Nineteenth-Century Editions of

Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E major, Opus 109

by

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ABSTRACT

My thesis examines specific nineteenth-century editions of Beethoven's piano sonata Opus 109 as prepared by two groups of musicians: the piano virtuoso and the theorist/analyst. Study of these editions yields greater understanding of the two often-conflicting approaches to editing that have profoundly influenced performance practice of Beethoven's piano style right up to the present day. Due to the complex publication history of Opus 109 (1821), the first printed edition of the sonata contained very many serious errors; there is not one "ideal" edition that matches Beethoven's intended vision as revealed through studies of his autograph, notes and sketches. The controversial first edition of Opus 109 set the sonata as a catalyst on the interpretive stage in the War of the Romantics. This thesis critically analyses several specific types of editions produced by theorists and pedagogues, incorporating historical and biographical research to enrich understanding of the editor's perspective, the need for specific types of editions, and as a reflection of society at the time.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INDEX OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

INTRODUCTION

Opus 109 is a paradigm of Beethoven's late piano style.[1] Its large-scale structure shifted the architectural design of the classical sonata: rather than a symmetrical form with a central climax and a recapitulation, Beethoven builds the sonata on the juxtaposition of two abruptly contrasting ideas which expand and synthesize to a point of culmination in the weighty final movement. Beethoven enhanced this intensity with detailed expressive marks (tempo changes, dynamics, and articulation, for example) and an increased use of the pedal indicating orchestral and dramatic effects. Presenting interpretive challenges and a message of spiritual resolution, the entire sonata reveals Beethoven's thoughts of the eternal: the dedication to the Immortal Beloved, the key of E major that Beethoven associated with spiritual reflection and an elevated character, and the architecture of the sonata unfolding as one complete arc. The analysis I use builds on theories developed by William Kinderman, Nicolas Marston and Wilfred Mellers.[2] Opus 109 begins with two contrasting themes that seem to interrupt each other – several musicologists have compared the dual character of the first movement to philosophical concepts of time, often through parallels to Romantic literary ideas.[3] Kinderman has

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[1] On Beethoven's late piano style, see Michael Broyles, *Beethoven: the Emergence & Evolution of Beethoven's Heroic Style* (New York, 1987); Scott Burnham, "The Four Ages of Beethoven: Critical Reception and the Canonic Composer" in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven*, ed. Glenn Stanley (Cambridge 2000); Edward T. Cone, "Beethoven's Experiments in Composition: The Late Bagatelles", *Beethoven Studies 2*,ed. Alan Tyson (London, 1977); Allen Forte, *The Compositional Matrix* (New York, 1961); William Kinderman, *Beethoven* (Berkeley, 1995); Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven* (New York, 1972); Larry R. Todd, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (New York, 1990).

[2] The analysis I use builds on theories developed by Kinderman, *Ibid*; Wilfred Mellers, *Beethoven and the Voice of God* (London, 1983); Nicolas Marston, *Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E, Op. 109* (Oxford, 1995).

[3] This topic is beyond the scope of the present thesis, however, I will include literary metaphors linking Beethoven's music to the concept of time: discussed in the nineteenth-century by Berlioz, Georges Sand,

termed the structure of the first movement as parenthetical and believes this thematic presentation was influenced by Beethoven's work on the Credo of the *Missa Solemnis* (1820) in which events on earth are clearly set musically apart from events in heaven.[4]

The complex publication history of the first edition of Opus 109 (1821) involved numerous mailings between Vienna and Berlin: Beethoven sent his autograph to his publisher in Berlin, followed by subsequent mailings of a corrected proof, an edited autograph, and three lists of corrections. This resulted in the distressing fact that even today there is not one satisfactory edition that matches Beethoven's intended vision as indicated through recent studies of his autograph, notes and sketches. Consequently, editions based on the erroneous first edition present the widest range of editorial variability for any one Beethoven sonata, especially those printed in the nineteenth century. It was during the nineteenth century that the most varied approaches to editing existed, partly a result of the process to supply large quantities of editions of Beethoven's music in high demand from a growing musically literate public.

In Beethoven's time, the most reliable editions were "authentic", that is they had the composer's approval as representative of his or her ideas. In other cases, such as Opus 109, many copies were pirated, and often varied greatly from the original autograph or first edition. The abundance of erroneous editions and the resulting discrepancies in

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Liszt, Hugo, and Balzac; more recently by Wilfred Mellers, Charles Rosen, Carl Dahlhaus, Charles Rosen, Simon Schama and Ruth Subotnick.

[4] Kinderman, *Beethoven*, 83.

performances based on these scores led early musicologists A.B. Marx and E.T.A. Hoffmann to take a stand advocating reverence to a composition; works were to be presented as close to the composer's intentions as possible. Marx and Hoffmann coined the term *Werktreue,* sometimes referred to as *Texttreue*, as an ideal to uphold fidelity to the work, no matter how strange or "daemonic" the music seemed. [5]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the concept of *Werktreue* divided into two distinctly different interpretations: one view guarded the traditions of the past; the other upheld a fidelity to the forward-looking aesthetics of the score. The division of ideals affected critical reception of Beethoven's music, and how his music was perceived to fit historically into society: as representing the classical or the romantic style. The heated debates that occurred between opposing camps over values of musical aesthetics and culture resulted in the War of the Romantics.[6]

My thesis examines cultural and historical views and styles of performance practice recorded in nineteenth-century editions of Opus 109. The editions presented fall into two categories: (1) critical editions or *Urtext* scores prepared by theorists and (2)

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[5] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford, 1992), 34.

[6] The term "War of the Romantics" refers to the nineteenth-century battle of musical conservatives, led by Brahms and Clara Schumann, centred in Leipzig, against modernists, led by Liszt in Weimar. The war peaked with Brahms' Manifesto (1860). See: Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton, 1995); Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven* (New York, 1987); Katherine Ellis, *Music Criticism in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, 1995); Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years* (London, 1989).

pedagogical editions, prepared by famous piano virtuosos.[7] Critical editions were part of a drive to produce monumental series, national collections and collected editions, inspired by the establishment of the *Bach-Gesellschaft* (1850). The production of Beethoven's *Samtliche Klaviersonaten* was part of a goal to make music accessible, and as a venue to establish the Complete Edition within the newly founded classical canon. On the other hand, piano virtuosos prepared pedagogical editions to present interpretive instruction, which expressed their artistic interpretation of *Werktreue.*

The theoretical framework for my study presents a new methodology through a critical comparison: I systematically analyse and evaluate individual editions based on the criteria of their notational directions, critical commentary, expression marks, tempo, and pedalling. I examine how consistently the editorial procedures are used. The editorial criteria are then compared and cross-referenced to Beethoven's autograph and the first printed edition (Schlesinger, 1821). The editorial procedures used in nineteenth-century editions are then compared to the modern criteria for editing. [8]

My thesis begins with the history, genesis, and conception of the inaugural edition of Opus 109. The controversial first edition of Opus 109 set the sonata as a catalyst on

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[7] In my thesis, I refer to 'interpretive' editions as pedagogical, due to the instructive nature of the editorial procedures. Historically, the labels are used interchangeably. See John Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice (*Cambridge, 1996); Bülow, Ibid; Tovey, Ibid.

[8] The main sources for sketch research are Nicolas Marston, *Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E, Op. 109* (Oxford, 1995); William Meredith, *Sources for Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109(Oxford, 1995).* For historical research of Beethoven's editions, see Alan Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (New York, 1983). The main sources on modern editing include Georg Feder, *Musikphilologie: eine Einführung in die musikalische Textkritik, Hermeneutik und Editionstechnik* (Darmstadt, 1987); John Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method, and Practice* (Cambridge, 1996); Günter Henle quoted in the *Preface, Beethoven Klaviersonaten, Urtext,* ed. B.A. Wallner (München, 1980), and *The Complete Beethoven Sonatas,* ed. Donald Tovey (London, 1943).

the interpretive stage in the War of the Romantics. I include analysis of Beethoven's sonata, and refer to studies of his autograph and sketchbooks.[9] Testimonials from Beethoven's students and friends help point to what Beethoven intended by his notational language. The work of nineteenth century critics, scholars and pedagogues is compared to specific twentieth-century musicological reactions to provide an overview of the historical reception of Opus 109 with general summaries of research and analysis.

Chapter Two begins with an historical overview of the trends in musicology to aid our understanding of the culture and society that influenced the scholarly approaches to editing. Here, I discuss the emerging field of musicology supported by newly established music schools and universities. By mid-century, musicology had become a disciplined study of theories, documents and catalogues produced to strengthen the establishment of the musical canon. Theorists prepared critical editions as representatives of an authentic version of a primary source, referred to as *Urtext* scores. Scholars today, such as Feder and Grier, object to the concept of an *Urtext* since subsequent scholarship supersedes the authenticity of the score: the nineteenth-century *Urtext* edited by theorist Carl Krebs (Breitkopf & Hartel, 1898) was superseded by autograph studies leading to Schenker's edition (Universal Editions, 1913); in turn, modern sketch research points to the need for yet a new revised edition. Modern editors Henle and Feder have noted that *Urtext* editions must also be critical editions: this means that editorial procedures are clearly defined and explained, and applied with a consistent methodology.

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[9] See, in particular, Marston, *Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E, Op. 109*; Meredith, *Sources*; Kinderman, *Beethoven*; Heinrich Schenker, *Der Freie Satz*, vol. 3; Jurgen Uhde, *Beethovens Klaviermusik* (Stuttgart, 1974); Warren Kirkendale, "New roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*" in *The Creative World of Beethoven* (New York, 1970).

My thesis shows that most nineteenth-century *Urtext* or critical editions reveal inconsistent editorial procedures that reinterpret the original source. Analysis of critical editions suggests that Beethoven was viewed as an important classical composer since the innovative aesthetic elements of Opus 109 were refigured into an accessible, conservative format with a stress upon clarity and structure.

In Chapter Three, I examine the second category of editions, prepared by pedagogical or interpretive editors, usually famous virtuosos. Did these "superstars" truly divine insights into Beethoven's style or merely edit to display their own gladiator talents? Critical analysis shows evidence of virtuosic performance practice within these editions: Opus 109 was performed with practical attention to fingering and rhythms, an ease of fluency in technical passages and added suggestions that indicate the *grande ligne* of the sonata. What is outstanding about most of the pedagogical editions is the intimate understanding of and reverence for Beethoven's style. Many interpretive suggestions in these editions correspond to Beethoven's intended directions only revealed through modern research. Yet, the academy criticized pedagogical editions for imposing a personal view onto the score that obstructed Beethoven's original notation.

In my thesis, I show that many pedagogical editions (*pedägogishe Ausgaben*) are edited with consistent and honest editorial procedures which include (1) discussion of editorial methodology, (2) prefatory remarks on Beethoven's style and place in history, (3) a numbering system with explanatory notes appearing in an appendix, or (4) through

footnotes detailing. Pedagogical editions were aimed at a variety of users: the edition of Bülow (1880) is geared towards a young student requiring much direction, whereas the edition of Liszt (1886) presents interpretive suggestions for a skilled performer.

My thesis documents that pedagogical editions include most of Beethoven's innovative directions and expressive marks. Pedagogical editions generally show both a modern critical approach to editing and a deep aesthetic sense of the score, presenting Opus 109 as a spiritual poem. Critical analysis of pedagogical editions reveals general philosophies, tastes and literary inspirations popular in artistic circles of the Romantic movement: while many musicologists aimed at moral seriousness through traditional education, for most piano virtuosos, art had replaced religion and Beethoven's music offered a vision for the future.

CHAPTER ONE: THE GENESIS AND HISTORY OF THE FIRST EDITION OF OPUS 109

> The greater a work's significance, the greather the importance of its slightest detail. We cannot deal lightly with matters that impelled the great composers... Eva Badura Skoda[1]

Beethoven's Opus 109 piano sonata in E major is a masterful unfolding of dramatic and spiritual ideas, yet present editions of this abiding work of art limit our full understanding of Beethoven's vision. Beethoven's innovative notational directions and tight organizational structure are marred by contradictions and orthographic mistakes in the score caused by the exasperating difficulties surrounding the first printed edition; currently there is not a fully satisfactory edition to correspond with the extant primary sources. Through study of the sources surrounding the genesis and first publication, we are able to piece together what might be considered a wholly acceptable edition of Opus 109. While experts may differ as to certain orthographic details in the score, reliance on documents concerning Beethoven's own performance and pedagogical practice can help decipher Beethoven's message.

The preparation of any critical edition of Opus 109 depends first on evaluating the state of extant manuscripts and documents. Because there are over 600 variants between Beethoven's corrected autograph and the first printed edition, the sketches for Opus 109 offer a viable starting point. These can be found in three different sketchbooks used between 1819-1821. Sketches for the first movement are in the Wittgenstein sketchbook, while sketches for the second movement are in Artaria 195; sketches for the third movement are in Artaria 195 with seven ideas for variations

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[1] Eva Badura-Skoda quoted in William Meredith, *Sources for Beethoven's Piano Sonata in E Major, Opus 109* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1985), 228.

found in Artaria 197. Other extant materials related to Opus 109 include Beethoven's autograph, engraver's proofs, two corrected fair copies, and two lists of corrections, as well as correspondence and recorded conversations concerning the sketches and autograph. Part of interpreting this wealth of materials is to realise their importance in relation to the complex sequence of events leading up to publication of the first edition.

The genesis of Opus 109 begins with the earliest sketches for what became the first movement, presently found in odd miscellany in the *Deutsche Staatsbibliothek* in Berlin.[2] The miscellaneous nature of these sketches complicates accurate dating. Other sketches for the first movement are found in the Wittgenstein sketchbook now in the *Beethovenhaus* in Bonn. Many leaves are missing or loose, such as the miscellany in Grasnick 20b; these pages may have been removed by Beethoven to join sketches of the first movement to notes in his second pocket sketchbook BH 107, since they are sewn together, probably by Beethoven himself. Sketch studies for Opus 109 were not fully possible until the *Beethovenhaus* published facsimile volumes of the reconstructed Wittgenstein sketchbook along with transcriptions prepared by Joseph Schmidt-Georg which appeared in 1968. The Wittgenstein sketchbook was first used by Beethoven in 1819 and contains sketches for the first movement of Opus 109 along with the first sketches of the *Missa solemnis*: within section BH 107 are sketches for the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, along with three canons and a few unidentified sketches, as well as several loose leaves which share pencil sketches for both the *Credo* and the first movement of Opus 109.[3] At the end of the

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[2] Grasnick 20a and 20b, contained within two volumes once owned by Berlin collector Friedrich August Grasnick, cited in Meredith:11.

[3]One leaf is labelled BSK 27/75, another SBH 672 which was originally between pp. 42-43, and leaf D came from H.C. Bodmer in 1956. Beethoven may have viewed these sketches as dispensible since on the verso of one is a pencil and ink sketch for the canon *Hoffmann, sey ja kein Hoffmann* WoO 180, which may have been presented as a gift - although probably not to Hoffmann as the text is rather rude. The

Wittgenstein sketchbook, section B107, are additional sketches for the first movement of Opus 109; they are dated approximately to February or March 1820.

It was about this time that Beethoven recorded conversations about a "new little piece": Beethoven's bank clerk friend Franz Olivia made reference to the composition and asked Beethoven if he was "sending that to Starke as a single piece" .[4] Friedrich Starke was a student of Beethoven, an esteemed pedagogue, composer and horn player for the Vienna Opera. In 1820, he published his second pedagogical collection: *Wiener Piano-Fort-Schule II* which included Beethoven's *Andante* and *Rondo* of the piano sonata in D major, Opus 28 with Beethoven's editorial comments and fingerings. Starke's *Pianoforte III* (1821) contained Beethoven's *Bagatelles*, Opus 119, Nos. 7-11, selected passages from the *Adagio* of the piano sonata in D minor, Opus 31, No. 2, and an arrangement of the finale of the piano concerto in C minor, Opus 37. It is quite possible that the first movement of Opus 109 began as a bagatelle for Starke's collection. Sketches for the three *Vivace* sections of the first movement are complete in the Wittgenstein sketchbook, and if the three sections based on a lively "Scotch snap" figure in 2/4 meter are joined, the resulting architectural structure forms a bagatelle. To construct a sonata form first movement, Beethoven connected the three *Vivace* sections with two fantasia-like *Adagio espressivo* passages, which occur in place of the expected second subject (example 1).[5] Example 1 shows how Schlesinger divided the two sections with a double-bar line, while Schenker's observations of Beethoven's autograph led him to indicate only a single-bar line.

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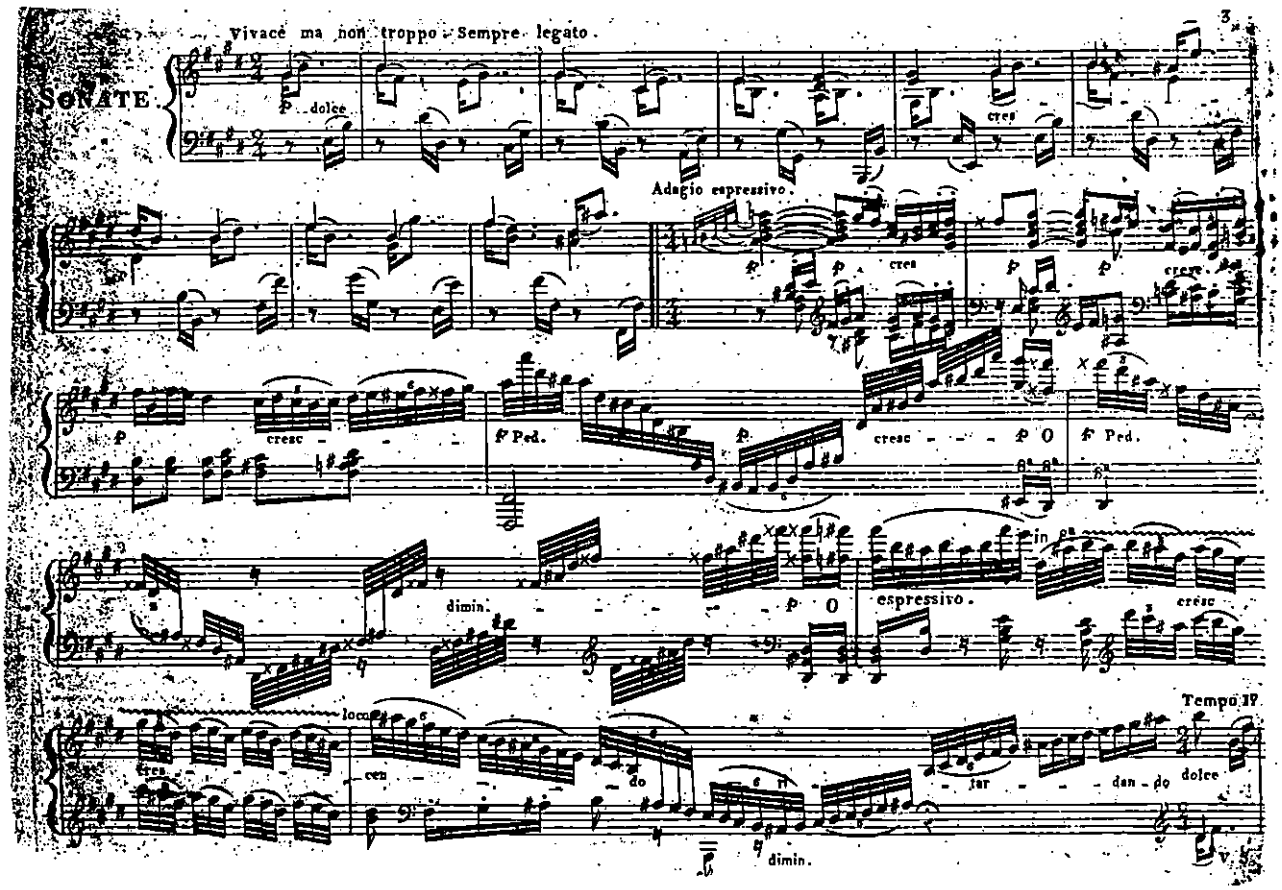
sketches for Opus 109 do not continue on the last page, p. 44, suggesting missing leaves since construction of the sketchbook indicates at least eight more sides should follow.

