In recent years, as recordings have become the subject of analytical studies, much has been said about their limitations as performances. With regard to early recordings in particular, many have noted that limited side lengths and suboptimal conditions may have caused performers to behave differently in the studio.¹ And yet, even as we describe all the things a recording is not, when we hear one we cannot help recognizing the things that it is: a representation of a piece and an instantiation of a performer.

In a sense, one half of that assumption underlies many scholarly studies of recordings – including this one. By relying on comparative analyses of musical works, scholars implicitly agree that a recording does to some extent represent a piece. But what exactly is that extent? Some scholars have begun to address this question, arguing for a more complementary view of music, one that weighs performance and score more equally. It is a subject I will take up in Chapter 4, when I argue that gender affects how singers create musical gestures – and therefore impacts the nature of music.

In this chapter, I propose to consider the extent to which a recording represents a performer. Specifically, I am interested in the consistency of a performer’s habits over time. To what extent does the recording represent anything beyond what that artist did on that particular day? Most performers display patterns of sound in recordings just as individuals display patterns of behavior. My goal here is to create

some methodology for discussing these patterns, and to describe how understanding them impacts our investigations of broad style trends.

To some extent, such work has already been done by record collectors and critics, who have long created portraits of musical artists in prose. It is my hope to build on their work by adding a layer of methodological rigor. A number of singers made multiple recordings of particular songs and arias; comparing such multiple versions sheds light on how much singers’ interpretations varied from performance to performance.

I would propose that the parameters likely to change over time may be separated into three categories. First, technical facility typically diminishes with age; in particular, over the years when a singer records, aging may have adverse effects on his physical abilities. Second, performance aesthetics shift together with broader cultural trends. And finally, how a performer reacts to a piece may shift from one day to the next.

To test this hypothesis, I propose to compare pairs or groups of recordings of individual songs, all made by one singer: that is to say, a pair of recordings of Schumann’s “Ich grolle nicht” both sung by Sir George Henschel, or a group of recordings of Wolf’s “Verborgenheit,” recorded by Elena Gerhardt in 1907, 1911, 1925 and 1927. I chose Henschel and Gerhardt, along with Heinrich Schlusnus, for several reasons. All three recorded numerous pairs – Schlusnus and Gerhardt more than any other singer – and as for Henschel, his five pairs represent more than two-

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3 Others whom I know to have recorded at least one song more than once include Julia Culp, Karl Erb, Ria Ginster, Gerhardt Hüsch, Alexander Kipnis, Herbert Janssen, Lotte Lehmann, Sigrid Onegin, Elisabeth Schumann and Leo Slezak.
thirds of his total recorded Lieder output. Moreover, they span a wide generational range. Henschel, born in 1850, is among the oldest singers on record (it is exciting to hear a singer who collaborated with Brahms\(^4\) and Schlusnus, born in 1888, represents the younger generation. Gerhardt bridges the gap between them: though she was born only five years before Schlusnus, her recording career began a full 15 years earlier than his.

In considering their recordings, I have matched each group with the methodological issue to which it seems best suited. Because Schlusnus is a technically superior singer with a relatively uninflected style, his recordings lend themselves to an examination of how vocal habits are affected by aging. Gerhardt’s career in the studio was exceptionally long, beginning when she was only 24 and lasting 32 years;\(^5\) her recordings are therefore especially well suited for a study of changing aesthetics. Finally, I use Henschel’s recordings to explore how consistently singers make specific gestures, for his records are all self-accompanied: his gestures are therefore affected by no one but himself. Together, these three case studies address various ways in which a singer’s vocal habits and interpretive stance change over time.

*The effects of aging on style: Heinrich Schlusnus*

Baritone Heinrich Schlusnus was born in 1888, the youngest of eight children in a musical family. After leaving school at 16, he found a job with the post office; eventually, his fellow post officials organized his first public concert, in Frankfurt in 1912. The next several years saw him accepting opera contracts in Hamburg and


\(^5\) Although her commercial recording career lasted 32 years, Gerhardt made records for private release as late as 1948, at the age of 65.
Berlin, but in 1918 his career shifted towards Lieder. Indeed, some considered him the most important Lieder singer of his generation – a strong statement, considering he was an exact contemporary of Lotte Lehmann and Elisabeth Schumann. But it is perhaps no exaggeration: between 1918 and 1951, it is estimated that Schlusnus probably gave over 2000 Lieder recitals.6

Schlusnus’ style on records has been described as “economical.”7 Certainly he makes more sparing use of portamento and rubato than most of his contemporaries. While critics are divided as to how interesting they find his interpretations, all would agree that the expressive value of his recordings lies in the singing itself:

Schlusnus probably approaches most nearly to the condition of pure singer… Such a beauty… once apprehended for its intrinsic worth, gathers to itself a wealth of emotion which is the product not of ‘interpretation’ or of ‘interest’, but of the art proper to a pure, quintessential singer.8

As a lieder singer he lets the music speak for itself, never tries to exaggerate the words or their meanings… instead, he works with fine inflections and colouring in the voice.9

In other words, more than is the case with most singers, Schlusnus’ gestures derive more from his habitual vocalism. As aging affects his physical abilities, his style receives the impact.

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6 Michael Seil and Christian Zwarg, “Heinrich Schlusnus (1888-1952),” The Record Collector 47/2 (June 2002), 84. This article was the primary source for most of the biographical details in the above paragraph.
8 Steane, Singers of the Century, Vol. 2, 88-92. See also The Grand Tradition, 213-4: “I think that if I were a singing teacher, I would send my baritones to records of Schlusnus more often than to the records of any other singer…but it would not be for the interest of the interpretations.” Both sets of comments reflect the commonly held bias that, in Lieder singing, “interpretation” and “technique” are somehow opposed to one another; for a more nuanced discussion of this topic, see Chapter 2, 44-64.
9 Seil and Zwarg, 85.
Schlusnus’ discography is vast: *The Record Collector* lists 514 commercial recordings, and an additional 83 broadcast recordings. When I began this project, the best available transfers were on Lebendige Vergangenheit CDs, so I have limited myself to these. These seven discs have provided me with eighteen pairs of recordings. The later recording in each pair dates from 1948 or 1949; all of these were made with pianist Sebastian Peschko, Schlusnus’ frequent collaborator from roughly 1935 onward. The earlier recordings often feature Peschko as well, though some involve Franz Rupp. All the recordings considered here are listed in Table 3.1.

*Aging body, aging voice*

Investigating the interrelationship of aging and style raises numerous methodological challenges. Many of the stylistic elements that alter with age have also shifted as the result of changing aesthetics: strict attention to the score (the “come scritto” movement) and the recording process have been cited as possible reasons for such changes. To determine whether aging is also a factor, we need to consider several variables simultaneously; otherwise, we won’t be able to tell whether stylistic changes are the result of changing style culture or advancing age, of conscious choice or necessity. First, we observe those changes a singer wouldn’t cultivate, such as inconsistent vocal timbre, trouble at extremes of range and declining *portamento di voce*. Next, we examine those aspects that could shift in response to physiological changes. There is a direct relationship between a singer’s physical condition and his breathing, which in turn may affect tempo; breathing and tempo may, in turn, impact

