Video 6 provides various examples: https://youtu.be/dJG54fMIT-M

⁵⁶ These are traditional folk instruments originating from Navarra; For more information on the region and San Fermines see: José María Domench García, *Navarra y sus tradiciones* (Córdoba: Editorial Almuzara, 2018); Grange Woolley, 'Pablo de Sarasate: His Historical Significance', *Music and Letters*, No. 3, (July 1955), 244. ⁵⁷ *Le Ménestrel*. 7 April 1861.

⁵⁸ Chapter 8, Video 7: https://youtu.be/Iya57E4VF8g





Example 73: Alard Symphonie Concertante, final movement, bars 72–77



Example 74: Sarasate Navarra for 2 violins, bars 22–26

Sarasate employs a wide range of left-hand techniques in his compositions. However, a further observation to be considered upon performing these compositions is stamina, as well as achieving the relaxation needed in order to perform without tension, as this is one of the most challenging obstacles when performing highly technical compositions. This in turn can also help the right-hand, which is often not given the importance or attention during practice as it deserves. An example are double stops, although the left-hand needs to be placed correctly, the right-hand is the one that controls the evenness of each note played as well as the sound created. The importance of the right-hand towards the creation and aid of technique for the left-hand is equally important.

Right-hand Technique and Coordination

Whilst a violinist must often concentrate on the difficulties of the left-hand, the balance and coordination needed between both hands is equally important. Even if the left-hand is placed correctly creating a double stop flawlessly in tune, it is the bow arm that finds the perfect balance in pressure and angle to both strings to produce the sound, independently to what the left-hand is doing. There are a range of right-hand techniques that a violinist aims to conquer,

many of which appear in Sarasate's Spanish-based compositions: *staccato*, *staccato* volant, *spiccato*, *sautillé* and *ricochet*.

Sarasate's use of spiccato is abundant, and he employs it in most of his compositions. To create spiccato, the bow is released from the air and leaves the string after each note. The violinist is in control of each movement, however, the bow has a natural reaction to jump, and so when playing fast passages, this natural occurrence is used to the advantage of the violinist and can be transformed into sautillé. The rebound effect, most easily seen at the balance point of the bow, allows for higher speeds with less effort. A high majority of Sarasate's compositions conclude with single note spiccato or sautillé passages of quavers or semiquavers with the intention of creating a fast bravura finale, selected examples include the ending to *Zigeunerweisen* op. 20 and *Habanera* op. 21 no. 2. Sarasate's use of spiccato is seen in several forms and combinations. In *Zapateado* for example, which was previously examined due to its rich left-hand technical elements, the representation of dancing feet is present due to the continuous spiccato quavers which are evident throughout the whole composition.

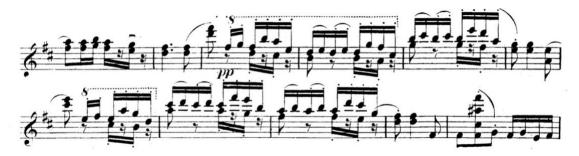
Example 75 from the finale of *Jota Navarra* op. 22 no. 2 features three note semiquaver chords at a fast speed. When playing a three-note chord, if the intention is not to break it thus creating the 2+2 concept, then it is regularly played by grasping all three notes evenly from the string with a heavier bow and then released with a quick movement of the right arm.



Example 75: Sarasate Jota Navarra, finale

The speed of Sarasate's uninterrupted passage does not allow for such a controlled and heavy bow approach, thus the bow needs to be released from the air, utilising spiccato where certain control would be lost. This particular example, however, includes a third note which is often an open string, so the violinist can concentrate the angle of the bow towards the first two notes as a double stop, and the slightest touch of the third note will sound the string. Note, however, that this would not work on those moments in which the third note is not an open string.⁵⁹

Musical example 76 illustrates another use of spiccato by Sarasate, the combination of single spiccato notes with double stopped spiccato which requires direct control of the angle of the bow. The change from single to double stopped spiccato changes the angle and pressure of the right hand, maintaining control over the amount of bow hair in contact with the string is also very important, as if not it can become uneven.⁶⁰



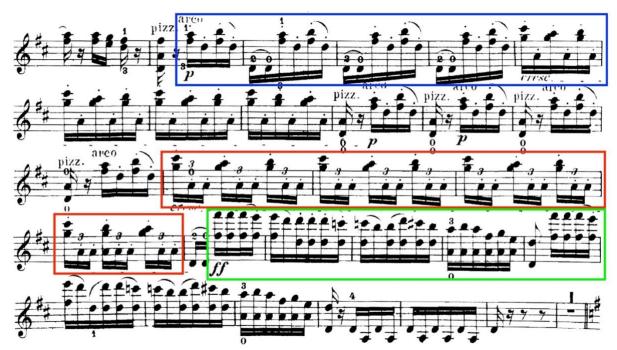
Example 76: Sarasate Spanish Dance VIII, bars 152–162

Another particular feature in Sarasate's music is the use of open strings. Example 77 is an extract from Jota Aragonesa op. 27.61 The passage highlighted in red illustrates the use of spiccato triplets with double stops followed by open strings. The combination aids in the creation of a folkloric effect and a representation of Spanish music, similar to the open string usage discussed above. As well as its resonance, the use of open strings allows time for the player to change the placement of the left-hand fingers. The same example also illustrates in blue the intertwining of single notes and double stops, with the addition of combining legato notes with spiccato elements. In a similar pattern, the highlighted section in green, combines legato with spiccato but with consecutive double stops. Although the example begins with octaves in fifth position, the passage is eased by a lower note remaining the same in each block of the starting octave.

⁵⁹ Chapter 8, Video 8: https://youtu.be/RvFDREL abY

⁶⁰ See Ivan Galamian, Principles of Violin: Playing.

⁶¹ Sarasate, *Jota Aragonesa* op. 27 (Berlin: Simrock, c. 1884). Plate 21629.14010.



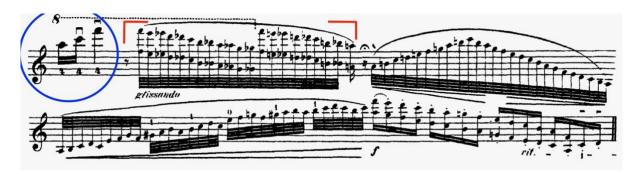
Example 77: Sarasate Jota Aragonesa, bars 45-73

The wide range of demanding techniques in *Jota Aragonesa* from 1882 confirms aspects of Sarasate's own technical mastery at the height of his career. The composition showcases elements that Sarasate favoured, and thoroughly accomplishes the purpose of these pieces: a Spanish themed encore filled with fireworks. The work includes a variety of techniques that are the foundation of the violinist's technical range: the combination of melodic elements and fast passages, left-hand pizzicato, double stops with octaves that reach the highest part of the fingerboard on the E string, G string melodies, chords, long harmonic melodies and a single note spiccato finale.

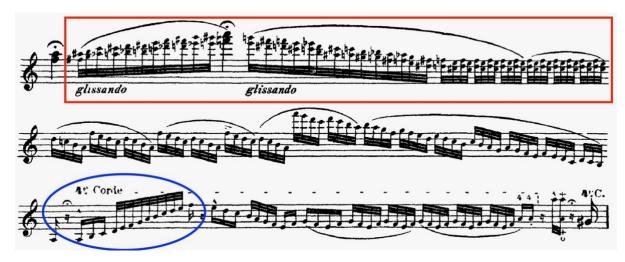
In 1883 Sarasate wrote *Serenata Andaluza* op. 28, a work which manifests a further increase in technical demands and is one of his most difficult compositions. ⁶² It is the fifth and last *Spanish Dance*, but unlike the previous sets that contained two pieces, he composed one alone to conclude the set of *Spanish Dances*. The work alternates between slow and fast sections. The slower fragments, regardless of the tempo, contain a select number of passages of high-level difficulty. These include the utilisation of the violin's high registers on both the G and the E strings, as circled in blue in Musical Examples 78 and 79 from the first section *Andante, non troppo* and the following *meno mosso* respectively. Example 78 also features a descending chromatic scale that contains some of the highest octaves that can be performed on the violin (red brackets). Additionally, Example 79 illustrates in a red square an ascending and descending chromatic scale in thirds, a technical feat which is eased by the option of achieving it through the use of a glissando, as marked.

_

⁶² Sarasate, Spanish Dances. Serenata Andaluza op. 28 (Berlin: Simrock, c. 1883).



Example 78: Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bar 73



Example 79: Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bar 234

Although the slow sections contain a certain amount of technical difficulty, it is the fast sections that raise the difficulty of the composition. These also contain the volume of right-hand technique, with a number of spiccato passages and open strings which aim to imitate the flamenco guitar. 63 The first più mosso is the least technically demanding of the fast sections. It maintains continuous spiccato demisemiquavers and adds three note chords utilising the e open string, natural harmonics and a combination of chords with left-hand pizzicato. However, the following più mosso and the final section contain the technique that raises the difficulty of the composition. Musical Example 80 illustrates such example with two passages. The first, illustrated in the red square, includes open e string spiccato demisemiquavers to be performed at the same time as the melody on left-hand pizzicato. The second passage, highlighted in a blue square, is another high register passage with harmonics. Both passages are emphasised in this instance, as it is imperative to maintain coordination of both hands in order to be achieved. A further example of coordination is Musical Examples 81 and 82 from Sarasate's Peteneras op. 35 and Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole op. 40 respectively. The examples illustrate a coordinated movement that is not often seen in Sarasate's music, the maintenance of a long note with a trill, to be played at the

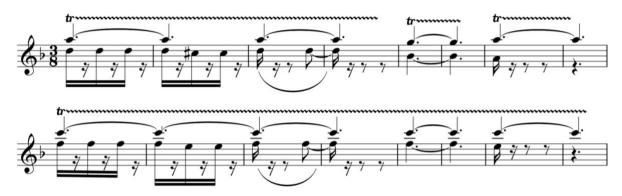
_

⁶³ Ferrer, Sarasate, 365.

same time as a single note melody. This type of technique is distinctively used in Sibelius' Violin Concerto in D minor op. 47.



Example 80: Sarasate Serenata Andaluza, bars 244–261

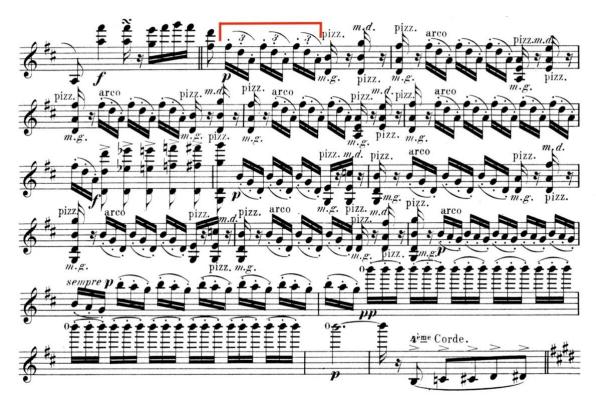


Example 81: Sarasate Peteneras op. 35, bars 185–200



Example 82: Sarasate *Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole* op. 40, bars 217–223

The violinist also included several examples of ricochet in his own compositions such as in *Bolero* op. 30, a passage of which is illustrated in Musical Example 83.⁶⁴ The rhythmic motif highlighted is repeated throughout the composition. Another instance can be found in Sarasate's *Introduction et Fandango varié*. *Danse Espagnole* op. 40. As can be seen in Example 84, Sarasate includes harmonics and double stops to the ricochet motifs.



Example 83: Sarasate Bolero op. 30, bars 100-116



Example 84: Sarasate Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole, bars 90-94

Bachmann stated that Sarasate 'did not have a grandiose staccato, but it was graceful and correct'. This comment most probably acknowledges Sarasate's use of flying staccato, as he did not often use or add full staccato passages in his works. An example that can be representative of Bachmann's description is a passage from Sarasate's *Introduction et Caprice-Jota* op. 41. The work is not as well known today, in comparison to some of his other

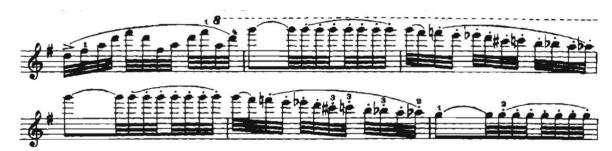
276

⁶⁴ Sarasate, *Bolero* op. 30 (Berlin: N. Simrock, 1885).

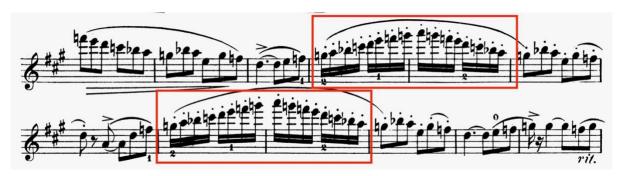
⁶⁵ Bachmann, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, 168.

⁶⁶ Galamian, Principles of Violin, 81.

compositions, but it is a piece that can be very effective when performed with orchestra. Sarasate recorded the jota section of the piece in 1904, and it is audible that he prioritised speed over clarity; a number of glissandos can be heard during the abundant changes of position. Musical example 85 below illustrates an example of the right-hand technique in question, which can be found at the beginning of the piece during the *Andante*.⁶⁷ The passage can be played with flying spiccato as the tempo allows for a higher lift and more control in each note. Musical Example 86 shows a sample of flying staccato in Sarasate's *Zapateado*. Contrastingly to the previous example, in order to play this passage, the bow is kept mostly on the string and the hand impulses the bow upwards.



Example 85: Sarasate Introduction et Caprice-Jota op. 41, bars 43-48



Example 86: Sarasate Zapateado, bars 112-123

After Caprice Basque, Sarasate wrote three further compositions based on Basque melodies Danse Espagnole Adiós Montañas mías! Célebre Zortzico de Joaquín Larregla op. 37 (around 1894), Zortzico de Iparaguirre. Danse Espagnole op. 39 (1896) and Miramar. Zortzico op. 42 (1899). These compositions were most likely inspired by his own northern roots as well as his summer stays in San Sebastián. The first two zortzikos are based on popular melodies but Miramar is an original composition by Sarasate. It was dedicated to the queen regent Maria Cristina and it is named after the summer palace of the Spanish Royal family in San Sebastián. These compositions contain double stops, but they do not intend to be displays of technique, instead the priority is the melody. Because of this, the right-hand has an important task, to balance the playing of the double stops without interfering with the

-

⁶⁷ Sarasate, *Introduction et Caprice-Jota* op. 41 (Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1899). Plate 2996.

⁶⁸ See Ferrer for further details; *Ibid*, 453.

melody line. Sarasate also utilises sections of melody in the G string alone, which is one of the violinist's most used features. In a similar way that Sarasate took from his roots to compose the zortzikos, Sarasate wrote three further jotas: *Jota de San Fermín* op. 36 (1894), *Jota de Pamplona* op. 50 (1903) and *Jota de Pablo* op. 52 (1906). These compositions are a statement as to the violinist's origins; they are a personal portrait and a display of the violinist's capabilities.

Having explored all of Sarasate's Spanish based compositions, it is evident that he was a well-rounded violinist; he mastered all of the key techniques, yet he had his preferences and priorities. Although Sarasate had the capacity to play double stops such as fingered octaves and tenths he did not utilise them often. He took advantage of the violin's tesitura but had a predilection for fast, top E string passages, and melodic examples on the G string. Whilst Sarasate's compositions frequently take advantage of right-hand techniques, his various semiquaver passages, as well as his predilection for playing fast, corroborates that sautillé was likely his most used right-hand technique. Sarasate's Spanish Dances embody the Spanish essence, but he developed this further by creating passages with left-hand pizzicato which embodied the sound of a guitar. Another example is the passage found in *Zapateado* with semiquavered accents, which embodied the foot stamping associated with the title. Individually, the techniques extracted from Sarasate's compositions reveal a violinist that is skilled. However, the manner in which Sarasate concentrated numerous techniques into one work, as well as the speed in which they are intended to be played, confirms that he was a high-skilled violinist, and he utilised these works to showcase his abilities and his virtuosity.

The combination of his repertoire, his recordings and all of his compositions show an accomplished violinist. More specifically, however, his Spanish themed compositions also illustrate a violinist in the centre of changing practices. Sarasate became one of the first interpreters, with a repertoire list that predominated works by other composers, but maintained the virtuoso tradition with his own encores, which also represented a specific image to be portrayed. Whilst Sarasate's Spanish Dances utilise a majority of themes from the south of Spain, as his career progressed so did his compositions, and he expanded to include the full spectrum of Spain's broad culture. These works became so popular that whilst he was still alive, they were performed by other violinists, a younger generation that understood their potential.⁶⁹

_

⁶⁹ '... avec le concours de Mlle Isabelle Levallois, violoniste.... L'auditoire très nombreux a fait á la jeune virtuose un accueil chaleureux et l'a rappelée après la rapsodie hongroise d'Hauser, le nocturne de Chopin et une danse espagnole de Sarasate ...' *Le Ménestrel*. 16 September 1883.

CONCLUSION

This doctoral research shows a holistic understanding of Pablo de Sarasate, as the sources on the violinist, and our understanding of both the extent of his abilities as a violinist, and his historical contributions are limited. It contextualises the violinist within the performance traditions of the nineteenth century, whilst also recognising his importance in the history of violin performance and its development. In order to do so, this research integrates materials from old and new sources, and merges theory and practice for the first time.

Through an exploration of Sarasate's repertoire and programming, it has been possible to categorise Sarasate's career into four stages: The Early Years (1844–1869), Years of Development (1869–1876), Sarasate's First Tours as a Solo Violinist (1876–1883) and The Virtuoso Violinist Established (1883–1908). Today, we recognise Sarasate as the famed virtuoso violinist, but it was not an instantaneous achievement. As many other artists before and after him, he underwent various transitional periods. However, Sarasate was also fortunate, because although he was a skilled instrumentalist, he was not proficient in business endeavours. Thus, the arrival and meeting of Otto Goldschmidt was a decisive point in his career. Goldschmidt has also been an important figure to this research, as it was possible to locate his descendant, Jean Claude Montagné, who provided me access to materials from their private family archive. Consequently, this research confirms details, provides new information, and publishes documents never seen before, such as concert programmes and letters from Sarasate to his adoptive mother. For the first time, access to these items has enabled an expansion of our knowledge on Sarasate, which includes: confirmation of dates and locations for Sarasate's tour with Carlotta Patti in 1869 and further evidence regarding the purchase of his violins.

This research also introduces an important historical contribution, for which Sarasate is not often credited, his role in the dissemination of violin repertoire. Even during Sarasate's earlier stages, he always had an interest in the performance and distribution of new repertoire, specifically works by his French colleagues such as Saint-Saëns and Lalo. However, Sarasate often helped other composers create and establish new repertoire, for example, works such as Bruch's violin concertos are staples in today's violin repertoire. Additionally, due to his interest in the performance of repertoire by other composers instead of his own, he became an essential figure in the transition from composer-violinist to interpreter. However, Sarasate also continued to embrace the virtuoso tradition by providing audiences with encores of his own composition such as *Souvenirs de Faust*, which were very successful. Particularly, his

encores based on Spanish themes, such as *Zapateado*, became an intricate part of his individuality, he developed a public image based on his Spanishness, and he achieved celebrity status.