[4] Meredith: 11; *Konversationsheft*, 2:72.

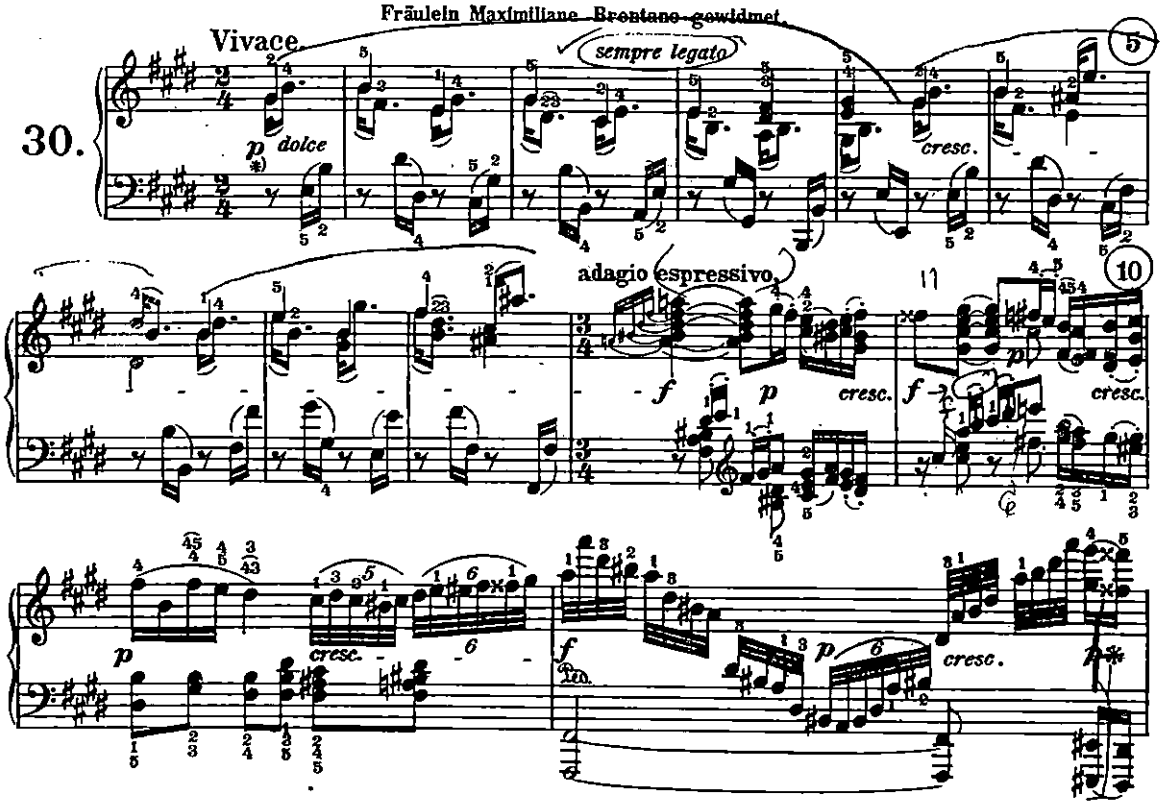
[5] For the sake of brevity, this section is refered to as *Vivace*, yet I agree with Meredith that Schlesinger's alteration to *Vivace ma non troppo* on the first edition was fully endorsed by Beethoven. Schenker instead remained true to the autograph.

Example 1

a) Opus 109 *Vivace/Adagio* (Schlesinger, 1821)

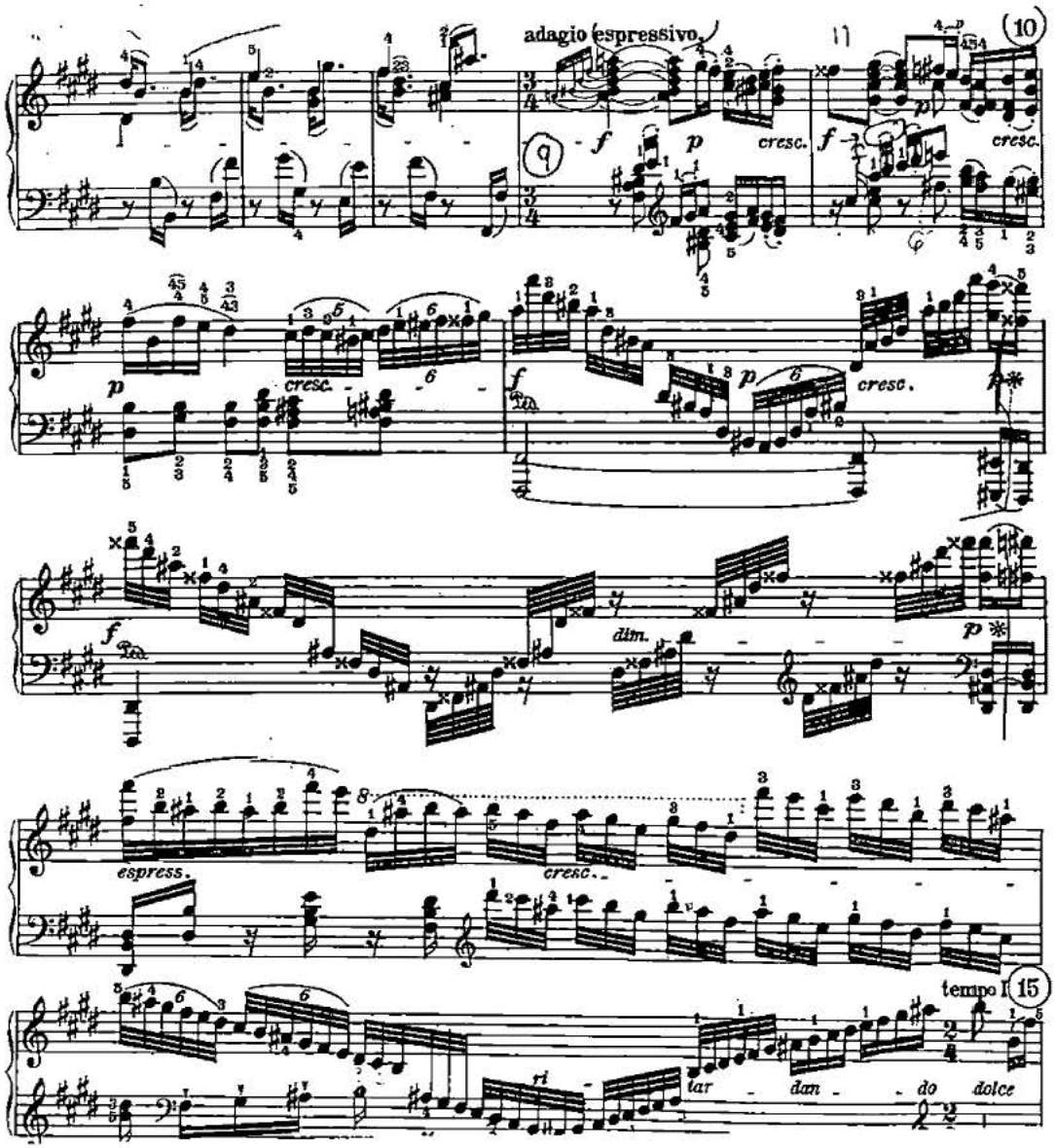


b) Opus 109 *Vivace/Adagio* (Schenker, 1913)



In direct contrast of tempo, meter and mood, the *Adagios* are similar to extemporized *fantasias* of C.P.E. Bach: an improvisatory passage indicated by a fermata or dominant harmony, often occurring over a diminished *ombra* harmony used as a rhetorical device to evoke the *topos* of awe and mystery. Almost as soon as the *Vivace* begins with a Highland fling-like dance rhythm (owing to the constant Scotch-snap figure), the *Adagio* passage halts the momentum until it breaks on the dominant, after which the *Vivace* skips ahead exactly where it left off, undisturbed (example 2).

Example 2 First movement, *Vivace/Adagio*, mm. 9-14 (Schenker, 1913)



Sketch studies of the *Adagio* sections are limited by missing leaves that might explain striking key changes (D# Major in m. 13; C Major in m. 16), while existing sketches reveal the many differences between the extant sketches and the *Adagios* of the autograph. Beethoven decided to link the first *Adagio* to the opening *Vivace* section through the "E-tonicizing" motive B-A-G# in the bass (m.2-3); then there is movement towards the dominant when suddenly a treble A# resolves instead to A (m. 9-10) over a diminished-seventh chord moving towards C#. Thus the rising progression G#-A#-B and the descending progression B-A-G# create a melodic modulation from the tonic to the dominant, then dominant to tonic; the tonal scheme is linked with the melodic motive.[6]

The unusual combination of meter and tempo was a device Beethoven also used in Bagatelle No. 6 (G major), Opus 119 which involves dual phrases of a 3/4 *Andante* (m. 1-6) switching into a 2/3 *Allegretto* (m. 7-10), both of which join to form one period. This bagatelle was included in Starke's collection, unlike Beethoven's *Vivace* which took on grander proportions. Once Beethoven had received a commission from Adolf Martin Schlesinger (1769-1839) for three piano sonatas, he may have taken Olivia's suggestion (dated April 22-24, 1820) to instead use the "new little piece" for a sonata for Schlesinger.

The commission was generated by a letter Beethoven wrote from Vienna, on March 25, 1820 to Adolf's son, Moritz Adolf Schlesinger (1798-1871) in Berlin, inquiring about publication

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[6] The term "E-tonicizing" was coined by Kevin Bazanna, "The First Movement of Beethoven's Opus 109: Compositional Genesis and Structural Dialectic" in *Canadian University Music Review*, No. 12/1 (Toronto, 1992), 2.

of some of his works including some Scottish songs (Opus 108).[7] Instead, a reply came from Adolf on April 11 (letter non-extant, but Beethoven's letter of March 25th makes note of this reply) who expressed some reservations regarding translations and international publication practices. Beethoven wrote back to Adolf on April 30 offering him the songs with an English text and discussion of a price; he sweetened his deal with "I will gladly let you have new sonatas." [8] On June 28, Beethoven wrote to Adolf for a final agreement on the price of his compositions, and stated he could offer "three completely new Sonatas for the price that you suggested" and that "I shall send you the songs immediately, together with one sonata that also already lies finished" .[9] It seems what was finished was Beethoven's complete concept of the sonata, rather than the detailed editorial process necessary to accurately communicate this concept. It is unlikely that a fully edited copy of Opus 109 was completed by June 1820: complications delayed preparation of a fair copy (*Reinschrift)*; recent dating of the sketches for the second and third movements indicate Beethoven needed two more weeks to complete the sonata. Over the next few months, correspondence occurred between Beethoven and Schlesinger concerning Beethoven's proofreading of the copies, and on September 20, he stated that the first sonata "is almost completely finished....except for the corrections".[10]

But Beethoven's process to complete the sonata was delayed. On January 10, 1821, the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* reported Beethoven was sick with rheumatic fever. The illness postponed completion of his corrections (*Correktur*, later *Korrektur*), and in a letter to

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[7] Beethoven hoped to secure a continental edition of his English publication of the 25 Scottish songs edited by George Thomson in June 1818. Emily Anderson, *Letters of Beethoven* (London, 1961), No. 642 and No. 1015.

[8] Anderson: 1021.

[9] Theodore Albrecht, *Letters to Beethoven and Other Correspondence* (Nebraska, 1996), No. 274.

[10] Meredith: 130.

Schlesinger dated March 7, Beethoven apologised for the delay; he enclosed his *Reinschrift* of Opus 109, stating "you will probably be able to read my manuscript" , along with a dedication to Fraulein Maximiliana Brentano. This meant that Schlesinger had to make a corrected copy (an *Abschrift)* from which the engraved copies *(Stichvorlagen)* for the proofs could be made.

On May 21, Schlesinger sent a package to Beethoven for proofreading, including a copy of Opus 109, a new *Abschrift* he had prepared in Berlin from Beethoven's manuscript, along with two engraved proofs (*Stichvorlagen*) made directly from Beethoven's manuscript rather than from a corrected *Abschrift* as was usual. Beethoven sent Schlesinger a reply dated July 6,1821, stating he was horrified to find "very many serious mistakes" .[11] Although the *Abschrift* Schlesinger had prepared was "almost entirely correct", the engraver's proofs contained "too many mistakes".[12] Beethoven asked Schlesinger not to publish the sonata until the corrections were made, and set himself the task of correcting his manuscript, the *Abschrift*, and the two *Stichvorlagen;* to complicate his task, he also compiled three lists of corrections which meant that an engraver had to check three different places (the *Abschrift*, the *Stichvorlagen* and the lists). To complicate matters further, this daunting and exacting process proved to be beyond Beethoven's capabilities at the time, since on the edited manuscript there are twenty-two corrections made by Beethoven in red ink along with a numbered set of directions at the bottom of several pages, while the first list of corrections contains only seventeen changes.[13] Additional proof of Beethoven's poor editorial skills

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[11]Meredith: 137.

[12]Ibid.

[13]On a copy of the autograph, kindly provided to me by William Kinderman, the inaccuracy of Beethoven's editorial skills on the corrected autograph is evident: I noticed in the third movement, the third variation *allegro Vivace* is marked with the time signature 3/4, yet it should be marked 2/4.

is evident in a corrected copy that he sent as a gift to Archduke Rudolf: this copy corresponds with the corrected manuscript, yet contains none of the corrections written on the first edition.[14] In Beethoven's letter, he complained that "a more difficult and tiring task has never been put to me", yet in attempts to clarify a procedure, he directed Schlesinger to conform to the corrected *Abschrift.*

To complicate matters further, Schlesinger received only the first set of corrections and the corrected *Abschrift,* which he proceeded to use for the *Stichvorlage.* The first edition of Opus 109 was published in October 1821 and distributed by Schlesinger in Berlin, as well as Artaria & Co., Cappi and Diabelli, and Steiner & Co. in Vienna. Meanwhile, Beethoven quickly sent off the second list of corrections that he had forgotten to send to Schlesinger; this list is now lost. Beethoven received his four printed copies the next day.

Three weeks later, Beethoven informed Schlesinger in a letter dated November 13, that the engraver's plates needed to be remade since they did not contain any corrections from the second list. He apologized again for the confusion and appealed to Schlesinger to incorporate a supplemental list on all the scores, by hand, before the copies were distributed. On November 14, Beethoven discovered he had forgotten to send Schlesinger the third list of corrections, which he stated were "the most authentic " .[15] It is not known if Schlesinger incorporated Beethoven's third list of corrections into a supplemental list accompanying the score, and only some of the first editions contain Schlesinger's handwritten corrections in brown ink.[16]

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[14] Shelf mark VII. 17379.P.11967 in *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde,* Vienna.
[15]Meredith: 150.

[16]A copy of the first edition, with all of Beethoven's twenty-two corrections made by Schlesinger neatly entered in brown ink, resides in the *Beethovenhaus* in Bonn.

Several weeks after Opus 109 was published, Beethoven wrote to Maximiliana Brentano on December 6 to inform her of the dedication of his sonata which represented to him:

> the spirit that unites the noble, better people on this earth and which time can never destroy... the memory of such a noble family can never fade in me.... [17]

Beethoven wrote to Maxi's father, Franz, to inform him of his noble intentions, despite the fact that "I was bold enought to dedicate one of my works to your daughter Maxi without asking your permission". [18] The letter was dated December 20th, further illustrating Beethoven's problems with the publication process of the sonata.

After publication of Opus 109, Beethoven did not pursue a second corrected edition; instead, he proceeded with new compositions, giving little regard to re-editing the autograph scores of published works. This attitude was observed by one of his students, Ferdinand Ries:

> Beethoven attached no value to his autograph scores: once they had been engraved, they usually lay in an adjoining room or else on the floor in the middle of the room along with other items of music. I have often put his music in order, but when Beethoven was looking for something everything was turned upside down again. At that time I could have carried off the original autographs of all the compositions that had already been engraved, and if I had asked him for them I am sure he would have given them to me without a moment's hesitation.[19]

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[17] Maximiliana Brentano was the daughter of Franz and Antonie Brentano. Beethoven originally intended to dedicate all three of the late sonatas to the family. Maynard Solomon argued that Antonie was Beethoven's *Immortal Beloved.*

[18] Meredith: 162.

[19] F.G.Wegeler and F. Ries, *Beethoven Remembered*, trans. Frederick Noonan (Virginia, 1987), 113.

Beethoven instead focused on negotiating the best possible terms for a new work, since after a single cash payment for Opus 109 he would not expect royalties.[20] This business arrangement would explain Beethoven's negotiations with several publishers at the same time: he often made deals with a Continental firm and an English one. In *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (1963), Alan Tyson discusses how this arrangement resulted in many English texts differing from the first edition since they often came from a different source. Six publishers were identified as producing most of Beethoven's editions within his lifetime, most of them "authentic", that is having Beethoven's approval: five distinguished printers in London and one in Edinburgh (George Thompson). [21] Over forty firms profited from sales of Beethoven's music, and most were sold by Monzani who published over seventy-five works with a thematic index. [22]

Still, the question remains as to why Beethoven did not pursue a new edition of Opus 109 since his strong reaction to the erroneous copies of his Opus 110 and 111 sonatas (first published by Schlesinger in Berlin) led him to quietly help the publishers Cappi & Diabelli of Vienna and Clementi in London to produce their own amended editions of these two sonatas. The necessity for Beethoven to be discreet about republishing was due to the generally respected rights of a publisher: although international copyright did not exist, a publisher's rights of ownership within a country were often protected, and Beethoven did not want to destroy his friendly dealings with the Schlesinger family.[23] In his attempt at copyright benefits, Beethoven tried to engage many

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[20]International copyright was unknown and only began to gain some legal sanctions in the 1830s.

[21] Alan Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (London, 1963), 22.

[22]Aside from the thirty or so authentic editions, there is an impressive collection of "copied" editions printed between 1799-1827, attesting to Beethoven's popularity in England after 1800: included are over 140 compositions, ranging from Opus 1 to Opus 127 as documented in *Contemporary English Editions of Beethoven* (1953): Hirsh, Paul and Oldmann, C.B., Principal Keeper of Printed Books in the British Museum (1948-59).

[23] The Schlesinger family owned publishing rights for many of Beethoven's compositions, and Beethoven respected these rights to ensure future publications.

publishers in reprinting his compositions as a collected edition for which he would include a new composition for each genre: he appealed to Peters in 1822-3 and Schott in 1825 with such offerings. However, publishers were more concerned with the public's ephemeral interest in new works. It was also easy and lucrative to copy extant publications without the composer's approval. Many publishers would produce their own copies based on the first editions and undercut the original publisher's sale price - a legal business practice in common use.

Subsequent editions of Opus 109 prove to be a challenge for any performer wanting to understand Beethoven's intentions. Many pirated copies appeared in 1822: Johann Cappi's edition of that year, for instance, contains none of the twenty-two corrections made to the first edition, while the edition by Moritz Schlesinger (Paris, 1822) contains only three of the corrections. Several other editions were printed during the nineteenth century.Unfortunately, all of these editions were based only on the uncorrected first edition. Since the corrected *Abschrift* that Beethoven sent to Schlesinger, considered the ultimate authority, is now lost, it is necessary to reconstruct this corrected score through analysis of relevant extant documents: the sketches, the corrected first edition,the first and third list of corrections, and the corrected autograph.