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10 Seil and Zwarg, 90-137.
11 These issues are addressed in Day, Katz and Philip.
Table 3.1, Heinrich Schlusnus: Keys, Ranges and Timings of Selected “Pairs”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SONG</th>
<th>1\textsuperscript{ST} VERSION</th>
<th>TIMING</th>
<th>2\textsuperscript{ND} VERSION</th>
<th>TIMING</th>
<th>DIFFERENCE</th>
<th>RANGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>An die Leyer</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3’35”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3’50”</td>
<td>+6.5%</td>
<td>B\textsuperscript{b}-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>An Sylvia</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3’03”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3’12”</td>
<td>+4.9%</td>
<td>E-F#/D-E\textsuperscript{12}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Hidalgo</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>2’58”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3’03”</td>
<td>+2.7%</td>
<td>B-F#</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Lindenbaum</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>3’45”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>4’02”</td>
<td>+7.0%</td>
<td>B-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Musensohn</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>2’15”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2’32”</td>
<td>+11.2%</td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{b}-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flutenreicher Ebro</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>3’06”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>3’20”</td>
<td>+7.0%</td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{b}-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frühlingstrauem</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>4’22”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>4’16”</td>
<td>-2.3%</td>
<td>D-E\textsuperscript{b}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fussreise</td>
<td>1941</td>
<td>2’58”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2’50”</td>
<td>-4.7%</td>
<td>D-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Im Frühling</td>
<td>1940</td>
<td>4’20”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>4’10”</td>
<td>-4.0%</td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{b}-G\textsuperscript{b}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sei mir gegrüßt</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>4’11”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>3’57”</td>
<td>-5.9%</td>
<td>F#-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ständchen D. 957/4</td>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3’30”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>3’35”</td>
<td>+2.3%</td>
<td>C-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verborgenheit</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>3’02”</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>2’51”</td>
<td>-6.4%</td>
<td>C-F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wohin?</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>2’23”</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>2’40”</td>
<td>+10.6%</td>
<td>D\textsuperscript{b}-G\textsuperscript{b}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{12} Schlusnus transposes “An Sylvia” from Schubert’s original key, A Major, to G Major in his 1949 recording.
the Affekt of a performance. Finally, we consider whether, in light of these technical changes, global stylistic changes are caused by shifting aesthetics or by aging.

It has been shown that aging results in declining laryngeal function, which often affects vocal timbre. It is also known that an important cause of vocal decline is the effect of weakening physical condition on breathing. In combination, these two factors may result in thinness of tone, vocal tremors or hoarseness – all of which occur more frequently throughout Schlusnus’ later recordings. Such technical lapses may be only momentary, as is this bobble, heard in Schlusnus’ later version of Schubert’s “Der Lindenbaum” (Figure 3.1 and CD 2, track 7, first the 1941 recording, then the 1948 version).

More specifically, aging impairs the ease with which Schlusnus sings piano, as is evident in his recordings of “Schubert’s “An Sylvia” (Figure 3.2): in the 1938 version, Schlusnus starts the second verse piano to beautiful effect, but in the 1949 recording he has some trouble getting the voice started, resulting in momentary hoarseness. Similarly, the beautiful echo effect of his 1938 version of Schubert’s “Sei mir gegrüßt” (Figure 3.3) is not so easily achieved in the 1948 recording (CD 2, tracks 8 and 9).

In much the same way, changes in laryngeal function and breathing affect Schlusnus’ ability to manage extremes of range. Compare these examples from his

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14 For this reason, singers who are in good physical shape are less likely to develop vocal problems as they age. See Daniel R. Boone, “The Three Ages of Voice: The Singing/Acting Voice in the Mature Adult,” *Journal of Voice* (11/2), 1997. Boone postulates that “very fit older performers, who can add training and experience to their vocal performance, may not experience deleterious vocal changes as they get older” (162).
15 “An Sylvia” is the only pair considered here that involves a transposition: Schlusnus sings the earlier recording in A Major, but the later one in G Major.
Figure 3.1, Schubert, “Der Lindenbaum,” mm. 55-68

Figure 3.2, Schubert, “An Sylvia,” mm. 5-8
two versions of “Der Hidalgo” (Figures 3.4 and 3.5; excerpts taken from recordings made in 1932 and 1949, on CD 2, track 10) and “Flutenreicher Ebro” (Figure 3.6; excerpts from recordings made in 1933 and 1949, both in D♭ Major, and included on CD 2, track 11). In all three of these paired examples, Schlusnus has more difficulty with high notes in the later recordings.

In light of the effects of aging on range, it is worth noting that vowels sometimes affect the ease with which Schlusnus sings high notes. In his later recording of “Im Frühling,” “hell” and “Quell” (Figure 3.7) are sharp and sound uncomfortable – but “ihr” (Figure 3.8) is absolutely exquisite (recorded in 1949 in G♭ Major; excerpted on CD 2, track 12).
Figure 3.4, Schumann, “Der Hidalgo,” mm. 1-8

Figure 3.5, Schumann, “Der Hidalgo,” mm. 82-90
Figure 3.6, Schubert, “Flutenreicher Ebro,” mm. 32-37
Figure 3.7, Schubert, “Im Frühling,” mm. 9-17
In all likelihood, the difference between “ihr” and “hell” or “Quell” has something to do with the vowel. Whereas [è] is a vowel that spreads the mouth wide, making it harder to support, especially in and above the passaggio, [i] is just the opposite, especially in the *mezza voce* Schlusnus uses for it.\(^{16}\) This difference would be true for

\(^{16}\) Anecdotally, baritones sometimes describe the use of [i] for “turning the voice” (Malcolm MacKenzie, in personal conversation with the author, December 21, 2007). In the literature, [i] is sometimes referred to as a “long” vowel: see, for example, William Shakespeare, *The Art of Singing* (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Oliver Ditson Company, 1921), 44-45. Other authors mention its “high” properties: Glenn, Glenn and Forman note that, of the so-called “front” vowels, [i] is the “highest,” and
many singers, younger as well as older. What makes this comparison so interesting is that, first of all, it demonstrates that Schlusnus had an easier time with the wide, open [è] when he was younger. Second, the later recording shows with particular clarity the gradual nature of aging. Schlusnus was not young one moment and old the next. Insofar as his exemplary technique unravels as he ages, it does so in the most difficult technical spots – such as occur in Schubert’s “Im Frühling.”

Many writers have remarked that the bottom of Schlusnus’ voice was never as easy as his top, and this weakness is evident even in his early recordings, where low notes tend to sound growly. But many men also lose power in their low range as they age, and in Schlusnus’ later recordings, that growly quality often gives way to some hoarseness.

Compare these excerpts from the end of his recordings of “Flutenreicher Ebro” (Figure 3.9) – in the later recording, his low notes sound hoarse (CD 2, track 13).

Although trained singers may be less susceptible to some of the changes that affect the normal population, it is thought that the aging process may cause pre-existing technical deficiencies to show:

has the most tension (55-61). Still others discuss the resonance properties of the throat, which suggests a relationship between throat space and airflow. See Julian Gardiner, A Guide to Good Singing and Speech, 102-120.

Absolute pitch is not the only determinant in whether a note is low for Schlusnus: tessitura and approach are also important. Schlusnus has less trouble with the B♭s in “An die Leyer” than with higher notes in other pieces – perhaps because the B♭s are not approached from above, as many other low notes are. Rather, the B♭s occur at the beginning of a phrase, and Schlusnus has several measures’ rest before singing them. The low D♭s in “Wohin” give him comparatively more trouble: they are approached quickly and from above. Tessitura refers not to the entire pitch compass of a vocal line, but to the range in which the line sits. See The New Harvard Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 1986, 841.
Because older singers and other voice professionals have considerably less natural reserve and resilience than youthful performers… They cannot compensate for or tolerate weaknesses as a teenager can.\textsuperscript{18}

It is therefore a testament to Schlusnus’ technical mastery that his \textit{portamento di voce} is so intact in his later recordings.\textsuperscript{19} Though even his late singing displays more technical ease than that of most singers, Schlusnus sings with more consistent \textit{portamento di voce} on his earlier recordings. This consistency is evident not only in passing portamenti on slurred pairs but, as previous examples have demonstrated, in

\textsuperscript{18} Sataloff et al, 159, and Boone, 162. Boone notes that “The aged performer who had never received adequate vocal training… may well show some of the changes of voice that have been observed with increasing age.”