Sarasate's compositions have also been essential to this research, as through their interrogation from the standpoint of a violinist, it was possible to view the violinist's artistic development and technical capabilities. His early works are not well-known, but they have been invaluable in illustrating his technical growth. They demonstrate that Sarasate was technically skilled, even at the early stages of his career. However, his technical command developed and continued to improve, concluding in full mastery of challenging techniques. Sarasate's works collectively include most of the known technical possibilities on the violin: long passages of double stops, complete usage of the violin's tesitura, including a predominance for passages on the G string, and inclusions of various right-hand techniques such as *flying staccato*, *ricochet* and *sautillé*. However, the difficulty of these works is increased due to the grouping of these techniques, played at the required fast tempo. Additionally, some of these techniques such as left-hand pizzicato, aided in the visualisation of Sarasate's Spanishness and virtuosity. Sarasate created challenging, virtuosic works which showcased his high technical abilities. Many of these are still performed today.

I also wanted to utilise my experience as a violinist to explore in-depth Sarasate's characteristics. To begin with, Sarasate was a person who always strived for elegance, both personally and as a violinist. From a postural approach, he followed the teachings of the French violin school, and maintained an elegant and relaxed posture. His bowing also followed this direction, which as the text explores, signified a lighter touch, utilising less pressure and instead more speed and more bow changes. Consequently, this approach coincides with Sarasate's contemporaries' descriptions of his sound as elegant, and of a singing-like quality, but with less projection power. His 1904 recordings confirm these qualities. The recordings also provide information on his performance decisions, for example, he often deviated from the score. Although he had a preference for fast tempos, he was able to produce a clear sound which highlighted his technique capabilities. Most importantly, Sarasate's recordings prove that even at the later stages of his career, he continued to maintain his individuality, which was embedded in his virtuosic nature.

As a performing violinist myself, there is an additional element to understanding Sarasate's playing which had not been considered before, but that to me seemed indispensable, his violins. Sarasate's violins (Gand & Bernardel, Vuillaume, 1713 *Boissier* Stradivarius and 1724 *Sarasate* Stradivarius) have been studied objectively in the past as the priceless instruments that they are, but not from the point of view of a player. As the first

violinist in a long time to examine and in some cases, play these invaluable instruments, it was a privilege to rediscover and make these violins sound again. The allocated chapter disclosed my findings, but it must be added, that although it has been confirmed that Sarasate was a skilled player, the excellent violins that he had access to, and which he was able to purchase, also influenced his success. The tactile act of performing the violins was essential to corroborating Sarasate's characteristics as a violinist. The violins produced a beautiful, sweet sound with ease, even in high registers. Although these have been updated to current playing standards, they also would have been excellent examples in Sarasate's time.

In conclusion, it is clear that Sarasate worked hard for his success, he was skilled and commanded the violin's most difficult techniques, but he was also fortunate to meet Goldschmidt, to gain access to excellent violins and to recognise that his exotic features could be utilised to set a very successful public image. Nevertheless, he used this success to disseminate new repertoire worldwide, his *Spanish Dances* are today some of the most performed virtuosic encores, and he was part of a transition in violin performance that has led to the violinist of today.

This research enables a deeper understanding of Sarasate, through the presentation of new historical perspectives. In addition, Sarasate's individuality, action of deviating from his own scores, and the freedom in performance that could be found in the nineteenth and early twentieth century has encouraged me to experiment. Consequently, it has broadened my own approach to performance practice. Furthermore, I discovered a variety of works in Sarasate's repertoire, such as works by Emile Bernard and Jesús de Monasterio that are today unknown. Therefore, future projects include the performance and recording of these works. This will be an interesting experiment since there are no current recordings to be influenced by. The preparation and performance of these pieces will be an opportunity to expand artistically and incorporate ideas from my research.

APPENDIX ONE

Letters sent by Pablo Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie 1869–1872 (Part 2)

Transcription, translation and commentary

Introduction

During his time abroad between 1869 and 1872 Sarasate wrote a series of letters to his adoptive mother, Amélie de Lassabathie in Paris. The Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester, USA, holds twenty-nine letters which were transcribed and translated by Nicholas Sackman and Bastien Terraz in 2020. During my doctoral research on Pablo de Sarasate, I located Jean-Claude Montagné, who is a descendant of Otto Goldschmidt, Sarasate's loyal friend and manager. Montagné owns autograph letters written by Sarasate, which discuss details of an earlier tour, undertaken in 1869 as well as further correspondence until 1872. The 1869 tour encompassed appearances in Karlsruhe, Heidelberg, Ulm, Salzburg, Pesth, Bucharest, Odessa, Constantinople and Vienna. The 1871 letters were written in Toronto, Boston and New York, and thus shed more light on Sarasate's activities during the North and South American tour. The compilation, however, does not hold any letters from Madame de Lassabathie to Sarasate, the location of these letters remains unknown. Montagné has recently provided the Sibley Music Library with digital copies of the autograph letters in his possession, a generous gesture which further enhances this valuable collection.

The transcription of the letters was firstly completed with the help of Jean-Claude Montagné, owner of the documents. The following text has aimed to follow a similar format and structure of the previous transcription and translation document. The letters are ordered chronologically, and the translations follow the punctuation and style of Sarasate's writing. Note that letters XXIII and XXV can be found in Julio Altadil's *Memorias de Sarasate*. Both letters have been added to the document in order to complete the collection, however, the location of the original letters remains unknown.

-

¹ Julio Altadil, *Memorias de Sarasate*, 32–33.

$I - 1/04/1868* - Bucarest^2$

Chère mère bien-aimée.

Reçu toutes tes lettres, et moi envoyé télégramme à toi. Tu l'as reçu?

Je t'écris au lendemain de la victoire qui a été éclatante – chiffre officiel 8400 Fr. de recettes!!! Succès fou pour Mademoiselle Patti; un peu plus on la portait en triomphe. Mon morceau sur Martha et le duo sur Guillaume Tell avec Ritter nous ont valu des rappels sans fin. Dame, on n'a pas l'habitude ici d'entendre de la musique extra ce qui fait que les moindres effets portent et ce sont des enthousiasmes comme on n'en voit pas dans les villes comme Paris. Un luxe de toilette inouï, les dames couvertes de diamants et des équipages à quatre et six chevaux attendant à la porte du théâtre.

Notre hôtel est assiégé du matin au soir et nous recevons les visites de tous les grands personnages de la ville.

Le prince roumain était au concert. Il m'a fallu un bien grand courage pour aller au feu dans l'état où je me trouvais hier au soir – migraine atroce, compliquée d'étourdissement, et la fièvre. Entre chacun de mes morceaux je m'étendais sur un grand canapé dans ma loge et c'est ainsi que j'ai résisté jusqu'à la fin.

Ce matin grâce à une bonne nuit toute la fatigue a disparu et je me retrouve en bon état. Samedi 3 avril deuxième concert les loges sont déjà toutes louées.

Maintenant, parlons affaires. La semaine sainte m'a été payée, ce qui fait qu'à l'heure qu'il est, je me trouve à la tête de 1500 Fr. gagnés honnêtement et quand cette lettre sera entre tes mains, j'aurai touché les appointements de ma troisième semaine qui finira lundi prochain. J'ai dans mon portefeuille en cuir de Russie (acheté à Vienne) de bons billets de banque (Thalers de Prusse) et ce que je perdrais au change me sera remboursé par ma charmante directrice. Moi économe, rangé, beau petit baby.

Je rapporterai de très jolies choses de la Turquie et que vous n'avez pas à Paris je vous en

Je vous embrasse tous deux, mille et mille fois et toi surtout, chère mère de mon cœur. Ton fils bien dévoué Sarasate

Dear beloved mother,

I have received all your letters and I sent a telegram to you. Did you receive it? I write to you the day after the victory which was brilliant - official figure of receipts is 8400 Fr.! Mademoiselle Patti was a great success and was carried in triumph. My piece on Martha and the duet on William Tell with Ritter earned us endless recalls. Lady, one is not used to hearing extra music here, so that the smallest effects are effective and there are enthusiasms such as one does not see in cities like Paris. An unheard-of bathroom luxury, the ladies covered with diamonds and carriages with four and six horses waiting at the door of the theatre.

² We believe Sarasate made a mistake on the writing of the year 1868, as the tour with Patti that he mentions took place in 1869. Sarasate's other letters place the violinist in Bucharest in April of 1869. He is also recorded to have performed in Paris by Le Ménestrel on 27 March 1868 and 5 April 1868. The long travel arrangements of the time suggest that Sarasate could not have travelled to Bucharest and back in time, thus, this letter belongs to 1869.

Our hotel was besieged from morning to night and we received visits from all the great people of the city.

The Romanian prince was at the concert. It took a lot of courage to go into the fire in the state I was in yesterday evening - atrocious headache, complicated by dizziness, and fever.

Between each of my pieces I lay down on a large couch in my dressing room and that is how I resisted until the end.

This morning, thanks to a good night's sleep, all the fatigue has disappeared, and I am in good shape.

Saturday, April 3, second concert, the dressing rooms are already all rented.

Now let's talk about business. The holy week has been paid for, which means that at the moment I have 1500 Fr. earned honestly and when this letter is in your hands, I will have received the salary for my third week which will end next Monday. I have in my Russian leather wallet (bought in Vienna) some good bank bills (Prussian Thalers) and what I would lose at the exchange will be reimbursed by my charming director. Me thrifty, tidy, beautiful little baby.

I will bring back very nice things from Turkey that you do not have in Paris, I can assure you. I kiss you both, a thousand and one times and you especially, dear mother of my heart.

Your devoted son

Sarasate

II - 15/03/1869 - Karlsruhe-matin

Chère mère

Il me tarde bien d'avoir de tes nouvelles, ainsi que de mon cher ami – je te plains du fond de mon cœur, et fait des vœux pour que l'avenir soit moins triste pour toi que le passé. J'espère recevoir un mot de toi bientôt, et en attendant je puis t'assurer que je pense bien à toi. Toujours – le gros sait-il que je suis parti ?

Nous avons un temps horrible, énormément de neige, les toits sont tous blancs, et les rues impraticables. Nos journées se passent à jouer aux dominos, à travailler, à fumer, et dormir. On se prépare pour ce soir et pour mon compte je t'avouerai entre nous, que j'ai un peu la venette, mais je triompherai quand même. Comme je te le disais hier, le succès de notre entreprise semble certain et d'après les dépêches que nous recevons à chaque instant, et qui annonce une location gigantesque dans toutes les villes où nous devons aller – tant mieux pour tout le monde –

Les Allemands sont des gens très aimables, dévoué, complaisant au possible, mais où ils sont, on ne s'amuse guère!

Karlsruhe est une petite ville très coquette, ressemblant beaucoup à Baden, par la régularité de ses rues et de ses maisons, et par sa propreté. L'air y est très pur mais si froid, Brrrrr je t'enverrai un bulletin de la bataille quand je pourrais, ce soir ou demain matin avant le départ.

On va dîner, car j'ai interrompu ma lettre deux ou trois fois, et il est une heure. Mille baisers,

Ton fils,

Sarasate

Dear Mother

I long to hear from you and my dear friend - I pity you from the bottom of my heart, and wish that the future will be less sad for you than the past. I hope to hear from you soon, and in the meantime, I can assure you that I am thinking well of you. Still - does the fat man know I am gone?

The weather is horrible, a lot of snow, the roofs are all white, and the streets impassable. Our days are spent playing dominoes, working, smoking, and sleeping. We are getting ready for tonight and I must confess that I am a bit nervous, but I will triumph all the same. As I told you yesterday, the success of our enterprise seems certain, and according to the dispatches we are receiving at every moment, which announce a gigantic hire in all the towns we have to go to - so much the better for everyone - the Germans are very fond of us.

The Germans are very kind people, dedicated, complacent as can be, but where they are, there is little fun to be had!

Karlsruhe is a very pretty little town, very much like Baden, in the regularity of its streets and houses, and in its cleanliness. The air is very pure but so cold, Brrrrr

I will send you a bulletin of the battle when I can, tonight or tomorrow morning before we leave.

We are going to dinner, for I have interrupted my letter two or three times, and it is one o'clock.

A thousand kisses,		
Your son,		
Sarasate		

III - 16/03/1869 - Karlsruhe - midi³

Je reçois à l'instant ton petit mot, merci 1000 fois. Nous partons par 1h30 pour Heidelberg, mais avant je viens d'annoncer un succès exceptionnel et comme jamais le public français ne m'aura décerné.

Bulletin de la victoire.

Salle comble – accueil glacial pour Ritter et moi à la sonate à Kreutzer. Malgré nos deux saluts pas une claque. Mais dès la première phrase du thème la glace fut rompue et après le morceau un rappel magnifique. À partir de ce moment nous n'avions qu'a paraître Ritter ou moi, les applaudissements partaient tout seuls. Deux rappels pour Martha et bis pour Mignon, mais j'étais si fatigué que je n'ai pas recommencé. Ce matin, plusieurs violonistes de la ville sont venus me rendre visite. Ce qui les a étonnés le plus dans ma manière de jouer c'est l'élégance et le son. Je suis fou de joie, je m'attendais si peu à un succès en Allemagne avec des fantaisies. Tu vas rire, mais je suis obligé de te quitter pour faire mes malles. Nous vivons à la vapeur et tous les soirs nous auront concert jusqu'à la fin de la semaine. Le pauvre Marochetti a remporté une telle veste qu'il est question de... mais chut, pauvre garçon, il s'y attend si peu!

1000 baisers chère mère, je suis bien heureux Sarasate

Les critères sont charmants pour moi, nous faisons un excellent ménage.

.

³ There is a sentence to end this letter, but it has been written on the side of the sheet and it is not legible: *mille baissiers à mon cher amigo*/ A thousand kisses to my dear amigo.

I have just received your little note, thank you a thousand times. We are leaving for Heidelberg at 1h30, but before that I have just announced an exceptional success, the likes of which the French public has never awarded me.

Victory bulletin.

Full house - cold reception for Ritter and me at the sonata in Kreutzer. Despite our two bows not a slap in the face. But with the first phrase of the theme the ice was broken and after the piece a magnificent encore. From that moment on we only had to look like Ritter or me, the applause went away by itself. Two encores for Martha and an encore for Mignon, but I was so tired that I did not do it again. This morning several violinists from the city came to visit me. What surprised them most about my playing was the elegance and the sound. I am overjoyed, I expected so little success in Germany with fantasies. You will laugh, but I have to leave you to pack my bags. We live on steam and every evening we will have a concert until the end of the week.

Poor Marochetti has won such a jacket that there is talk of... but hush, poor boy, he expects so little!

1000 kisses dear mother, I am very happy

Sarasate

The critics are charming for me, we make an excellent group.

.....

IV - 16/03/1869 – Heidelberg – Hôtel de Bade – minuit

Je t'écris ce bulletin avant de me coucher, chère mère, car demain à midi nous partons pour Stuttgart et il nous faut faire quatre heures de chemin de fer pour jouer le soir !... Je commence à trouver que le métier que je fais est raide ! Mais le succès est si beau, qu'il me console de tout le reste. Donc, ovation complète ce soir. Un monde fou, comme toujours et des rappels sans fin pour le baby. La réussite est assurée partout maintenant, je suis accepté par le public allemand, c'est fini. Il y avait 300 étudiants de l'université au concert coiffé de leur petite casquette rouge, il me semblait que je jouais dans un champ de coquelicots. Ils m'ont pris en affection immédiatement, et il fallait voir comme ils m'accueillaient ! La ville est charmante, entourée de montagnes et nous allons demain visiter à l'aube les ruines d'un grand château légendaire qui est grimpé tout là-haut. Ce qui me fatigue surtout, c'est de faire et défaire mes malles tous les jours, c'est abrutissant.

Les autres sont en bas qui boivent de la bière, j'ai préféré t'écrire ce billet de suite, car sans cela, tu n'aurais pas eu de mes nouvelles après-demain.

Je t'embrasse bien tendrement et vais me coucher, j'en ai besoin. Et le cher amigo ? Dis-lui combien je l'aime et pense à lui.

Ton fils, Sarasate

I am writing this newsletter to you before going to bed, dear mother, because tomorrow at noon we leave for Stuttgart and we have to travel four hours by rail to play in the evening... I am beginning to think that the job I am doing is stiff! But the success is so beautiful that it consoles me for everything else. So, a complete ovation this evening. A crazy crowd, as always, and endless encores for the baby. Success is assured everywhere now, I am accepted by the German public, it's over. There were 300 university students at the concert wearing

their little red caps, it seemed as if I was playing in a field of poppies. They took a liking to me immediately, and you should have seen how they welcomed me!

The town is charming, surrounded by mountains, and tomorrow we are going to visit the ruins of a legendary castle which is climbed all the way up. What I am most tired of is packing and unpacking every day, it is mind-numbing.

The others are downstairs drinking beer, I preferred to write you this note right away, because otherwise you would not have heard from me after tomorrow.

I kiss you very tenderly and go to bed, I need it. What about the dear amigo? Tell him how much I love him and think of him.

Your son, Sarasate

V - 18/03/1869 - Ulm - 17h

On m'apporte ton billet qui me remplit le cœur de joie, chère mère, il est si bon de recevoir des nouvelles de ceux qu'on aime quand on est si loin!

Réjouis-toi, querida, même succès hier à Stuttgart que dans les autres villes, la salle de concert est la plus belle que j'aie vue de ma vie. Elle était comble, on a même dû ajouter un grand nombre de chaises dans tous les coins. Des grandes toilettes, et de très jolies femmes. Le baby a obtenu un vrai triomphe. Ce soir le théâtre sera pris d'assaut, presque tout est loué depuis plusieurs jours. Est-ce un succès ?...

En Allemagne on commence les concerts à sept heures précises, et à neuf heures tout est fini. C'est charmant.

J'arrive à l'instant de Stuttgart et j'attends le coiffeur. Je suis toujours coquet.

Mais quels merveilleux pays nous traversons! Mon esprit se transforme complètement dans ce voyage, et je me sens plus homme. Quant à ma santé, elle est excellente et les migraines ont complètement disparu. Nous continuons à voyager au milieu des montagnes et nous trouvons partout de la neige.

Marchetti va être congédié pour cause de trop grande veste, et en télégraphie en ce moment à d'autres chanteurs.

Voir l'itinéraire.

Du 30 mars jusqu'au 10 avril, Bucarest en Roumanie – du 14 avril au 30 avril à Constantinople, et du 3 mai au 15 mai à Odessa Russie.

Tu vois que nous ne ferons pas un grand nombre de villes, mais dans les trois que je viens de t'indiquer nous donnerons un grand nombre de concerts et des recettes fabuleuses, car le prix des places sera horriblement élevé. À partir du 21 jusqu'à mon arrivée à Bucarest je ne pourrai t'envoyer de mes nouvelles, car il nous faudra plusieurs jours pour arriver.