Reconstruction of Beethoven's sketches and autograph sources shows a great variability in notation and transcription: compare the range of sketch transcriptions for Opus 109 as prepared by Allen Forte, William Meredith, Nicolas Marston, Kevin Bazanna and William Kinderman. [24] A correspondence of several transcriptions is usually enough to represent what Beethoven meant, despite what was actually penned. Transcription begins with an interpretive

[24] Meredith, Ibid; Marston, Ibid; Allen Forte, *The Compositional Matrix* (New York, 1961); Bazanna, Ibid; William Kinderman, facsimile transcription of Artaria 195 (Bonn) forthcoming.

recreation of source material, and often involves realization of "implied aural context" combined with the use of analysis.[25]

Heinrich Schenker was the first editor to approach Opus 109 with such a methodology. He consulted the autograph source and used his own harmonic system to determine the outcome of discrepancies found between the autograph and the first edition. The many fascinating variants he discovered justified his reference to his edition as *formlich eine Ausgrabung* ("practically an excavation"); he truly felt he had uncovered a long-buried masterpiece and was presenting the "first authentic truth about Op.109".[26] Schenker prided himself in "being the true founder of the discipline of autograph-study" and stated that he had devised his solution to problems of notation by correspondence to the musical content and the theory of musical coherence .[27] Schenker's edition of Opus 109 was published in 1913, alongside a *Kritische Einfuehrung und Erlauterung.*[28] In the *Kritische Einfuehrung* to Opus 109, Schenker analyses Beethoven's harmony to explain his transcription; however, this is difficult to read as he had not yet devised linear reductions. Schenker used his harmonic system of analysis, first partially stated in his *Harmonie-Lehre* (1906), to illustrate Beethoven's tight organizational design through the concept of "organic coherence".[29] He believed that a precise understanding of the structure of a composition was vital for a performer whose primary task was to reveal that structure; it was therefore highly important to study the manuscript in preparation of any edition. Schenker originally intended to publish a

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[25] Barry Cooper, *Beethoven and the Creative Process* (Oxford, 1990), 93-100; Marston: 3.

[26] *Erlaeterungsausgabe*: 22; Marston: 6

[27] Heinrich Schenker, *Free Composition* (New York, 1979), i.7.

[28] Schenker's edition was first published by Universal Editions, 1913, and reprinted in 1975 by Dover Publications. Schenker's original edition was revised by Erwin Ratz (Vienna, 1946-7); the Ratz-Schenker edition was then reprinted and translated by Oswald Jonas (New York, 1965). Marston has commented that there are problems with Jonas's translations since it rewords and suppresses several of Schenker's passages. Marston: 4-9.

[29] Schenker: vol. 3, 24-25.

facsimile edition of the Opus 109 autograph, however, this was prevented by the financial situation of Universal Editions after World War One.[30]

Schenker's harmonic system led him to determine the best choice between discrepancies found in the autograph and the first edition, but his editorial choice often shows up on the score as conflicting directions. One example of this is the direction of pedal markings in the *Adagio* of the first movement (example 2): the first pedal lift in m.13 conforms with the first edition, whereas the second lift in m.14 is the indication Beethoven notated on his autograph; Beethoven's indication is far more pianistic, prolonging the harmonies and creating a rich legato, whereas the first lift sounds much drier, and relies on finger legato. Schenker's contradictory directions may have been directly related to his not analysing the *Adagio* sections of the first movement. To his credit, Schenker nearly always used the articulation sign of the stroke, while many editions chose only to use the staccato sign. However, Schenker may have misread Beethoven's handwriting in this case, as he does not use all of the strokes that appear in the autograph.

The stroke was used as a mark of disconnection, but it was not always legible in Beethoven's handwriting: this led to errors in subsequent editions. Usually, editors equated the stroke and the dot for keyboard music, preferring the dot since it was easier to engrave.[31] The dot is used in many editions of the Beethoven sonatas, such as those edited by Mies, Wallner and Schmidt, Zimmerman and Schnabel. However, Beethoven wanted a definite sound of disconnection, as

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[30]In 1948, Mrs. Gertrude Clarke Whittall donated the autograph from the Wittgenstein collection to the Library of Congress in Washington,D.C.. In 1965, the entire manuscript was published in facsimile by the Robert Owen Lehman Foundation of New York City (printed in the Netherlands: L. Van Leer & Co.), with an introduction by Oswald Jonas.

[31] Michael John Redshaw, *Characteristic Articulation in Beethoven's Piano Music: A Performer's Approach.* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Alberta, 1990), 49.

described in the eighteenth-century violin and flute treatises .[32] While C.P.E. Bach equated the dot and the stroke, J.J. Quantz and Leopold Mozart described strokes as having sharper attacks and quicker releases than dots, using strokes mainly in faster tempos.[33] Beethoven's use of violin/flute articulation for keyboard influenced Muzio Clementi, who stated in his *Introduction* (1801) that there was a difference between strokes and dots, as well as between slurred dots and slurs alone, and that the difference depended on the character and "passion" or topic of the piece.[34] In 1819, Friedrich Starke published the first of his three treatises, *Pianoforte I*, in which he concurred with Clementi on the execution of dots, slurs and strokes .[35]

Many articulation directions chosen by Schenker for his edition of Opus 109 reflect his harmonic system's stress on the importance of the melodic motive. After publication of his edition, he further discussed this sonata in his essay "The Organic Nature of Sonata Form" (1926) which explains and demonstrates the unity and "world of coherence" created in the first movement through the upbeat figure G# 1-B 1 that first appears as the motive in the right hand.[36] This figure in the *Urlinie* continues to unify the first movement: through the development's section as G#3-B3 (bars 21-42), in the recapitulation (bar 48) in the high register, and again in bars 95-96 as G#2-B2 and in bar 97 as G#3-B3. The focus on the melodic figure also led Schenker to suggest several alternative analytical readings to the score: as stated in his *Harmonielehre*, Schenker concluded

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[32]J.J. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute* (London, 1766); Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing* (London: 1751); C.P.E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (Berlin, 1753), 157.

[33]Quantz: 220.

[34] Muzio Clementi, *Introduction to the Art of Playing on the Pianoforte*, Op. 200 (New York, 1983), 8-9.

[35] William S.Newman, *Beethoven on Beethoven* (New York, 1988), 141.

[36]Marston: 8.

different cadential progressions based not only on harmonic progression, but also on the melodic line, such as his statement that "the final cadence of the movement is an imperfect one", while harmonic analysis shows there is no actual cadence in the closing bars.[37]

Another editor of Opus 109 who shared Schenker's interest in the importance of the first movement was Donald Tovey. In his "Companion"(1955) that accompanies his annotated edition of the Beethoven sonatas, he explained the sonata in terms of "figures". Like Schenker, Tovey stressed the importance of the first movement, although his analysis rests on the "reversal of tempos": the abrupt changes in tempo and texture between the *Vivace* and the *Adagio* sections which led him to analyse the sonata as a "process in time" with tonality used as one of several means to control the "larger rhythm". [38]

Allen Forte also stressed the importance of the first movement. In *Compositional Matrix* (1961), he uses Schenker's harmonic system to illustrate that the *Urline* of the first movement is the theoretical framework for the entire sonata: Forte discusses melodic development and composing-out of the upbeat figure G#-B1 (which constitutes the upper third of the tonic triad) as controlling the entire sonata. He concludes that this figure is the primary material for melodic development in the second and third movements (theme only):..."the sketches indicate that Beethoven's concept of the totality extends beyond the individual movements to include all three

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[37]Schenker: 25.

[38] Donald Tovey, *A Companion to Beethoven's Pianoforte Sonatas* (London, 1955), 257-269.

movements".[39] However, limiting analysis to only one system can produce contradictory results, such as the conclusion reached by Jurgen Uhde in *Beethovens Klaviermusik* (1974):

> Out of the wealth of ideas in the first and second movements, finally arises the *Gesang* and the variations' theme. It contains everything that preceded it.[40]

Uhde's conviction that the gravity of the sonata lies in the last movement would later be confirmed through sketch analysis that shows the architecture of the sonata unfolding as a drive towards the Finale.[41] Yet Schenker's use of the same system of analysis stressed the importance of the first movement, which misled him in decisions over several orthographical details such as the use of bar lines.

Nicolas Marston feels that Schenker misread Beethoven's "squiggle" at the end of each of the first two movements.[42] Schenker ends the first movement without closing lines to the bar or the movement, while he concludes the end of the second movement with a final double bar sign . Yet Marston believes there is only one double bar line in the sonata which occurs at the end of the Finale, and that the closure signs at the end of the first and second movements should be merely "double-single" bar lines (usually used to indicate the end of a time signature, a key change, or the end of a distinct section within a movement). This is an important direction to the performer to continue the momentum right into the Finale, driving more energy and weight into this movement.

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[39] Meredith: 242.

[40] Jurgen Uhde, *Beethovens Klaviermusik,* (Stuttgart, 1974), 85.

[41] Marston: 10-11.

[42] Term coined by Marston: 7.

The momentum leading to the Finale of Opus 109 created an innovative large-scale structure: Beethoven had shifted the architectural design of the classical sonata away from a symmetrical structure with a central climax and a literal recapitulation, to a sonata structure built on the juxtaposition of two abruptly contrasting ideas which expand and synthesize to a point of culmination in a weighty final movement. To this single-goaled structure, Beethoven added detailed expressive marks and an increased use of the pedal indicating orchestral and dramatic effects that clearly define the character of the dual themes. In Opus 109, like most of Beethoven's late works, there is a preoccupation with intertwining dual elements, which theorists such as Kofi Agawu and Allen Forte have analysed as a structure of "paradox" and "matrix".[43] Liszt felt that the dualism in Beethoven disappeared because of Beethoven's ability to impose new musical vocabulary onto old musical syntax, and that the music was composed of "resolved opposites". Capturing the character of these two diametrically opposed musical ideas poses one of the greatest challenges to a performer: choosing the appropriate tempos.

While there is some agreement regarding the tempos of the second and third movements of Opus 109, performers often disagree upon interpretation of the dual tempos of the first movement.. This is illustrated through several recordings and performances: Anton Kuerti and Paul Badura-Skoda interpret the first movement with rather homogenous tempi.[44] Kuerti, at one end of the

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[43] Kofi Agawu, "The First Movement of Beethoven's Opus 132 and the Classical Style" in *College Music Symposium, Journal of the College Music Society*, Vol. 27 (Colorado, 1987); Allen Forte, *The Compositional Matrix* (New York,1961).

[44] Anton Kuerti, "Sonata No. 30 in E Major, Opus 109" from *The Complete Piano Sonatas and Diabelli Variations,* CD, Canada : Analekta, 1996). Paul Badura-Skoda,"Sonate en Mi Majeur, Opus 109" *on Beethoven: Les Sonates Pour Le Piano-forte*, (CD, France: Astree, 1980/1989).

spectrum, interprets the *Vivace* theme as more of an *Allegretto* with emphasized rubato; the effect bogs down the gigue-like character of the opening theme and overshadows his beautiful expressive *Adagio* theme. Paul Badura-Skoda, on the other hand, performing on a *Hammerfugel de Conrad Graf,* Vienna, ca. 1824, unifies the first-movement themes by a similarity in quickness since the *Adagio* sounds almost metronomically in tempo with the *Vivace,* and lacks any free expression or play with agogics.[45] Excellent performances that capture the contrasts of mood, rhythms, differing agogic inflections and dramatic dynamic colouring that emphasize the character of the two themes are heard in recordings by John Goode, John O'Connor, Robert Silverman and Jane Coop.[46] A performer's choice of tempo will also be determined by the type of instrument being used and the location: a large concert hall, as opposed to a small performance space.

Debates over tempos exist mainly because Beethoven's early metronomes may have differed from those of today. The tempos seem suitable for a light-actioned Viennese piano, such as the Graf, which is the piano Beethoven was using when he became interested in the "chronometer" or "metrometer" (around 1812) and began to supply his own tempo markings.[47] Because Beethoven did not provide metronome markings for Opus 109, a performer must intuit the speed according to the character of the themes and how they progress. This practice is verified through conversations Ignaz Moscheles recorded with Beethoven and the pedagogical approaches he advocated.[48]

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[45]In fact, Badura-Skoda interprets the entire sonata as one big rush to the final *da capo* theme, when this listener breathed a sigh of relief that the bumpy, hectic ride was finally over!

[46]Richard Goode, *Beethoven: Late Sonatas,* (New York: Elektra/Nonesuch, 1988); John O'Connor, *Beethoven: The Late Sonatas,* (Ohio, 1991); Silverman and Coop heard on CBC FM Radio Broadcast (CBC Recordings).

[47] Willy Hess, "The Right Tempo: Beethoven and the Metronome" in *The Beethoven Newsletter* (San Jose, Spring 1988), 2.

[48] Ignaz Moscheles, *The Life of Beethoven.* 2 vols. (London, 1841), II, 142-44.

Moscheles reported that Beethoven played an *Adagio* with great emotion, yet within one tempo, using "a most beautiful rubato, for he was a consummate artist".[49] Czerny reported that Beethoven often used great agogic inflections in his playing, usually more than were indicated in his scores; Beethoven's agogic flexibility set him apart from the strict tempi expected of Haydn and Mozart.[50] Ferdinand Ries, another student of Beethoven (between 1801-1804), also recalled that Beethoven played dramatically and expressively:

> ...(he played) his own compositions in a very capricious manner, but he nevertheless kept strictly accurate time, occasionally, but very seldom, accelerating the tempo...On the other hand, in the performance of a *crescendo* passage he would introduce a *ritard* which produced a beautiful and highly striking effect. Sometimes, in the performance of specific passages, he would infuse into them an exquisite but altogether inimitable expression.[51]

Beethoven stressed expression of thematic character, making it necessary for a performer to study the notational directions on the score to determine an appropriate tempo-character.

Forward momentum for the *Vivace* is necessary to effectively play a "supraphrasal slur" (mm. 19-51): there is a marked slur of fifteen bars, but since the slur gesture is continued with *sempre legato*, the *legato* line continues unbroken to a full thirty-two bars, indicating great drive. This implies a challenge to performers to extend not only their technical talents, but also their

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[49]Alan Kendall, *The Life of Beethoven* (London, 1978), 112.

[50]Sandra Rosenblum, *Performance Practices in Classic Piano Music: Their Principles and Applications* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1988), 383-92.

[51]Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York, 1987), 83.

intellectual and psychological stamina. Such innovative directions were often misunderstood by early pianists, and several editions chose to ignore the slurs, subdividing them down according to classical structures, as "improvements" on the first edition.[52] To fully understand the aesthetic impact of the innovative directions, it is helpful to consult with studies of the sketchbooks to compare the first movement with other works sketched at the same time.

The unusual combination of two meters and tempi, which are in fact intricately connected, was a device Beethoven first used in his piano sonata Opus 101, then Opus 106, and later in his last two piano sonatas, Opus 110 and 111. Yet the weaving of two dual episodes was also employed by Beethoven in the main work sharing the sketchbooks with Opus 109: the *Missa solemnis* (1823). The intermingling of sketches for the first movement of Opus 109 with movements of the *Missa* has led several theorists to compare the two works. Both Edward T. Cone and William Kinderman have noted a similar structure between the Credo and the first movement of Opus 109.[53] Kinderman labels the structure of this first movement of Opus 109 as parenthetical and believes that its thematic presentation was influenced by Beethoven's work on the *Credo* in which events on earth are clearly set musically apart from events in heaven .[54]

The *Credo* is the longest section of the Mass, yet, unlike the abrupt changes between the *Vivace* and the *Adagio* of the first movement of Opus 109, the *Credo* weaves a tapestry of episodes

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[52]Such editions were prepared by Gustav von Damm (Steingraber) in 1890 and Professor Hans Bussmeyer in 1880.

[53]Cone cites a similarity with the passage "et Homo factus est": *Ibid*,102; William Kinderman, *Beethoven*, (Berkeley, 1995), 83 .

[54]Ibid: 83.

connected through orchestral ritornellos, and the *Credo* is not the only section of the Mass to combine contrasting episodes or themes.[55] This structure occurs throughout the entire Mass: in fact, Beethoven's audience was disturbed by the Mass's sudden changes of key, tempo, dynamics and transitions between themes which upset perceptions of the classical balance of form and content.[56] These changes are heard throughout the *Gloria* and the *Agnus Dei* which combines a minor theme before the abrupt interruption of the peaceful *Dona,* a section so dramatically different it was often considered a separate movement. The *Dona* theme is written in dotted rhythm in triple meter, and Beethoven's notes reveal that it was to express "strength of the sentiments of inner peace above all...Victory".[57] Birgit Lodes describes the *Agnus/Dona* movement as a "vivid musical juxtaposition of war and trust in God" (mm..338ff).[58] Here, Beethoven's "interruptive" thematic style parallels Schlegel's definition of irony as the destroyer of illusion and mood: Beethoven used romantic irony in his music to "interrupt" his hero in order to have him remain humble and bowed before God.[59]

A similar theory has been drawn by Warren Kirkendale who analysed the *Missa* using eighteenth-century rhetorical devices and medieval practice used in ancient masses.[60] Beethoven was truly inspired by the *stile antico*, especially the masses of Palestrina: "the model for true

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[55] See Birgit Lodes, "Probing the Sacred Genres: Beethoven's Religious Songs, Oratorio and Masses" in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* (Cambridge, 2000), 229-233.

[56] *Allegmeine Musikalische Zeitung*, XXVI (1824), 439 (Anonymous).

[57] Gustave Nottebohm, *Zweite Beethoveniana* (London, 1979), 151.

[58] Lodes: 233.

[59] Rey Longyear, "Beethoven and Romantic Irony" in *The Creative World of Beethoven* (New York, 1971), 145.

[60] Warren Kirkendale, "New Roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*" in *The Creative World of Beethoven*, 163.

church music". [61] He delighted in pouring over scores made available to him in the library of Archduke Rudolf .[62] Interesting spiritual images unfold if we apply Kirkendale's analogies to Opus 109. The first *Vivace* theme begins on a weak beat, like Christ removed from human passions, and the "Scotch snap" rhythm encompasses dance motion symbolic for Lord of the Dance, portraying Christ with human movement; the *Vivace* centres on the interval of a third (G#-B) signifying the Trinity, as does the key of E major (third from C), and this section occurs three times, much like the *Agnus Dei.*

Opus 109 also shares a structural device used to connect the *Agnus Dei* to the Mass, and which unifies the entire Mass: the unfolding of a "germinal motive" (first established in the Kyrie, mm. 4-7).[63] In addition, the *Adagio* of Opus 109 is separated from the *Vivace* by the switch into triple meter, set apart much like the *Et incarnatus est* which in the early Christian era marked a change of style to depict the greatest mystery. The texture of the *Adagio* involves upward arpeggios which signified motion to heaven, and unfolding diminished harmonies to symbolise the cross. Use of this rhetoric offers a rich explanation for the surprisingly simple coda: the *Vivace* and the *Adagio* culminate in a quiet passage of solid major chords (mm.75-85) which seems an almost anticlimactic synthesis of the two dual characters, yet a deep spiritual message is transmitted through understanding that these simple major chords symbolized perfection, the Trinity and eternity.

Analysis of rhetorical devices also helps explain the larger architectural framework of

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[61] Amanda Glauert, "Beethoven's songs and vocal style" in *The Cambridge Companion to Beethoven* (Cambridge, 2000), 189.

[62] Beethoven's letter July 29, 1819 (Briefe, IV, 27).

[63]Lodes: 233.

the sonata, especially when applied to Beethoven's own language: among these are the dedication to the Immortal Beloved; the key of E major which Beethoven associated with spiritual reflection and an elevated character; interruption by the "distressing" key of E minor before the sonata unfolds as one complete arc; coming to rest on a major triad marked with a fermata and a pedal sign lacking the direction for release, symbolic for undying peace. [64] Beethoven's goal in the Mass was "to awaken and permanently instill religious feelings in both the singers and listeners".[65] While a performer's aesthetic understanding of Opus 109 may be deepened through comparisons of the two works, it is not necessary to understand the metaphors literally: rhetorical devices were a musical means used by Beethoven to express his personal, heartfelt inspiration; the combination of these devices was to present one creation "From the heart - may it go - to the heart".[66]

All at once, the peaceful mood is shattered by the *Prestissimo*, written in a dramatically expansive sonata form in E minor. Much like the *Agnus Dei*, this movement evokes a contrasting mood of distress and humility; paraphrasing Liszt, Alfred Brendel once described the movement as "a demon between two angels".[67] The *Prestissimo* both "interrupts" the forward motion of the first movement, and highlights the peaceful moods of the outer movements through its contrasts. Contrasts include the use of the tonic minor, the galloping rhythms in 6/8 meter, and a focus on the bass line: the opening figure develops the descending octave line of the first movement, thereby integrating the two movements. The *Prestissimo* is also linked to the first movement through pedal

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[64] Kinderman recognizes the relationship of this key within Beethoven's compositional output: 140.

[65]Beethoven to J.A. Streicher on September 19, 1824; BG V, No. 1875; Anderson III, No. 1307.

[66]Beethoven's notes in the autograph above the *Kyrie*. A dedication to Archduke Rudolf.