\textsuperscript{19} For a discussion of the relationship between breath and \textit{portamento di voce}, see Chapter 2, 42-44.
more syllabic singing as well. When stretched over a phrase, the thinness of tone and vocal instability first described above translate into vocalism that starts and stops. Syllables seem to have more space between them, and his voice sounds drier. In short, as Schlusnus ages, his portamento di voce becomes less consistent.

**Compensatory measures: breathing and tempo**

Singers often compensate for weakened air pressure by breathing more frequently and taking more moderate tempi. Schlusnus rarely avails himself of the former, although he occasionally needs an extra breath in a later recording – as he does in “Flutenreicher Ebro,” as well as in the middle of the second “Und verweilt in süßer Ruh” in the 1949 version of “An Sylvia.” These comparisons impart very little, however, not only because a single extra breath is of little consequence, but also because both later versions were recorded at slower tempi. In the case of only one song, “Verborgenheit” (Figure 3.10), is it clear that Schlusnus takes more breaths in a later recording. In this section, although he sings mostly two-bar phrases in the 1943 version (notated with slurs above the vocal line), in the 1949 version these are mostly cut in half (notated with check marks on the bar lines – CD 2, track 14). The later version is slightly faster, yet Schlusnus takes three extra breaths in the first stanza, both at the beginning and when it repeats.

Far more significant is this: on the versions from 1948 or 1949, Schlusnus sings all his quick tempo songs more slowly than he had in previous recordings. Schlusnus’ youthful vigor in the earlier versions is in marked contrast to the 1948 recordings. Compare the early and late excerpts from his performances of Schubert’s “Der Musensohn” (Figure 3.11; excerpts from 1930 and 1948, CD 2, track 15) and “Wohin” (1939 and 1948) (Figure 3.12, CD 2, track 16). These changes in tempo

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20 For a discussion of passing portamenti and slurred pairs, see Chapter 2, 65-71.
Figure 3.10, Wolf, “Verborgenheit,” mm. 28-36
Figure 3.11, Schubert, “Der Musensohn,” mm. 1-16
may result in part from an altered approach to music and text – in other words, to Affekt. However, in combination with the evidence described above, it seems likely that aging plays a factor in Schlusnus’ slower tempo. As Schlusnus’ physical condition weakened, he gravitated toward slower tempi that would have allowed him more technical control.

In general, Schlusnus’ straightforward delivery results in intense yet understated performances. Nevertheless, shifts in attitude from one recorded version to another, though subtle, are present and result in subtly different Affekts. In

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particular, his later recordings reveal a thinner sound and a more cautious approach.

In this light, consider again the opening bars of his early and late versions of “Der Hidalgo,” (Figure 3.4 and CD 2, track 17). The straightforward masculinity of the earlier version is lacking in the later one, where virility is tempered by a kind of tenderness.

A similar transparency of tone creates a lovely effect in his later recordings of “Flutenreicher Ebro” (Figure 3.9 and CD 2, track 13 – also heard earlier) and “Ständchen,” D. 957, no. 4 (Figure 3.13), both of which suggest a degree of vulnerability that had been lacking in earlier versions (1938 and 1948, CD 2, track 18). Whether or not Schlusnus realized the vulnerability in his voice and purposefully capitalized on it, recordings such as these demonstrate that the tone quality could indeed be affecting.

Figure 3.13, Schubert, “Ständchen,” D. 957, no. 4, mm. 1-10
Global effects of aging on style: gestural singing

The cumulative effect of all these changes is that, on his later recordings, Schlusnus’ singing is less gestural. It is possible that cultural shifts played some part in this change. But if we determine that a later recording displays weakened portamento di voce, we can infer that at least some of the shift towards non-gestural singing results not from shifting aesthetics, but from the aging process.

The interaction between portamento di voce and gestural singing is especially evident in a particular kind of legato. Compare, for example, Schlusnus’ recordings of “Flutenreicher Ebro,” in particular, the third verse (Figure 3.14). His singing is far more legato in the early version, where several details stand out: the smoothness of the slurred pair on “laubigeln”; the tiny portamento on the first syllable of “Schimmernde” and the ease with which he releases “Pfade”; another gentle portamento on the initial consonant of “leichtes.” His early version abounds with such details – but not so his later version (CD 2, track 19).

It is perhaps no surprise that, when Schlusnus sings more gesturally, his style is rhythmically freer. On earlier versions, phrases are more likely to begin and end slightly ahead of or behind the beat, the result of more prevalent declamatory rubato. Certainly this is true in his 1941 and 1948 recordings of Schubert’s “Der Lindenbaum” (Figure 3.15). Whereas Schlusnus frequently accents downbeats in his later recording, in the earlier version he sings more gesturally and with greater rhythmic flexibility (CD 2, track 20).

Schlusnus’ style, it seems, was largely unaffected by cultural changes. Later recordings reveal instances where he truncates a portamento: on the word “schönen” in “Der Hidalgo,” as well as on the last “gedenket” in “Flutenreicher Ebro.” There are two reasons these examples seem to reflect a post-war rejection of portamento rather

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22 For a definition and technical discussion of gestural singing, see Chapter 2, 65-71.
Figure 3.14 (π), Schumann, “Flutenreicher Ebro,” mm. 24-29
than diminishing technical ability. Not only do the gestures sound rather abrupt, but also Schlusnus’ technical abilities did not diminish to the point where he would have had to leave out an ornamental portamento. Similarly, although Schlusnus’ earlier
recordings reveal an informal Affekt typical of pre-war music making, it does not follow that cultural changes were solely responsible for their decline. Because gestural singing – and with it, a kind of spontaneity – diminish in combination with Schlusnus’ weakening vocal abilities, it is hard to imagine that physical decline was not in some measure responsible.

It is testament to Schlusnus’ vocal skill that he sometimes overcomes the decline in his *portamento di voce*; more often, however, aging has a profound effect on numerous aspects of his style: tempo, Affekt, legato and rubato. For this reason, it is important to consider a singer’s age when comparing recordings. With singers in particular, comparing an early recording made by one performer with a late recording made by another may result in inaccurate conclusions.

**Kicking the habit: Elena Gerhardt**

It was not uncommon for singers to be in their mid-thirties or early forties – as Schlusnus was – before they recorded many Lieder. But mezzo-soprano Elena Gerhardt had an uncommon career. When she was just twenty years old she was plucked from the Leipzig Conservatory by its director, the famed conductor Arthur Nikisch, and the two began to concertize together, first throughout Germany and soon after in London. In 1907, when Gerhardt was just twenty-four, she and Nikisch recorded eight sides; in 1911 they made sixteen more. Before the First World War interrupted her recording career, Gerhardt would make one more set of records, these in 1914 with Bruno Seidler-Winkler as pianist and conductor.

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24 The marketing of their recordings attests to Nikisch’s importance in starting Gerhardt’s career: in 1907 Nikisch’s name was the more prominently displayed on their records; by 1911, top billing was given to Gerhardt.
25 American Columbia did hire her to make some recordings with orchestra during the years 1916-17, but only three of these were issued; I have not heard them. See Alan Kelly and Ian Cosens, “Elena Gerhardt – A Discography,” *The Record Collector* 32 (1987), 187.
Thus, even before her contemporaries got into the studio, Gerhardt was an old hand at making records – and all her recordings were of Lieder. She recorded prolifically between 1923 and 1931, when her Hugo Wolf Society albums were issued. Later, she made records for private release, both up to and after the Second World War. Eventually, her recording career would span three technological eras and more than four decades, from 1907-1949.