Le général en garnison ici est venu me faire visite tout exprès pour voir mon Stradivarius dont il avait entendu parler.

Toujours à la hâte, mille tendres baisers, querida mia de mi alma.

Ton fils Sarasate

mes meilleurs souvenirs et du fond de mon cœur à mon cher et meilleur ami.

La Patti est délicieuse d'attentions pour moi.

They bring me your note, which fills my heart with joy, dear mother, it is so good to receive news from those we love when we are so far away!

Rejoice, querida, the same success yesterday in Stuttgart as in the other cities, the concert hall is the most beautiful I have seen in my life. It was full, and a lot of chairs had to be added in every corner. Great toilets, and very pretty women. The baby was a real triumph. Tonight the theatre will be taken by storm, almost everything has been rented for several days. Is it a success?...

In Germany they start the concerts at seven o'clock sharp, and at nine o'clock everything is finished. It is charming.

I have just arrived from Stuttgart and I am waiting for the barber. I am still pretty.

But what a wonderful country we are travelling through! My mind is completely transformed on this journey, and I feel more like a man. As for my health, it is excellent and the migraines have completely disappeared. We continue to travel among the mountains and we find snow everywhere.

Marchetti is going to be dismissed because his jacket is too big, and currently telegraphing other singers.

See the itinerary.

From 30 March to 10 April, Bucharest in Romania - from 14 April to 30 April in Constantinople, and from 3 May to 15 May in Odessa Russia.

You can see that we will not be doing a large number of cities, but in the three I have just indicated we will be giving a large number of concerts and making fabulous money, because the price of tickets will be horrendously high. From the 21st until I arrive in Bucharest I will not be able to send you any news, as it will take us several days to arrive.

The general in garrison here came to visit me just to see my Stradivarius which he had heard about.

Always in a hurry, a thousand tender kisses, querida mia de mi alma.

Your son Sarasate

my best memories and from the bottom of my heart to my dearest and best friend.

Patti is delightful in her attentions to me.

VI - 21/03/1869 de Salzburg – 17 heures

Bien fatigué, cara Madre mia, après six heures de chemin de fer, je ne veux pas que la journée se passe sans envoyer ce petit bulletin avec mes meilleurs souvenirs.

Succès partout. Ce soir après le concert nous partons pour Vienne, et demain soir je serai à Pesth où je séjourne aurais deux jours. De là nous nous embarquons pour Bucarest.

J'ai une vue exceptionnelle de la chambre où je t'écris. Une jolie petite rivière coule sous mes fenêtres, et de l'autre côté, des montagnes à perte de vue. Je ne m'étonne pas que Mozart est trouvé de si belles inspirations et en aidant ce pays. Je suis émerveillé de mon voyage, Je pousse des exclamations à chaque instant, en un mot, je me sens artiste, puisque je suis capable d'apprécier les belles choses de la nature. Le domestique de Mademoiselle Patti est allé poste restante j'espère qu'il y trouvera un mot de toi. La Suzon m'est arrivée à Munich, merci de tout mon cœur.

Ton fils Sarasate

J'embrasse mon ami

Well tired, cara Madre mia, after six hours on the railway, I do not want the day to pass without sending this little bulletin with my best memories.

Success everywhere. This evening after the concert we leave for Vienna, and tomorrow evening I shall be in Pesth where I shall stay for two days. From there we embark for Bucharest. I have an exceptional view from the room where I am writing to you. A pretty little river flows under my windows, and on the other side, mountains as far as the eye can see. I am not surprised that Mozart found such beautiful inspirations in helping this country. I am amazed at my journey, I exclaim at every moment, in a word, I feel like an artist, since I am able to appreciate the beautiful things of nature.

Miss Patti's servant has gone to the post I hope he will find a note from you. The Suzon arrived in Munich, thank you with all my heart.

Your son Sarasate
I embrace my friend

VII - 23/03/1869 - Pesth - mardi

Querida Madre mia.

Me voilà dans la capitale de la Hongrie, en excellent état et tout prêt à m'embarquer sur le Danube demain à sept heures du matin. Ce n'est que dimanche soir, c'est-à-dire après cinq jours de traversée que nous arriverons à Bucarest. Tu vois que nous ne craignons pas la fatigue. Je t'écrirai aussitôt arrivé mais il faudra au moins huit jours à ma lettre avant d'arriver.

Nous allons parcourir toute la ville, les environs, traverser le magnifique foret de Pesth et aller à Buda, puis nous dormirons au retour autrement nous ne pourrions résister aux fatigues de notre voyage.

Mille baisers chère mère et à Bucarest! Ton fils Mes meilleurs souvenirs pour amigo Sarasate

Querida Madre mia.

Here I am in the capital of Hungary, in excellent condition and ready to embark on the Danube tomorrow at seven in the morning. It is only on Sunday evening, that is to say after five days of crossing, that we will arrive in Bucharest. You see that we are not afraid of fatigue. I will write to you as soon as I arrive, but it will take at least eight days for my letter to arrive.

We will go through the whole city, the surroundings, through the beautiful forest of Pesth and go to Buda, and then we will sleep on the way back otherwise we could not resist the fatigue of our journey.

of our journey.
A thousand kisses dear mother and to Bucharest!
Your son
My best memories for amigo
Sarasate

VIII - 25/03/1869 – sur le Danube à bord du Carlo Ludwig

Petite mère bien chère

Depuis hier sept heures du matin nous naviguons, par un très mauvais temps, ce qui ne m'empêche nullement de me promener à toute heure sur le pont; pour admirer le magnifique panorama qui se déroule à nos yeux. Des montagnes superbes des villages, des forêts, des ruines, et surtout le Danube, qui a de certains endroits est aussi large qu'une mer. À l'instant même nous éprouvons de fortes secousses occasionnées par la manœuvre de notre navire qui vire de bord. Mais c'est égal, je continue. La nuit a été mauvaise, personne n'a dormi, une chaleur étouffante dans les cabines, aussi dès cinq heures du matin, je me promenais de long en large en plein air et me remettait à l'instant des fatigues de la nuit, tant l'air que l'on respire ici est hygiénique.

C'est moi qui suis le plus vaillant de la troupe, querida mia, les autres ont faibli à plusieurs reprises, mais l'enfant, rien. Il a beau passer des nuits sans dormir, naviguer, éprouver des émotions de toutes sortes, rien. Mes compagnons m'avaient surnommé « le petit parisien » au début de notre voyage, aujourd'hui ils me nomment « le terrible savoyard », tant ma conduite courageuse les remplit d'admiration. Mademoiselle Patti continue à être un amour, ravissante, bonne, un vrai trésor, j'en suis fou.

Dimanche à 10 heures du soir nous seront à Bucarest et le 1^{er} avril aura lieu notre premier concert. Ce soir notre vapeur fera un petit arrêt devant Belgrade – nous en profiterons pour renouveler notre provision de tabac.

Je t'écris dans le salon des dames, elles bavardent toutes à la fois, je ne sais pas ce que j'en dis, mais je ne veux pas fermer ce billet sans te remercier du fond de mon cœur pour toutes les jolies choses que tu me dis dans tes lettres, tu es ma meilleure amie, celle que j'aime, et je pense constamment à toi. Ta lettre de Vienne m'a été remise par Jean au moment de l'embarquement à Pesth, et je la lis et relis sur le pont à chaque instant. Je t'aime bien petite mère, crois le, et je t'embrasse bien tendrement.

Au mois de mai je te reverrai, ainsi que mon ami n'est-ce pas ? Je te parlerai de mes succès, et de bien d'autres choses que je ne pourrais t'écrire faute de temps. Je reviendrai couvert de lauriers et de Louis d'or, car on me paye en or.

Je vais respirer là-haut, Mille baisers chère petite mère et n'oublie pas Ton fils Sarasate

Dearest little mother,

Since yesterday at seven o'clock in the morning we have been sailing, in very bad weather, which does not prevent me from walking around on deck at all hours; to admire the magnificent panorama that unfolds before our eyes. Superb mountains, villages, forests, ruins, and above all the Danube, which in some places is as wide as a sea. At this very moment we experience strong tremors caused by the manoeuvring of our ship, which is changing course. But I do not care, I am going on. The night was bad, no one slept, the heat in the cabins was stifling, so from five o'clock in the morning I was walking up and down in the open air and recovering immediately from the fatigue of the night, so hygienic is the air one breathes here. I am the strongest of the group, querida mia, the others have faltered several times, but the child, nothing. He may have spent nights without sleep, he may have sailed, he may have experienced all sorts of emotions, but nothing. My companions had nicknamed me "the little

Parisian" at the beginning of our journey, today they call me "the terrible Savoyard", so much my courageous conduct fills them with admiration. Mademoiselle Patti continues to be a darling, charming, good, a real treasure, I am crazy about her.

On Sunday at 10 o'clock in the evening we shall be in Bucharest and on the 1st of April our first concert will take place. This evening our steamer will make a short stop outside Belgrade - we will take advantage of this to renew our tobacco supply.

I am writing to you in the ladies' room, they are all chatting at once, I do not know what I am saying, but I do not want to close this note without thanking you from the bottom of my heart for all the nice things you say to me in your letters, you are my best friend, the one I love, and I think of you constantly. Your letter from Vienna was given to me by Jean at the time of the embarkation in Perth, and I read it over and over again on the bridge every moment. I love you very much, little mother, believe it, and I kiss you very tenderly.

In May I shall see you again, and my friend too, won't I? I will tell you about my successes, and about many other things that I could not write to you for lack of time. I will come back covered with laurels and gold coins, because I am paid in gold.

I will breathe up there, A thousand kisses dear little mother and do not forget Your son

Sarasate

IX - 30/03/1869 - Bucharest - 3 heures

Je t'écris en déjeunant chère petite mère, depuis hier nous sommes dans la capitale de la Roumanie mais il m'a été impossible de t'envoyer un mot en arrivant, les fatigues de notre long voyage m'avaient terrassé et j'étais sans voix, sans yeux, et sans courage.

Aujourd'hui je suis complètement rétabli et viens de t'envoyer un télégramme qui arrivera ce soir à Paris. Ta lettre m'attendait ici et a contribué pour beaucoup à me mettre sur pied. Merci Carassima mia.

En dehors de nos cinq jours de traversée, nous avons fait une nuit en diligence et à travers un pays tellement sauvage que tous ces messieurs ont armé leurs revolvers. Il y a surtout une certaine auberge où nous avons soupé à une heure du matin qui mériterait de figurer dans les plus sombres drames de boulevard. On a vu dans ce pays des figures tellement terrifiantes que l'on en rêve la nuit. Il y a loin de là aux petits crevés du boulevard.

A Bucarest à côté du luxe européen, qui est grandiose, il y a la misère des gens du pays qui est terrifiante. Je coudoie parfois des individus si dégoûtants que ça m'enlève l'appétit pour toute la journée.

La ville n'a pas de cachet oriental. La Valachie étant tributaire de la Turquie, on déteste les Turcs, et on fait tout autrement qu'eux, mais pour nous, tout est intéressant et Bucarest a son originalité. J'aurai beaucoup d'épisodes très drôles à te conter à mon retour. Notre premier concert est demain, le théâtre est fort beau.

Mille bons baisers pour vous deux, ma seule affection en ce monde. Votre fils bien dévoué Sarasate I am writing to you while having breakfast, dear little mother, since yesterday we have been in the capital of Romania, but it was impossible for me to send you a word when we arrived, the fatigues of our long journey had overcome me and I was speechless, eyeless, and without courage.

Today I am completely recovered and have just sent you a telegram which will arrive in Paris this evening. Your letter was waiting for me here and did much to put me on my feet. Thank you Carassima mia.

Apart from our five days' journey, we had one night's ride in a coach and through such wild country that all the gentlemen had their revolvers cocked. There is a certain inn where we dined at one o'clock in the morning which would deserve to be in the darkest of boulevard dramas. In this country we have seen figures so terrifying that we dream of them at night. It is a long way from there to the little ones on the boulevard.

In Bucharest, next to the European luxury, which is grandiose, there is the misery of the local people, which is terrifying. I sometimes kiss people who are so disgusting that it takes away my appetite for the whole day.

The city has no oriental character. The Wallachia being dependent on Turkey, we hate the Turks, and we do everything differently from them, but for us everything is interesting and Bucharest has its originality. I will have a lot of very funny episodes to tell you about when I get back.

Our first concert is tomorrow the theatre is very beautiful.

A thousand good kisses for you both, my only affection in this world.

Your most devoted son

Sarasate

X – 31/03/1869 – Telegram Bucharest⁴

Arrive en bonne santé t'embrasse tendrement concert demain - Sarasate hôtel Hugues.

Arrived in good health - with all my love - concert tomorrow

XI – 05/04/1869 – Telegram Bucharest

Ferons Constantinople dernier partons mardi Odessa écrive Odessa réussite complète ici embrasse fort stop Sarasate

We will do Constantinople last – we leave Tuesday Odessa - write Odessa - complete success here – I embrace you strongly - stop Sarasate

⁴ All telegrams are sent from Sarasate to his adoptive mother Ms Lassabathie to address 15 Faubourg - Poissonnière in Paris.

XII - 05/04/1869 – de Bucharest, Lundi

Nous vivons au jour le jour, et jamais le soir nous ne savons où nous serons le lendemain. Je t'ai envoyé une dépêche hier on a décidé que l'on ferait la petite Russie avant Constantinople, et l'on devait partir directement d'ici pour Odessa, mais voilà on nous télégraphie de Gallatz (Roumanie) pour demander un ou deux concerts. On les donnera avant Odessa.

Ici il y a eu concert hier et avant hier (deuxième et troisième) et un quatrième se donnera demain mardi. Les trois premiers ont fait entrer dans la caisse de la compagnie Patti 20 000 Fr. et demain 7000 Fr. de recettes.

Après le concert de demain nous partons dans la nuit pour Gallatz en diligence et avec une escorte de quatre gendarmes à cheval armés jusqu'aux dents. Dame, on n'est pas ici boulevard des Italiens!

Je reçois toutes tes lettres, et très exactement.

J'ai touché ma troisième semaine ce matin, total de 1200 Fr. que j'ai en caisse. Je vis encore sur l'argent du père Hubert.

Tous mes morceaux défilent ici les uns après les autres, Faust, la Muette, le Trouvère, Martha, Mignon, mon ancienne valse que tu détestes mais qui a fait un grand effet ici, et Moscovienne! Il faut faire feu de tout côtés.

Hier au soir l'orchestre a été pris d'assaut par la foule, et un monsieur s'est installé dans le trou du souffleur (historique) j'ai été rappelé deux fois après Faust et la variation en sous harmoniques de la Muette a été bissée. À la sortie du théâtre les titis valaques qui nous guettaient nous ont acclamés sur la place à tour de rôle. Moi pas veinard juste au moment où je produisais mon effet j'ai eu mon chapeau enlevé par un violent coup de vent et j'ai couru après en laissant tomber ma canne que je n'ai pas retrouvée. À propos n'envoie pas de notes aux journaux, je t'en prie, je déteste la réclame et dans tous les cas, je ne peux pas chanter mes louanges moi-même. Les Ritter donneront de nos nouvelles quand il le faudra. Mes meilleurs souvenirs pour vous deux, et croyez au sentiment bien affectueux de votre fils Sarasate.

PS – le papier de Mademoiselle Patti (il est en effet orné d'une pensée en tête de page)

We live from day to day, and never in the evening do we know where we will be the next day. I sent you a dispatch yesterday, we decided that we would do Little Russia before Constantinople, and we were to leave directly from here for Odessa, but now we have been telegraphed from Gallatz (Romania) to ask for one or two concerts. We will give them before Odessa.

Here there was a concert yesterday and the day before (second and third) and a fourth will be given tomorrow, Tuesday. The first three concerts brought in 20,000 Fr. for the Patti Company and 7,000 Fr. tomorrow.

After tomorrow's concert we leave for Gallatz in the night in a hurry and with an escort of four mounted constables armed to the teeth. Lady, this is not the Boulevard des Italiens! I receive all your letters, and very accurately.

I received my third week's pay this morning, a total of 1200 Fr. I am still living on Father Hubert's money.

All my pieces are being played here one after the other, Faust, La Muette, Le Trouvère, Martha, Mignon, my old waltz which you hate but which had a great effect here, and Moscovienne! You have to fire on all sides.

Yesterday evening the orchestra was taken over by the crowd, and a gentleman sat in the prompter's box (historical) I was called back twice after Faust and the sub-harmonic variation of La Muette was played. When we left the theatre, the little Wallachian's who had been watching us took turns cheering us on the square. I, not lucky, just as I was producing my effect, had my hat blown off by a violent gust of wind and ran after it, dropping my cane which I did not find. By the way, please do not send notes to the newspapers, I hate advertising and in any case I ca not sing my own praises. The Ritters will give us news when it is necessary.

My best wishes to you both, and believe in the affectionate feelings of your son Sarasate.

PS - Miss Patti's paper (it is indeed adorned with a thought at the top of the page).

XIII - 14/04/1869 - Odessa (Russie)⁵

Chère mère, voilà plusieurs jours que je n'ai pu t'écrire bien malgré moi je te jure. Au moment de quitter Bucarest pour Odessa, une dépêche télégraphique nous a fait aller à Gallatz (Moldavie) il y a eu concert très brillant.

De Gallatz nous avons été appelées à Braïla (Valachie) autre concert magnifique. De Braïla retour à Gallatz et enfin embarquement pour Odessa où nous sommes arrivés seulement hier! Pas une minute de repos depuis quelques jours et que des distances parcourues! Ta lettre est arrivée ce matin je l'ai déjà lu et relu.

Notre premier concert est pour demain toujours au théâtre. Les affiches viennent d'être posées pour la forme car depuis plusieurs jours il n'y a plus de place. Les loges sont à 100 Fr. fauteuils à 20. Les recettes s'élèveront chaque fois à 10 000 Fr. Comme à l'opéra. Est-ce merveilleux!

Ici nous ferons quelques villes de la Russie puis enfin Constantinople. Le retour (sauf nouveau changement) s'effectuera par Smyrne, Corfou, Athènes et Naples. Nous resterons tant que les recettes iront bien. Ma sacoche se remplit, les rouleaux d'or montent toujours enfin je gagne de l'argent. Dis à mes créanciers qu'ils peuvent être tranquilles je rentrerai avec le sac.

La mer Noire m'a fort éprouvé, j'ai encore des étourdissements. Mais l'on se remet bien vite dans ces pays de l'orient, le climat est si bon! Nous avons déjà l'été et des fruits magnifiques. Surtout les oranges.

Notre hôtel est sur les bords de la mer, nous dominons le port qui est un des plus beaux de la Russie. Plus de 150 bâtiments en rade. Nous pousserons peut-être jusqu'à Sébastopol (en touristes) quelques heures de mer nous y mèneraient.