[67]Brendel is refering to Liszt's metaphor for the middle movement of Beethoven's *Appassionata* as "an angel between two abysses".

directions that indicate the performer is to depress the sustaining pedal for the last chord of the first movement and only to release it once the first chord of the *Prestissimo* is played. The driving momentum begins to break gait during a brief contrapuntal passage in the development section which includes agogic indications through tempo changes (mm. 28-31 *poco espressivo*, then *a tempo*). The momentum is then interrupted by a fermata (m. 95) followed by a soft chordal section broken by rests. The opening theme returns, continuing the driving rhythm for sixty bars until it is stopped short through a descending line that abruptly ends in three stroked *f* chords which herald in the final movement.

The Finale opens with a lyrical song in triple meter , marked *Gesangvoll, mit innigster Empfindung,* written in the high style of a courtly sarabande, which seems fitting considering the dedication to Maxe Brentano, and the fact that the sarabande was a dance for aristocratic ladies.[68] This theme of the Finale has often been compared to *An die ferne Geliebte* which uses a similar compositional technique of melodic modelling and expansion; moreover, the original plan for the last song was a cyclic idea through variation of the theme. [69] *An die ferne Geliebte* was set to a poem by Alois Isidor Jeitteles, the story depicting one separated from his beloved who sings to her of his pain: "the beloved is unreachable except through songs". Perhaps Beethoven was thinking of his own Immortal Beloved who had for many years remained a "distant beloved", thereby empathizing with the poet's metaphoric distances of mountains, valleys and a fantasy land of emotional outpouring until space and time are brought together.[70]

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[68] Mary Cyr, *Performing Baroque Music* (Oregon, 1992), 78.

[69] See Glauert, *Ibid*; Joseph Kerman, "An die ferne Geliebte" in *Beethoven Studies* (New York, 1973); also Richard Lois Zimdars, ed., *The Piano Master Classes of Hans von Buelow* (Indiana, 1993), 39.

[70] Kerman: 129-130.

The importance of the *Gesang* to the beloved is evident through sketch studies which reveal that Beethoven rejected ideas for variations on the theme that were built on harmonic technique; instead, he favoured the ornamental style which presents the *Gesang* melody in every variation. After composing the second movement, Beethoven began to work on the variations for the Finale. Marston's sketch studies of this movement illustrate that structure and detail coexist: structure depends on detail, as evident in the revisions Beethoven made to strengthen the connection between the variations and the theme. Notational devices also emphasize the important coexistence through highlighting the melodic theme.

Throughout the Finale, the *Gesang* motive is decorated with ornaments that are written in vocal style in lighter print so as not to detract from the flow of the melody. Within the theme is an interesting turn (m. 6) that can pose a problem for a performer: how to adhere to the rhythmic subdivision and yet fit the the turn freely with the melody. Rather than play the appoggiatura precisely on the beat, as some editions indicate, studies of the autograph show that Beethoven intended the appoggiatura to come before the beat, which was a vocal device later developed by the romantic pianists.[71] In Schenker's edition, the ornaments are shown as Beethoven had intended them, and Schenker also added practical fingerings, which help a performer decide on the correct execution of the ornaments. Beethoven notated all of his trills in Opus 109 with the extended sign *tr.* followed by a written-out suffix. This indicates the duration of the trill, although according to

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[71] Kerman: 129-130.

Turk and Czerny, the literal number of notes played was left to the performer's discretion.[72] The fingerings also indicate the trills begin on the main note. This type of trill was first described by Hummel in 1828, in his *Anweisung*, as a way to emphasize the melody note over the appoggiatura note.[73] The preference for starting on the main note was later endorsed by Kalkbrenner in 1832 and by Czerny circa 1839, both of whom expressed the case for "harmonic consonance". [74]

The most innovative use of a trill is seen in m. 153-168 of the Finale, where Beethoven has considerately written out the first few measures of the trill to indicate to the performer an acceleration in tempo of the trill in order to prepare for the metric switch. This trill takes on centrifugal force, which theorists have described as a "radioactive breakdown", first introducing quarter notes, then eighths, triplet-eighths (all on a single pitch); then the trilling moves into sixteenth notes, gaining momentum in thirty-second notes until it breaks all bounds of measured time at the *tr.* sign, where the trilling becomes flexible and unregulated. [75] At m. 161, the left hand adds to this momentum by doubling the trill.

Schenker's fingerings for the ornaments enhance the melodic and lyric quality by emphasising a legato touch. According to Clementi's 1801 *Introduction*, if Beethoven's score did not indicate touch, legato was the rule. [76] This touch was also endorsed in subsequent treatises by

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[72]Newman: 205.

[73] *Ibid*: 207.

[74]*Ibid*: 208; Czerny: 171.

[75] Both Tovey and Kinderman use this term: Tovey: 266; Kinderman: 224; Kenneth Drake, *The Sonatas of Beethoven as he Played and Taught Them* (Indiana, 1980),185. Czerny advocates "free rhythm" of the trills, yet some present day pianists such as Alfred Brendel follow in the footsteps of Hans von Buelow and meticulously subdivide the trills into precise metronomic measurements within the bar!

[76]Clementi: 187.

W.S. Stevens (1811), and August Crelle (1823).[77] By 1826, Beethoven referred to the staccato style of keyboard playing as "manual air-sawing".[78] A performer should also consider the tenuto markings as a heavier type of legato; Beethoven used this notation to indicate sustained connected chords, and Stevens defined this direction as "holding any note the whole of its time". [79]

The legato touch and style of ornamentation enhance the vocal qualities of the Finale, as do the many detailed expressive markings: *mezza voce, dolce, cantabile, teneramente, piacevole.* These directions can be enhanced by Beethoven's pedal indications. Again, the pedal markings that Beethoven notated are often discredited because of his illegible handwriting which resulted in contradictory directions in several editions. Hummel was the main leader of the "classical" style in Beethoven's time, and his school aimed for technical virtuosity through lightness and evenness of touch, in order to present clear harmonic texture and the delicate style of Mozart. He and his "partisans" accused Beethoven of "maltreating the pianoforte", stating that he "brought only confusing noise through the use of the pedal". [80] Hummel was opposed to the innovative use of the pedal that Beethoven advocated through his compositions and performance style. Beethoven was generous with the sustaining pedal, as recorded by Czerny in 1803: Beethoven held the pedal through the entire first solo of the slow movement of his C minor concerto. [81] This performance was played on a light Viennese piano, in which the sustaining tones

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[77]Newman: 254.

[78]Schonberg: 92.

[79]W.S. Stevens quoted in Newman: 228.

[80] Hummel states in *The Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instructions on the Art of Playing the Pianoforte* that the pedal "is a cloak to an impure and indistinct method of playing". Schonberg: 116.

[81]Kendall: 145.

easily dissipated. On early fortepianos, pedals were commonly used to sustain the bass, which resonated more than the treble. Still, performers today should consider that Beethoven was aiming at a rich timbre.

On modern pianos, Beethoven's pedal indications sometimes cause the effect of blurring the harmonies, as in m. 184 of the Finale, where there is a low rumble, the interval of a seventh, and a pedal mark connecting four bars. A performer needs to decide how to interpret this on modern pianos. Some performers may choose to follow Beethoven's pedal directions but depress the pedal only slightly to produce a rich wash of sound. Since pianos of today have greater projection and sustaining powers, and more equal tone quality in the octave ranges, most performers prefer to adjust the pedal changes or combine pedal use with legato touch. Beethoven's innovative pedal technique resulted in one of the most controversial uses of pedal in Opus 109: the lack of a release sign at the end of the sonata. Editors failed to understand that Beethoven wanted the last chord to be sustained with a depressed pedal until the sound faded on its own.

The sustaining of harmony through pedal technique was a revolutionary idea in the 1820s. Another innovative pedal effect Beethoven used in Opus 109 was referred to by Czerny as "harmonioso" pedal, or what Starke coined as *Fortezug* (loud pedal).[82] In the last movement, this can be seen in the last bar of variation IV, where the pedal is held through one harmonic exploration. "Harmonioso" pedalling also indicates a change in dynamics, as in mm. 20-24 of the same variation.

In the following variation, Beethoven illustrates additional innovative piano techniques.

[82]Newman: 241.

Variation V uses similar compositional devices as the organ *Praeludium* of the *Missa solemnis*: Beethoven uses *stile antiqua fugato* devices, as well as effects that indicate an organ improvisation, such as sostenuto, sonorous harmonies and pedal point. The final variation,VI, can be compared to the link between the *Praeludium* and the *Benedictus* (m. 110): a high solo violin (g''') is orchestrated above dark and low bass rumblings which colour the text "lux in tenebris". [83] This texture also compares to the orchestration and spirit of the slow movement of the string quartet Opus 59, No. 2 which Czerny reported had been composed while Beethoven was looking at "the starry heavens and thinking of the music of the spheres".[84] This comparison with the string quartet may help a performer to capture a similar timbre and atmosphere. From this ethereal mood, the sonata concludes with a cyclical return to a modified and simpler *Gesang* theme.

To interpret Beethoven's Piano Sonata Opus 109 in E major, a pianist must first be aware of the many erroneous editions in existence, as an ideal edition is still not in print. A performer may need to consult several sources and published studies as well as the autograph score to realize the notational directions that Beethoven intended, and to understand the composition as a whole. A knowledge of Beethoven's late style will also deepen aesthetic comprehension of the structure and the spirit of the work. There is a great focus on the process of unfolding, prolonging artistic and aesthetic experience and intimating the sublimity of unlimited horizons and unbound parameters.

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[83] As stated earlier, sketches for the *Benedictus* and the second and third movements of Opus 109 are in close proximity.

[84] Alexander Thayer: *Beethovens Leben II,* 532.cf. *Konversationsheft*, I, 230,111,128 and V, 164 on Beethoven's interest in astronomy.

CHAPTER TWO: NINETEENTH-CENTURY CRITICAL EDITIONS OF OPUS 109

By the mid-nineteenth century, Europe celebrated enormous technological advancements, and focused on science and education as the new torches of hope and welfare. Technological advances made during the Industrial Revolution improved the piano: metal frames were being developed all over Europe and Broadwood had introduced steel tension bars in 1823. By 1825, Broadwood was producing over 1500 pianos per year, and was able to lower the price of an instrument. Increased sales of pianos were matched by sales of printed music: there were now over 150 music shops in London selling pianos and Beethoven's piano music.[1] Public music education increased, spurred by several newly-founded conservatories and universities that included the academic discipline of music theory. Yet, while society valued technological advancements for the future, music was valued for upholding standards of the past, and it was the goal of the theorist to guard these traditions within a newly established classical canon. Classical musical traditions of the past (pre-1800s) were esteemed as representatives of a pinnacle of Western culture and civilization; the canon was an attempt to concretize the musical tradition into a form of texts and artefacts similar to the other arts.[2] Adherence to conservative ideals in music contributed to a separation between theory and criticism. This divide greatly affected editorial procedures of critical editions of Beethoven's piano music.

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[1] Alan Tyson, *The Authentic English Editions of Beethoven* (London, 1963), 22. Tyson identified six publishers in Great Britain: five in London, and one in Edinburgh (George Thompson).

[2] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Harvard, 1985), 152.

In order to fill a need for the growing demands of a society swept up in the idolatry of Beethoven, it was the theorist's goal to further research and scholarship into Beethoven's music by preparing critical editions for the musically literate public (performer, scholar, student and amateur). In the nineteenth century, theorists and pianists with strong classical ideals prepared critical editions of Opus 109 which fall into two subgroups: editions objectively presenting all of the original notations of the first edition, no matter how ambiguous or erroneous they seemed, and editions which slightly modified the Urtext. Nineteenth-century editors of critical editions of Opus 109 were faced with the dilemma of whether to retain errors and innovations in pedaling, phrasing and dynamics present in the first edition to fulfill the goal of fidelity to the original, or to make Beethoven's dramatic contrasts and ambiguous directions more accessible to a society valuing classical traditions. The case for "improving upon" Beethoven's score of Opus 109 was made stronger because the original manuscript was not available to theorists, and therefore they were correcting perceived errors. Some theorists argued that improvements were made without a critical apparatus or commentary to indicate the changes so as not to interrupt the visual flow. Few editors of critical editions offered a consistent and honest system through scholarly commentary; the lucrative business of publishing, academic pedagogues and the field of music theory supported this authoritative approach.

Beethoven and Nineteenth-century Musicology

An important marker in the field of musicology is the publication of J.N. Forkel's *Biography of Bach* (1802).[3] Forkel's work sparked a revival of Bach's music and inspired other scholars to cultivate research into their own national traditions. Published scores of music by Byrd, Wilbye, Dowland, Purcell and other "British worthies" of the Musical Antiquarian Society, Theodore Baker's *Biographical Dictionary* of Western musicians (1882) and Alexander Wheelock Thayer's research into the origins of American hymnody in the 1840s all attest to this national focus. Early music theory was not only "the study of the history of Western art music", but also involved elements of ethnomusicological research: theorists "of the past sometimes studied not only art but also folk music and music of non-Western cultures".[4] Nineteenth-century theorists in the first half of the century expressed the ideals of ethnomusicology: musical writings combined criticisms that related music to its culture with theoretical analysis.

By the 1840s, there was a divide between music criticism and theory: music theory became a recognized academic discipline, and theorists undertook the monumental tasks of documentation, cataloguing and producing complete editions.[5] By producing Beethoven's *Sämtliche Sonaten*, a theorist was contributing to his recognition within the

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[3] J.N. Forkel stated that Bach was "the greatest musical poet and the greatest musical orator that ever existed – a German", showing the values establishing the canon revered mostly Germanic absolute music. See Kerman: Ibid, 330.

[4] Kerman: *Ibid.*

[5] The following account of Beethoven's reception in the nineteenth-century is based on Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven* (New York, 1987); Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (New Jersey, 1995); Katherine Ellis, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1995).

academy, and verifying the importance of Beethoven's compositions within the musical canon. This canon is relatively new compared to literature, art or architecture: it only began to be formulated in the late eighteenth century with audiences who still esteemed the works of the past, such as the compositions of Handel. Traditional values in the canon affected scholarly trends established in newly-formed music schools and universities, and influenced the theoretical approaches to editing the conflicting and incomplete directions existing in the first edition of Opus 109. Critical editions prepared by many nineteenth-century theorists show a re-interpretive procedure to editing Opus 109 as a means to establish Beethoven's position in society and history as a classical composer. His music was in the centre of the heated debates that were establishing the canon.

Reception of Beethoven's music varied throughout Europe, affected by socio-political events: at a time when revolutions and wars were fought for freedom, democracy and a new world, theorists upheld the conservative traditions of the old order. On the Continent, most wealth remained in the hands of the aristocracy; social pressures dissuaded royalty from breaking with tradition, or entering into business.

For most of the nineteenth century, Germany was divided into 39 states facing wars and revolutions and was the centre of heated nationalist political wars. These wars were matched by volatile artistic conflicts that resulted in the War of the Romantics. The crosscurrents led liberals and conservatives to clearly define their ideals, with theorists

firmly establishing their traditional convictions towards art through the many newly established conservatories.

Conservative traditions also permeated musical tastes in England. Great Britain became the most powerful empire in the world due to a fortunate combination of circumstances. England was geographically removed from revolutions and wars on the Continent. Politically, England had no internal boundaries and therefore was at peace. In addition, socio-political events created a favourable climate for industrial growth. In the early nineteenth century, England was free of the guild system, which previously dictated prices, inhibited innovation and denied workers' rights. England viewed commerce favourably and even royalty became entrepreneurs. Advancements in the arts, however, did not meet with the approbation given science and technology. A severe order of custom reigned, even in the gentry, as described in the novels of Jane Austen. With the ascension of Queen Victoria to the throne in 1837, education and science were undertaken with moral seriousness.

The wide spectrum of reactions that Beethoven's music across Europe can be observed in the treatment of Opus 109. The effect of society upon the interpretation of music is most apparent through the style of performance practice that was developed and the critical editions produced in England: the leading advocates for his music were his own students.

Early Reception in England

The European Romantic idealists of the first half of the nineteenth century regarded Beethoven as a symbol of heroic hope during the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. Critical reception of Beethoven's music was promoted largely by the rising middle class businesses involving publishing and sales of music, instruments and concerts. Urbanization and the availability of education allowed critics to appeal to the growing middle-class, who now enjoyed voting rights. The subject matter of music theory thus changed radically as values and philosophies were being defined, creating critical debates as to what music was acceptable in the canon. Most of the classical canon was established through support of the leisure class who set the standard of fashionable society and who adored Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven's early works (pre-1812) as an expression of their conservative traditions. Conservative criticism had a negative effect on reception of composers such as Schumann, Berlioz, Liszt and Beethoven's late style (Opus 109) which was often deemed as "strange and weird", a view still echoed late in the century by Sir George Grove in *Music and Musicians* (1899).[6]

Much of the support for Beethoven's music at first came from the Young Romantics in England, such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. They had at first expressed enthusiastic support for the French Revolution, marked by the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the storming of the Bastille to release the

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[6] Sir George Grove, ed., *Music and Musicians* (London, 1899). See essay on "Programme Music" for an empirical view of music history and contemporary art-scene anecdotes.

imprisoned political offenders. Later, however, English sympathy decreased as the Revolution followed its increasingly violent Reign of Terror under Robespierre, with the final drop of supporters facing the dilemma of Napoleon as dictator and then emperor of France:

> ...become oppressors in their turn,
> Frenchmen had changed a war of self-defence
> For one of conquest, losing sight of all
> Which they had struggled for... [7]

Napoleon had become an arch-aggressor, a despot; the result was that his final defeat at Waterloo in 1815 caused reactionary despotisms throughout continental Europe. In England, this became a period of harsh repressive measures: public meetings were prohibited, *habeas corpus* suspended for the first time in over a hundred years and advocates of even moderate measures of political change were charged with high treason in time of war.

A severe order was imposed upon everybody during England's Regency period, so called because George, Prince of Wales, acted as regent for George III, who was declared incurably insane. This social order continued throughout the nineteenth century in what Henry James described as "little cosmopolitan, how bound, in a thousand ways, with narrowness of custom".[8] Even in the country, the gentry carried on family and society

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[7] William Wordsworth, *The Prelude* XI.206-9: 112.

[8] James Henry, "Abbeys and Castles"(1877) republished in *English Hours* (London, 1905), 160.

concerns in a community focused on a kind of insular propriety, removed from national and international events. For the leisure class this was a time of lavish display and moral laxity. The 'ton' viewed concerts as an opportunity for social interaction, like promenading in the Park.[9] This society, which set the standard of fashion, adored Mozart and Haydn, and first accepted early Beethoven because of his Viennese predecessors. With the accession of George IV in 1820, the 'ton' still preferred to hear and perform classical music. Early reaction to Beethoven's music was reportedly unfavourable: *The Quarterly Musical Magazine and Review* (1818-1828), edited by Richard Bacon, printed less than flattering reviews of the newly formed London Philharmonic Society's performances of Beethoven's music, although this was probably more a comment on the amateurish quality of performance rather than a comment on the music itself, as many students from the newly founded Royal Academy of London (1822) were recruited to perform.

The establishment of the Academy fostered reading and music for the new middle class, who now enjoyed local concerts in new public halls, the business of music sales and education and private musical gatherings. In London, the new middle-class capitalists were accumulating more and more wealth through spreading their enterprises into society. Workers were earning higher wages, and, by mid-century, Queen Victoria's government passed legislation that improved working conditions; workers even gained the right to vote. The middle class was enjoying the riches of the empire, partaking of

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[9] The word 'ton' was borrowed from French, meaning everything that is fashionable, and was used in England in the last half of the eighteenth century; by the Regency period it applied to the highest class of society. See Georgette Heyer, *Regency England* (London, 1989).

purchases and forms of entertainment previously restricted only to the wealthy. These developments ultimately made the piano a household product, and sales of Beethoven's music became a profitable business.

Most publishers in England produced authentic editions of Beethoven's music within his lifetime. Muzio Clementi, for example, piano-manufacturer and publisher, printed authentic editions of Opus 110 and 111, although an edition of Opus 109 with Beethoven's approval was not included. Clementi developed a lucrative business, and his editions of Beethoven's music appealed to the growing middle class, including scholars and students.