Over the course of these forty-two years, Gerhardt recorded numerous pairs and even groups of songs. Seven of these multiple versions span many years; these include Brahms’ “Sapphische Ode” and “Vergebliches Ständchen,” Schubert’s “An die Musik” and “Wohin?,” Richard Strauss’ “Ständchen,” and Wolf’s “Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen” and “Verborgenheit.” Together with other pairs and groups of recordings, these make an excellent vehicle for examining how her style changed over time.

Gerhardt’s autobiography does not linger long on technical matters, but she does have this to say about expressivity in singing:

...a singer can never give a completely free rein to the emotions, or it would spoil the performance. This is much more difficult with the voice than with any other instrument, because the singer’s instrument lies within, and the slightest physical indisposition disturbs it. It needs a finished technical control and often great will-power to make possible a performance that the audience can enjoy.

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26 Schlusnus, Elisabeth Schumann and Lotte Lehmann were all born in 1888. The beginning of Schlusnus’ recording career has already been described. Like Schlusnus, Schumann and Lehmann focused their earliest recordings on opera. In Lehmann’s case, only 10 of her first 74 recordings were Lieder, which she began to record in greater numbers in 1926. Schumann began to record significant numbers of songs in 1927.

27 The three eras I refer to are the acoustic era, which lasted until 1925; the electric era, which lasted until the early to mid 1940s; and finally the period in which engineers began using editable magnetic tape. See Chapter 1, note 3.

28 Gerhardt, Recital, 27.
Nevertheless, Gerhardt’s singing is most like that of her “More Than Singing” contemporaries.²⁹ Whereas Lehmann’s main goal is expressing emotions and Schumann’s is emphasizing the text, Gerhardt’s primary aim is to color the music. One gets this impression both from her recordings, which demonstrate a near-constant shifting of tempo and timbre, and also from her champions and critics. She is not a favorite of Michael Scott, who calls her singing “unsupported” and at times “unstylish.” Moreover, he writes that Gerhardt’s style was based on “[attempting] to colour every word [and] mark every shifting rhythm and underline the structure…”³⁰ But as Scott points out, Gerhardt was a huge favorite of the English critic Ernest Newman, who chose her to inaugurate the Hugo Wolf Society:

Newman regarded it almost as a holy duty to improve the public taste, to expunge… anything at all of a diverting or purely entertaining character from the music or its performance in the concert hall and the opera house. The worship of the Lied was part of his religion and Gerhardt the perfect high priestess.³¹

In point of fact, Gerhardt’s portamento di voce was never terribly consistent, not even on her earliest records. On her 1911 recording of “An die Musik” (Figure 3.16), her ascending slurred pairs sound squeezed, while descending ones – at least those sung in passing – are non-legato (CD 2, track 21). Both these effects, the squeezed ascending pairs and the descending non-legato ones, occur because auxiliary throat muscles substitute for portamento di voce. In the first case, throat muscles tense to provide support where breath is lacking; in the second, throat muscles relax as pitch falls, causing sudden shifts in pitch.

²⁹ These include those singers who privileged certain kinds of “expressivity” over “technique,” among them Lotte Lehmann, Elisabeth Schumann and Heinrich Rehkemper – in contrast with singers like Heinrich Schlusnus, Ria Ginster and Sigrid Onegin. For more on this topic, see Chapter 2, 46-65.
³⁰ Scott, The Record of Singing, Volume 2, 220.
³¹ Scott, The Record of Singing, Volume 2, 218.
Figure 3.16, Schubert, “An die Musik,” mm. 9-20

The manner in which Gerhardt sings unstressed syllables is further evidence of her inconsistent *portamento di voce*. Typically, she falls off the breath, privileging de-emphasis of certain syllables over maintaining *portamento di voce* – as heard in “Der Musensohn” (Figure 3.17; CD 2, track 22). This is not to suggest that Gerhardt’s singing was bad, or in fact particularly unusual. A quick survey of recordings suggests that Gerhardt’s choice was typical, and across all voice categories. Soprano Elisabeth Schumann (1936), tenors Leo Slezak (1928) and Franz Völker (1941), and baritone Gerhard Hüsch (1934) all come on and off the voice to varying degrees in their recordings of “Der Musensohn” (CD 2, track 23: the first three recordings are in G Major, while Hüsch’s is in E Major). However, baritones Heinrich Rehkemper
Figure 3.17, Schubert, “Der Musensohn,” mm. 1-27
(1928) and Heinrich Schlusnus (1930), both of whom recorded the song in E Major, do not – though each achieves a smoother sound in his own way (CD 2, track 24).³²

**Portamento**

On her earliest recordings, Gerhardt sings with abundant portamento – meaning that her portamenti are numerous and long. Moreover, in one respect, her recordings clearly demonstrate the difference between passing portamento and ornamental portamento. For the most part, Gerhardt sings descending slurred pairs either non-legato or with abundant portamento, but rarely merely legato – that is to say, Gerhardt rarely sings descending slurred pairs with passing portamento. It follows that when Gerhardt does make a portamento over a descending slurred pair, she does so with some degree of choice. In other words, on Gerhardt’s recordings, we can hear the difference between passing portamenti and ornamental portamenti.

It is partly for this reason that, on her later recordings, Gerhardt tends to curtail some kinds of portamento more than others. In particular, she tends to curtail descending portamenti between two syllables – “intersyllabic portamenti” – where an intervening consonant allows her to quickly stop and re-start her voice. By comparison, she continues to make portamenti on many slurred pairs, ascending ones especially. The distinction is grounded in her vocal habits: because Gerhardt often substitutes portamento for *portamento di voce* on slurred pairs, these portamenti persist on later recordings – although they are sometimes shorter.

Examples of both cases can be heard in her recordings of Hugo Wolf’s “Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen” (Figure 3.18), the 1907 version (in A⁷ Major)

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³² I refer here to Rehkemper’s use here of “toothpaste-tube legato,” by which he achieves a certain smoothness without always maintaining *portamento di voce*. See Chapter 2, 74.
with Arthur Nikisch and the 1939 version (in G♭ Major) with a young Gerald Moore (CD 2, track 25).

Figure 3.18, Wolf, “Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen,” mm. 1-8

This example is especially interesting in light of Gerhardt’s reported reaction to the very long portamento on the word “Fäden” – “strands” – across the bar line of measures six and seven:
Just occasionally, we may find ourselves shocked by a detail which (it is only fair to add) could also shock the mature Gerhardt when she came to listen to her early records. I vividly recall playing, in her house, the record, in her very first group, of Wolf’s *Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen*, in the course of which she allows herself a very slow and frankly excessive downward portamento on the first syllable of the word “Fäden” (“threads”), and how she wrinkled her nose in distaste at so crude an effect.³³

In this context, Gerhardt’s 1939 recording of the same song seems a response to that earlier version. Although all Gerhardt’s descending portamenti are shorter on the later recording, they seem proportional to those of the earlier version – except for the portamento on “Fäden.” Gerhardt goes to such lengths to eliminate portamento on “Fäden” that she cuts short the C# in rather an awkward way.

Gerhardt was among the first generation of singers to hear their own records; consequently, she was among the first to adjust a stylistic choice as the result of hearing herself sing. However, in this case, that stylistic change has technical ramifications: between the C# and the E Gerhardt stops her breath and her voice – and therefore, her *portamento di voce*.