Demain Martha, Mignon, et Kreuzer. Dimanche (deuxième concert) Faust, la Muette est une sonate de Mozart, puis, on verra.

La bonne harmonie règne toujours entre les Ritter et moi, chacun y met un peu du sien. Quant à Mademoiselle Patti, c'est toujours la plus aimable est la meilleure des femmes. L'affaire d'Amérique est toujours sur le tapis, il en sera question à notre retour.

_

⁵ This letter was associated with a programme of the Odessa theatre for Tuesday 8 April 1869.

Le gros va toujours de mieux en mieux, rien ne pouvait me faire plus de plaisir. La joie est donc complète, bonne nouvelle, du succès, et le reste.

Au revoir chers amis bien-aimés, mille bons baisers de votre fils bien dévoué

Sarasate

PS le soleil m'a tellement changé que tu ne me reconnaîtrais pas. Je suis complètement jaune mais si jaune que je ne me regarde plus dans la glace. Il y en a cependant qui trouvent que ça ne me va pas trop mal.

Dear mother,

I have not been able to write to you for several days, much against my will I swear. Just as we were about to leave Bucharest for Odessa, a telegraphic dispatch took us to Galatz (Moldavia) where there was a very brilliant concert.

From Galatz we were called to Braila (Wallachia) another magnificent concert. From Braila back to Galatz and finally boarding for Odessa where we arrived only yesterday! Not a minute's rest in the last few days and what distances we have covered! Your letter arrived this morning and I have already read and re-read it.

Our first concert is tomorrow, still at the theatre. The posters have just been put up as a formality because for several days there have been no more places available. Boxes are 100 Fr. seats are 20. The receipts will amount to 10 000 Fr. each time. Just like at the opera. How wonderful!

Here we will do some cities in Russia and then finally Constantinople. The return journey (unless there is another change) will be via Smyrna, Corfu, Athens and Naples. We will stay as long as the receipts go well. My satchel is filling up, the gold rolls are still going up at last I am making money. Tell my creditors that they can rest easy, I will return with the bag. The Black Sea has taken its toll on me, I am still dizzy. But one recovers very quickly in these Eastern countries, the climate is so good! We already have summer and magnificent fruit.

Our hotel is on the seashore, we overlook the port which is one of the most beautiful in Russia. More than 150 buildings in the harbour. We might go to Sevastopol (as tourists), a few hours by sea would take us there.

Tomorrow Martha, Mignon, and Kreutzer. Sunday (second concert) Faust, the Muette and a Mozart sonata, then we will see.

Good harmony still reigns between the Ritters and me, each one puts in a little of his own. As for Miss Patti, she is always the kindest and best of women.

The American affair is still on the table; it will be discussed when we return.

The business is still getting better and better, nothing could give me more pleasure. The joy is complete, good news, success, and so on.

Goodbye dear beloved friends, a thousand good kisses from your devoted son

Sarasate

Especially the oranges.

PS the sun has changed me so much that you would not recognize me. I am completely yellow, but so yellow that I no longer look at myself in the mirror. There are some people who think that it does not look too bad on me.

XIV-16/04/1869 - Odessa (Russie)

Chère mère. Immense succès et belle recette hier à notre premier concert. Mademoiselle Patti, Ritter et moi avons soutenu le fardeau et la responsabilité de notre entreprise sans le concours du baryton Proni (successeur de Marochetti) qui vient de tomber malade des fièvres d'Orient très courante dans ces pays et qui ne se rétablira pas de sitôt. Il est probable qu'il aura à subir le sort de son prédécesseur. Deux hommes à la mer. À nous trois, tout a marché admirablement et du premier jusqu'au dernier morceau, rappels, bis, trépignements sans fin. Pour ma part je suis ravi de mon succès tous les violons ont joué à Odessa, Wieniawski s'y trouve en ce moment mais comme toujours j'ai réussi par mon individualité et l'on ne me compare à personne. Je me suis déjà fait beaucoup d'amis admirateurs.

Après-demain dimanche deuxième concert – la Muette, Faust, et sonate en sol de Mozart pour commencer.

Hier pour cause de maladie de notre chanteur j'ai dû jouer davantage. Les adieux et des motifs styriens charmants avec Ritter. Deux rappels après ce morceau je me fais une collection de mélodies russes ravissantes, non exploitées et dont je compte me faire un magnifique morceau à mon retour. Tu en seras folle.

Pendant toute la semaine prochaine nous donnerons des concerts et le lundi 26 départ pour Constantinople.

Il fait un vent à tout casser, il nous soulève et la mer est furieuse je ne sais trop de quoi. De ce pas je vais faire des courses chez le marchand de musique, marchand de piano, à la poste qui ferme ici à deux heures puis je rentre travailler avec Ritter pour nos autres concerts.

Je te souhaite meilleure santé, chère mère et moins de tourments, et je t'embrasse bien tendrement.

Itou le gros ami

Sarasate

Si tu devines notre programme écrit en russe je te paierai quelque chose à mon retour. Tu sais sans doute que le calendrier grec est en retard de 12 jours sur le nôtre ? Le 3 avril et donc notre 15.

Kisses

Dear Mother.

Huge success and a great turnout yesterday at our first concert. Miss Patti, Ritter and I bore the burden and responsibility of our enterprise without the assistance of the baritone Proni (Marochetti's successor) who has just fallen ill with the Oriental fevers so common in these countries and who will not soon recover. It is likely that he will have to suffer the fate of his predecessor. Two men at sea. Between the three of us, everything worked admirably and from the first to the last piece, recalls, encore, endless stamping. For my part I am delighted with my success, all the violins played in Odessa, Wieniawski is there at the moment, but as always I succeeded by my individuality and I am not compared to anyone. I have already made many friends who admire me.

The day after tomorrow, Sunday, I will give my second concert - the Muette, Faust, and Mozart's Sonata in G to start with.

Yesterday I had to play more because our singer was ill. Les Adieux and some charming Styrian motifs with Ritter. Two encores after this piece I am making a collection of lovely,

unused Russian melodies which I intend to make into a beautiful piece when I return. You will be crazy about it.

For the whole of next week we will be giving concerts and on Monday the 26th we'll leave for Constantinople.

The wind is blowing like crazy, it is lifting us up and the sea is furious, I do not know why. I am off to do some shopping at the music shop, the piano shop and the post office, which closes here at two o'clock, and then I am going back to work with Ritter on our other concerts.

I wish you better health, dear mother, and less torment, and I kiss you very tenderly. Likewise the big friend

Sarasate

If you can guess our programme written in Russian I will buy you something when I get back. You probably know that the Greek calendar is 12 days behind ours? April 3rd and therefore our 15th.

Kisses			

XV - 20/04/1869 - Odessa - Mardi⁶

Quand on prend de la veine, on n'en saurait trop prendre. Au second concert, mon succès a été beaucoup plus grand qu'au premier. Le baryton continuant à être malade, on a dû le congédier et ses morceaux ont encore été remplacés par moi et Ritter. J'ai joué ma valse et les adieux, avec la Muette, Faust et la sonate. Cinq morceaux. Ce soir Martha (redemandée) le Trovatore est une sonate (je ne puis t'envoyer le programme qui n'a pas encore paru) au prochain concert de jeudi : la Muette, une sonate, Faust et la romance enfin de Beethoven. Monsieur Gouffier arrive avec le programme de ce soir le voilà.

Wieniawski est descendu au même hôtel que nous. Il vient à nos concerts et m'applaudis à tout rompre. C'est un charmant camarade, et nous passons notre temps à faire de la musique, trio et quatuor chez le marchand de musique avec Ritter et autres artistes on voulait nous faire jouer un duo à deux violons à un grand concert au profit d'une œuvre de bienfaisance, mais je n'ai pas le droit de disposer de mon talent et de le déflorer en dehors de nos affaires. Wieniawski se fera entendre demain et vendredi au même théâtre que nous et je me promets (en échange de ses bons procédés) de faire le Lamazo dans la salle et d'aller l'embrasser dans les entractes. Notre barque vogue sur des flots d'or sous une pluie de fleurs et de couronnes de lauriers. Tout le monde est content.

J'espère en allant porter ce mot à la poste y trouver de vos chères nouvelles. (Il y a quatre jours que je n'en ai pas) aussi je vais choisir le cheval le plus fougueux pour arriver plus vite. À Constantinople on ne peut aller dans les rues qu'un cheval. C'est là où il faudra se souvenir des leçons de Pellier. Les chaleurs continues, mais le vent est toujours très violent, et les tourbillons de poussière sont si terribles que nous portons tous des lunettes bleues (à l'instar des habitants du pays) autrement il est impossible de sortir.

Je travaille beaucoup, et il me semble que je fais des progrès sous le rapport de la sûreté du mécanisme et du sang-froid dans l'exécution.

Je salue toujours comme un ange

Kisses et tendresses pour vous de votre enfant

_

⁶ This letter is associated with a programme of the Odessa theatre for Thursday 3 April 1869 scanned separately.

When you get lucky, you cannot get too lucky. At the second concert, my success was much greater than at the first. As the baritone continued to be ill, he had to be dismissed and his pieces were again replaced by me and Ritter. I played my waltz and Les Adieux, with the Muette, Faust and the sonata. Five pieces. This evening Martha (asked again) the Trovatore is a sonata (I cannot send you the programme which has not yet appeared) at the next concert on Thursday: the Muette, a sonata, Faust and finally the romance by Beethoven.

Mr Gouffier arrives with this evening's programme.

Wieniawski is staying at the same hotel as us. He comes to our concerts and applauds me loudly. He is a charming fellow, and we spend our time making music, trio and quartet at the music dealer's with Ritter and other artists. They wanted us to play a two-violin duet at a big concert for charity, but I have no right to dispose of my talent and deflower it outside our business. Wieniawski will be playing tomorrow and Friday at the same theatre as us, and I promise (in exchange for his kindness) to do the Lamazo in the hall and to go and embrace him during the intermissions.

Our boat sails on golden waves under a shower of flowers and laurel wreaths. Everyone is happy.

I hope that when I take this note to the post office I will find some of your dearest news. (I have not had any for four days) so I will choose the most spirited horse to arrive more quickly.

In Constantinople one can only ride a horse through the streets. This is where I will have to remember Pellier's lessons.

The heat continues, but the wind is still very violent, and the swirls of dust are so terrible that we all wear blue glasses (like the locals) otherwise it is impossible to go out.

I work a lot, and it seems to me that I am making progress in terms of the security in the mechanism and the composure in the execution.

I always greet you like an angel Kisses and tenderness for you from your child

XVI - 27/04/1869 – Telegram Constantinople

Fort gaiement arrivée hôtel père Patti reçu lettre rassurez-vous tout marche magnifiquement – Sarasate

Very cheerful arrived at hotel - Patti's father received letter reassure you everything goes magnificently - Sarasate

XVII - 28/04/1869 - Constantinople⁷

Mademoiselle Patti a reçu ta lettre cara Madre mia et elle m'en a fait part. Je ne puis te dire combien je suis tourmenté du terrible événement qui vient encore de t'assaillir, et combien je serai désolé de ne pas retrouver mon amigo au retour, je serais si heureux de lui faire part de mes succès et de lui raconter ce que j'ai vu !... J'espère encore, tu lui es si dévoué, que grâce à toi, j'aurais peut-être le bonheur de le revoir et de l'embrasser de toute mon âme, ce cher et bon ami, mon vrai père que j'adore, tu peux le lui dire de ma part. L'absence me fait apprécier encore davantage ce que vous avez fait tous deux pour moi et elle a considérablement augmenté l'affection que je vous porte. Aussi à mon retour, je me fais une vraie joie de m'installer près de vous à la campagne, près de toi ma chère petite mère, dans ce gentil cottage où j'ai passé mes jeunes années, et où tu as veillé sur moi avec tant de sollicitude et de tendresse. Ne doute pas de moi, cara Madre, de près ou de loin quoi qu'il arrive, il y aura un ami qui t'aimera et s'il est nécessaire, qui te protégera contre les éventualités de la vie. Je ne pourrais pas t'écrire souvent, les départs pour Paris n'ont lieu que deux fois par semaine.

La semaine sainte des Grecs et des Arméniens nous empêchera de donner concert ici cette semaine. Lundi seulement, nous commencerons. La traversée s'est effectuée par un temps superbe et tout le monde a pu admirer les rives du Bosphore et le panorama de Constantinople qui est féerique. Ici on voit l'Orient dans toute sa variété mais aussi dans toute sa grandeur. Les voitures ne pouvant circuler que dans la grande rue de Pera nous faisons nos excursions en chaise à porteurs ou à cheval. Demain visite au bazar, mosquée, palais du sultan, quartier des juifs, etc. Chaque jour nous admirerons de nouvelles merveilles. Je suis fou d'enthousiasme, et je soutiens que Constantinople est la plus grande beauté que Dieu ait créée. Mon Dieu que de choses j'aurai à te raconter!

Mademoiselle Patti a voulu que je t'envoie une dépêche hier, si elle t'a causé de l'émotion, c'est elle qu'il faudra punir.

Mes meilleurs baisers à l'ami de mon cœur, et à toi mon affection toute entière ton fils

Sarasate

Miss Patti has received your letter cara Madre mia and she has told me about it. I cannot tell you how much I am tormented by the terrible event that has just assailed you, and how sorry I will be not to find my amigo on my return, I would be so happy to tell him of my successes and to tell him what I have seen!... I still hope, you are so devoted to him, that thanks to you, I may have the happiness of seeing him again and embracing him with all my soul, this dear and good friend, my true father whom I adore, you can tell him that for me. Absence makes me appreciate even more what you have both done for me and has considerably increased the affection I bear for you. So when I return, I shall be very glad to settle near you in the country, near you my dear little mother, in that sweet cottage where I spent my young years, and where you watched over me with such care and tenderness. Do not doubt me, cara Madre, near or far, whatever happens, there will be a friend who will love you and, if necessary,

⁷ Sarasate is most likely referring to the serious illnesses suffered by M. de Lassabathie, his adoptive father and administrator of the Paris Conservatoire de Musique, on two occasions. He was able to be treated and transported to his home, but his health was seriously impaired.

protect you against the contingencies of life. I could not write to you often, the departures to Paris are only twice a week.

The holy week of the Greeks and Armenians will prevent us from giving a concert here this week. We will only start on Monday. The crossing took place in superb weather and everyone was able to admire the shores of the Bosphorus and the panorama of Constantinople which is enchanting. Here you can see the East in all its variety but also in all its grandeur. As cars can only circulate in the main street of Pera, we make our excursions in chairs with carriers or on horseback. Tomorrow we visit the bazaar, the mosque, the Sultan's palace, the Jewish Quarter, etc. Every day we will admire new wonders. I am mad with enthusiasm, and I maintain that Constantinople is the greatest beauty that God has created. My God, how many things I shall have to tell you!

Miss Patti wanted me to send you a press release yesterday, and if she has caused you any excitement, she is the one who must be punished.

My best kisses to the friend of my heart, and to you my wholehearted affection your son

Sarasate

XVIII - 18/05/1869 - Telegram Vienne⁸

Arrivé à Vienne bien portant concert mercredi rentre prochainement Paris - signé Sarasate Hôtel Élisabeth

Arrived in Vienna doing well concert on Wednesday returning to Paris soon - signed Sarasate - Elisabeth Hotel

XIX - 22/05/1869 - Paris⁹

Madame Lassabathié – Maisons Seine et Oise Arrivé ce matin irait te voir par le train de quatre heures - signé Sarasate

Arrived this morning will go to see you by the four o'clock train - signed Sarasate

XX – 6/04/1870 – Telegram New York

Lassabathie conservatoire musique Paris = Sarasate Arrive bonne santé= Carlotta Patti

Lassabathie Paris music conservatoire = Sarasate
Arrived in good health= Carlotta Patti

300

⁸ Different address to previous telegrams, this one is directed to Ms Lassabathie at Maisons-Laffitte.

⁹ Telegram from Paris to Maisons-Laffitte.

XXI - 20/09/1871 - Sarasate à sa mère - de Toronto Canada¹⁰

Encore au Canada, Chère mère! Mais cette fois c'est pour le compte de Max Strakosh qui donne quelques concerts pour préluder à sa saison d'opéra qui commencera le mois prochain. Tous les artistes sont français, sauf la Nilsson's : Capoul, Pamet, Barré, Mlle Duval. On croit à un succès.

Mes affaires sont entièrement entre les mains de Max Strakosh qui traitera pour moi (sans intérêt bien entendu) et tout ceux qui me désirent doivent aller à lui. Il me rend grand service, car il faut être bien fin pour ne pas être dupe en ce pays.

Max Strakosh a pour moi la plus grande amitié, et mènera bien la barque. Au nombre des engagements qui me sont offerts, le plus curieux est celui de la belle Madame Moulton qui faisait tant sa tête à Paris, et qui maintenant se voit obligée de faire l'artiste pour remplir la caisse. Elle fera des affaires, grâce à la curiosité qui s'attache à son nom, qui est un des plus anciens et aristocratiques de Boston, et on attend ses débuts avec impatience. Elle veut parcourir les États-Unis jusqu'à Nouvelle-Orléans. Mon engagement serait déjà signé sans la prudence extra fine de mon ami Max Strakosh qui exige des garanties en masse, et un mois d'appointements anticipés. C'est ce dernier article qui offre des difficultés, car nous avons l'air de nous méfier, mais la belle cantatrice a pour principal agent un homme tellement fin qu'il faut l'être encore plus que lui. La tournée commencerait le 17 octobre – en attendant, j'ai des concerts avec la Nilsson jusqu'au 1^{er} octobre et le 3 octobre, un magnifique festival à Boston, avec moi comme grande attraction.

(Max Strakosh me donne 1500 Fr. et tous mes frais payés pour les sept concerts qu'il va donner). Je jouerai le concerto de Mendelssohn avec orchestre et ma nouvelle fantaisie sur Faust. – Je suis bien payé –

Hier au soir, grand succès à Montréal, obligé de bisser mes deux morceaux. Une assistance magnifique, et il en sera de même les jours suivants jusqu'au 30 qui sera notre dernier concert (en tout sept) demain à Buffalo. Puis Pittsburgh et ensuite des noms tellement indiens que je ne sais comment on les écrit.

Capoul voyage avec nous en amateur (il n'est engagé que pour l'opéra) et il se plaint et pleure tout le temps après son Toulouse et ses amis. Pamet fait partie du concert et Barré prépare ses rôles à New York. Tous ces jeunes gens ont été bien heureux de me revoir, m'ont embrassé comme du pain, ils me tutoient, comme au temps où nous faisions nos classes de Conservatoire. Tu sauras qu'il fait déjà un froid terrible au Canada, on craint un hiver de 30° au-dessous de zéro. Nous portons bottes fourrées paletot idem et caleçons, etc. etc. et moi qui n'ai pas eu d'hiver vont reprendre depuis mon départ de Paris!