Muzio Clementi

Italian born Muzio Clementi came to London in 1773 and became such a part of English society through his compositions, performances and music business, that he was considered a native of England. He was even buried in Westminster Abbey. He was also considered a virtuoso fortepiano player, and upon his arrival in England, published sonata Opus 2 which is said to be the first piece of music composed in a style exclusively suited to the pianoforte. He had risen to fame with the famous duel of 1781 with Mozart, of which the outcome remained a tie. Beethoven admired Clementi's compositions, which, compared to those of Mozart, displayed dramatic themes and unconventional modulations. As late as 1826, Beethoven was recommending Clementi's *School of Piano Playing* (1817) to his piano students.[10]

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[10] Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York, 1987), 94.

Clementi was one of the first great entrepreneurs to take advantage of selling the new instrument in demand – the piano, and publishing his own editions to feed the mania for Beethoven's piano music. Clementi only played on the brilliant English pianos, and eventually became a piano manufacturer himself; he had started an association with the music publishing and piano-manufacturing firm of Longman and Broderip in the 1790's, which eventually became Clementi and Company. Like most pianoforte makers, Clementi employed several young virtuosos to display his new instruments, often playing from his own publications. In 1802, Clementi toured Europe to display and demonstrate his instruments, taking along with him his best pupil, John Field. While in Vienna, in 1807, Clementi secured business dealings with Beethoven, and received exclusive rights to his music for publication in England. Clementi gloated to his British partner, F.W. Collard, "By a little management and without committing myself, I have at last made a conquest of the haughty beauty, Beethoven".[11] He considered Beethoven's music a perfect vehicle to display the resonant sound and brilliance of his pianos, and found financial gain in printing much of Beethoven's piano music. While Clementi claimed an "authentic" and therefore critical approach to editing Beethoven's sonatas, in most cases, and especially in the example of Opus 109, the editions are less exact than the manuscripts. Czerny commented that Clementi had wrongly interpreted dashes or strokes as *staccatissimo* within the editions as well as in his performances. Clementi replied that his use of the *staccatissimo* was his interpretation of Beethoven's "inconsistencies" in his use of the dash or dot, and that the degree of more or less duration or weight depended on

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[11] Ibid: 53.

the "character and passion". Through his critical approach to editing, Clementi contributed to Beethoven scholarship, furthered at the Royal Academy of London.

Cipriani Potter

The Academy fully supported Beethoven's piano music, largely due to the efforts of Cipriani Potter, a former student of Beethoven. Potter directed the school between 1832-1859, had premiered the C major, C minor and G major Piano Concertos in England in 1824 and 1825, and continued an honourable career as pianist, conductor and composer, before becoming principal of the Academy. Potter encouraged a true perspective of Beethoven's image in an article entitled "Recollections of Beethoven", published in *The Musical World in London*, April 29, 1836, in which he presented Beethoven as a kind, sensitive man saddened only by his deafness. Potter's tempered reaction to the Beethoven mania must also have been stressed through his academic approach to Beethoven's sonatas, as illustrated in a Complete Edition prepared by one of Potter's students.

Agnes Zimmerman

Agnes Zimmerman prepared her own edition of the 32 piano sonatas (London, 1873). Judging from Zimmerman's score of Opus 109, it is likely that her Complete Edition was based on pirated copies already containing many errors. Her edition of Opus 109 shows few directional notations, and omits many of Beethoven's articulation marks. In the Preface to her editions, she does not explain her primary sources. She does, however, defend her editorial addition of extra notes to the last variation of the Finale:

"The notes F and D are added at the fourth and sixth quavers of the bar to make it agree with the two preceding bars". It is possible that she based this addition on a performance given by Liszt or Bülow, who include these added notes to their own editions. Yet, Zimmerman does not include virtuosic interpretations on her score; her edition was considered scholarly based on the critical procedures used to clearly present the score.

Zimmerman's approach to editing was conservative. This may reflect the rigorous and classical training she received from her father, Pierre Zimmerman, an important teacher at the *Conservatoire de Paris.* She then studied at the Royal Academy of Music in London with Potter, and established a successful concert career by performing Beethoven at the Crystal Palace in 1863 and throughout Germany in 1864. Zimmerman's edition was one of many that offered little in the way of editorial directions or stylistic insights, yet these types of editions did further Beethoven scholarship and supply scores for Beethoven's idolizing public.

Beethoven Mania

In England, artists and the new middle class experienced Beethoven mania through various forms of hero worship, including a demand for the most recent biographical testimonials and spiritual analysis of his music. The English readers loved news of Beethoven's character, and as a result several periodicals provided various testimonials that seem to correspond with the taste in literature and art at the time. The London periodical *Harmonicon* (1823-33) printed several accounts in the 1820s of

articles by Schulz and Haslinger, who recounted a visit to Beethoven in 1823, and recalled Beethoven's "good humour and goodness of heart".[12] After the first performance of Beethoven's 9th Symphony on March 21, 1825, conducted by Sir George Smart and organized by Ignaz Moscheles, the *Harmonicon* accused Beethoven of writing for the "present mania".

By 1830, tastes had changed to reflect the shifts in society and a new audience of readers. The polarized state of the population had become what Disraeli called the "Two Nations": the two classes of capital and labour, the rich and the poor. The landscape of England began to take on its modern appearance: open rural areas were subdivided into a checkerboard of fields enclosed by hedges and stone walls, and the factories of the industrial cities cast a pall of smoke over vast areas of tiny houses and slum tenements. Oppression and unhappiness of the new landless class existed as a result of political and legal prohibition, as well as public condemnation; these images are expressed in William Blake's poem "London" where the "mind-forg'd manacles" darken the natural world and one's view of the "divine image" ("And love, the human form divine, /And Peace, the human dress").

It was within this setting that Beethoven's image took on heroic and divine proportions: in 1832, the *Harmonicon* printed part of the biographical section of Seyfried's *Beethoven-Studien*, based on his friendship with Beethoven over a thirty-year period, presenting Beethoven as a god-like figure whose "spirit would soar aloft,

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[12] Allessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven* (New York, 1987), 105.

triumphing over transitory terrestrial sufferings...(to) find rest and comfort on the innocent bosom of holy nature".[13] His encomium was attached to the end of a supposed Beethoven music textbook, hence highly affecting young impressionable musicians. England's mania is also illustrated in George Hogarth's (father-in-law to Charles Dickens) *Musical History, Biography and Criticism* (1835). In pre-Freudian times, Hogarth psychoanalyzed Beethoven's music as an expression of his inner mind: "the music of Beethoven is stamped with the peculiarities of the man". [14] He felt that the kaleidoscopic paradigm of Beethoven's character provided clues to interpreting the character of Beethoven's piano music: either he was mad and therefore only his early works should be played, and in the style of Mozart, or else he was a god-like genius to be revered.

Affronted by the fantastical images, Beethoven's students and friends felt it necessary to temper the mania with true documented accounts of Beethoven's character and creative process. Wegeler and Ries followed Potter's earlier example and published their own accounts of Beethoven in 1840, and by 1841 the book was translated into English and included an appendix by Moscheles. In 1845, Wegeler added an appendix to the book and in 1862 it was translated into French. Scholars considered this book a highly reliable source of insight into Beethoven's musical concepts and of his performance practice. Charles Neate was another student of Beethoven who built his career in England and fostered an academic approach to Beethoven scholarship and performance; Neate

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[13] Comini: 106.

[14] Comini: 107.

was celebrated for premiering the *Emperor* concerto in England. Years later, in 1845, Neate was spokesperson when the British Museum wished to buy some of Beethoven's manuscripts from Schindler.

Ignaz Moscheles

One of the most famous of Beethoven's students to build a career in London was Ignaz Moscheles. Like Czerny, Baroness Dorothea von Ertmann and Ferdinand Ries, Moscheles was celebrated as one of Beethoven's outstanding students, and he had developed a close friendship with Beethoven in 1814, while preparing the piano transcription of *Fidelio*. Although he was classically trained under Dionys Weber and Albrechtsberger (erstwhile teacher of Beethoven), Moscheles was open to boldly promote Beethoven's newest compositions. Part of the reason for this was a business deal arranged with Maurice Schlesinger (Adolf's son). While in Paris in 1822, Moscheles received copies of Opus 109 and Opus 110 from Schlesinger who was establishing his own music publishing business. Moscheles acted as sales representative for Opus 109 in London and Paris, and he also oversaw the publication of Opus 110. As part of his promotional campaign, he directed and performed several concerts for the Queen Square Select Society, which provided audiences with performances of difficult piano and violin works. In 1833, Moscheles played Opus 109 and 111, and recorded:

> I found some of my hearers listening with deep devotion, whilst at my own house artists seem comparatively indifferent; some certainly are moved, while others are scared by the extravagancies of the master, and do not recover their equanimity

> unless I favour them with the more intelligible D minor sonata (Opus 31, no. 2). [15]

While this statement may attest to the favourable intellectual climate existing in much of English society, the keen interest given to these works was also due to success of Moscheles' presentation. Much of English society upheld classical traditions and valued music of the classical era so that for Moscheles to make Beethoven's complex and dramatic works accessible, it was necessary to reinterpret them in a more refined fashion.

At the dawning of the Victorian age, the ideals of edification and clarifying moral standards promoted a favourable environment for presenting Beethoven's music classically as representative of a pinnacle of Western art. It was within this environment that Mendelssohn, Germany's "contemporary Mozart", was well received, while Karl Klindworth, a virtuoso student of Liszt, called the atmosphere far too conservative. Moscheles' appeal to Victorian society successfully led to a demand for Beethoven's piano music within English salons, concert halls, and studios. His fame as Beethoven's apostle led Cramer & Co. to enlist him into editing a Complete Edition of Beethoven's piano music, first printed in 1839. Moscheles was revered for his classical performances of the sonatas, and this approach can be seen in his edition of Opus 109: he adhered to Beethoven's directions, with alterations to the score that he defended as being based on his first-hand accounts of performances given by Beethoven:

> I hope in this new publication to be permitted to complete, with traditional

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[15] Pamela Willets, *Beethoven and England* (London, 1970), 55.

> correctness, many a gap in the signs of interpretation, which Beethoven played but did not write down, and which every intelligent musician can add, but which is intended to make the finest nuances clear to the amateur.... I have not merely listened to my own musical feelings, but been guided by my recollection of what I gathered from Beethoven's own playing, and that of the Baroness Ertmann... [16]

In the Preface to his edition of the thirty-two Beethoven piano sonatas, Moscheles defined his editorial duties as correcting mistakes in the score, and adjusting phrasing, pedaling and dynamics: in several instances, the *crescendo* markings begin several bars earlier than Beethoven's directional markings. In Opus 109, Moscheles substituted *p* for *f*, perhaps out of concern for the woody tone produced in the high register. This was a common problem before 1830: the Broadwood piano given to Beethoven in 1818 (on which Opus 109 was probably composed) had six octaves, lacked the steel strings and cast-iron frame of later pianos, which meant a forced tone in the upper register could either break the instrument, or cause more wood to sound than tone; because of this, in *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instruction in the Art of Playing the Piano Forte* (London, 1827), Hummel warned pianists to avoid the use of *f* in the upper registers.[17] Moscheles' did not want to present his musical society the distressing possibility that, should they play the Opus 109 as Beethoven imagined and notated, their instruments would be left in a state of ruin, similar to Beethoven's own piano as observed by instrument-maker Johann Andreas Stumpff: "the upper registers were mute and the

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[16] Kenneth Drake, *The Sonatas of Beethoven as he Played and Taught Them* (Indiana, 1980), 24.

[17] Drake: 10.

broken strings in a tangle, like a thorn bush whipped by a storm".[18] Thus, Moscheles translated Beethoven's dramatic and symphonic approach of Opus 109 on the "useless" instrument into a genteel *fortepiano* sonata. Unlike most scholars, Moscheles did not seek out the original autograph for Opus 109, but based his score on the first issue, including all of the mistakes.

Henry Walker accused Moscheles of using some of the same printing plates as older ones used by Messr. Cocks & Co; Moscheles responded that he had used many of the plates from the 1828 Haslinger editions (Vienna, edited by Carl Czerny). Since Tobias Haslinger had purchased the autograph of Opus 109 at an auction in 1827, Moscheles had the opportunity to produce a definitive edition. Instead he wished only to deal with interpretive notations: he dedicated the Complete Edition to Antonia Brentano (not just the last three sonatas), a practice more common in England, and freely added his directorial marks without a critical commentary. As Moscheles' edition was deemed reliable, many of the silent improvements he had made were accepted into the *Neue Beethoven-Ausgabe*.[19] Because of Moscheles' famous reputation as a student of Beethoven, and his scholarly claims, his Complete Edition was accepted as authoritative.

A contributing factor to the success of Moscheles' edition was his place in society: he was a central musical figure in the salons, teaching his audience about

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[18] Schonberg: 93.

[19] Alan Tyson, "Moscheles and his 'Complete Edition' of Beethoven" in *The Music Review,* Vol. 25, No. 2. May 1964.

Beethoven's music through a series of lecture-recitals. In 1845, one concert was dubbed an "Offering to Beethoven-High-Priest-Moscheles". His diary recalls encores and enthusiasm, and a "Second Offering" of the late sonatas was given later that same year.[20] In an effort to counteract the early unfavourable reactions to Beethoven's music, Moscheles took an academic approach to presenting Beethoven's newest compositions through a continued series of repeated performances, educating his audiences through familiarity.

Moscheles' classical approach to performance practice can be documented throughout his career. He first came to London in 1824. When Felix Mendelssohn established the Leipzig Conservatory in 1843, Moscheles, his former teacher, was offered a teaching position, which he held for twenty years. The Leipzig Conservatory employed a staff of classically based musicians: Ferdinand David (strings) and Moritz Hauptman (composition), and had the backing of other traditionalists such as Johannes Brahms and Clara Schumann. The Leipzig Conservatory served as a model for the Berlin Conservatory founded in 1850, and the school in Cologne (with Hiller as director) established in 1852. There were also many private conservatories allied with Leipzig such as the *Berlin Hochschule für Musik* (1869) founded by violinist Joseph Joachim. Most universities and music schools in Germany produced new generations of conservatives with distaste for the avant-garde.

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[20] Tyson: 96.

The Leipzig faculty had very definite conservative standards, and wished to further the academic approach to Beethoven interpretation by upholding fidelity to the score. It was during this time that Moscheles revised his edition of the sonatas, which were printed by Hallberger (1858). The growing field of music theory may have inspired Moscheles to consult with the features of the Artaria editions, which he incorporated into several sonatas. In his definitive edition, Moscheles altered the tempos, which generally are faster and seem appropriate for the light-actioned Viennese pianos, such as the Graf, rather than the heavier-actioned English Broadwood pianos.

The tempo markings given for Opus 109 are almost identical to the revised tempos provided by Czerny for the Simrock Edition of the sonatas (1850), which advise slightly faster tempos than in the Haslinger edition, also appearing in Czerny's publication *Vollstandige theoretisch-practische Pianoforte-Schule,* Opus 500, Vol. IV (Vienna, 1842): see Table I. While the later tempo markings given by Czerny and Moscheles are slightly faster than Czerny's earlier markings (which may have reflected more closely what Beethoven actually preferred), these tempos were still much slower than the trend among academic virtuosos such as Clara Schumann and Felix Mendelssohn towards excessively fast tempos. Moscheles stated in the Preface to his new edition: "I have purposely refrained from giving way to that rapidity of pianoforte execution, so largely developed at the present time". [21] Moscheles relied on his memory to guide his interpretation of Opus 109, and this sonata, along with Opus 110, were apparently his

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[21] Ignaz Moscheles, ed. *Preface, Complete Edition of Beethoven Piano Sonatas* (London, 1858).

favourites: his wife Charlotte recorded in her biography that "Moscheles studied them with the greatest zeal, was quite absorbed in their beauties, and played them before his art

TABLE I: Tempo Markings

OPUS 109	Czerny: 1842	Czerny: 1850	Moscheles: 1858
I *Vivace ma non troppo* Quarter note =	100	112	112
Adagio espressivo Eighth note =	66	66	66
II *Prestissimo* Dotted-half note =	80	80	80
III *Andante molto cantabile* quarter note =	63	66	66
Variation I			
Variation 2 Quarter note =		84	84
Variation 3 *Quarter note* =	132	138	138
Variation 4 Dotted-quarter =		56	56
Variation 5 Half note =		76	76

brethren". Moscheles was the "musical centre" of a circle of Germans who "were unanimous in their reverential homage of Beethoven".[22] Moscheles used the "old tempo indications" in keeping with his reverence to Beethoven, rather than giving in to the style of exaggerated tempos of "vanity and inner emptiness, which feels so easy".[23]

Moscheles furthered the classical approach to Beethoven's music through his teachings, but like Beethoven, remained open to the possibilities of individual expression. He acknowledged the young virtuosos and accepted that he could not grasp their form of execution showmanship. Instead, he felt a noble devotion to Mozart, Cramer and Hummel, as well as for Beethoven, and stated that he would "endeavour to pursue the middle course" between the school of the romantic virtuoso and that of the classicist. [24]

Several of his students went on to pursue important musical careers in America, introducing audiences there to Beethoven's music: the English born Richard Hoffman debuted in New York in 1847; Alfred Jaell made his debut in New York, 1851, as did John Ernst Perabo in 1859, who later premiered the *Emperor* Concerto in America in 1865. These students were instilled with the loyalty Moscheles upheld to Beethoven, and continued the tradition of performing and teaching based on fidelity to the score, giving greater importance to a reliable edition. Czerny stated: "In the performance of his works

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[22] Drake: 43.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Schonberg: 122.

the player must throughout not permit himself any alteration of the composition, no additions, no abbreviations".[25]

Beethoven demanded an accurate reading of his own scores, a requirement that may have inspired Marx and Hoffmann to develop the concept of music as a "work".[26] The idea of *Werktreue,* sometimes referred to as *Texttreue,* was to uphold fidelity to a work, and responsibility was placed on the composer or editor to provide a performer with a complete and comprehensive score. A performance upheld the ideals of fidelity to a work if the consensus was that the performance transmitted as much of Beethoven and as little of the performer as possible. However, most classicists took this opportunity to interpret Beethoven in the same style as Moscheles by offering a restrained, rather literal performance; these performers relied on theorists to produce clear copies of Beethoven's autograph and authentic *Urtext* scores in order to, as Weber encouraged, "follow the score and tak(e) the liveliest interest in the correctness of performance" to offer the audience and critics a fair interpretation. Since autographs are known for only eleven of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas, the most authentic and honestly prepared critical editions used the first edition as a primary source.

Ernst Pauer (1885)

Ernst Pauer was an Austrian who built a career in England. He was a member of the piano-making family of Streicher, as well as an active conductor, composer,

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[25] Drake: 12.

[26] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford, 1992), 231.

musicologist and editor. He became head of the piano department at the Royal Academy of Music in 1861, and in 1876, principal professor of the piano department at the Royal College of Music, London. Pauer prepared a Complete Edition of Beethoven's piano music in 1885, presenting scores that replicate the first editions without editorial intervention. His approach to editing is consistent with his interest in presenting historically correct concerts: he favoured music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and performed a series of historical concerts for harpsichord and piano. Pauer's edition of the Beethoven sonatas was published in London (1885), presenting the score in a clear format; although he was noted for his smart and inexpensive editions, by today's standards the quality of paper and the beautifully bound cover seem very elegant. [27]

Early Musicology in Germany

While piano virtuosos with classical and academic backgrounds prepared most critical editions printed in England, music theorists prepared most critical editions printed in Germany. Early music theorists in Germany, notably Adolf Bernhard Marx and E.T.A. Hoffmann, developed the idea of *Werktreue* as a philosophy of editing, performing and musical criticisms that approached music with an educational perspective as a means to make music accessible to the general public; these views appeared in recently established musical periodicals, such as the *Caecilia* (1824-1848) in Mainz, and the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1824-1830) in Berlin. Marx and Hoffmann took an educational

[27] Pauer's son Max became director of the Stuttgart Conservatory in 1908 and was famous for his performances of Beethoven, Brahms, Reger and Rachmaninoff. Like his father, Max edited many scores and re-edited the *Klavierschule* of Lebert-Stark, the third edition of the original commission for Opus 109.

perspective to writing about music and felt that whether editing or performing, a thorough understanding of the music was vital in order to communicate its importance to an audience, thus stressing the importance of a reliable score. [28]

The popularity of critical editions of Beethoven's music was largely enhanced through the vested (if not also friendly) interest of several publishing houses that printed their own musical periodicals. The leading German periodical was the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1798-1848), which published favourable reviews of Beethoven's music. Up to 1819, Rochlitz, the supposed designated biographer whom Beethoven trusted, edited it. In Vienna, the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1817-1824) printed educational reviews edited by Schindler's nemesis Seyfried; the following year, Friedrich August Kanne, a composer whom Beethoven admired, edited the periodical and Kanne returned the admiration by showing great appreciation for Beethoven's late works, including Opus 109.[29] Robert Schumann offered his readers a contemporary form of criticism and non-technical analysis to convey the affect of Beethoven's music in his newly founded *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1834-79).