**Rubato**

Gerhardt’s use of rubato undergoes enormous change as she ages, and is entirely in keeping with how attitudes changed during her lifetime. She uses less rubato on later recordings, and as a result these recordings demonstrate steadier tempi. Compare her 1911 and 1924 recordings of Brahms’ “Sapphische Ode” (Figure 3.19; CD 2, track

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³³ Desmond Shawe-Taylor, liner notes to *The HMV Treasury: Elena Gerhardt, mezzo-soprano* (Hayes Middlesex England: EMI Records Ltd., 1983). He makes a similar comment in his short essay “Elena Gerhardt and the Gramophone” (included in Gerhardt, *Recital*): “…now and again, in those early days, she would commit some error of taste such as, in later years, she would never contemplate. In the recording of Wolf’s ‘Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen’… she allows herself a long downward scoop on the word “Fäden” which might draw from her now a caustic comment if attempted by one of her pupils” (169).
26). This difference is so pervasive that, on the surface, it might seem hardly worth exploring. Yet it is worth noting that, even as Gerhardt makes less ritard, pairs of recordings demonstrate that she tends to slow down in the same places. This is true in her recordings of “Sapphishe Ode” – and of her 1911 and 1924 recordings of Schubert’s “An die Musik” as well (Figure 3.20; CD 2, track 27). Both of these examples suggest that, even as Gerhardt responds to a changing aesthetic of rubato, her essential attitude towards a piece endures.

In Gerhardt’s recordings, the trend towards an aesthetic of steadier tempi is very strong; consequently, whenever a later recording displays less rubato than an earlier one, it is tempting to hear such a change as part of that aesthetic trend. However, we should be careful about making such assertions globally – especially
where close pairs of recordings are concerned. Consider the following excerpts, taken from the last verse of Wolf’s “Verborgenheit” (Figure 3.21). While Gerhardt is consistently behind Nikisch in the 1907 version, the two of them are very much together in the 1911 version (CD 2, track 28). By contrast, the opposite phenomenon is evident in paired versions of Brahms’ “Der Schmied” (Figure 3.22), also recorded with Nikisch in 1907 and 1911 (CD 2, track 29). Here, it is the later recording that demonstrates more tempo flexibility. Perhaps it is the slower tempo of the later version that is at the root of this change, or Nikisch’s more obvious “hands-not-together” manner of playing, or both. In any case, differences like these between pairs
Figure 3.21, Wolf, “Verborgenheit,” 28-36
of 1907 and 1911 recordings may be evidence of a learning curve of an artist at the beginning of her career, or of a trial-and-error approach towards the relatively new phenomenon of recording. Whatever the cause, they make a case for not placing too much store by any one stylistic aspect or gesture – in Gerhardt’s earliest recordings, especially.
Interestingly, Affekt seems to influence the degree to which Gerhardt reins in the rubato on later recordings. That is to say, all the examples given so far of pairs that tend towards less rubato – “An die Musik,” “Sapphische Ode” and “Und willst du deinen Liebsten sterben sehen” – all these songs are quite serious in Affekt. By contrast, Gerhardt takes a more liberal attitude towards rubato in more lighthearted songs. Her later versions of Brahms’ “Vergebliches Ständchen” and Strauss’ “Ständchen” do feature less rubato than her earlier versions. But proportionally, she curtails her rubato more in songs of more serious Affekt.

The difference is apparent if we listen again, first, to Gerhardt’s 1911 and 1924 recordings of “Sapphische Ode” (Figure 3.19; CD 2, track 26), then to two of the three versions Gerhardt made of Brahms’ “Vergebliches Ständchen” (Figure 3.23), which she recorded in 1911, 1924 and 1929 (CD 2, track 30 – these excerpts are from the 1911 and 1929 versions). The recordings display similar characterizations of the boy and the girl depicted in the poem, and those characterizations tend to inspire rubato in similar places. In keeping with the examples of “Sapphische Ode,” Gerhardt uses more rubato in the 1911 version than in 1929 – but that difference is less extreme.

Elena Gerhardt’s recording career was characterized by change – changing musical collaborators, technologies and aesthetics – all of which are reflected by her artistic choices. In particular, Gerhardt gradually minimizes descending portamenti, most especially inter-syllabic ones. Though she makes a great many portamenti, her artistry did not revolve around portamento di voce. Therefore, we can say with some certainty that her shift towards less rubato was the result of a changing performance culture rather than age. That said, even as she shortens her agogic accents, she still typically makes them in the same places.
Figure 3.23, Brahms, “Vergebliches Ständchen,” mm. 22-63

Mein Tür ist verschlossen, ich lass' dich nicht rein.

ich lass' dich nicht ein;

Mutter, die rät mir kug, wärst du herein mit Fug, wär's mit mir vorbei.

wär's mit mir, wär's mit mir, wär's mit mir vorbei.
Figure 3.23 (Continued)

So kalt ist die Nacht, so eisig der Wind,

dass mir das Herz er friert, mein Lieb er löschen wird, öff-ne mir, mein Kind,

öff-nemir, öff-nemir, öff-ne mir mein Kind!

Lebhafter
How low can you go? Sir George Henschel

Like Gerhardt, Sir George Henschel had a fascinating, unconventional career. A naturalized British citizen, he was born in 1850 in what was then the German city of Breslau (now the Polish city of Wroclaw) and at seventeen was awarded a scholarship to the Leipzig Conservatory. Initially he studied piano with Ignaz Moscheles, who had been a pupil of Beethoven – but he soon turned to singing, and it was as a singer that Henschel first supported himself. Later, he turned to composing and conducting, the latter of which eventually became his primary profession. Henschel was the first conductor of both the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the Scottish Orchestra, and later founded his own London Symphony; however, he remained active as a pianist and singer all his life.³⁴

Henschel’s records are ideally suited to a study of how consistently singers make specific gestures, in part because he is his own accompanist.³⁵ Moreover, by the time Henschel made his first records, in 1913 and 1914, he was in his sixties, by which time his stylistic choices were well entrenched; his last records date from 1928, when he was 78 years old. For both these reasons, it is fitting that Henschel’s records serve as the material for a study of how consistent a singer’s choices might be from one performance to another.

Henschel made thirteen recordings of Lieder.³⁶ Of these, ten consist of the following five pairs: Loewe’s “Der Erlkönig” and Schumann’s “Die beiden Grenadiere,” both recorded first in 1913 and then in 1928, as well as Schubert’s “Das

³⁵ While Henschel is the only Lieder singer of major importance to accompany his own records, other self-accompanied records do exist, albeit by lesser-known artists. Ernst Wolff, a German-Jewish baritone who moved to New York City in the 1920s or 30s, accompanies himself in a number of Lieder recordings on the Columbia label.
³⁶ Complete Henschel discographies, which include recordings he conducted, may be found in Helen Henschel, “Sir George Henschel,” and Harold Bruder, “Sir George Henschel.”
Wandern” and Schumann’s “Ich grolle nicht” and “Lied eines Schmiedes,” recorded in 1914 and 1928. It should be noted that Henschel recorded these last two songs, both of them quite short, one after the other on one side of a record. To transition from one to the other he improvises an Eingang between them. These five pairs will be the focus of the following discussion.