Barré m'a parlé de nos amis, et entre autres de Diémer qu'il m'a dépeint plus bête que jamais et ne parlant presque plus. D'après lui c'est sa femme qui l'habille, le déshabille le fait manger, marcher et tout faire. Enfin c'est Monsieur Berthe Serret qu'il faudrait l'appeler. J'ai bien ri le lui, et de bien d'autres qui ont eu bien peur des Prussiens, à ce que m'a dit Barré. Mais toi, tu n'as pas eu peur — Mille baisers à tous deux mes chers parents, je vous aime bien fort. C'est fait, Cher mère, signé, (vraisemblablement avec Moulton?) convenu. Dans trois semaines nous partons. L'affaire a été conclue de la façon la plus charmante. L'accompagnateur est Gallois très bon.

Mille baisers – Sarasate

_

¹⁰ This letter is accompanied by the programme for Miss Christina Nilsson's concert in Montreal on Monday 18 September at Saint Patrick's Hall. Sarasate participates in the concert.

Still in Canada, Dear Mother! But this time it is on behalf of Max Strakosh who is giving a few concerts as a prelude to his opera season which will begin next month. All the artists are French, except the Nilsson's: Capoul, Pamet, Barré, Mlle Duval. We believe in a success. My affairs are entirely in the hands of Max Strakosh who will deal for me (without interest of course) and all those who desire me must go to him. He is doing me a great favour, for it takes a fine man not to be fooled in this country.

Max Strakosh has the greatest friendship for me, and will steer the ship well. Among the engagements offered to me, the most curious is that of the beautiful Mrs. Moulton, who used to look so good in Paris, and who now finds herself obliged to act as an artist to fill the coffers. She will do business, thanks to the curiosity that attaches to her name, which is one of the oldest and most aristocratic in Boston, and her debut is eagerly awaited. She wants to travel the United States as far as New Orleans. My engagement would already be signed if it were not for the extra fine prudence of my friend Max Strakosh, who demands guarantees en masse, and a month's advance pay. It is this last item that offers difficulties, for we seem to be suspicious, but the beautiful singer has as her principal agent a man so fine that one must be even finer than he is. The tour would begin on October 17 - in the meantime I have concerts with the Nilsson until October 1, and on October 3, a magnificent festival in Boston, with me as the big attraction. (Max Strakosh is giving me 1500 Fr. and all my expenses paid for the seven concerts he will give). I will play Mendelssohn's concerto with orchestra and my new Faust Fantasy. - I am well paid.

Yesterday evening, great success in Montreal, obliged to play my two pieces. Wonderful attendance, and it will be the same for the next few days until the 30th which will be our last concert (seven in all) tomorrow in Buffalo. Then Pittsburgh and then names so Indian I do not know how to spell them. Capoul travels with us as an amateur (he is only engaged for the opera) and he complains and cries all the time after his Toulouse and his friends. Pamet is part of the concert and Barré is preparing his roles in New York. All these young people were very happy to see me again, they embraced me like bread, they were on first-name terms with me, as in the days when we were doing our Conservatory classes.

You will know that it is already terribly cold in Canada, we fear a winter of 30° below zero. We are wearing fur-lined boots, the same paletot and pants, etc. etc., and I, who have not had a winter, are going to start again since I left Paris!

Barré spoke to me about our friends, and among others about Diémer whom he depicted as being more stupid than ever and hardly speaking at all. According to him it is his wife who dresses him, undresses him, makes him eat, walk and do everything. Finally, it's Monsieur Berthe Serret that he should be called. I laughed at him, and at many others who were very afraid of the Prussians, according to what Barré told me. But you, you were not afraid - A thousand kisses to both of you, my dear parents, I love you very much.

It is done, dear mother, signed, (presumably with Moulton?) agreed. In three weeks we leave. The deal was done in the most charming way. The companion is a very good Welshman. A thousand kisses - Sarasate

302

XXII - 08/11/1871 - Boston

Maman chérie

Je suis devenu le favori du public Bostonien. C'est un enthousiasme immense à chaque concert, et tout mes morceaux sont bissés, et on m'écrit des lettres pour me prier de répéter tellle ou telle pièce qui a plu individuellement à une ou plusieurs personnes. Je t'enverrai un échantillon de cette prose ainsi que des journaux, si je peux m'en procurer, car je ne m'y prends jamais à temps, et d'ailleurs, j'apprends à chaque instant que l'on a parlé de moi dans une feuille quelconque et il y en a tant aux États-Unis, il faut être du pays pour savoir se les procurer et ne pas arriver trop tard. Te rappelles-tu le temps où nous devenions tous fous quand il y avait une ou deux lignes sur moi, n'importe ou, et comme nous courrions pour l'avoir, et quelle satisfaction j'avais à voir mon nom imprimé en une dans les journaux d'Hengel? Maintenant il me serait impossible de réunir tous les articles qui me concernent, il y en aurait trop, et je me procure seulement les meilleurs.

J'ai joué ici dans trois concerts de Madame Moulton, le quatrième sera pour après-demain, et le cinquième samedi.

En rentrant à New York je me ferai portraiturer pour t'envoyer un échantillon de ma petite personne. Mes cheveux ont poussé et tu me retrouveras. Moi seul je ne change pas, ce n'est pas comme mes anciens camarades du conservatoire. Ce sont de véritables ruines — Capoul est devenu affreux (il ne plaît pas ici) sa figure s'est bouffie, et il est obligé de porter d'énormes favoris pour déguiser les outrages de dame nature. Je ne le reconnaissais pas la première fois que je l'ai rencontré, pas plus que Barré qui porte maintenant une immense barbe noire et qui a la face toute rouge et bourgeonnée. Ils ont vieilli tous deux de 10 ans depuis que j'ai quitté Paris. Ils sont étonnés de me retrouver le petit Sarasate, moi qui ai fait des voyages si pénibles et qui est passé du froid au chaud et vice versa depuis si longtemps. Je ne suis pas obligé de porter la barbe moi ! Mais bien la petite moustache parisienne que je conserverai tant que je pourrai en souvenir de mes chers boulevards que je reverrai bientôt ainsi que mon ami Gouache qui sans doute continue à confectionner ses mêmes petits bonbons aux marrons et aux pistaches que nous aimons tant et que je regoûterai avec délice, car il n'y a pas de ce genre-là ici.

Le consul d'Espagne à Boston m'adore et m'invite à dîner très souvent. Il est andalou ainsi que sa femme, parfait gentleman, riche parlant français comme un parisien, enfin charmant. Il s'appelle De Soto.

Dans sept mois, nous serons réunis pour quelque temps du moins, chère maman, et que de choses je pourrais te dire, ainsi que toi!... Je reverrai aussi mon amigo... la Suzon, je serais bien heureux et ferai mon possible pour que tu me pardonnes et m'embrasses avec tout ton cœur.

Je t'aime, et signe Ton fils Sarasate

Mommy Dearest

I have become a favourite of the Boston public. It is great enthusiasm at every concert, and all my pieces are praised, and letters are written to me asking me to repeat such and such a piece as has pleased one or more people individually. I will send you a sample of this prose as well as newspapers, if I can get them, as I never get them in time, and besides, I learn every moment that I have been mentioned in some paper, and there are so many of them in the

United States, you have to be a local to know how to get them and not arrive too late. Do you remember when we all went crazy when there was a line or two about me anywhere, and how we ran for it, and what satisfaction I got from seeing my name printed on the front page of the Hengel papers? Now it would be impossible for me to collect all the articles about me, there would be too many, and I only get the best.

I have played here in three of Mrs. Moulton's concerts, the fourth will be the day after tomorrow, and the fifth on Saturday.

When I get back to New York I'll have my portrait taken and send you a sample of my little self. My hair has grown and you will find me. Only I do not change, not like my old friends from the conservatory. They are real ruins - Capoul has become ugly (he does not like it here) his face has become puffy, and he is obliged to wear enormous sideburns to disguise the outrages of Mother Nature. I did not recognise him the first time I met him, nor did Barré, who now wears a huge black beard and has a face that is all red and budded. They have both aged ten years since I left Paris. They are astonished to find me, the little Sarasate, who has made such arduous journeys and gone from cold to warm and back again for so long. I do not have to wear a beard! But I do have a little Parisian moustache, which I shall keep as long as I can in memory of my dear boulevards, which I shall soon see again, as well as my friend Gouache, who no doubt continues to make the same little chestnut and pistachio sweets that we love so much and which I shall taste with delight, for there is no such thing here. The Spanish consul in Boston adores me and invites me to dinner very often. He is Andalusian as well as his wife, a perfect gentleman, rich, speaking French like a Parisian, and charming. His name is De Soto.

In seven months' time we shall be reunited for some time at least, dear Mama, and what things I could say to you and to you! I shall also see my amigo again... la Suzon, I shall be very happy and shall do my utmost to make you forgive me and kiss me with all your heart. Hove you and sign

1 10 0	c yo	u, am	u sigi
your	son	Sara	sate

XXIII* - 06/12/[1871] - New York11

Chère mère,

J'ai fait ma première apparition à Boston, et tu pourras juger de l'effet que j'ai produit par les fragments de journaux que je t'envoie. Aucun artiste n'a été accueilli comme je le suis dans cette cité aristocratique – c'était un délire, des rappels, des bis. Ils m'apostrophaient avec « au revoir », et certainement qu'ils me feront revenir. Madame Moulton a débuté le seize à New York de ce mois avec grand orchestre. Comme elle n'était pas sûre du succès, elle n'a pu m'offrir que des contrats courts, qu'elle prolongera s'il y a un bon succès. J'ai pris sur moi l'obligation d'apparaître dans quatre concerts ici à New York, et d'autres fois à Boston sa ville natale, où ils me firent fête Dieu sait comment! Après mon succès du début. Pour ces huit concerts qui auront lieu dans l'espace de quinze jours ils me donnent deux mille cinq cents francs et les frais de voyage payés avec toute libertés d'accepter des concerts les autres jours. Vu que c'était bien – il me donnèrent mille francs le jour du premier concert et

¹¹ Original file not yet located; a transcription of the letter can be found in Julio Altadil *Memorias de Sarasate*. The date that Altadil suggests is incorrect as Sarasate had already performed in Boston the 3 October 1871, thus this letter was most likely written in October 1871; Altadil, Memorias, 32.

le reste au cinquième. On dit que ma nouvelle et attractive directrice (qui était mieux même que quand je l'ai vue à Paris) chante comme un rossignol. En tout cas son début a fait un bruit infernal; le premier soir où elle chantera, il y aura des gens qui paieront une fortune pour la voir. On pense seulement: une dame de la haute aristocratie qui s'encanaille avec nous! Je me disais seulement que ce serait une charmante saison! La Philipps et la Kellogg voulaient me retenir. J'attends le résultat des concerts Moulton à qui je donnerai la préférence en cas de succès. Quelle salle de concert à Boston! On ne se fait pas une idée de cela en Europe, 3000 personnes facilement installées, toutes les dames assises à l'orchestre, les hommes en haut. Sais-tu que c'est la ville des charmantes femmes? Et ils m'ont fait un succès! Mes charmants saluts avec les yeux en « coulisse » y ont beaucoup contribué. Je connais l'histoire avec Saint-Saëns et je trouve qu'ils ont bien fait. Certainement je vais jouer son concerto ici avec orchestre. Je l'ai joué avec piano à quelques bons amateurs et ils l'ont trouvé très charmant.

Beaucoup de baisers à vous deux, mes meilleurs amis, et n'oubliez pas votre Sarasate.

Dear Mother,

I made my first appearance in Boston, and you will be able to judge the effect I produced by the fragments of newspapers I am sending you. No artist was welcomed as I was in this aristocratic city - it was a frenzy, recalls, encore performances. They would call out to me with 'au revoir', and surely they would have me back. Mrs Moulton started the sixteenth in New York this month with a full orchestra. As she was not sure of success, she could only offer me short contracts, which she will extend if there is a good success. I took it upon myself to appear in four concerts here in New York, and other times in Boston, her hometown, where they gave me a party God knows how! After my early success. For these eight concerts, which will take place in the space of two weeks, they give me two thousand five hundred francs and the travel expenses paid, with all freedom to accept concerts on the other days. Since it was good - they gave me one thousand francs on the day of the first concert and the rest on the fifth. They say that my new and attractive director (who was even better than when I saw her in Paris) sings like a nightingale. In any case her debut has made an infernal noise; the first evening she sings, there will be people who will pay a fortune to see her. One only thinks: a lady of the high aristocracy cavorting with us! I just thought it would be a lovely season! The Philipps and the Kellogg wanted to keep me. I am waiting for the result of the Moulton concerts, to whom I shall give preference if successful. What a concert hall in Boston! You do not get an idea of this in Europe, 3000 people easily seated, all the ladies sitting in the orchestra, the men upstairs. Do you know that this is the city of lovely women? And they made me a success! My charming greetings with the eyes backstage contributed a lot.

I know the story with Saint-Saëns and I think they did well. I will certainly play his concerto here with orchestra. I played it with piano to some good amateurs and they found it very charming.

Many	/ kisses i	to you t	ooth, m	y best	friends,	and d	lo not	forget	your	Sarasate.
------	------------	----------	---------	--------	----------	-------	--------	--------	------	-----------

XXIV - 22/12/1871 - New York¹²

Je reçois ta carte, mère chérie, je pleure, je suis bouleversé, je ne m'attendais pas à la funeste nouvelle, tu me disais qu'amigo allait bien et je comptais le revoir cet été!... Cher, cher, mille fois Cher amigo, il m'aimait tant, la pensée de sa mort avant de le revoir ne m'était pas venue et maintenant surtout je vois la faute que j'ai commise en restant ici l'été dernier. J'ai des remords, je ne puis t'écrire plus aujourd'hui, je suis désespéré heureusement que mes bons amis Pachauer m'aiment. Sans eux je ne sais ce que j'aurais fait ce matin. Au revoir mère bien-aimée

I received your card, mother dear, I am crying, I am upset, I did not expect the fatal news, you told me that amigo was well, and I expected to see him again this summer!... Dear, dear, a thousand times Dear amigo, he loved me so much, the thought of his death before seeing him again had not occurred to me and now especially I see the fault I committed by staying here last summer. I feel remorse, I cannot write to you any more today, I am desperate, fortunately my good friends Pachauer love me. Without them I do not know what I would have done this morning.

Goodbye beloved mol	ıner

XXV* - 26*/12/1871 - New York¹³

Chère mère. Maintenant vous connaissez ma sortie dans les concerts Moulton par ma dernière carte et par les périodiques que je vous envoyais. Là vont d'autres que j'ai pu rencontrer.

Je ne reçois rien de toi : je ne peux pas croire en une disgrâce qui te serait arrivée, parce que je suis sûr que tu m'aurais prévenu au moins fait prévenir, Je pense que vous êtes soit trop malade des yeux pour m'écrire, soit que vous n'avez pas envie de m'écrire.

Je continuerai à te parler de moi et j'attendrai patiemment que tu puisses m'envoyer de tes nouvelles. Je t'écrirai en mardi prochain après notre premier concert à Boston. Je vous embrasse tous deux avec tendresse.

J'ai joué aussi le dimanche soir pour les incendiés de Chicago le concerto de Max Bruch avec orchestre. Succès total et première audition (à l'étranger) de ce morceau là. Le baby.

Dear Mother. Now you know of my going to the Moulton Concerts by my last card and by the periodicals I was sending you. There go others whom I may have met.

I receive nothing from you: I cannot believe in a disgrace that would have happened to you, because I am sure you would have warned me at least, I think you are either too sick in the eyes to write to me, or you do not feel like writing to me. I will continue to tell you about myself and wait patiently for you to send me news. I will write to you next Tuesday after our first concert in Boston. I kiss you both tenderly.

-

¹² Théodore de Lassabathie died 5/12/1871.

¹³ Original file not yet located; a transcription of the letter however, can be found in Julio Altadil *Memorias de Sarasate*; Altadil. *Memorias*, 33; The Great Chicago Fire 8/10/1871; On 22 December 1871 Sarasate writes about the news of M. de Lassabathie's death. Thus, it is possible that the date of 26 December is wrong. It is likely the letter was written between the 6 and 22 December.

I also played Max Bruch's concerto with orchestra on Sunday evening for the Chicago Firemen. It was a total success and the first performance (abroad) of this piece. The baby.

XXVI - 27/12/1871 - New York

Mère chérie

Je suis dans une bien grande inquiétude de toi. Qu'es-tu devenue au milieu de ces terribles émotions que tu viens de passer. J'ai été comme hébété de la triste nouvelle, et puis, quand je réfléchis que je n'ai pas été là pour tenir une de ses mains dans les miennes et pour lui donner un dernier baiser, je suis pris un affreux serrement de cœur et cela me fera partir à la première occasion plus tôt que je ne l'avais décidé pour te voir et t'embrasser de toutes mes forces. Tu dois être anéantie, à bout de force, si tu ne peux m'écrire, qu'un ami le fasse pour toi et me donne de tes nouvelles.

J'ai reçu en même temps que ta carte de visite qui m'annonçait un si grand malheur la nouvelle du prochain mariage de ma plus jeune sœur Paca!!... Dans un autre moment cela m'aurait fait un bien grand plaisir. Quoiqu'elle ne me dise ni quand, ni avec qui – c'est la seule de mes parents que j'aime d'abord parce qu'elle ne ressemble pas à mes autres parents, et ensuite c'est la seule qui m'ait écrit pendant mon grand voyage.

Au revoir mère chérie, je t'aime et embrasse de toute mon âme, bientôt je le ferai pour de vrai Ton enfant

Dear Mother

I am very worried about you. What has become of you in the midst of these terrible emotions you have just gone through. I was dazed by the sad news, and then, when I think that I was not there to hold one of his hands in mine and to give him a last kiss, I am seized with a terrible grief and it will make me leave at the first opportunity sooner than I had decided to see you and kiss you with all my strength. You must be devastated, at the end of your tether, if you cannot write to me, let a friend do it for you and give me news of you.