Scholarly writing in these periodicals reflected the cultural and intellectual growth of the time. Several new schools were founded which supported the growing trend

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[28] Marx later became known for his theoretical writings on music, including a treatise on composition, and was best recognized for codifying sonata form using Beethoven's piano sonatas as models. Hoffman wrote in musicological terms using thematic analysis to give weight to his aesthetic interpretations: "Beethoven leads the listener imperiously forward into the spirit of the infinite". Comini: 94.

[29] Comini: 96-97.

towards Beethoven scholarship: Humboldt University in Berlin (1805), and conservatories in Prague (1811) and Vienna (1817). The promotion of education advancements increased a demand for new editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas. These were printed using the new *perfecting presses*, which printed both sides of a sheet of paper simultaneously and could automatically produce about 1000 impressions an hour.[30] To match the speed and demand of affordable copies, not all critical editions provided a scholarly fidelity to understanding Beethoven's intentions, but instead merely copied the erroneous first edition, such as the scores prepared by Johann Cappi (Berlin 1822) and Sigmund Lebert (Berlin 1877). Breitkopf and Härtel also published volumes of piano sonatas from the *Beethoven Gesamtausgabe* in the 1860s and in 1898 printed the *Urtext* editions with Carl Krebs as editor. Krebs was one of the few nineteenth-century editors to consult the available autographs, and like Cappi and Lebert, relied on the first editions for other sonatas including Opus 109.[31] Carl Schachter stated that this resulted in many shortcomings to the copy, even though Krebs's versions were superior up until the publications of Schenker (1913).[32]

Theorist Louis Köhler prepared another example of this type of edition in 1869. His varies little from the first (uncorrected) edition except for the occasional switch from

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[30] Before 1800, hand presses were in operation that could produce only about five impressions a minute; about 1800, iron was introduced and levers were substituted for screws. In the nineteenth century, the operations discussed above were performed automatically. See Stanley Sadie, Editor, "Printing and Publishing of music" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, 2nd ed.* (New York:2001), vol. 20: 341-352.

[31] Krebs had access to the autographs of Opp. 78, 81a and 101.

[32] Carl Schachter, *Preface*, *Complete Sonatas of Beethoven*, ed. Heinrich Schenker (New York, 1975).

stroke to staccato mark. What Köhler did add were fingerings, illustrating his virtuosity: in the technically difficult passages, such as in the first movement, mm. 62-65, he relies heavily on the weak fourth finger, whereas in this type of passage, Schenker suggests the stronger third and fifth fingers. The fingerings used by Köhler first appeared in an edition he helped prepare with theorist-composer-pianist Henry Litolff.

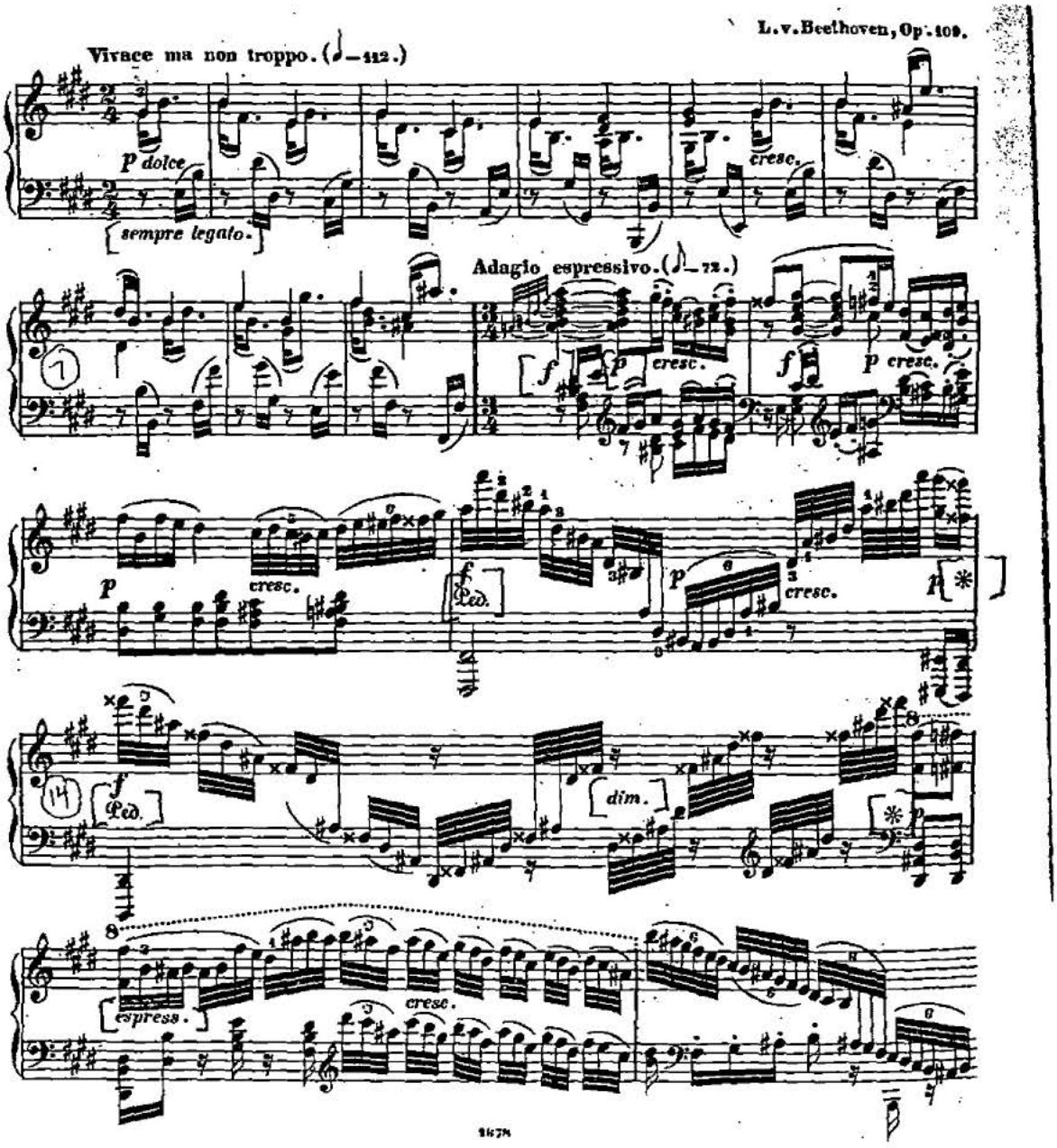
Henry Litolff (1860)

British-born Litolff was one of the first piano virtuosos in Germany to produce a theoretically edited critical version of the Beethoven sonatas (Braunschweig, 1860), yet the edition of Opus 109 illustrates that Litolff was inconsistent in his duties as editor on several accounts and there is no critical commentary to explain his sources, nor his editorial improvements: while many passages in the score retain Beethoven's original innovative directions in regards to articulation, phrasing and pedaling, other passages seem harshly restrained through omissions of directions, or reinterpreting the dramatic and contrasting characters within the sonata into a homogonous whole. It seems the arduous task of editing was too daunting.

Litolff's edition may have been hampered by a nervous disorder he suffered from, compounded by marital problems; in 1844, the Bülow family in Dresden, where he taught Hans, nursed his malady. In 1851, Litolff married his second wife, Julie Meyer, became a citizen of Braunschweig and assumed charge of the publishing firm run by her father Gottfried, now renamed Henry Litolff Verlag. Seven years later, he divorced Meyer and moved to Paris to compose and conduct; his concertos won the praise of Liszt

for their expansive style. Most of Litolff's solo piano music was written for the salon, and this style is evident in his edition of Opus 109, indicating Litolff's approach to performing was somewhat classical. His performance style won the approval of his teachers Moscheles and Zimmerman, and the French classicist and critic François Fétis. Litolff's scholarly approach to performance is most evident in the first movement: Litolff faithfully maintains several directions found in Schlesinger's (example 1) edition, including the phrase lines, dynamic markings and pedal errors (example 3).

Example 3 Opus 109, *Vivace* (Litolff, 1860)



What Litolff changed was mostly through omission. Beethoven's German directions are absent, as are many sharply contrasting dynamics: in m. 16, *crescendo* is refined to *sempre crescendo*. For a more theoretical approach to writing, the *8ve* sign in the first movement is reworked to make the notes easier to read.

The structure of the first movement contains a "double-single" bar line dividing the opening *Vivace* from the *Adagio*, whereas Schlesinger had indicated a dramatic final double bar line between the sections. Several pedal directions are added in m. 34 through 40, which follow Beethoven's directions of a long line of *legato* up to the *sf*, but create a more refined pedal effect rather than the thicker crescendo building *harmonioso* pedal indicated on Beethoven's autograph used to increase the symphonic effect of the "supraphrasal slur".[33]

While the first movement indicates a slightly more refined interpretation than Schlesinger's first edition of Opus 109, the second movement includes almost all of Beethoven's Romantic directions, except for small changes to the dynamics: the *crescendo* of m. 22 is moved one bar earlier, and the *crescendo* at m. 34 refined to *sempre più crescendo.* What is notable in Litolff's edition is his inclusion of the innovative use of the stroke, as seen in the second movement (example 4, m. 159). The movement ends with an added phrase line emphasizing the romantic gesture of the *grande ligne* of the last run.

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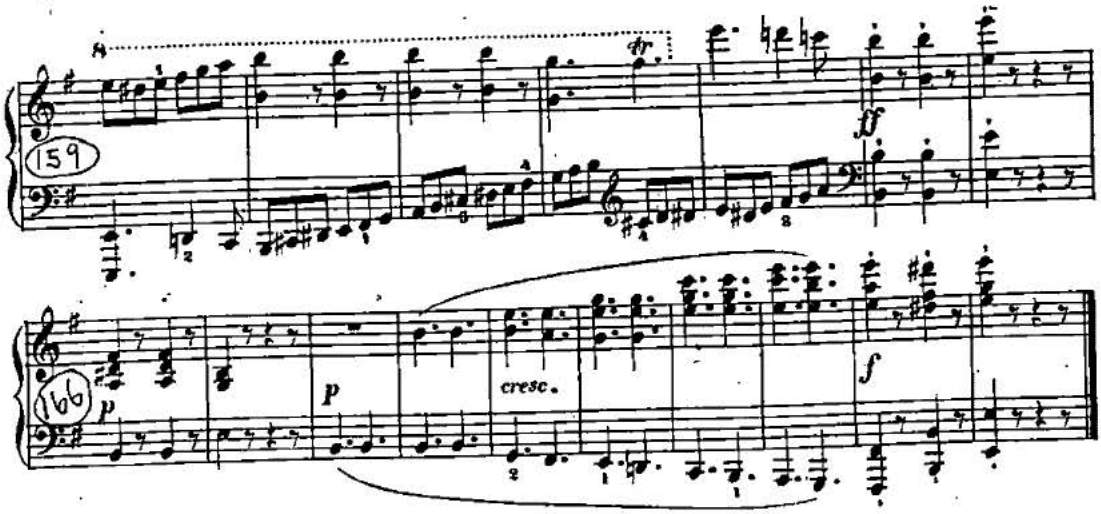
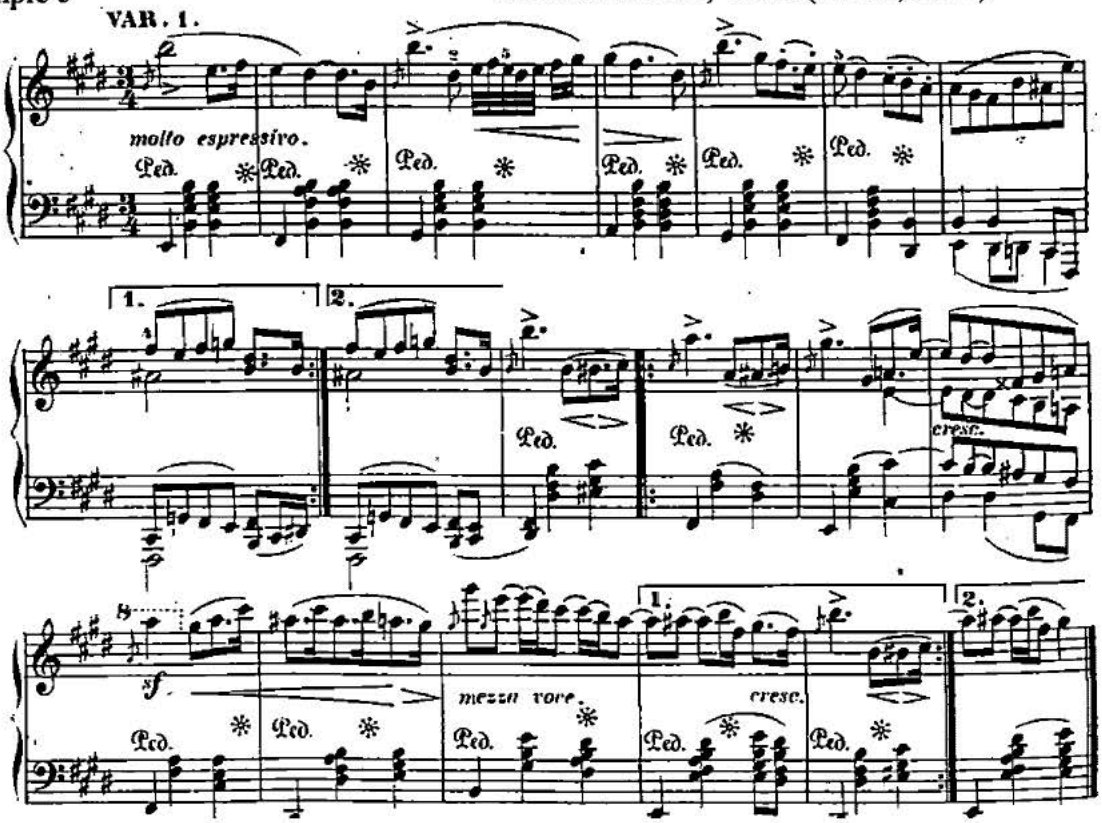
[33] Czerny coined this term, Ibid. The legato line continues here unbroken for a full 28 bars.

Example 4 *Prestissimo* (m. 159-end) (Litolff, 1860)

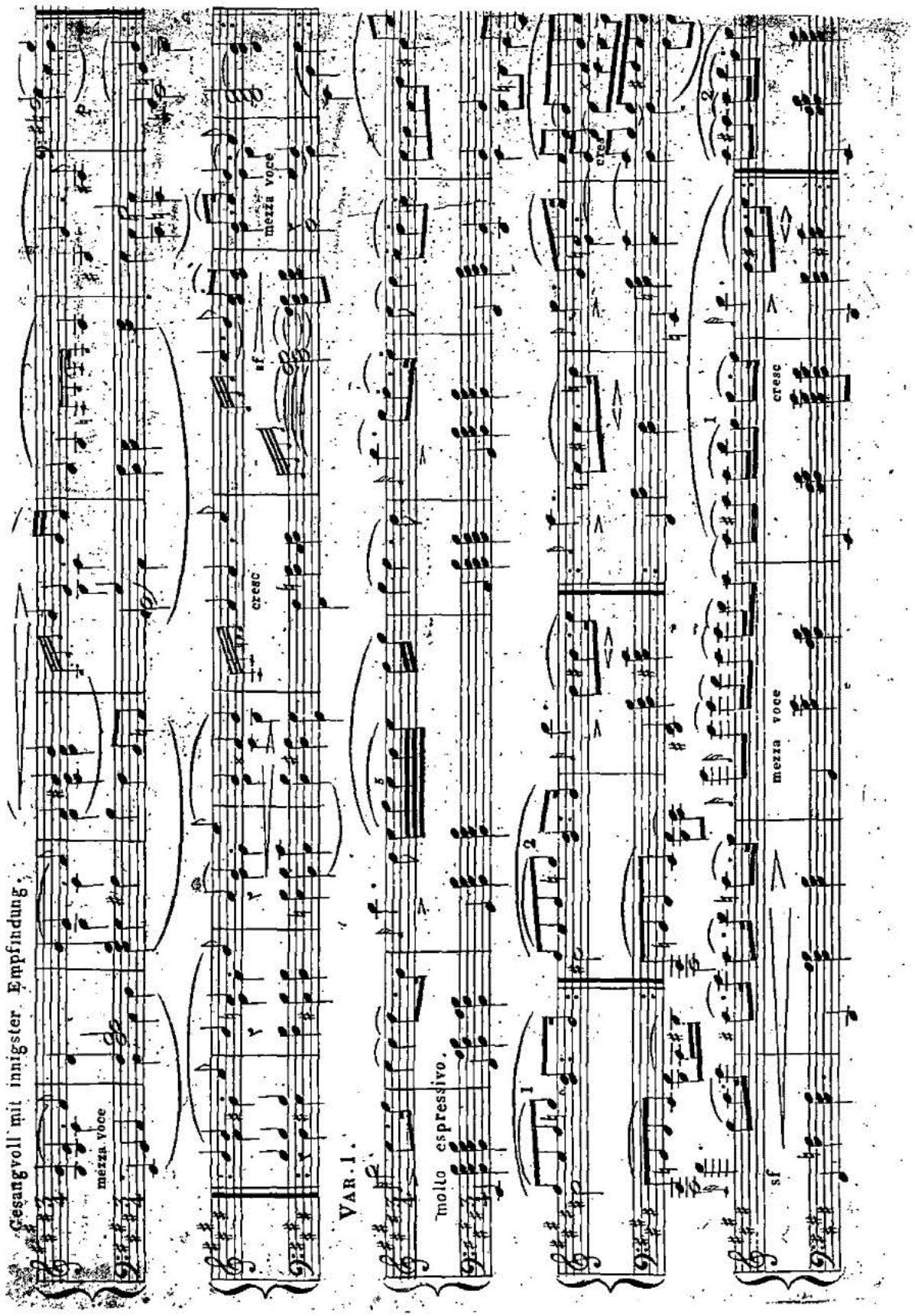


In the last movement, the German directions are omitted, leaving only the Italian; Litolff stresses the romantic "accent" through prominent placement above the score; this sign was popularly used in the early part of the century to indicate the most important note to be agogically emphasized, not pushed as a regular accent. The lyrical character is emphasized through Litolff's added waltz pedal indications. Comparison to Schlesinger's edition reveals that Litolff otherwise remains faithful to the original source:

Example 5 Third movement, Var. I (Litolff, 1860)