Considering that Henschel began making records at roughly the same age that Schlusnus and Gerhardt were when they stopped,37 his voice is remarkably well preserved. In this context, it is worth remembering that on recordings, Henschel seldom sings above a mezzo forte and rarely ventures into his high register (for a bass-baritone, approximately middle-C and above). The kind of more intimate singing displayed on Henschel’s records is what we might expect not only from a man nearly 80 years old, but also from a singer who sang only once on the opera stage – and as a last minute replacement in one of his own compositions, at that.38

Vocal habits

Chapter 2 carved a boundary between singers who privilege expressivity over “technique” and those who believe expressivity is the result of portamento di voce. However, this distinction does not apply so easily to Henschel. It is true that, in his book Articulation in Singing, Henschel emphasizes the importance of consonants over vowels:

37 It was not uncommon for singers of his generation to make records later in life, for the technology was simply not available before. In Henschel’s case, he began recording at 63, whereas Schlusnus stopped at 61 and Gerhardt at 65 – though in fact, Gerhardt made her last commercial recordings significantly earlier, in 1931, when she was only 48 years old. In the words of Desmond Shawe-Taylor, “It is sad that, while Elena Gerhardt was continuing to sing so magnificently during the thirties, H.M.V. should not have made further recordings after the great success of the Wolf album.” He goes on to say of her 1939 recordings that “the voice is no longer young” and of her 1948 recordings, “…it would be foolish to deny that, from a purely technical point of view, they demand to be heard with indulgence.” Shawe-Taylor, “Elena Gerhardt and the Gramophone,” 169-70.
38 Henschel, Musings and Memories of a Musician, 25.
The technique of singing may be divided into two distinct sections: *Vocalization* and musical collaborators *Articulation*, and if in the following pages I shall deal exclusively with the latter, it is because the chief aim of singing as an art is to interpret poetry wedded to music; and from the purely technical standpoint the most important factor of interpretation is *not* Vocalization, which means making sound, but *Articulation* which means “distinct pronunciation”.\(^\text{39}\)

Moreover, Henschel’s daughter Helen reminisced that her father was “particular about consonants:”

He used to say to me, ‘You know, Helen, if an actor goes across the stage saying, “Remember”, that means something. But if he just says “Remember” it could mean anything – or nothing.’\(^\text{40}\)

This is not to suggest that vowels were unimportant to Henschel. But when he discusses them, it is in the context of vocal timbre rather than vocal function – that is, of sound rather than *portamento di voce*. Under the heading “Coloring the Tone,” Henschel writes,

> By opening, to take that vowel “Ah” as an example, the mouth for a bright “Ah” and then, without the slightest change in the pose of the lips, trying to sing an “Oh,” the original intended vowel will, whilst undoubtedly remaining an “Ah,” assume a greater depth, greater nobility, according to the degree of the darkness of the “Oh” which you mix with it.\(^\text{41}\)

Moreover, when Henschel does have his students sing entirely on vowels, he does so not in the *bel canto* practice of vocalization for its own sake, but for expressive purposes. He writes:


\(^{41}\) Henschel, *How to Interpret a Song*, 8.
I have found it of the utmost value to make a pupil sing a whole song on nothing but vowels, with the object of expressing the character of the music by mere vocalization.”\(^{42}\)

In combination, these writings might seem to suggest that Henschel is aligned with “expressivity” singers like Gerhardt, Lotte Lehmann and Elisabeth Schumann. However, Henschel’s singing bears little resemblance to any of theirs. Though his voice shows some of the translucency of timbre we heard in Schlusnus’ later records, the ease with which he is still singing at 78 years of age testifies to what is basically a solid technique with good *portamento di voce*. How, then, are we to understand his writings? This is an important question, and one to which I shall return later.

The catch breaths Henschel learned to take as he got older are in evidence throughout his recordings.\(^{43}\) While their placement varies occasionally, their frequency does not, suggesting that Henschel’s breathing apparatus declined little between 1914 and 1928. Typical examples are these from “Das Wandern,” where Henschel catches a breath near the end of the fourth verse (Figure 3.24) in 1928, whereas in 1914 he had caught a breath in the analogous spot in verse five (Figure 3.25; all four excerpts are included on CD 2, track 31). Henschel’s *portamento di voce* varies correspondingly little, though his voice sometimes sounds frailer on his later records, as Schlusnus’ did. We hear this especially in loud sections of dramatic songs, as these examples from Henschel’s 1913 and 1928 recordings of Loewe’s “Der Erlkönig” demonstrate (Figure 3.26; CD 2, track 32, in D Minor and C\(^\#\) Minor, respectively).

\(^{43}\) In *How to Interpret a Song*, Henschel himself writes “One Cannot Breathe Too Often: If you know how to breathe perfectly, how to replenish your lungs in the twinkling of an eye and imperceptibly, you cannot really breathe too often, for by such judicious breathing you increase the chance of bringing out the meaning of the music” (6).
Figure 3.24, Schubert, “Das Wandern,” mm. 33-42
Figure 3.25, Schubert, “Das Wandern,” mm. 49-61
Henschel’s recordings of Schumann’s “Ich grolle nicht” may have similar significance. In 1914, he recorded the song in A Major, but in 1928, he transposed it to G Major.\(^{44}\) It is hard to imagine he would have made the change for any reason other than a waning ability to sing high notes.

Henschel’s ascending slurred pairs are more consistently legato than his descending ones, as these phrases from his 1914 version of “Das Wandern” and his 1913 recording of “Die beiden Grenadiere” demonstrate (Figures 3.27 and 3.28; CD 2, track 33). Though Henschel’s ascending pairs do not have the squeezed quality of Gerhardt’s, the non-legato nature of the descending ones suggests a similar lack of

\(^{44}\) “Ich grolle nicht” is the first of two songs on a single recorded side, the second being “Lied eines Schmiedes” – which is in D Major both times. On both records, Henschel transitions from one song to the next by way of a kind of \textit{Eingang}. In 1914, this \textit{Eingang} comprises the chords A-A7-D; in 1928, the progression is G-A7-D.
Figure 3.27, Schubert, "Das Wandern," mm. 26-42
Figure 3.28, Schumann, “Die beiden Grenadiere,” mm. 58-77
air pressure and interference of throat muscles. Nevertheless, differences in *portamento di voce* between Henschel’s early and late recordings are minimal.

Henschel rarely makes an ornamental portamento, so when he does it is extremely marked. In both versions of “Der Erlkönig,” Henschel makes almost identical portamenti on the word “Armen” (Figure 3.29; CD 2, track 34). Such pronounced portamenti are rare, and vary little from one recording to another.
Attitude adjustment

Henschel’s relaxed attitude towards the score is evident throughout his recordings. In Loewe’s “Der Erlkönig,” the composer changes a couple of words of Goethe’s original poem:

Loewe: Mein Sohn, das ist ein Nebelstreif. Komm, liebes Kind…
Goethe: Mein Sohn, es ist ein Nebelstreif. Du liebes Kind…

Henschel, however, sings the text as Goethe wrote it, which suggests that he felt free to change Loewe’s score. He has a similarly flexible attitude towards the lyrics in “Das Wandern.” In 1928, he sings “Schritt” instead of “Tritt” in verse four; in 1914, he seems to sing something other than “Durchs Tal und Flut” in the last line of verse three. Similarly, in both recorded versions of “Lied eines Schmiedes,” Henschel plays Schumann’s short introduction twice before singing the first verse. He also adds piano flourishes to the end of the song.

There is some evidence that Henschel’s attitude towards recording became less flexible in the years between 1914 and 1928. Consider the following details of his 1914 recording of “Lied eines Schmiedes” which are absent from the 1928 version:

Henschel clears his throat before starting the song’s piano introduction; he also botches the aforementioned flourish at the end – and we hear him exclaim in response (CD 2, track 35). Such details are familiar evidence of the informal attitude towards making records that prevailed in the first decade or two of recording. Similarly, in his 1914 recording of “Das Wandern,” Henschel goes directly from the piano introduction into the first verse, ignoring the fermata in the score – which in 1928 he observes. Also in 1914, Henschel interpolates a flourish to the end of “Das Wandern,” a flourish that is missing from his 1928 recording.