At the same time as your calling card, which announced such a great misfortune, I received the news of the forthcoming marriage of my youngest sister Paca!... At another time it would have given me great pleasure. Although she does not tell me when or with whom - she is the only one of my other parents whom I love, firstly because she does not resemble my other parents, and secondly because she is the only one who wrote to me during my great journey. Goodbye mother dear, I love you and kiss you with all my soul, soon I will do it for real Your child

XXVII - xx-01-1872 - New York¹⁴

Maman

Je t'envoie le programme de ma première matinée tant de fois remise pour cause de maladie de mon ami Mills, un pianiste dont tu serais folle, et qui jouit ici de la même popularité que le regretté Gottschalk. C'est son digne successeur et nous aurons toute l'aristocratie de New York à nos concerts, et si cela réussit tout à fait, comme nous l'espérons nous donnerons encore deux matinées en plus ce qui fera six – après quoi je donnerai encore un grand concert, moi seul enfin; tout va bien la presse sera magnifique, je n'y ai que des amis. À la seconde matinée je jouerai ton morceau de Roméo – pauvre et chère mère! Je crains bien que toutes mes nouvelles ne te semblent bien pâles en ce moment !... J'ai refusé de jouer en concert pendant un mois et je t'assure que tout le monde connaît ici la nouvelle de l'ami que j'ai perdu! J'ai montré vos portraits à tous mes amis et il n'y a pas qu'il ne m'ait donné des marques de sympathie en cette triste circonstance. J'ai aussi écrit à mon père une lettre qui le fera réfléchir, j'en suis sûr et qui le fera revenir sur des sentiments qui m'ont fait bien souffrir toutes les fois que j'y ai pensé. Comme tu as eu du mérite à m'aimer! Maintenant (c'est bien délicat) pourrais-tu obtenir de Madame de Grandval qu'elle envoie par la poste (sous bande) à mon adresse, sa seconde messe, et son stabat? Un de mes amis, organiste de la cathédrale, veut absolument monter ça pour Pâques, il faudrait donc que ce fût expédié par le premier bateau. Et puis, as-tu une histoire du Conservatoire à m'envoyer par la même occasion? On la désire ardemment au Conservatoire de New York, et on en avait entendu parler. C'est Rouconi professeur dans l'établissement qui voudrait avoir cet ouvrage dont l'auteur est un homme qu'il a bien apprécié et dont il parle toujours avec des louanges sans nombre. Si tu peux charger quelqu'un de ces commissions sans que cela te gêne tu me feras bien plaisir. Sinon admet que je ne t'ai rien dit. Tu m'enverras la note de frais que tu expédieras par la poste. Mille pardons de t'ennuyer tellement mais je ne suis qu'un intermédiaire dans cette affaire, j'ai seulement promis de faire la commission. À bientôt maman chérie, je serais bien heureux de t'embrasser et de passer des heures entières avec toi à causer et à te raconter bien des choses. Ma vie est un vrai roman et si jamais il me pousse un talent de narrateur-écrivain, je ferai mes mémoires. à toi − le baby

Mum

I am sending you the programme for my first matinee, so often postponed on account of the illness of my friend Mills, a pianist you would be crazy about, and who enjoys the same popularity here as the late Gottschalk. He is his worthy successor and we shall have all the aristocracy of New York at our concerts, and if it is quite successful, as we hope it will be, we shall give two more matinees, which will make six - after which I shall give another great concert, myself alone at last; everything is going well the press will be magnificent, I have only friends there.

On the second matinee I shall play your Romeo piece - poor dear mother! I am afraid that all my news seems very pale to you at the moment!... I have refused to play in concert for a month and I assure you that everyone here knows the news of the friend I have lost! I have shown your portraits to all my friends and they have not failed to show me sympathy on this

¹⁴ According to *The Evening post*, the first matinee concert of this series took place on Saturday 27 January 1872, so this letter must precede that; *The Evening post*, 29 January 1872.

sad occasion. I have also written a letter to my father which I am sure will make him think and reconsider feelings which have caused me great pain whenever I have thought of them. How you deserved to love me!

Now (this is very delicate) could you get Madame de Grandval to send her second mass and her stabat to my address by post (paper banded)? A friend of mine, an organist at the cathedral, absolutely wants to put it on for Easter, so it should be sent by the first boat. And then, do you have a history of the Conservatoire to send me for the same occasion? It is eagerly desired at the New York Conservatory, and we had heard about it. It is Rouconi, a professor at the institution, who would like to have this work, the author of which is a man he has appreciated and of whom he always speaks with untold praise. If you can entrust someone with these commissions without it bothering you, you will give me great pleasure. If not, admit that I have not told you anything. You will send me the bill of costs which you will send by post. I'm sorry to bother you so much, but I am only a go-between in this matter, I only promised to do the commission.

See you soon, Mummy dear, I would be very happy to kiss you and spend hours with you talking and telling you many things. My life is a real novel and if I ever develop a talent for writing stories, I will write my memoirs.

to you - the baby

XXVIII - 01/02/1872 - New York¹⁵

Maman chérie

Je ne sais comment t'écrire, ou quoi te dire, c'est la vérité. Je me suis placé dans une si triste position vis-à-vis de toi, que forcément tu dois me croire un sans-cœur, et pourtant, si tu pouvais me voir en ce moment tu serais bien surprise et tu changerais l'opinion. J'ai voulu partir malgré tout, au reçu de ta carte de visite, et il a fallu l'influence de bien des personnes amies pour m'en empêcher, pour cause de questions artistiques. C'est au moment où j'allais prendre mon billet que l'on m'a convaincu que mon retour en ce moment ferait le plus mauvais effet à cause des quatre concerts que je vais donner (de musique de chambre) pour donner le dernier coup aux Allemands mes ennemis disent partout que je dois être inférieur dans ce genre que dans l'autre. Je répète aussi avec les sociétés philharmoniques d'ici et de Brooklyn pour ce mois et le prochain. Les concertos de Bruch, Saint-Saëns et Spohr. Enfin on me fait rester car on m'aime aussi beaucoup trop ici et l'on se soucie beaucoup de mon avenir. Mais si je n'avais écouté que moi et les battements de mon cœur, je n'attendais pas le mois de mai pour partir car le deuil qui est dans mes habits et aussi bien dans mon cœur. Je ne me séparerais jamais de la fleur que tu m'as envoyée, et je te remercie 1 million de fois pour la touchante idée que tu as eue. Je l'ai mise dans ton médaillon avec vos deux chers portraits et tes cheveux. Tout cela mourra avec moi, et ne se séparera jamais de ma personne. La Carlotta m'a écrit une ravissante lettre et je suis sûr que délivrée de l'influence des Ritter ce serait une bien charmante femme et de beaucoup de cœur.

Je t'enverrai des journaux bientôt, je n'écris pas chez moi et il faut que cette lettre reparte de suite.

Ton enfant t'embrasse de toute son âme.

-

 $^{^{15}}$ A note at the top of the page says received and answered on 1 February - this note does not appear to be in Sarasate's handwriting.

Dear Mum

I do not know how to write to you, or what to tell you, it is the truth. I have put myself in such a sad position towards you that you must think me heartless, and yet if you could see me now you would be surprised and change your mind. I wanted to leave in spite of everything, on receiving your visiting card, and it took the influence of many friends to prevent me from doing so, because of artistic questions. Just as I was about to take my ticket, I was convinced that my return at the moment would have the worst effect because of the four concerts I am going to give (of chamber music) to give the last blow to the Germans - my enemies say everywhere that I must be inferior in this genre than in the other. I am also rehearsing with the philharmonic society here and in Brooklyn for this month and the next. Concertos by Bruch, Saint-Saëns and Spohr. Finally I am being made to stay because I am also much loved here and there is much concern for my future. But if I had only listened to myself and the beating of my heart, I would not have waited for May to leave, because the mourning that is in my clothes and in my heart as well. I will never part with the flower you sent me, and I thank you a million times over for the touching idea you had. I put it in your locket with your two dear portraits and your hair. All this will die with me and will never be separated from my person. The Carlotta wrote me a lovely letter and I am sure that freed from the influence of the Ritters she would be a very charming and kind-hearted woman.

I will send you some newspapers soon, I do not write at home and this letter has to go back immediately.

Your child sends you a heartfelt kiss.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alard, Delphin, École du Violon: Méthode Complète et Progressive à l'usage du Conservatoire de Paris, Paris: Schonenberger-Mayence B. Schott, 1844.
- Allen, Paul, Artist Management for the Music Business, New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Alonso, Celsa, 'La Música Española y el Espíritu del 98', *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 5, (1998), 79–107.
- Altadil, Julio, Memorias de Sarasate, Pamplona: Imprenta de Armendía y Onsalo, 1909.
- Arbós, Enrique Fernandez, José Luis Temes and Orquesta Sinfónica de Madrid, *Memorias de Arbós: Treinta Años como Violinista*, Madrid: Alpuerto, 2005.
- Auer, Leopold, Violin Playing as I Teach it, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1921.
- _____, Violin Masterworks and their Interpretation, New York: Carl Fischer, 1925.
- _____, Graded Course of Violin Playing (8 vols.), New York: Carl Fischer, 1926.
- Bachmann, Albert, An Encyclopedia of the Violin, New York: Da Capo Press, 1966.
- _____, Les Grands Violonistes du Passé, Paris: Libraire Fischbacher, 1913.
- Baillot, Pierre, Kreutzer, Rodolphe and Rode, Pierre, *Méthode de Violon*, Paris: Au Magasin de Musique du Conservatoire Royal, 1793.
- Baillot, Pierre, L'Art du violon: Nouvelle Méthode, Paris, 1834.
- , *The Art of Violin Playing*, trans. Louise Goldberg. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1991.
- Bartók, Béla, '1921', in Essays, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1992.
- Beard, David and Kenneth Gloag, *Musicology: The Key Concepts*, London and New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Beeching, Angela Myles, *Beyond Talent: Creating a Successful Career in Music*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Bellman, Jonathan ed., *The Exotic in Western Music*, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Bennett Jr., William Ralph, Andrew C. H. Morrison ed., *The Science of Musical Sound: Volume 1*, New York: Springer, ASA Press, 2018.
- Bernstein, Susan, Virtuosity of the Nineteenth Century: Performing Music and Language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.
- Blasis, C., trans. R. Barton, *The Art of Dancing. Comprising its Theory and Practice and a History of its Rise and Progress, from the Earliest Times, London: Edward Bull, 1831.*
- Blake, Andrew, 'To the Millennium: Music as twentieth-century Commodity', in *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Anthony Pople, 478–505, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Borgdorff, Henk, 'The Production of Knowledge in Artistic Research', in *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts*, ed. Michael Biggs and Henrik Karlsson, 44–63, Abingdon: Routledge, 2010/R2012.
- Brown, Clive, *Classical and Romantic Performing Practice 1750–1900*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- ______, 'Bowing Styles, Vibrato and Portamento in Nineteenth-Century Violin Playing', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 113/1 (1988), 97–128.
- ______, 'Physical Parameters of 19th and Early Twentieth-Century Violin Playing', University of Leeds/University of Huddersfield, Collection of Historical Annotated String Editions (CHASE), 2012.
- ______, 'Polarities of Virtuosity in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', in *Niccolò Paganini*.

 Diabolus in Musica, ed. Andrea Barizza and Fulvia Morabito, 23–51, Turnhout: Brepols, 2010.
- Campbell, Margaret, *The Great Violinists*, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1981.
- Cantos Casenave, Marieta, Daniel Muñoz Sempere, eds., *Otherness and National Identity in 19th-Century Literature*, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2022.
- Casares, Emilio, Celsa Alonso González, *La Música Española en el Sigo XIX*, Universidad de Oviedo, 1995.
- Cattani, Gino, Roger Gino L. M. Dunbar, Zur Shapira, 'Value Creation and Knowledge Loss: The Case of Cremonese Stringed Instruments', *Organization Science* 24/3 (2013), 813–30.
- Chase, Gilbert, *The Music of Spain*, New York: Dover Publications, 1959.
- Chouquet, Gustave. 'Sarasate, Martín Melitón', in *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, vol III, London: Macmillan and Co. and New York, 1894.
- Christoforidis, Michael, Elizabeth Kertesz, *Carmen and the Staging of Spain: Recasting Bizet's Opera in the Belle Epoque*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Claxton, Guy, 'The Anatomy of Intuition', in *The Intuitive Practitioner: On The Value of Not Always Knowing What One is Doing,* ed., Terry Atkinson and Guy Claxton, 32–52, Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000.
- Colmeiro, José F., 'Exorcising Exoticism: 'Carmen' and the Construction of Oriental Spain', Comparative Literature, 54/2 (Spring 2002), 127–144.
- Cooper, Kirsty. *The Edwardians and the Making of a Modern Spanish Obsession*. Liverpool University Press, 2020.
- Courvoisier, Karl, *The Technique of Violin Playing: The Joachim Method*, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 2006.

- Creighton, James, *Discopaedia of the Violin, 1889–1971*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.
- Cvejić, Žarko, *The Virtuoso as Subject: The Reception of Instrumental Virtuosity c.1815–c.1850*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2016.
- Dahlhaus, Carl, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.
- Dalton, David, *Playing the Viola: Conversations with William Primrose*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- David, Ferdinand, *Violinschule*, Leipzig, 1864, English trans. as *Violin School*, ed. B. Listemann, Boston, Oliver Ditson & Co., c. 1880.
- Day, Timothy, A Century of Recorded Music. Listening to Musical History, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Doğantan-Dack, Mine, 'The Art of Research in Live Music Performance', *Music Performance Research*, 5, (January 2012), 34–48.
- ed., *Artistic Practice as Research in Music. Theory, Criticism, Practice,* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015.
- _____ ed., Rethinking the Musical Instrument, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2022.
- Doran, Robert ed., Liszt and Virtuosity, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2020.
- Doring, Ernest N. and Harvey S. Whistler, *Jean Baptiste Vuillaume of Paris*, Chicago: William Lewis & Son, 1961.
- _____, How Many Strads? Our Heritage from the Master, a Tribute to the Memory of a Great Genius, Chicago: William Lewis & Son, 1945.
- Échard, Jean-Philippe, Pierrick Gaudry, 'An harmonious encoding of instrument values by a 19th-century Parisian violin dealer', *Cryptologia*, 41 (5), 2017, 448–458.
- ______, 'Reconstructing the History of the 1724 'Sarasate' Stradivarius Violin, with Some Thoughts on the Use of Sources in Violin Provenance Research', *Galpin Society Journal*, 73, (March 2020), 111–132.
- ______, Loïc Bertrand, Alex von Bohlen, Anne-Solenn Le Hô, Céline Paris, Ludovic Bellot-Gurlet, Balthazar Soulier, Agnès Lattuati-Derieux, Sylvie Thao, Laurianne Robinet, Bertrand Lavédrine, Stéphane Vaiedelich, 'The Nature of the Extraordinary Finish of Stradivari's Instruments', *Angewandte Chemie International Edition*, 49/1 (2010), 197-201.
- Eckhardt, Maria P, Franz Liszt's Music Manuscripts in the National Széchényi Library, Budapest, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986.
- Espada, Rocío, *La Danza Española: su Aprendizaje y Conservación*, España: Librerías Deportivas Esteban Sanz, 1997.

- Espejo Aubero, Alicia, Amparo Espejo Aubero, *Glosario de Términos de la Danza Española*, Madrid: Librerías Deportivas Esteban Sanz, 2001.
- Etzion, Judith, 'The Spanish Fandango: From Eighteenth-Century 'Lasciviousness' to Nineteenth-Century Exoticism', *Anuario Musical*, 48 (1993), 229–250.
- Faber, Toby, Stradivarius: Five Violins, One Cello and a Genius, London: Macmillan, 2004.
- Fabian, Dorottya, 'The Recordings of Joachim, Ysaÿe and Sarasate in light of their Reception by Nineteenth-Century British Critics (Joseph Joachim, Pablo Sarasate, Eugene Ysaÿe)', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 37 (2006), 189–211.
- Fauser, Annegret, Mark Everist, *Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer. Paris, 1830–1914*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Ferrer, Maria Nagore, *Sarasate: El Violín de Europa*, Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2013.
- ______, 'Francia como modelo, España como inspiración. Las Desiguales Relaciones Musicales España-Francia en el Siglo XIX', *Revista de Musicología*, 34/1 (2011), 135–166.
- Fernández Arbós, Enrique, Memorias, Madrid: Ediciones Cid, 1963.
- Fétis, François-Joseph, *Notice of Anthony Stradivari the Celebrated Violin-Maker: Known by the Name of Stradivarius*, trans. John Bishop, London: Cocks, 1864.
- Fifield, Christopher, Max Bruch: His Life and Works, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005.
- Fischer, Simon, Practice, London: Peters Edition, 2004.
- Flesch, Carl, *The Art of Violin Playing: Book One,* trans. Frederick H. Martens, 2nd rev. ed., New York: Carl Fischer, 1939.
- ______, *Memoirs*, First published edition, ed. and trans. Hans Keller, Essex: Bois de Boulogne, 1973.
- Ford, Richard, *A Handbook for Travellers in Spain. Part I*, London: John Murray, Albermarle Street, 1855.
- Galamian, Ivan, *Principles of Violin: Playing & Teaching*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice Hall, 1985 [1962].
- García, Manuel, Mémoires sur la voix humaine, Paris: E. Surverger, 1849.
- Gambone, Robert L., *Life on the Press: The Popular* Art *and Illustrations of George Benjamin Luks*, Mississippi: University Press, 2009.
- Geminiani, Francesco, *The Art of Playing the Violin 1751*, ed. David D. Boyden, facsimile ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952.
- Goehr, Lydia, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.
- Gold, Joseph, 'About This Recording', liner notes for Tianwa Yang and Markus Hadulla, Sarasate, P. de: Violin and Piano Music, Vol. 4 - Transcriptions, Naxos, 2014.

- Goldberg, K. Meira, Ninotchka Devorah Bennahum and Michelle Heffner Hayes, eds., *Flamenco on the Global Stage: Historical, Critical and Theoretical Perspectives*, Jefferson North Carolina: McFarland, 2015.
- Gooley, Dana, *The Virtuoso Liszt. New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- ______, 'The Battle against Instrumental Virtuosity in the Early Nineteenth Century', in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs, Dana Gooley, 75–112, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- George Hart, 'Italian and Other Strings', in *The violin: Its Famous Maker and Their Imitators*, 21–27, London: Dulau and Co., 1885.
- Grisley, Roberto ed., Niccolò Paganini: Epistolario Volume I, 1810–1831, Milan: Skira, 2006.
- Hamilton, Kenneth, *After the Golden Age: Romantic Pianism and Modern Performance*, Oxford: New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Harding, James, Saint-Saëns and his Circle, London: Chapman and Hall, 1965.
- Harvey, Gabrielle Annora, 'A piece of the Exotic: Virtuosic Violin Compositions and National Identity', DMA Dissertation, University of Iowa, May 2012.
- Hess, Carol A., Enrique Granados: A Bio-Bibliography. New York: Greenwood Press, 1991.
- ______, Manuel de Falla and Modernism in Spain, 1898–1936, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Hill, Ureli Corelli, Spohr's School for the Violin, New York: Firth & Hall, 1839.
- Hill & Sons, W.E., 'The Tuscan', A Short Account of a Violin by Stradivari, W. E. Hill & Sons: London, 1891.
- Hill, Francis A. Davis, Antonio Stradivari His Life and Work: 1644–1737, New York: 2014.
- Hoffman, Léon-François, Romantique Espagne: L'image De L'Espagne En France Entre 1800 et 1850, Princeton-Paris: Princeton University Press-Presses Universitaires de France, 1961.
- Hooker, Lynn M, *Redefining Hungarian Music from Liszt to Bartók*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Hyun Joo, Kim, *Liszt's Representation of Instrumental Sounds on the Piano: Colours in Black and White*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2019.
- Iberni, Luis G., Pablo Sarasate, Madrid: Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 1994.
- Isselin, Yvette, *Manuscrits musicaux du Conservatoire de Musique de Paris, 1819–1925*, AJ/37/197–204 & 259, Paris: Archives Nationales, 2004.
- Jeschke, Claudia, Gabi Vettermann, and Nicole Haitzinger, Les Choses Espagnoles: Research into the Hispanomania of 19th-Century Dance, Munich: Epodium, 2009.