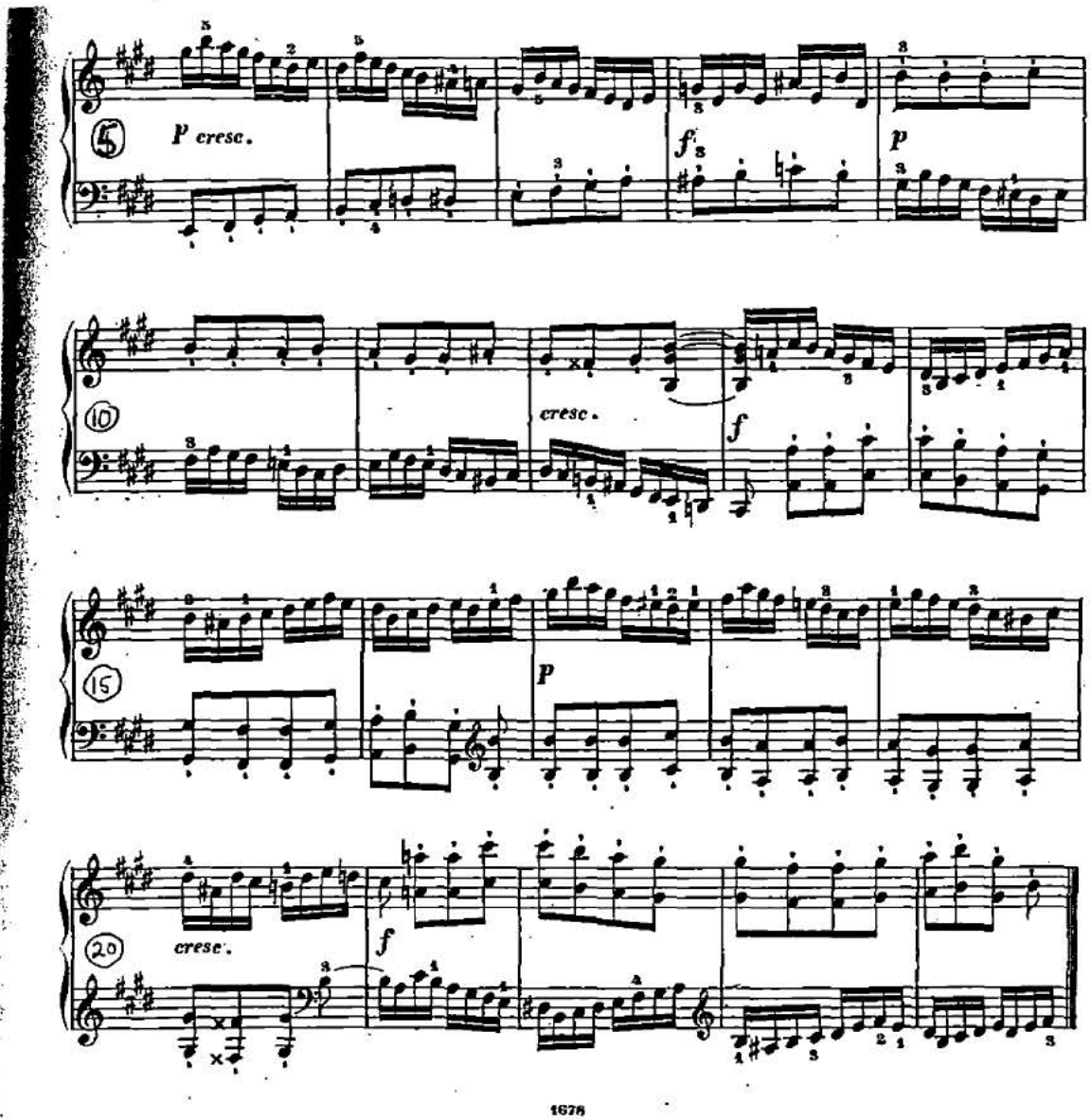


Example 6 Third movement, Theme & Var. I (Schlesinger, 1821)



There are several inconsistent articulation markings throughout the Finale variations that present either a more classical interpretation, or translate the Opus 109 sonata for the richer, more sustained tones of the newer pianos: in several instances, staccatos replace strokes. In other cases, Litolff spells out a pattern that Beethoven felt a pianist would understand to be continued once it had been indicated. This is illustrated in the third and fifth variation: (example 7).

Example 7 Var. III, m. 5-24 (Litolff, 1860)



Other examples of re-editing for easier reading occur in variation II, where the first sixteenth grace note is rewritten as a slashed-eighth note to indicate the elegant function. In several places, stems are reversed or omitted, as in variation I (m. 6), which changes the double stemmed A-sharp to a single-stemmed note, thereby losing its melodic importance; perhaps Litolff felt a pianist would assume this as a melody note which would automatically be brought out through use of the pedal. Also in this variation, Litolff has rewritten the octaves (m. 12) to separate the soprano and alto stems, assuming that a pianist would realize the importance of the soprano line. While the notes are easier to read, what seems to be lost is Beethoven's indication of a song through his original chorale style of writing.

Generally, Litolff's edition of Opus 109 offers a close representation of the first printed edition, with several editorial additions that aid in reading the score and in understanding the psychological line, poetic character and structure of the sonata. Most of the dramatic indications, such as the stroke from the first edition, are retained; changes made to dynamics, pedal and articulation produce an overall effect slightly more genteel. Litolff seems to bridge the old and the new piano performance practices within his edition of Opus 109: his refined and scholarly approach represents a time when his career was highly successful as a performer in the elegant salons, eclipsed with his more dramatic indications reflective of the influences from the rise of the piano virtuosos who changed the previous style of performance practice upon stronger and richer-toned pianos. One of Litolff's forward-looking virtuosic friends was Liszt, who was greatly inspired by Litolff's scholarly research and approach to editing; Liszt's edition of Opus

109 was prepared in a scholarly fashion with noted alterations, yet considered interpretive. In contrast, Litolff's authoritative editorial changes were accepted under the guise of being a reliable *Urtext*, or critical edition, based on his fame as a performer and respectable publisher.

H. Büssmeyer (1880)

One critical edition printed by the merging of two well known and wealthy publishing houses was prepared by theorist H. Büssmeyer, Professor of Music at *Königlichen Conservatorium in München* (Berlin, 1880). This edition, printed jointly by Carl Haslinger and Moritz Schlesinger, is an almost exact reprint of the first edition, including Beethoven's directions in italicized German. This very spartan score includes only slight changes: a few fingering suggestions are added to aid the legato lines, and staccatos replace strokes. Although his primary source for Opus 109 is not listed, Büssmeyer seems to have respectfully adhered to the first edition, unaware that he was including all of its many errors and ambiguities, such as the pedalling in the first movement *Adagio* section. What is missing is any reference to the autograph, purchased by Carl's father Tobias (1828); either Büssmeyer did not have access to the autograph, or he could not read it.

Gustav Damm (1890)

Another academically prepared *Sämtliche Sonaten* was by theorist Gustav Damm (pseudonym for Theodor Steingräber), printed in 1890 by his own publishing firm of Steingräber; it was in this year that he moved his firm from Hannover to Leipzig. The

edition of Opus 109, like that of Büssmeyer, seems to have been based on the first edition, which reinforces Damm's reputation for providing teachers and students with reliable *Urtext* editions. His lucrative business was based on the publications of collections of classical works or arrangements of school and teaching materials prepared by various editors. Damm himself prepared Beethoven's *Sämtliche Sonaten*, stating in the Preface that he had referred to Beethoven's manuscripts and original publications in order to offer a true score. Many of the sonatas were reprints of the editions of Artaria Publishing House, one of Beethoven's own publishers.

A comparison with Beethoven's autograph with Schlesinger's edition reveals that Steingräber translated many of Beethoven's innovative piano effects to suit an obsolete *fortepiano*, without commentary or explanation of his editorial procedure. In the first movement, the added refinements and tailoring to phrases aim to connect the two contrasting sections, rather than to celebrate their differences: dynamics often taper the line of the phrase with added *diminuendos*, rather than Beethoven's sudden *p* after a *crescendo* to *f*. The melding of the two themes is also attempted at the return of *tempo I* after the *Adagio* section – the tempo return overlaps at the 2/3 bar, rather than beginning a bar later, thus destroying the *Adagio* ending which should float away, untouched by the vigorous return of the first theme.

The pedal mark connecting the first and second movements is left out, and the pedal directions in general produce a dry sound: this style of pedaling renders the theme of the Finale more like a baroque dance than a song. Steingräber was respected as both a

virtuoso and a theorist, and the musical public accepted his critical editions based on his fine reputation; yet, without critical commentary, he firmly presents his own reserved interpretation of Opus 109, suggesting Steingräber was somewhat derelict in his duties as an editor.

Carl Reinecke (1886)

Carl Reinecke was another respected music theoretician in Germany to produce a critical edition of the Beethoven sonatas (Leipzig and Brussels: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1886). It is still printed today as an *Urtext* score by Breitkopf & Härtel, and reprinted as an *Urtext* by Kalmus (New York, 1968).

As director of the Leipzig Conservatory since 1860, Reinecke felt it was his duty to guard the tradition of the classical composers. As a pianist he was known for his "beautiful, gentle, legato and lyrical touch" and Liszt had entrusted him to teach his daughter in Paris.[34] Reinecke stressed clarity and a theoretical approach to learning scores, and he prepared an edition suitable for the academic syllabus. However, in the 1886 edition, the editorial procedure Reinecke used seems not only inconsistent, but produces a very dry score, difficult to read (despite his preference for using the *8ve* sign rather than write out the high register) because of its compressed nature and the stress upon the numbers and notes above the expressive marks and character directions present. The first movement lacks the romantic dedication. An orderly arrangement of the time

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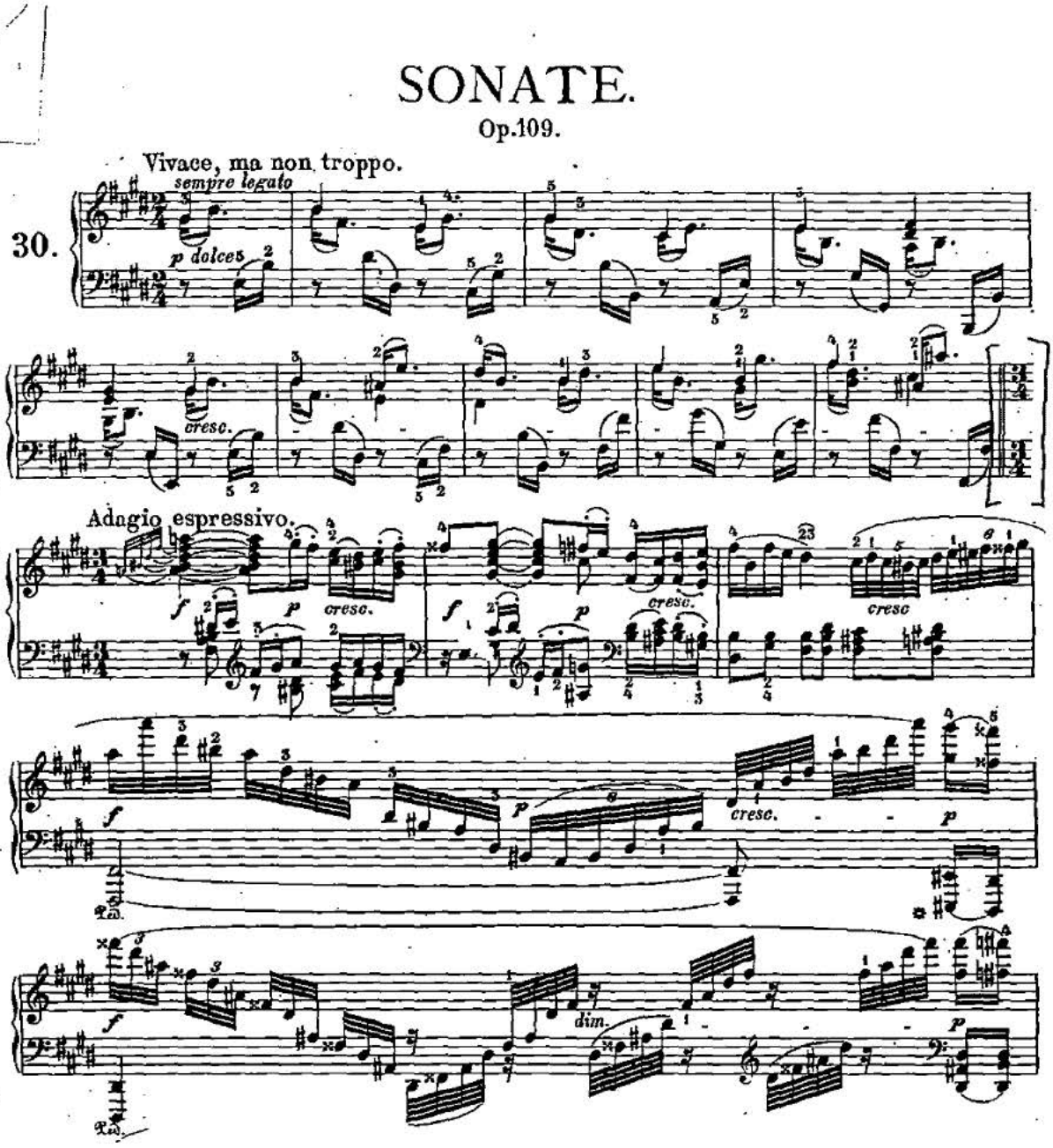
[34] Schonberg: 47.

signature includes a warning of a time change, in m. 9, before the *Adagio* section (example 8).

Example 8 Opus 109, *Vivace* (Reinecke, 1886)



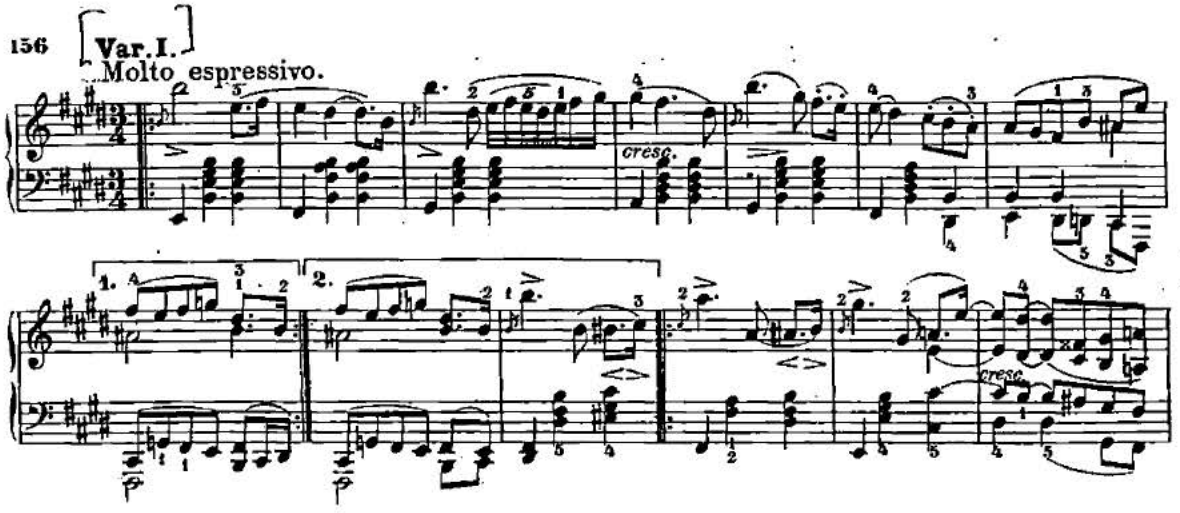
Pedal directions are among the most obvious sign of inconsistent editing: Reinecke either misplaces pedal signs, or omits them, such as in mm. 12-13. The first pedal sign does not correspond to the first edition, and the second sign is omitted. In the following *Adagio* sections, similar notational patterns occur, each with different pedal indications (example 8).

The first movement ends with a release of the pedal, and a final double bar is used. A double bar also ends the *Prestissimo* movement, indicating separation of the movements in classical style rather than the connectedness of the whole sonata; this movement also lacks pedal directions, and is toned down in character through use of staccatos instead of strokes.

Several inconsistencies in editorial style in Reinecke's edition are also apparent in the Finale. Here, unlike the first movement, the German directions are in bold above the now italicized Italian. Throughout the last movement, the visual presentation of the bold variation numbers stresses the order of the structure and the expressive directions are inconsistently placed. While this system seems orderly for thoughtful, analytical study of the score, for a pianist playing through such a presentation, the expressive directions seem secondary, and almost disappear beneath the highlighted numbering system. This can be illustrated in variation I (example 9), where the *molto espressivo* is shadowed beneath the variation title; in variation IV, the German directions now appear beneath the Italian. In the return of the theme, the *cantabile* direction is inconspicuously placed

between the close-set notes on the two staffs, instead of titling the theme in arioso style, as Beethoven intended.

Example 9: Third movement, Var. I (Reinecke, 1886)



Many directions Beethoven included in his autograph that do not appear in the first edition are also missing from Reinecke's edition. For example, in variation I, m.2, Beethoven indicated the last note in the right hand (B) as a thirty-second note. In Schenker's edition this is correct. In the first edition (example 6, p. 77) this note is written as a sixteenth, as it also appears in Reinecke's edition (example 9). Reinecke does not indicate his primary source, but several of his directions are inconsistent with the first edition. Many of his alterations to the score appear without commentary: there are no strokes, only the occasional staccato mark, such as in variation III; in variation VI, ties are omitted in mm. 164-188. The final bar concludes this inconsistently edited score

without a fermata over the last chord, a double bar line indicating finality, and yet the pedal sign indicates no release.

Judging from the omission of critical commentary and the resulting inconsistent editorial directions, one might conclude that Reinecke was either derelict or incapable in his editorial duties. While Reinecke probably aimed to produce this edition for an academic setting, the score is difficult to read because of its tightly compressed format, and hard to teach from because of the lack of bar numbers and inconsistent directions. Judging by the cheaply bound copy, this edition was probably very affordable; however, it would require an insightful Beethoven interpreter to override this edition's lack of character.

The editions of Steingräber, Büssmeyer and Reinecke filled the need for critical editions supported by the classical camp of teachers in Germany. One of the most outspoken advocates of classical performance practice was Clara Schumann, who was appointed head of the piano department of the *Hoch* Conservatory of Frankfurt in 1878. Clara taught her students to play with a light touch in the style of Hummel and Mozart, using "squeezing finger motion, rather than arm weight". [35] One of her students, Fanny Davies, became an influential teacher of Beethoven interpreters in the 1920s, one of whom was Kathleen Dale. Dale, a well-known musicologist and author of *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music* (1954), voiced the same preference for a style of Beethoven advocated by the classical camp: light pedal effects, clarity, lightness of touch, and a

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[35] Siu-Wan Chair Fang, *Clara Schumann as Teacher* (Illinois, 1978), 27.

restraint of emotion.[36] Clara had secured her concert career by 1836, having bravely featured the sonatas of Beethoven from memory: in Berlin, 1832, she introduced for the first time in a public concert Beethoven's *Waldstein* and the sonata Opus 27, No. 1 in 1837, she gave the first public performance of the complete *Appassionata* sonata. Her approach to Beethoven was highly influenced by her father's teachings, which favoured the traditions of Hummel and Mozart, while he rejected the showmanship of the Czerny school. Clara adhered strictly to the Urtext to produce a calculated performance "sharp as a pencil sketch". [37]

Clara and her colleagues appealed to classical restraint as a way to fathom Beethoven's complex late style: although Mendelssohn had conducted the Ninth Symphony at the Lower Rhenish Music Festival in Düsseldorf, 1836, he preferred never to deal with late Beethoven, stating that "even I do not understand it". The classical camp ventured to make Beethoven's late style comprehensible through restrained interpretations: the *Monatschrift* reviewed Clara's execution of Beethoven's sonata Opus 31 as lacking in "any significance whatsoever...the tempo and tone of the *Adagio* left an impression of icy frigidity" and her playing the Finale *Allegretto* as a *Prestissimo* caused the reviewer to dismiss Clara as an "irresponsible artist".[38] However, most critical reviews of Clara supported her interpretive view to "strictly adhere to the text", largely due to the outspoken and infamous critic Eduard Hanslick who stated "she gives the

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[36] Dale: 68.

[37] Hanslick: 50.

[38] Comini: 128.

perfect reproduction of each composition, having first understood it in its entirety and then studied it in utmost detail".[39] Clara's philosophy of a balanced uniformity in performance fostered the need for theoretically prepared editions. In the nineteenth century, the spirit of innovation and technical progress through virtuosity, experimenting with new pianos and exploring Beethoven's symphonic and innovative piano style were dampened by most conservatory teachers who instead upheld the traditional links to the old order. In the first part of the century, the pre-Beethoven classical canon was most rigidly guarded in post-Napoleonic France.

Beethoven Reception in France

During the Restoration Period, France upheld the traditions of the old regime: Charles X was crowned in Rheims in 1825 and, despite the fact that Napoleon had overturned "the divine right of kings", King Charles refused to respect the charter that protected the freedoms of the people, or to acknowledge respect for the constitution. Once he suspended the Chamber of Deputies from addressing the concerns of the people, the atmosphere was electrically charged for the July Revolution of 1830.