Steadier tempos on later recordings may reflect a more formal attitude towards recording as well, or towards music-making in general. In “Das Wandern,” Henschel typically speeds up towards the end of the piano interludes. In “Lied eines Schmiedes,” Henschel tends to accelerate into the half cadence, as the melodic line rises, and to slow down into the tonic resolution, as it falls. Moreover, the 1914 “Lied eines Schmiedes” starts off around quarter note = 120 but starts accelerating almost immediately, soon reaching a range of quarter note = 152-160. By contrast, the 1928 recording displays a much steadier tempo throughout, ranging around quarter note = 152-156 (Figure 3.30; CD 2, track 36, both versions in D Major).46

**Declamatory accent**

Even as Henschel adapts to changing recording standards, his agogic accents remain very much the same. In “Das Wandern,” this phenomenon is evident in verse two at “Das hat nicht Rast bei Tag und Nacht” as well as the analogous place in verse four, “Sie tanzen mit den muntern Reihn” (Figures 3.31 and 3.32 CD 2, track 37).

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46 Christian Zwarg of Truesound Tranfers notes that many early recordings “…are not completely consistent in their speed – the pitch rises or falls slightly toward the end of the recording owing to deficiencies in the original recording apparatus.” Since Henschel’s accelerando occurs at the beginning of “Lied eines Schmiedes,” however, we can be fairly certain that it is a performance technique and not a technical glitch. See Seil and Zwarg, “The Recordings of Heinrich Schlusnus,” 90.
Ziemlich langsam, sehr markiert (J. 108)

1. Fein Röölein, ich beschlage dich, sei frisch und frohm, und wieder-komm!
Bahn hell glänzt voran, hell glänzt voran.

(Die letzte Strophe piano)

3. Trag auf dem Ritt mit jedem Tritt den Reiter du dem
4. Nun Röölein, ich beschlage dich, sei frisch und frohm, und

Himmel zu, den Himmel zu!
wieder-komm, und wieder-komm!

Figure 3.30, Schumann, “Lied eines Schmiedes”
Figure 3.31, Schubert, “Das Wandern,” mm. 9-19
Likewise, in both recordings of “Lied eines Schmiedes,” Henschel makes parallel declamatory accents at the start of the second verse, “Trag deinen Herrn stets treu dem Stern” (CD 2, track 38; see Figure 3.30).

Both “Das Wandern” and “Lied eines Schmiedes” are formally simple and emotionally straightforward, so it is perhaps not so surprising that Henschel’s accents vary so little from recording to recording. It is more striking, however, that agogic accents should remain so similar in both his early and late versions of “Ich grolle nicht” (in A Major and G Major, respectively). The following recorded excerpts show Henschel doing the following: emphasizing the word “verlornes” by arriving on the accented syllable slightly early; making a similar agogic accent on the word “Diamanten;” using marcato accents on the words “es fällt kein Strahl” with a portamento to end “Strahl!” and singing the phrase that follows with a cry in his voice,
culminating on the word “Herzens;” over-dotting on both “Schlang, die” and “Lieb, wie,” both of which include catch breaths, as well as both iterations of “ich grolle nicht” (Figure 3.33, CD 2, track 39):

Figure 3.33, Schumann, “Ich grolle nicht”
Ich grol-le nicht, und wol-ten das Herz auch bricht. Ich

sah dich ja in Trau-me, und sah die Nacht in deines Her-zens

Rau-me, und sah die Schlamp, die dir am Her-zen frist, ich sah, mein

Lieb, wie sehr du e-lend bist. Ich gro-le nicht, ich grol-le

nicht.
It should be noted that those agogic accents that cause the melody line to diverge, rhythmically, from the accompaniment, fall into the category of “melodic rubato.”

In songs of greater dramatic complexity, Henschel’s agogic accents vary slightly more. In his 1928 recording of Loewe’s “Der Erlkönig,” Henschel’s entrance on “Er hat den Knaben wohl in dem Arm” is slightly late; in the 1913 recording, he emphasizes the word “ihn” in the next line, “Er faßt ihn sicher, er hält ihn warm.” For the most part, however, agogic accent is consistent – especially in places where it seems more marked. Henschel stretches “Erlkönig” and “Erlenkönig” in the child’s first speech – albeit more in the earlier recording than in the later one. He also straightens out the rhythm at the end of the Erlking’s first speech, “Meine Mutter hat manch gülden Gewand,” for a particularly creepy effect.

**Accompaniment**

For the most part, Henschel’s accompaniments function in much the same way as his agogic accents. Though he frequently strays from the printed notation – at times so much so that he sounds more like a modern-day musical theater pianist playing from a fake book than a post-Gerald Moore era Lieder accompanist – his changes remain consistent from version to version. In “Der Erlkönig,” Henschel makes the first such change when he truncates the piano interlude that precedes the Erlking’s first lines. Immediately after, he intensifies the ensuing drama by slowing down to sing those lines. Similarly, he shortens or even eliminates the rests that precede the child’s and father’s speeches – and as the child’s terror grows, Henschel eliminates rests within his lines as well. So it is hardly surprising that, when the Erlking threatens the child with force, and when the child cries out in response, Henschel pushes the tempo. During the father’s speech, Henschel eliminates the rhythmic accents in both right and
left hands. Instead, he continues to play the tremolo only, thereby rushing through Loewe’s original rests in the son’s panicked question (Figure 3.34; CD 2, track 40). 47

As this recording also demonstrates, Henschel’s Affekt differs considerably more between pairs of through-composed Lieder than in songs like “Das Wandern” and “Lied eines Schmiedes.” In “Der Erlkönig,” Henschel’s emotional stance changes little while the different characters are speaking – but in each recording, Henschel reacts differently to the song’s enigmatic conclusion. The differences begin at the word “Hof” where, in both versions, Henschel starts to slow down; however, in the 1913 recording, this ritard happens more abruptly. Henschel continues to relax the tempo slightly more in this earlier version through the next phrase, where he lingers longer on the word Kind. But perhaps the greatest difference between the two recordings occurs on the final word of the piece. In the 1913 recording, the slow bloom of Henschel’s voice on “tot” makes it sound like he hasn’t yet comprehended what’s going on; in the 1928 version, Henschel’s breathy, broken quality on the word “tot” evokes startled horror (CD 2, track 41).

Plus ça change…

Nowhere are the similarities and differences between performances more evident than in Henschel’s two versions of “Die beiden Grenadiere.” Right from the start, the recordings display distinctly dissimilar Affekts. In the 1913 version, Henschel’s heavy articulation creates an aura of melancholy, a mood he sustains by dragging through the triplets in the vocal line: these are tired, wounded, slow-moving grenadiers. By contrast, in the 1928 version Henschel seems to push through

47 The changes I describe exist in both Henschel’s 1913 and 1928 recordings of Loewe’s “Der Erlkönig.” However, I have included only Henschel’s 1913 recording here: because it is a pre-1923 recording, it is entirely out of copyright and therefore not subject even to fair use constraints.
Figure 3.34, Loewe, “Der Erlkönig”
Geschwind

Wer reitet so spät durch Nacht und Wind?
Es ist der Vater mit seinem Kind, er hat den Knaben wohl in dem Arm, er faßt ihn sicher, er hält ihn
Figure 3.34 (Continued)

warm, er faßt ihn sicher, er hält ihn

warm.

„Mein

Sohn, was birgst du so bang dein Gesicht?“ „Siehst Vater du den

Ein König nicht? den Erw -- König mit Kron und Schweif?“ Mein

Sohn. das ist ein Nebelstreif,
Figure 3.34 (Continued)

Das ist ein Nebelstreif!