- Joachim, Joseph, *Letters from and to Joseph Joachim*, trans. Nora Bickley, London: Macmillan, 1914.
- , Andreas Moser, Violinschule, trans. Alfred Moffat, Berlin: Simrock, 1905.
- Johnson, Peter, Nicholas Cook, and Hans Zender, 'Performance and the Listening experience: Bach's "Erbarme Dich" in *Theory into Practice: Composition, Performance and the Listening Experience*, 1st ed., 55–101, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2021.
- Johnson, Chris, Roy Courtnall and Yehudi Menuhin, *The Art of Violin Making*, London: R. Hale, 1999.
- Kang, Long Long, 'Pablo de Sarasate and His Magic Flute Fantasy: A Performer's Analysis and Performance Guide', PhD diss., University of Memphis, 2015.
- Kawabata, Maiko, Paganini. The 'Demonic' Virtuoso, Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013.
- ______, 'Virtuosity, the Violin, the Devil. What Really Made Paganini "Demonic"?' *Current Musicology* 83, 2007, 85–108.
- ______, 'The Aura of Stradivari's Violins', Ad Parnassum: A Journal of Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century Instrumental Music, 12/23 (2014), 61–74.
- Karlowicz, Mieczyslaw, Souvenirs Inédits de Frédéric Chopin, Paris-Leipzig: H. Welter, 1904.
- Katz, Mark, Capturing Sound: How Technology Has Changed Music, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Kelly, Alan, *His Master's Voice/ La Voix de Son Maitre. The French catalogue*, London: Greenwood Press, 1990.
- Kendall-Davies, Barbara, *The Life and Work of Pauline Viardot García*, Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2012.
- Kim, Hyun Joo, *Liszt's Representation of Instrumental Sounds on the Piano*, New York: University of Rochester Press, 2019.
- Kodály, Zoltán, Folk Music of Hungary, California: Barrie and Rockliff, 1960.
- Lacombe, Hervé, *The Keys to French Opera in the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Edward Schneider, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- Lalo, Édouard, Correspondance, ed. Joel-Marie Fauquet, Paris: Aux amateurs de livres, 1989.
- Langham Smith, Richard and Clair Rowden, *Carmen abroad Bizet's Opera on the Global Stage*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- _____, Bizet's Carmen Uncovered, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021.
- Lawson, Colin and Robin Stowell ed., *The Cambridge History of Musical Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Lebet, Claude, Le Quatuor Stradivarius 'Nicolò Paganini': La Correspondance De Jean-Baptiste Vuillaume á Achille Paganini, Spa: Les amis de la musique, 1994.

- Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, R. L. Barclay, Dale C. Carr, and Jeremy Montagu, 'Preserving Historical Instruments', *Early Music*, 22/3 (1994), 541–43.
- Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel, 'Recordings and Histories of Performance Style', in *The Cambridge Companion to Recorded Music*, eds. Nicholas Cook, Eric Clarke, Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, John Rink, 246–266, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Leistra-Jones, Karen, 'Staging Authenticity: Joachim, Brahms, and the Politics of *Werktreue* Performance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 66/2 (Summer 2013), 397–436.
- Llano, Samuel, *Whose Spain: Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 1908–1929*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Le Guin, Elisabeth, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Legány, Dezső, *Ferenc Liszt and His Country, 1869–1873*, trans. Gyula Gulyás, Budapest: Vinkeveen: Franz Liszt Kring, 1997.
- Lhevinne, Josef, *Basic Principles in Pianoforte Playing*, Philadelphia: Theodore Presser, 1924; reprint ed., New York: Dover, 1972.
- Liszt, Franz, *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Olga Von Meyendorff, 1871–1886*, trans. William R. Tyler, Washington: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Llano, Samuel, *Whose Spain? Negotiating Spanish Music in Paris, 1908–1929*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Locke, Ralph P., *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- , 'The Exotic in Nineteenth-Century French Opera, Part 1: Locales and Peoples', 19th Century Music, 45/2 (2021), 93–118.
- Lundborg, Göran, *The Hand and the Brain: From Lucy's Thumb to the Thought-Controlled Robotic Hand*, Berlin: Springer Science & Business Media, 2013.
- McClary, Susan, Georges Bizet: Carmen, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Macdonald, Hugh, *Bizet in Italy: Letters and Journals, 1857–1860,* Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021.
- , Bizet, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Mackenzie, Alexander, 'Pablo Sarasate: Some Personal Recollections', *The Musical Times* 49, no. 789 (November 1908), 693–695.
- Macnicol, Douglas, 'The French School of Violin Playing between Revolution and Reaction: A Comparison of the Treatises of 1803 and 1834 by Pierre Baillot', in *Nineteenth-Century Music Review* 18/3 (2021), 359–88.
- Manén, Juan, Mis experiencias, 3 vols., Barcelona: Editorial Juventud, 1944.

- Marber, Fran J., *Stradivarius. El Lugar donde Descansa el Alma*, Alicante: Editorial Club Universitario, 2017.
- Martens, Frederick H., *Violin Mastery, Talks with Master Violinists and Teachers*, New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1919.
- Matulka, Barbara, Joseph W. Barlow ed., *The Spanish Review* V. 1–4, Michigan: Washington Square College, 1934.
- Mengíbar, Andrés Moreno, Alberto Romero Ferrer, *Manuel García: de la Tonadilla Escénica a la Ópera Española (1775-1832)*, Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2006.
- Menuhin, Yehudi, Six Lessons with Yehudi Menuhin, London: Faber Music, 1971.
- Mérimée, Prosper, Viajes a España, Madrid: Aguilar, 1988.
- Millant, Roger, J. B. Vuillaume: Sa vie et son Oeuvre, London: Hill, 1972.
- Milsom, David, Theory and Practise in Late Nineteenth-Century Violin Performance: An Examination of Style in Performance, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003.
- _____, Romantic Violin Performing Practices: A Handbook, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2020.
- Montagné, Jean-Claude Beïret, *Trois Vies. Histoires de vies bien remplies*, Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 2023.
- Morrow, Mary Sue, 'Historiography of the Eighteenth-Century Symphony', in *The Symphonic Repertoire, Vol. 1, The Eighteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. Mary Sue Morrow and Bathia Churgin, 18–39, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Mozart, Leopold, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker, 2d ed., London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- _____, Versuch Einer Gründlichen Violinschule, Augsburg: Johann Jacbon Lotter,1756.
- Murphy, Kerry, 'Carmen: "Couleur locale" or the Real Thing?', in Music, Theatre, and Cultural Transfer: Paris, 1830–1914, ed. Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, 293–315, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Murray, Ken, 'Spanish Music and Its Representations in London (1878–1930): From the Exotic to the Modern', PhD thesis, University of Melbourne, 2013.
- Orringer, Nelson R., *Lorca in Tune with Falla: Literary and Musical Interludes*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014.
- Pantalony, David, Altered Sensations: Rudolph Koenig's Acoustical Workshop in Nineteenth Century Paris, Dordrecht: Springer, 2009.
- Parakilas, James, 'How Spain got a Soul', in *The Exotic in Western Music*, ed. Jonathan Bellman, 137–193, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998.
- Parker, Douglas Charles, Bizet, London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1951.
- Parr, Sean M., Vocal Virtuosity: The Origins of the Coloratura Soprano in Nineteenth-Century Opera, Oxford University Press, 2021.

- Pérez-Espejo, Miguel, 'Pablo Sarasate: The Violinist', PhD diss., Boston University, 2009.
- Pérez-Ollo, Fernando, 'Sarasate. Familia, casa natal y Pamplona', *Príncipe de Viana*, LXX/48, (2009), 553–575.
- Peruffo, Mimmo, 'Italian Violin Strings in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Typologies, Manufacturing Techniques and Principles of Stringing', *Recercare*, 9 (1997), 155–203.
- Pethó, Csilla, "Style Hongrois": Hungarian Elements in the Works of Haydn, Beethoven, Weber and Schubert', *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 41 (2000), 199–284.
- Philip, Robert, Early Recordings and Musical Style. Changing Tastes in Instrumental Performance 1900–1950, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- ______, Performing Music in the Age of Recording. New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Pierre, Constant, Le Conservatoire National de Musique et de Déclamation: Documents

 Historiques et Administratifs/Recueillis ou Reconstitués, Paris: Impr. Nationale, 1900.
- Piotrowska, Anna G, Gipsy Music in European Culture from the Late 18th to the Early 20th Centuries, trans. Guy R. Torr., Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013.
- Plantón, Custodia, *Pablo Sarasate (1844–1908)*, Pamplona, Spain: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2000.
- Polanyi, Michael, The Tacit Dimension, London: Routledge, 1967.
- Pollens, Stewart, Stradivari, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- ______, *The Manual of Musical Instrument Conservation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Pulver, Jeffrey, 'Violin Methods Old and New', *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 50 (1923), 101–27.
- Ríos Vargas, Manuel, *Antología del Baile Flamenco*, España: Signatura Ediciones de Andalucía, 2002.
- Ritchie, Stanley, Before the Chinrest: A Violinist's Guide to the Mysteries of Pre-chinrest Technique and Style, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012.
- Rodríguez, Pablo L., 'De la Manière des Zigeurner. On Pablo Sarasate's 1904 Recordings' in Henryk Wieniawski and the 19th Century Violin Schools, ed. Maciej Jablónski and Danuta Jasińska, Poznań: The H. Wieniawski Musical Society, 2006.
- Rolland, Paul, *The Teaching of Action in String Playing: Developmental and Remedial Techniques for Violin and Viola*, 2nd ed., Illinois: Illinois String Research Associates, 1974, 1986.
- Rowe, Mark, *Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst: Virtuoso Violinist*, London: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.

- Rowland, David, 'Performance Practice in the Nineteenth-Century Concerto', in Simon P. Keefe, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Concerto*, 227–246, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Sadie, Stanley ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, London: Macmillan, 1980.
- Saffle, Michael, The Music of Franz Liszt, New York: Routledge, 2018.
- Said, Edward, Orientalism, London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Saint-Saëns, Camille, Au courant de la vie, Paris: Dorbon-aîné, 1916.
- Samson, Jim ed., *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Sárosi, Bálant, Gipsy Music, trans. Fred Macnicol, Hungary: Corniva Press, 1978.
- Schenider, David E., Bartók, Hungary, and the Renewal of Tradition: Case Studies in the Intersection of Modernity and Nationality, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006.
- Schoenbaum, David, *The Violin: A Social History of the World's Most Versatile Instrument*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013.
- Schön, Donald A., *The Reflective Practitioner: How Practitioners Think in Action*, London, 1983; Aldershot: Ashgate 2/1991.
- Schueneman, Bruce R., 'The French Violin School: From Viotti to Bériot', Notes, 60/3 (2004), 757–70.
- Schwarz, Boris, French Instrumental Music Between the Revolutions (1789–1830), New York: Da Capo Press, 1987.
- ______, 'Beethoven and the French Violin School', *The Musical Quarterly*, 44/4, (1958), 431–447.
 ______, *Great Masters of the Violin: From Corelli and Vivaldi to Stern Zukerman and Perlman*,
 London: Hale, 1984.
- Scott, Derek B., Sounds of the Metropolis: The Nineteenth-Century Popular Music Revolution in London New York Paris and Vienna, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Shapreau, Carla, Jean-Philippe Échard, and Christine Laloue, 'Documenting the Violin Trade in Paris, 1930–1945', in *Collecting and Provenance. A Multidisciplinary Approach*, ed. Jane Milosch and Nick Pearce, 189–204, London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2019.
- Shaw, George Bernard, *Shaw's Music: The complete Musical Criticism in Three Volumes*, ed. Dan H. Laurence, New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1981.
- ______, London Music in 1888–1889 as heard by Corno Di Bassetto (Later known as Bernard Shaw), with some further Autobiographical Particulars, Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Limited, 1937.
- Silvela, Ždenko, A New History of Violin Playing: The Vibrato and Lambert Massart's Revolutionary Discovery, Irvine: Universal Publishers, 2001.

- Spohr, Louis, *Violinschule*, Vienna, Tobias Haslinger, 1832a, English trans. C. Rudolphus, as *Louis Spohr's Grand Violin School*, London: Wessel & Co., 1832.
 _____, *Autobiography*. London: Longman, Roberts & Green, 1865.
- Stefaniak, Alexander, Schumann's Virtuosity. Criticism, Composition, and Performance in
- Nineteenth Century Germany, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2016.
- Stowell, Robin, Beethoven: Violin Concerto, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- ______, Violin Technique and Performance Practice in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Violin*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- _____, 'Semblanzas de Compositores Españoles 29: Pablo de Sarasate (1844–1908)', *Revista de la Fundación Juan March* 401, (2011), 2–7.
- Tabar, Juan López, Los Famosos Traidores: Los Afrancesados Durante La Crisis Del Antiguo Régimen (1808–1833), Madrid: Biblioteca Nueva, 2001.
- Taruskin, Richard, *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Tiersot, Julien, Promenades Musicales à l'Exposition, Paris: Fischbacher, 1889.
- Tinterow, Gary, Geneviève Lacambre, *Manet Velázquez: The French Taste for Spanish Painting*, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.
- Thompson, Oscar, Bruce Bohle, *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, 10th ed., New York: Dodd Mead, 1975.
- Trías Barco, Natalia, *Pablo Sarasate. Memorias Familiares*, Pamplona: Fondo de Publicaciones del Gobierno de Navarra, 2013.
- Uhde, Katharina, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018.
- Ujfalussy, József, Bela Bartók, trans. Ruth Pataki, Budapest: Corvina Press, 1971.
- Urricelqui Pacho, Ignacio J., 'Pablo Sarasate, su relación con las bellas artes y su faceta coleccionista. Algunas notas sobre el Museo Sarasate de Pamplona', *Príncipe de Viana*, 248 (2009), 683–706.
- Vergillos, Juan, Nueva Historia del Flamenco, Córdoba, Spain: Editorial Almuzara, 2021.
- Walden, Joshua S., *Sounding Authentic: The Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Walker, Alan, Franz Liszt, 4 Vols., Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- ______, Living with Liszt from The Diary of Carl Lachmund. An American Pupil of Liszt. 1882–1884. Franz Liszt Studies Series #4, rev. ed., Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1998.
- Watt, Paul, Sarah Collins and Michael Allis, *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Intellectual Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2020.

- Weliver, Phyllis, Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860–1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home, New York: Routledge, 2016.

Vienna between 1830 and 1848, London: Ashgate, 2004.

- Woolley, Grange, 'Pablo de Sarasate, his historical Significance', *Music and Letters* 36/3 (July 1955), 237–252.
- Woolman Chase, Edna and Ilka Chase, Always in Vogue, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1954.
- Yu, Tao-Chang, 'Spanish Dances for Violin: Their Origin and Influences', PhD diss., University of Maryland, 2006.
- Yankelevich, Yuri, *The Russian Violin School. The Legacy of Yuri Yankelevich*, ed. and trans. Masha Lankovsky, New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Zárate, León, Sarasate, Barcelona, Spain: Ediciones Ave, 1945.

Web sources

- '78' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2003, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/978156159 2630.article.J403600 (accessed 20 August 2024).
- Beare, Charles, Carlo Chiesa, Duane Rosengard, 'Stradivari, Antonio' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.600 2278259 (accessed 17 August 2024).
- Bellman, Jonathan 'Csárdás', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06918 (accessed 22 August 2024).
- Bernard, Elisabeth, Charles Timbrell, 'Diémer, Louis (-Joseph) in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.07754 (accessed 20 August 2024).
- Borchard, Beatrix, 'Viardot [née García), (Michelle Ferdinande) Pauline', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* ed. Deane Root, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592 630.article.29283 (accessed 19 August 2024).
- Brandini, Inga, 'Alfred Staar on what constitutes the Viennese School', *The Strad*, 30 April 2019, https://www.thestrad.com/featured-stories/alfred-staar-on-what-constitutes-the-viennese-school/8852.article (accessed 20 August 2024).

- Brown, Clive. Robin Stowell. David Milsom, Duncan Druce. Ilias Devetzoglou, *CHASE*, 2018. http://mhm.hud.ac.uk/chase/
- 'El violín Vuillaume, que perteneció a Pablo Sarasate, restaurado esta mañana en Pamplona', *Europa Press Nacional*, 27 May 2008, https://www.europapress.es/nacional/noticia-violin-vuillaume-pertenecio-pablo-sarasate-restaurado-manana-pamplona-20080527140856.html (accessed 23 August 2024).
- Crespo O'Donoghue, Nicole, *Pablo de Sarasate's violins. A short documentary with live* performances by Nicole Crespo O'Donoghue, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v= MN4FjSrAqJo&t=2s (accessed 23 August 2024).
- Fitzlyon, April and James Radomski, 'García, Manuel (ii)', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/omo/9781561592630.013.90000380458 (accessed 15 August 2024).
- Forbes, Elizabeth. 'Patti Family' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.21091 (accessed 19 August 2024).
- Hadelich, Augustin, *Home Video: Bach Praeludium E Major*, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f5v2HWE-0dI, (accessed 23 August 2024).
- 'Hilary Hahn, J. B. Vuillaume, 1865', *Tarisio*, https://tarisio.com/digital_exhibition/hilary-hahn-j-b-vuillaume-1865/ (accessed 19 August 2024).
- 'Inflation calculator', *The Bank of England*, https://www.bankofengland.co.uk/monetary-policy/inflation/inflation-calculator (accessed 25 August 2024).
- Jander, Owen, 'Virtuoso', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29502 (accessed 17 August 2024).
- Jardón Rico, Roberto, George Stoppani, 'Analysing the 'Boissier, Sarasate': Stradivari à la mode', *The Strad*, 15 December 2023, https://www.thestrad.com/for-subscribers/analysing-the-boissier-sarasate-stradivari-a-la-mode/17356.article (accessed 19 August 2024).
- Peter Jost, Filched Melodies- Sarasate's Zigeunerweisen (Gipsy Airs) Under suspicion of Plagiarism (G. Henle Verlag Online, 2013), https://www.henle.de/blog/en/2013/08/19/filched-melodies-%E2%80%93-sarasate%E2%80%99s%E2%80%98zigeunerweisen %E2%80%99-gypsy-aires-under-suspicion-of-plagiarism/ (accessed 28 August 2024)
- 'Julian/Gregorian Calendars', *Manuscripts and Special Collections*, University of Nottingham, https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections/research guidance/datingdocuments/juliangregorian.aspx (accessed 18 August 2024).
- Leech-Wilkinson, Daniel. *The Changing Sound of Music: Approaches to Studying Recorded Musical Performances*, London: CHARM, 2009, https://charm.rhul.ac.uk/studies/chapters/chap1.html (accessed 17 August 2024).