Heimlich flüstern und lockend

tremolo

Komm, liebes Kind, komm, geh mit mir, gar

una corda

schoene Spiele spiel ich mit dir, manch bunte Blumen sind an dem Strand, meine

Mutter hat manch gilden Gewand.

a tempo

Vater, mein Vater, und hörst du nicht, was
Er - len-kö - nig mir lei - se ver - spricht? "Sei ru - hig,
"Willst, fei - ner Knä - be, du mit mir gehn? Meines Töch - ter sol - len dich"
Figure 3.34 (Continued)

wur-ten schöö, mei-ne Töch-ter füh-ren den nächt-li-chen Reihn und

wie-gen und tan-zen und sin-gen dich ein. Me-in
tutte corde

Vat-tä, mein Va-tä, und siehst du nicht dort Erl-kö-nes Töcht-er am dü-ste-ren

Ort? „Mein Sohn, mein Sohn, ich seh es ge-nau, es schei-nen die

al-ten Wei-den so grau, es schei-nen die al-ten Wei-den so
lieb' dich, mich reizt deine schöne Gestalt, und bist du nicht willig, so brauch' ich Ge-

walt. „Mein Vater, mein Vater, jetzt fasst er mich an, Erlöser, hat mir ein Leid getan, Erlöser hat mir ein Leids ge-

144
Figure 3.34 (Continued)

Dem Vater graus und, er rei tet ge

schwind, er hält in den Ar men das äch sende Kind, er reicht den

Hof mit Mühe und Not, in seinen Armen

das Kind war tot.
the piano introduction as well as the openings of vocal phrases, conveying instead of melancholy a sense of agitation. These differences continue throughout: the 1913 version is more measured, whereas in the later recording, Henschel is more likely to push the tempo. Henschel’s vocal characterizations are different as well: in the later version, there is an obvious, urgent cry in Henschel’s voice at “sie ließen die Köpfe hangen;” this cry might be weakly present in the earlier recording as well, but it is not easily heard.

Although the recordings have dissimilar Affekts, they share a vocabulary of rhythmic alterations. Henschel drags triplets, alters dotting, and varies the speed of the drum-roll figure. He also commonly sings through rests and makes frequent tempo shifts. More often than not these gestures remain constant from version to version – although in keeping with the difference in Affekt described above, Henschel tends to rush the drum-roll more often in his later recording than in his earlier one. Interestingly, the speed and character of the drum-roll is often linked with what precedes or follows it – as when Henschel speeds through it in the “Was schert mich Weib, was schert mich Kind? Ich trag meine bess’re …” section in the 1928 version.

Even with these differences, Henschel’s agogic accents remain remarkably constant. He straightens the rhythm of “Grenadier” in measure three and over-dots “Köpfe” in measure eight. In the recitative-like section that follows, he sings just ahead of the accompaniment until “Kaiser… Kaiser.” We also hear similar iterations of melodic rubato at the repetition of “Viel schwerter kibirren und blitzen.” Interestingly, Henschel sings the dotted rhythms in the melody at “Gewähr mir Bruder…” in the same triplet rhythm as the accompaniment. Finally, it is worth noting that gestures that are extremely marked are identical in both versions: the extreme legato at the end of “der Kaiser gefangen;” the portamento at “eine Schildwach’;” and the parlando at “betteln gehn.” Each occurs only once in this song,
and rarely in Henschel’s total recorded output. For purposes of comparison, both recordings have been cut into numerous segments, then spliced back together a phrase or two at a time, always with the earlier version first (Figure 3.35; CD 2, track 42).

While Henschel’s recordings have an unmediated quality, the spontaneous sounding elements of his style are actually quite habitual. In other words, he does similar spontaneous-sounding things from one recorded version to the next – he has certain habits of expression. Still, there is a kind of expression that is rooted in a spontaneous style of delivery, and that is what we hear by and large throughout Henschel’s recordings.

It would be interesting to see whether there is a correspondence between the kinds of changes we observe in Henschel’s recordings and in other singers’ recordings. Unlike tempo flexibility, which seems related to Affekt and is therefore subject to some degree of variety, agogic accents stay very consistent – even when there are marked changes in Affekt. Of course, certain rhythmic changes are unproblematic for Henschel because he is his own pianist – although, as the collaboration between Gerhardt and Nikisch suggests, such changes are possible if singer and pianist are of one mind.

**Conclusions**

When I began this project, several people suggested that age considerations would be especially important to a study of Lieder recordings. After all, many singers made opera recordings in their youth, but recorded Lieder only after their vocal powers had faded. Although the Schlusnus recordings do demonstrate the effects of aging on style, they are also a testament to the fundamental consistency of the vocal habits he developed as a younger man. So while it is true that most singers sang more
Figure 3.35, Schumann, “Die beiden Grenadiere”
Nach Frankreich zogen zwei Grenadiere,
die waren in Rußland gefangen, und als sie kam in's deutsche Quartier,
sie ließen die Köpfe hängen, da hörten sie beide die traurige Mähre, daß Frankreich verloren gegangen, besiegt und geschlagen das
Figure 3.35 (Continued)

16

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ta-ple-re Heer und der Kai-ser, der Kai-ser ge-fan-gen.</th>
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20

| Da wein-ten zu-sam-men die Gre-na-dier' wohl ob der klag-li-chen |

24

| Kun-de; der Ei-ne sprach: "Wie weh wird mir, wie brennt mein-ge al-te |

28

| Wun-de! Der An-dre sprach: "Das Lied ist aus, auch ich möch't mit dir |

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Figure 3.35 (Continued)

ster-ben, doch hab' ich Weib und Kind zu Haus, die oh-ne mich ver-

der-ben. "Wasschert mich Weib, waschert mich Kind, ich tra-ge weit-beß-tes Ver-

lan-gen, laß sie bet-tein geln, wenn sie hung-ri-g sind—— mein Kai-ser, mein Kai-ser ge-

Nach und nach bewegter

fan-gen. Ge-währ' mir, Brud-er ei-ne Bitt': wenn ich jetzt ster-ben

Nach und nach bewegter
Figure 3.35 (Continued)

werde, so nimm mei-ne Lei-che nach Frank-reich mit, be-

51

Schneller

grab' mich in Frank-reich's Er-de; das Eh-renkranz am ro-then

Schneller

54

Band sollst du auf's Herz mir le-gen, die Flin-te giebmir indie

58

Hand, und gürt mir um den De-gen. So willichlie-genund

62

hor-chenstill, wie ei-ne Schild-wach', im Gra-be, bis einst ich hö-re Ka-
Figure 3.35 (Continued)

no-nen-ge-brüll und wie-hern-der Ros-se Ge-tra-be; dann rei-tet mein Kai-ser-wohl

über mein Grab, viel Schwer-ter kli-ren und blit-zen, viel Schwer-ter kli-ren und

blit-zen: dann steig' ich ge-waff-net her-vor aus dem Grab, den Kai-ser, den Kai-ser zu

schüt-zen.

Adagio
consistently in their youth, it is also true that when an older performer’s singing sounds mannered, the roots of those mannerisms are in fact present on their youthful recordings. By contrast, singers like Sir George Henschel made recordings that are a testament to the abilities of older singers. The achievements of singers like Henschel and Schlusnus suggest that, when a performer’s singing deteriorates with age, passing years alone are not to blame. Some singers simply never developed the consistent vocal habits of some of their peers.

As we listen to numerous recordings, we begin to perceive how each singer’s style varies and remains constant. We also begin to sense the ways in which any given recording represents a performer. Just as each person has his own habitual speech patterns, so each singer has his own vocal habits and vocabulary of stylistic gestures. These constitute what we think of as a performer’s style.

In this sense, style can be understood as a category of human behavior. Each performer has a gestural vocabulary, and each piece is a different situation in which that vocabulary is deployed. It is therefore not surprising that there are very few major differences between pairs of performances – and the consistency between paired versions suggests that a recording does represent more than just what a particular singer did in a studio on a particular day.