- Mackerness, E. D., 'Cusins, Sir William (George)' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06980 (accessed 17 August 2024).
- Menuhin, Yehudi, *Yehudi Menuhin plays J.S Bach. Partita for solo violin no.3 in E Major:*Prelude, 1985, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RYa4nuBwmWo (accessed 23 August 2024.
- Mumma, Gordon Howard Rye, Barry Kernfeld, Chris Sheridan, 'Recording', in *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, 2003, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630. article.J371600 (accessed 22 August 2024).
- Oistrakh, David. 'David & Igor Oistrakh plays Sarasate Navarra', 5 April, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pmrzVVu4FUM, (accessed 10 August 2024).
- 'Passione Solo Violin Strings', *Pirastro*, https://www.pirastro.com/public_pirastro/pages/en/ Passione-Solo-00001/ (accessed 22 August 2024).
- Peire, Patrick and Cécile Tardif. 'Marsick, Martin Pierre (Joseph)', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17871 (accessed 10 August 2024).
- 'Preocupación por el violin de Sarasate', *Docenotas.com*, 1 October 2008, https://www.docenotas.com/2379/preocupacion-por-el-violin-de-pablo-sarasate/ (accessed 20 August 2024).
- 'Price History: Stradivari, Antonio', *Tarisio*. https://tarisio.com/cozio-archive/price-history/?Maker ID=722 (accessed 19 August 2024).
- Queen Victoria's Journals, http://www.queenvictoriasjournals.org/home.do (accessed 20 August 2024).
- Perlman, Itzhak, *MasterClass video Lesson*, https://www.masterclass.com/classes/itzhak-perlman-teaches-violin (accessed 17 August 2024).
- Sackman, Nicholas, 'Pablo Sarasate and his Stradivari violins', 2019, www.themessiahviolin.uk (accessed 10 August 2024).
- ______, Bastien Terraz, 'The Letters sent by Pablo Sarasate to Madame Amélie de Lassabathie, 1870–1872', University of Rochester: Sibley Music Library, 2020, https://themessiahviolin.uk/SarasateLetters.pdf (accessed 20 August 2024).
- Salter, Lionel 'Manén, Joan [Juan]', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online,* https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29502 (accessed 22 August 2024).
- Sally Sanford, 'Zapateado', in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.L2215144 (accessed 24 August 2024).
- Sarasate, Kubelik, Heifetz, 'Sarasate, Kubelik, & Heifetz play Zigeunerweisen', 23 April, 2018. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bSxY8NGSgTo (accessed 12 August 2024).

- Schwarz, Boris and Cormac Newark, 'Alard, (Jean-) Delphin', in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00404 (accessed 20 August 2024). , Sarah Hibberd. 'Vieuxtemps Family' in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.29341 (accessed 4 August 2024). Stein, Louise K. and Roger Alier. 'Zarzuela', in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2001, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40742 (accessed 20 August 2024). Sternfeld, F. W., 'Faust' in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2002, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O003911 (accessed 22 August 2024). Suttoni, Charles 'Piano fantasies and transcriptions', in Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, 2002, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O005677 (accessed 17 August 2024). 'The Price History Archives', *Tarisio*, https://tarisio.com/cozioarchive/pricehistory/?Maker ID=809 (accessed 19 August 2024). **Archival Sources** AMP, Fondo Pablo Sarasate, (assortment of documents, reviews, scores and illustrations). GB-Gu, Letter Sarasate to Whistler, Berlin, 16 February [1888], MS Whistler S18. , Letter Otto Goldschmidt, London, [1884/1895], MS Whistler G263 , Letter Whistler to Mrs Maxse, London, [1886], MS Whistler M519. , Letter Beatrix Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, Paris, [15/22 April 1894], MS Whistler W619. JCB, Otto Goldschmidt, *Memoirs*, n.d. [unpublished manuscript]. _____, Assortment of Documents, Family Private Collection [unpublished] , Letters Sarasate to Mme. Lassabathie, 1869–1872 [unpublished] RijkM, Portrait of violinist Jascha Heifetz, 1900–1938. RP-F-F01494. US-NYphil, Concert program, 3 February 1872, Program ID 2591. _____, Billy Rose Theatre Division, Jascha Heifetz playing violin in a scene from the motion picture Carnegie Hall, 1947, Image ID: 56944187. US-NYp, Autograph manuscript, Pablo Sarasate. Zigeunerweisen op. 20 for violin and piano. US-NYpm, Sarasate, Jota de Pablo (draft): autograph manuscript, 1906 May 25, Cary 581. US-NYpm, Autograph letter signed, Auguste Durand to Pablo Sarasate, Paris, 25 March 1879,
- US-R, Sarasate Correspondence, 29 Letters Sarasate to Mme. Lassabathie, Cf. Pres. Mf 50.

MLT D949.S243.

Periodicals La France Musicale La Iberia Le Ménestrel Leeds Mercury London Evening Standard Musical Herald Music & Letters Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris The Irish Times The Morning Chronicle The Musical Times The Musical Quarterly The New York Times The Observer The Strand Magazine The Washington Post **Discography** Elman, Mischa, Joseph Seiger, Sarasate/Chopin, 'Nocturne op. 9 no. 2 in E Flat Major', A Portrait of Mischa Elman, Disc 3, recorded in 1959, Vanguard Classics, 8888, 2009. _____, Joseph Seiger, 'Zigeunerweisen, op. 20', A Portrait of Mischa Elman, Disc 3. recorded in 1959, Vanguard Classics, 8888, 2009. Fischer, Julia, Milana Chernyavska, 'Zigeunerweisen, op. 20', Julia Fischer: Sarasate, Decca, 4785950, 2014. , Julia Fischer: Sarasate. Milana Chernyavska, Decca, 4785950, 2014. Hahn, Hilary, J.S. Bach, 'Partita no. 3 in E Major, BWV 1006: I. Preludio', Hilary Hahn plays Bach, Sony Classical, SK 62793, 1997. Heifetz, Jascha, Jascha Heifetz plays Tchaikovsky, Conus, Sarasate & Korngold/Historical, Great Violinists, Philharmonia Orchestra, RCA Victor Symphony Orchestra, Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra, Walter Susskind, Izler Solomon, William Steinberg, Alfred Wallenstein, Naxos, 8111359, 2010.

____, André Benoist, Chopin/Sarasate, 'Nocturne, Op. 9, No. 2, in E-Flat', Jascha Heifetz. The

Heifetz Collection - Vol. 1/ (1917–1924) The Complete Acoustic Recordings [1990] Remastered], recorded 4 October 1918, RCA Red Seal, ARM4-0942, 1975, 2011.

, J.S Bach, 'Partita for solo violin no.3 in E Major, BWV 1006: I. Preludio', The Heifetz Collection, Volume 17. Bach: Sonatas & Partitas, recorded in 1952, RCA-Gold Seal/Sony Music Entertainment, 09026617482, 1996. , Samuel Chotzinoff, 'Zigeunerweisen, op. 20 (1990 Remastered)', Jascha Heifetz- The Heifetz Collection - Vol.1/1917-1924 (The Complete Acoustic Recordings), recorded in 1919, RCA, G010002643905S, 2011. Menuhin, Yehudi, Abraham Makarov, 'Zigeunerweisen, op. 20', Yehudi Menuhin The Menuhin Century - Historic Recordings, recorded in 1932, Warner Classics, 2564677705, 2016. _____, The Menuhin Century. Sarasate. Granados. Falla. Kreisler Showpieces, Marcel Gazelle, Hendrik Endt, Artur Balsam, Ferguson Webster. Warner Classics, 2564634267, 2016. Quiroga, Manuel, The Great Violinists. Volume V, Symposium 1131, 1996. Rabin, Michael, Heritage Michael Rabin - The Early Years, Donald Voorhees, Columbia Symphony Orchestra, Sony Classical Masterworks, 60894, 1999. Ricci, Ruggiero, Ruggiero Ricci Plays Sarasate, Pierino Gamba, London Symphony Orchestra, 6717, 1959-1961, reissued 2016. , James Wilhelmsen, Sarasate/Chopin, 'Nocturne No. 2 in E flat major, op. 9, no. 2 (arr. P. Sarasate)', Chopin, F.: Nocturnes (Arr. for Violin and Piano). The Ricci Collection, RR028, 1990, 2001. Sarasate, Pablo, Joseph Joachim: The Complete Recordings (1903). Pablo de Sarasate: The Complete Recordings (1904). Eugene Ysaÿe: A Selection of His Recordings (1912), Symposium SYMPCD1328, 2011. Shaham, Gil, Sarasate Virtuoso Violin Works, Akira Eguchi. Adele Anthony. Canary Classics CC07, 2009. Stern, Isaac, Arthur Harris, Frank Brieff, Milton Katims and Columbia Symphony Orchestra, 'Chopin/Sarasate. Nocturne in E-Flat Major, op. 9, no. 2', "Humoresque"- Favourite Violin Encores, recorded in 1963, CBS Masterworks/Sony Music Distribution, #45816, 1990. Perlman, Itzhak, A La Carte, Lawrence Foster, The Abbey Road Ensemble, EMI Classics 724355547521, 1995. ____, Perlman Edition. Itzhak Perlman plays Paganini & Sarasate. Lawrence Foster, Royal Philharmonic Orchestra, Warner Classics, 5625942, 1972. Yang, Tianwa, Sarasate: Complete Works for Violin & Piano. Tianwa Yang, Hadulla, Naxos

8504054, 2018.

Scores

Alard, Delphin, Sinfonia Concertante for two violins, op. 33 no. 2, Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne,
[1857].
Bach, J. S., Partita No. 3 E Major BWV 1006, Neue Bach-Ausgabe, ed. Günter Haubwald.
Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958.
, Sarasate/Pablo Sarasate, Aria. Extrait de la Suite d'Orchestre en Ré, Leipzig-Berlin:
Zimmermann, 1904.
Bazzini, Antonio, ed. August Wilhelmj, Scherzo Fantastique, op. 25, Mainz: Schott, c. 1903.
Bernard, Emile, Suite op. 34, Paris: Félix Mackar, 1887.
, Violin Concerto op. 29, Berlin: Ries & Erler, 1885.
Cansino, Juan, La Joya de Andalucía. Miscelánea de Aires Característicos para piano, Madrid:
Antonio Romero, 1870.
Chopin, Frédéric, Nocturne op. 27 no. 2. in Friedrich Chopin's Werke. Band IV (24-31), Leipzig
Breitkopf und Härtel, n.d. [1878].
/Pablo Sarasate, <i>Nocturne</i> op. 9 no. 2, Paris: Durand & Fils, n.d.
Pablo Sarasate. Nocturne op. 27 no. 2. Paris: Durand, Schoenewerk et Cie., n.d. [c. 1876].
Kreutzer, Rodolphe, 42 Studies for violin, ed. Ivan Galamian, New York: International Music
Company, 1963.
Mackenzie, Alexander, Violin Concerto op. 32, London: Novello, Ewer, & Co, 1885.
, Pibroch Suite for Violin and Orchestra op. 42, London: Novello, Ewer, & Co, 1890.
Raff, Joachim, Suite for Violin and Orchestra op. 180, Leipzig: C.F.W. Siegel's
Musikalienhandlung (R. Linnemann), c. 1873.
Rode, Pierre, Twenty-Four Caprices for the Violin, ed. Harold Berkley, New York: G. Schirmer,
1943.
Sarasate, Pablo, Edición Crítica: Sobrino, Ramón, Ara Malikian. Pablo Sarasate. Obras
Completas, Madrid: Música Hispana. Publicaciones del Instituto Complutense de Ciencia
Musicales, 2009.
Sarasate, Pablo, Ballade for violin and piano accompaniment, op. 31, Paris: Durand, Schoenewer
et Cie, n.d. [c. 1907].
, Barcarolle vénitienne for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 46, Berlin:
Simrock, 1902.
, Bolero for violin and piano accompaniment op. 30, Berlin: N. Simrock, 1885.
, Airs écossais for violin and piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 34, Berlin: Simrock,
1892.
, Airs Espagnols for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 18, Paris: Durand,
Schoenewerk & Cie., [1874].

	, Caprice Basque op. 24, Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, [1880].
	, Caprice sur Roméo et Juliette de Gounod, op. 5. Paris: Choudens, n.d. [1868].
	, Caprice sur Mireille de Gounod, for violin and piano op. 6, Paris: Choudens, c. 1867.
	, Chanson Russes d'après Kaschine et Gurileff, trans. and ed. violin with piano or orchestra
	accompaniment op. 49. Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1904.
	, Confidence. Romance sans paroles, for violin and piano accompaniment op. 7, Paris:
	Marcel Colombier, c. 1867.
	, Danse Espagnole Adiós Montañas mías! Célebre Zortzico de Joaquín Larregla for violin
	with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 37, Mainz: Schott, 1895.
	, Fantaisie-Caprice for violin and piano, San Francisco: Joseph Gold, CA. T. Parker and
	Associates, 1982.
	, Fantaisie de salon sur La Forza del Destino de Verdi for violin with piano
	accompaniment, Paris: Léon Escudier, c. 1864.
	, Fantaisie sur La Dame Blanche de Boïeldieu for violin and Orchestra op. 3, Madrid:
	Instituto Complutense de Ciencias Musicales, 2009.
	, Fantaisie de concert sur Carmen de Bizet for violin and piano or orchestra accompaniment
	op. 25, Paris: Choudens, c. 1882.
	, Fantaisie sur Don Juan for piano and violin concertante (1862), Paris: Alphonse Leduc,
	c. 1871.
	, Fantaisie sur La flute enchantée de Mozart for violin with piano or orchestra
	accompaniment op. 54, Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1908.
	, Fantaisie sur Don Juan de Mozart for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op.
	51, Paris: G. Astruc & Cie., 1905.
	, Grand duo concertant sur La Juive for piano and violin, Paris: Henri Lemoine, c. 1864.
	, Louis DiemerHommage à Rossini. Souvenirs. Barbier-Moïse-Othello. Grand Duo de
	Concert Pour piano et Violon op. 2, Paris: Heugel et Cie, 1866.
	, Introduction et Caprice-Jota for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 41,
	Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1899.
-	, Introduction et Fandango varié. Danse Espagnole for violin with piano accompaniment
	op. 40, Berlin: Simrock. 1898.
-	, Introduction et Tarantelle for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 43,
	Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1899.
	, Jota Aragonesa for violin with piano accompaniment op. 27, Berlin: Simrock, c. 1884.
	, Jota de Pamplona for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 50, Leipzig:
	J.H. Zimmermann, 1904.

 , Jota de Pablo for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 52, Leipzig: J.H.
Zimmermann, 1908.
 , Jota de San Fermín for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 36, Berlin:
N. Simrock, 1894.
 , La Chasse. Morceau caractéristique for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment,
Leipzig: J.H. Zimmermann, 1901.
 , Le Chant du Rossignol for violin and piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 29, Berlin:
Simrock, 1885.
 , Le Freischütz. Fantaisie for violin and piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 14, Paris:
Choudens, ca. 1874.
 , Le rêve for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 53, Leipzig: J.H.
Zimmermann, 1909.
 , Les Adieux. Mélodie for violin and piano accompaniment op. 9. Paris, E. et A. Girod,
c. 1867.
 , L'Esprit follet for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 48, Leipzig:
J.H. Zimmermann, 1904.
 , Los Pájaros de Chile. Capricho for violin with piano accompaniment, Madrid: Instituto
Complutense Ciencias Musicales, 2009.
 , Miramar. Zortzico for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 42, Leipzig:
J.H. Zimmermann, 1899.
 , Mélodie roumaine transcribed for violin with piano accompaniment op. 47, Berlin:
Simrock, 1901.
 , Mosaïque sur Zampa de Hérold for violin and piano accompaniment op. 15, Paris: E.
Gérard, ca. 1868.
 , <i>Moscovienne</i> for violin and piano accompaniment op. 12, Paris: Marcel Colombier, c.
1867.
 , Muiñeira. Thème Montagnard for violin and piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 32,
Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, [1887].
 , <i>Navarra</i> . Duo for two violins with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 33, Berlin: N.
Simrock, 1888.
 , Nocturne-Sérénade for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 45, Leipzig:
J.H. Zimmermann, 1901.
 , Nouvelle Fantaisie sur Faust de Ch. Gounod for violin with piano accompaniment op. 13
Paris: Choudens, n. d. [1874].
 , Peteneras. Caprice espagnol for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 35,
Berlin: Simrock, 1894.

 _, Prière et Berceuse for violin and piano accompaniment op. 17, Paris: Alphonse Leduc,
c. 1869.
 _, Réminiscence de Martha de Flotow. Morceau de concert for violin and piano
accompaniment, op. 19. Paris: Brandus & Cie, n.d. [1875].
 _, Rêverie for violin and piano accompaniment op. 4, Paris: Gambogi frères, c. 1866.
 _, Romance et Gavotte de Mignon for violin and piano op. 16, Paris: Heugel et Cie, c. 1869.
 _, Souvenirs de Faust for violin and piano accompaniment, Paris: Choudens, c. 1865.
 _, Souvenir de Domont. Valse de salon for violin and piano accompaniment op. 8, Paris:
Marcel Colombier, c. 1867.
_, <i>Sérénade Andalouse</i> for violin and piano accompaniment op. 10, Paris: E. et A. Girod, c. 1867.
_, Sommeil. Mélodie for violin and piano accompaniment op. 11, Paris: Marcel Colombier,
 c. 1867.
_, Spanish Dances I. Malagueña op. 21 no. 1 for violin with piano accompaniment, Berlin:
N. Simrock, 1878.
_, Spanish Dances II. Habanera op. 21 no. 2 for violin and piano accompaniment, Berlin: N
 Simrock, 1878.
_, Spanish Dances III. Romanza Andaluza op. 22 no.1 for violin with piano accompaniment,
Berlin: N. Simrock, 1879.
 _, Spanish Dances IV. Jota Navarra op. 22 no. 2 for violin and piano accompaniment.
Berlin: N. Simrock, [1879].
 _, Spanish Dances V. Playera for violin with piano or orchestra op. 23, no. 1, Berlin: N.
Simrock, 1880.
 _, Spanish Dances VI. Zapateado for violin and piano op. 23 no. 2, Berlin: N. Simrock,
1880.
 _, Spanish Dances VII for violin and piano op. 26 no.1, Berlin: Simrock, 1882.
 _, Spanish Dances VIII (Habanera) for violin and piano op. 26 no. 2, Berlin: Simrock, 1882.
 _, Spanish Dances. Serenata Andaluza for violin and piano op. 28, Berlin: Simrock, c. 1883.
 _, Viva Sevilla! Danse Espagnole for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 38,
Berlin: N. Simrock, 1896.
 _, Zigeunerweisen for violin with piano or orchestra accompaniment op. 20, Leipzig:
Bartholf Senff, [1878].
 _, Zortzico de Iparaguirre. Danse Espagnole for violin with piano accompaniment op. 39,
Berlin: Simrock, 1898.

Zarzycki, Aleksander. Mazurka Op. 26, Berlin: Bote & Bock, c. 1884.

331