It was during the regime of Charles X that Luigi Cherubini headed the *Société des Concerts du Conservatoire.* A prolific composer of operas and church music, Cherubini took up the post of director in 1822 and signed a decree issued by Charles X's minister of

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[39] Hanslick: 50.

fine arts, which prohibited entrance of foreigners into the *Conservatoire*. [40] Under Cherubini's direction, the syllabus leaned towards the prevailing taste for pre-1800's music; he stated that Beethoven's music "made him sneeze!". [41] Rigorous technical requirements were demanded of the students in an effort to curb the numbers, yet over the next ten years, the enrolment increased despite the rigid criteria outlined in the *Méthode* created by Zimmermann and Louis Adam. Heinrich Heine described this phenomenon as a "plague of locusts swarming to pick Paris clean". [42]

It was during this regime that French editors were cautious about publishing Beethoven's new compositions, fearing a financial risk. Most of Paris was caught up in an opera craze, and there was a great demand for fourhanded fortepiano reductions, "transcriptions" and "reminiscences". [43] Pianists sought to imitate the melodic perfection of operatic idols such as Malibran, Pasta and Nourrit; the method of producing the perfect *cantabile* line of the singers on the percussive keyboard led to several instructive publications such as Thalberg's "The Art of Singing on the Piano" and Friedrich Wieck's *Clavier und Gesang*. The fascination with opera led piano makers to improve on the piano's action for tremolo effects, to add various pedals and gadgets to aid in the illusion of *bel canto* singing, and to expand the keyboard to capture the orchestral range: in 1824,

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[40] Liszt was turned away in 1823 due to "foreign" status.

[41] Comini: 134.

[42] Alan Walker: *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years* (London, 1983), 163.

[43] Liszt first used these titles; other composers later accepted them. *Gazette Musicale*, Oct. 10, 1841.

Erard produced an experimental seven octave grand that the thirteen-year-old Liszt played on for his Paris debut.

The improvements made to the piano's action, pedals and the expanded keyboard range created a more feasible instrument for Beethoven's symphonic style of piano music; yet, it was not until 1828, with François Habeneck taking post at the *Conservatoire*, that Beethoven's music was slowly introduced into Parisian society. Habeneck helped to promote acceptance of Beethoven's piano sonatas through his alliance with the *Gazette*, now under the editorial direction of Maurice Schlesinger. As in Germany, publishing companies had a vested interest in promoting Beethoven's piano music, and Schlesinger hoped to increase sales of re-publishing the family owned edition of Opus 109 through advertising in his periodical. By giving serious artistic coverage to concerts at the *Société des Concerts* as a symbol of a revitalized concert life in France, Schlesinger saw an increase in productions and sales of Beethoven's piano sonatas. Schlesinger rejected the vulgar salon society in Paris, and instead promoted an educational and theoretical approach to criticism and interpreting the score, through articles by Castil-Blaze and Berlioz. By 1834, Schlesinger had established his own printing and editing business, and was reproducing copies of Beethoven's late piano sonatas for a viable market. He grew rich from the proceeds of his music-publishing house, and together with his brother running the family firm in Berlin, the Schlesinger family created a monopoly in France and Germany.

In spite of his lucrative business, Schlesinger's ideology came under fierce attack from François Fétis and his classical followers. Charles Bannelier was a widely published French critic who, in the 1840s, campaigned for classical readings of Beethoven's editions: he rejected the use of rubato and advocated performing with "absolute metronomical precision".[44] He claimed his ideology was based on the findings of scholar Gustav Nottebohm published in the Leipzig *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1845). In his essay on Beethoven's editions, Bannelier discussed what he saw as editorial and performance abuse in vogue at the time.[45] He stated that deviations from the text were only to be made in cases considering the instrument's limitation, such as octave doublings, which Beethoven had omitted due to the limited octave range of his *fortepiano*. Bannelier asserted that a performer's duty was to follow the composer's directions down to the finest detail, however incongruous they seemed; Beethoven was the ultimate test of a player's worth as representing authenticity. This conservative approach was one method of comprehending Beethoven's radical music, and fuelled the debates between the esthetics of Mozart and Beethoven that escalated into the 1850s. The relativism and prejudice of the classicists hurled against the scholarly approach of the new literary society fed growing debates over Beethoven's music that would divide artists up to the middle of the century. Beethoven was the first composer to cause the French critics to develop an ideal of their position on performance practice, however limited by political changes at the time.

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[44] Katherine Ellis, *Music criticism in nineteenth-century France* (Cambridge, 1995), 122.

[45] Ellis: 124.

In July of 1830, France had another revolution. The Royalist troops, led by Marshal Marmont, battled for three days against supporters of General Lafayette (a former officer of Napoleon who supported the people's cause) and Charles X was overthrown in favour of Louis-Philippe, the "Citizen King".[46] The July Revolution set the stage for great artistic and intellectual activity in Paris, which became the meeting point for artists and political activists from all over Europe. The young literary and salon society in Paris of the 1830s influenced some of the greatest pianists of the nineteenth century. It was within this atmosphere that Beethoven took on mystic proportions, forcing many ideologies underground to avoid political persecution. These pianists were the first generation to concertize the complete Beethoven sonatas to audiences, risking the prevalent narrow reception of the late sonatas. France faced a depression during 1846-7, and with the socialist ideals in the air, and the street fights leading to the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, uncertainties of another revolution drove most artists away. By mid-century, Germany became the focus of scholarship, and it was here that most virtuosos would undertake the admirable task of editing the Beethoven piano sonatas. Most of these editions did not receive favourable academic support based on prejudicial attitudes towards liberal interpretations and what was seen as vulgar virtuosic display. Most of the musically literate public preferred to stay safely within the confines of academic and conservative acceptability, choosing to refer to critical editions prepared by classical pedagogues and renowned theorists.

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[46] The Chamber of Deputies simply converted Louis-Philippe into a new king, which led to another revolution in 1848.

Conclusion

Critical editions were produced for the growing musically literate public to fulfill the specific needs of scholars, performers and students. Priority was placed on clearly presenting Beethoven's autograph or first edition in terms of notes, metre, tempos, dynamics, articulation and pedaling. Nineteenth-century theorists faced the editorial dilemma of how to fulfill the goal of fidelity to the original edition of Opus 109: whether or not to retain all of the ambiguities and errors, and how to interpret Beethoven's innovations in treatment of the piano to present a comprehensive score accessible to a society valuing the traditional classical canon. The fact that the original manuscript of Opus 109 was not available made a stronger case for theorists to employ a procedure of reinterpreting the innovative piano writing into a more refined character; this type of edition was presented to the nineteenth century as a critical edition, regardless of the fact that the procedures and systematic apparatus authoritatively offered an editor's interpretation.

Editing Beethoven's music can never be fully objective. Authorial decisions must be made at every stage of the editorial process: whether editing from his autographs or first editions, innumerable problems of detail exist, not all of which can be answered definitively. Donald Tovey has commented that where Beethoven's art lacks tidiness, an editor will find amongst Beethoven's discrepancies "innumerable opportunities of learning ...what would never have entered into his own editorial mind".[47] Critical

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[47] Donald Tovey, ed., *The Complete Beethoven Sonatas*, Preface (London, 1931).

editions should offer a score as true to Beethoven's original as possible and take great effort to faithfully produce the original source with clarity to the text and directional notations. If an editor feels it necessary to translate illegible directions, it is expected that changes be explained in a textual commentary either in a separate appendix, the preface or through commentary on the bottom of the page. Some of the editions in this chapter fulfill this goal, while most require a critical response to the interpretive changes. What is evident through study of these editions is that a critical attitude is necessary when approaching any edition, and it is advisable for performers to consult several sources to make their own definitive interpretations.

CHAPTER THREE: PEDAGOGICAL EDITIONS OF OPUS 109

In the nineteenth century, several famous piano virtuosos associated with The New German School in Weimar prepared pedagogical or "interpretive" editions of Beethoven's piano sonatas.[1] Liszt and his students were reputed to possess unmatched gladiator techniques, sometimes displayed as flamboyant liberties taken with the score. These interpretations were considered vulgar by many academics associated with Germany's new conservatory tradition, modeled after the Conservatory of Leipzig. Resistance was strengthened by the powerful voice of Johannes Brahms and the infamous critic Eduard Hanslick. Conservatives favoured Urtext editions, and often viewed pedagogical editions as irreverent since the score had been tainted by the imposition of an individual's personality. To theorists, this type of edition departed from the ideals of *Werktreue* and the acceptable standards of editing that usually involved critical refinements and omissions.

The dispute over the ideals of musical thought between Weimar and Leipzig became known as the War of the Romantics.[2] Leipzig's dismissal of any musical contributions made by Weimar was part of a greater movement to stop "the spread of

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[1] Piano virtuosos prepared most 'interpretive' editions. In this thesis, I refer to these editions as pedagogical, due to the instructive nature of the editorial procedures. Historically, the labels are used interchangeably. See John Grier, *The Critical Editing of Music: History, Method and Practice* (Cambridge, 1996); Bülow, Ibid; Tovey, Ibid.

[2] The term "War of the Romantics" refers to the nineteenth-century battle of musical conservatives centred in Leipzig against modernists led by Liszt; the war culminated in Brahms' Manifesto (1860). See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years* (London, 1989).

evil".[3] In the 1850s, the conservatives gained the support of one of the most outspoken and infamous critics in Germany – Eduard Hanslick. In *Von Musikalische Schönen* (1854), Hanslick stated that music was "Nothing: music is its own music". He was part of a greater group who condemned Liszt's performance practice as possessed and heaven-storming. Liszt's programmatic compositions were attacked for drugging "the listener with a sort of vision-promoting medicine".[4] Liszt's conducting appearances were boycotted on account of his egoistic interpretations.[5] In 1853, Robert Schumann declared Brahms the "true Apostle", stating, "Only the other Apostles understand him, including perhaps Judas Iscariot (Liszt)".[6] In 1860, Brahms proclaimed his "Manifesto" against the New Germans as propagators of ideas "contrary to the innermost spirit of music, strongly to be deplored and condemned".[7] Karl Brendel and Hans von Schellendorf Bronsart were critics in favour of Liszt, and along with Richard Pohl and Hugo Wolf, retaliated against the slander in a series of articles appearing over a fifteen-year period, denouncing the opposition to Weimar as spreaders of ill will and lies.

The bias against Weimar may explain why most of these pedagogical editions are out of print. From study of pedagogical editions in this chapter, we see pedagogical editions actually spread the modern understanding of Beethoven's performance practice.

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[3] Sir George MacFarren, principal of the Royal Academy of London, quoted in A. Walker, *Franz Liszt, The Final Years* (New York, 1996), 15.

[4] Hanslick quoted in Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years* (London, 1989), 360.

[5] The Beethoven centennial celebrations invited Liszt to conduct, yet Joseph Joachim stated he would not be able to participate "heart and soul in the Festival" because of Liszt and Wagner; Clara wrote similarly in a letter to Joachim: "the idea of a Beethoven Festival with Liszt and Wagner oppresses me...". See Walker: 207.

[6] In 1907, Karl Storck censored this sentence in his English edition of *Schumann's Letters*.

[7] Walker: 352.

Most improvements are presented with reverential attention to the score using a consistent procedure of editing: suggestions are generally kept separate from the score through alternate print or footnoted commentary. Today, through study of the pedagogical editions, we learn about nineteenth-century performance practice of Beethoven's late style, recorded through the editorial suggestions supplied for Opus 109 in these interpretive editions, which transmit an oral tradition: a personal vision to be passed on to future generations or insights gained from working with the great teacher and mentor Liszt.

The New German School

Hundreds of students from across Europe and America flocked to study piano with Liszt, unofficially creating The New German School, which developed out of Liszt's generous mentorship in his home in Weimar. In 1872, Carl Müller-Hartung established the school officially and appointed friends of Liszt to the faculty. It was later renamed the Weimar Orchestral School and after Liszt's death became the *Franz Liszt Hochschule für Musik*. The syllabus emphasized modern repertoire and catholic taste: the ideals of the school were published in the periodical *Die Lanterne* which professed modern music, and expounded the ideas of program music as the medium by which music is made more accessible and understandable to the public.

In 1854, Liszt's students had formed a *Society of Murls* (anti-Philistine "Moors") with Liszt as leader; devoted to "Music of the Future", members developed performing and conducting careers promoting the works of Liszt and Wagner.[8] Liszt showed his support for the fraternity by dedicating the manuscript of his B minor Sonata "For the Murls' Library". As mentor and teacher, Liszt was equally supportive of his female students. Unlike Beethoven who was more forgiving of his female students, Liszt stressed musicianship first and made equal demands on his male and female students. Elemental stamina and poetic interpretations were attributed to famous pianists Amy Fay, Sophie Charlotte Gaebler, Ida May, Sophie Menter, Lina Schmalhausen, Agnes Klindworth, Julie Rive-King and Adele auf der Ohe, just to name a few. Unlike the conservative society that stifled the career of Clara Schumann, under Liszt's mentorship many young women successfully pursued careers across Europe and America.

To all of his students, Liszt stressed the importance of communicating character. In relation to tempo, Liszt stated "One must not imprint on music a balanced uniformity, but kindle it, or slow it down, according to its meaning".[9] Liszt's unmethodical approach was also recorded by Princess Nadine Shahavskaya, who studied with Liszt in Rome in 1888: the instruction she received on Schumann's F-sharp sonata was vastly different from previous studies with Clara Schumann on the same piece and from Liszt she finally gained the "images for which (she) was searching".[10]

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[8] *The Society of Murls* included Klindworth, Cornelius, Bülow, Raff and American William Mason.
[9] Alan Walker, vol. III, *Franz Liszt: The Final Years* (New York, 1996), 317.

[10] Alessandra Comini, *The Changing Image of Beethoven* (N.Y., 1987), 255.

For students requiring attention to technical problems, or in need of methodical learning instruction, Liszt directed them to enrol in a conservatory as a place "to wash your linens".[11] He preferred to teach by demonstration, and he rarely discussed the details of a work. The Opus 109 sonata continued to be a favourite sonata throughout Liszt's life, both for teaching and performing for gatherings of friends and students, yet

his intimate acquaintance with the work did not lead to a structured or systematic lesson: during a class on July 3, 1885, a student received the sole direction to play the *Adagio* of the first movement of Opus 109 "very slowly and very dreamily, with no sharp accents", after which Liszt proceeded to play the entire sonata.[12] Liszt encouraged through aesthetic inspiration, but his educational philosophy leaned towards the teachings of Jean Jacques Rousseau: knowledge and a sense of understanding were fostered according to the student's natural inclination. The many-faceted personalities and performance practices of Liszt's students are recorded throughout pedagogical materials; from the "pedantic" style of Bülow to the "impetuous" style of d'Albert, each presented an individual approach to Beethoven's music. Liszt's own style won the praise of Beethoven's infamous secretary Anton Schindler, who attributed Liszt with contributing more "than almost any instrumentalist of the present day to the just comprehension of Beethoven's music".[13] Liszt instilled in his students a sense of deep artistic understanding, especially for the music of Beethoven, emphasizing communication and

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[11] Walker: *Ibid.*

[12] Theodor Pfeiffer, *The Piano Master Classes of Hans von Bülow* (1884-1886), trans. by Richard Zimdars, (Indiana, 1996), 79.

[13] Walker, I: 358.

reverence of Beethoven in the spiritual ideals of the French Romantic Movement, rather than through promotion of the mythical showmanship upon which his early career was founded.

Liszt was part of the society of French salon artists, where writers fuelled the mania for Beethoven: Alfred de Musset expressed he felt "the beat of Beethoven's passionate and stirring language' and Victor Hugo dubbed Beethoven the "mystic prophet of music". The Romantics used the term poet exclusively for creators: Opus 109 was a poem and Beethoven a poet; likewise, only a poet-musician could breath life into a creative work. Within the rich imaginative society, Liszt developed his mission statement. Liszt published a series of six articles entitled *De la situation des artistes* (1835) stating his philosophy of the arts and advocating artists as leaders for world-improvement. His revolutionary credo epitomized the enthusiastic ideals and ethics of the Romantic movement.

The Rise of the Piano Virtuoso: "Divining Beethoven"

Liszt's halcyon days began in Paris in the 1820s, where his enthusiasm for art was swept up with the young French Romantic movement in the early part of the nineteenth century. The Romantic looked upon the artist as being possessed by a god who received inspiration from a supernatural divine source.[14] The soul was seen as a dwelling place of conflicts, and the artist looked to Beethoven to transport the emotions with his "terrible

[14] See for example Leo Schrade, *Beethoven in France* (New York, 1978).

and wonderful work".[15] The romantic artist used every effort to interpret Beethoven: tears were a symbol of sublime understanding and joy was also tinged with melancholy; the extremes of emotions caused overwrought states of emotional turmoil used to excite an artist's passions for purposes of performance or creativity. Interpretations became poetical in character, even if independent of intellectual accuracy of the piece: as a mode of performance practice, Berlioz developed an internal program to identify "himself with the inspiration" of the creator.[16] Theatrical interpretations were at first inspired by the drama of opera.

The opera craze in France created a great demand for fourhanded fortepiano reductions, transcriptions and Reminiscences.[17] Pianists aimed to sing the perfect *cantabile* melody lines on the percussive keyboard to achieve the illusion of *bel canto* singing. This led to the establishment of several piano *Méthodes* developing in the 1820s, including Thalberg's *The Art of Singing on the Piano*, and Friedrich Wieck's *Clavier und Gesang*. The fascination with piano arrangements of opera also led piano manufacturers to greatly experiment with the instrument to develop touch and pedal techniques that replicated the varied orchestral effects. In 1824, Erard produced an experimental seven-octave grand that Liszt (age 13) played on at his Paris debut –who, in true Beethovenian spirit, put several strings out of tune and broke several others; in 1825, Pleyel used an

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[15] Victor Hugo quoted in Schrade: 40.

[16] *Ibid*: 44.

[17] Liszt first used these titles, accepted as genres by 1841, according to the *Gazette Musicale*, Oct. 10, 1841.

iron frame and copper strings which required adjustments such as tuning at a higher pitch.[18]

The advancements of technology were hindered by socio-political events: increased tension of the people led to the July 1830 Revolution. Victor Hugo described the electric atmosphere in Paris as "a revolution stopped halfway. Half Progress, quasi right".[19] Paris became the focal point for artists and political activists from all over Europe, where radical ideas and artistic freedom found a home in the great Parisian institution of the salon.

Parisian salons in the 1820s and 1830s became the home for a new generation of dazzling piano virtuosos, such as Kalkbrenner, Herz, Hiller, Hunten, Thalberg, Pixis, Dreyschock and Cramer. Competition among these gladiators of the keyboard was a constant source of entertainment for Parisian audiences who expected thrilling new piano effects and displays of technical pyrogymnastics. Beethoven was rarely performed, but if his music was included it was usually as an orchestral transcription – the Pastoral Symphony was a favourite with audiences; performance of a sonata commonly involved "orchestral piano" effects through extreme dynamic contrasts, octave doublings, tremolos and pedal effects. After the July Revolution, the Romantic Movement seized Beethoven's music, which took on mystic proportions.

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[18] By 1828, French pitch was A=435.4. Sir George Smart also adopted this pitch for the newly founded Philharmonic Society in London.

[19] Walker, I: 46.

The religious cult of interpreting Beethoven as god-like reached a peak in Emile Barrault's manifesto, *Aux artistes, du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts* (1830), which proclaimed the beliefs of the Saint-Simonists. Claude Henri, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) founded a socialist party based on reforms advocating the advancement of science and education, equal distribution of wealth, freedom of class and of women, and a promotion of work, all things that would create a utopia. He expounded his ideas in *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève* (1803) and in his book *Le Nouveau Christianisme* (1825). Berlioz expressed the ideals of the Saint-Simonists in his public appeals to accept Beethoven through many paths: to the religious, he said Beethoven conveyed "the pious message of God"; to the nature lovers, artists who instilled in Nature the human qualities of passion and expressiveness: "Now...all these intelligent and sensitive souls, on whom his genius has shed its radiance, turn to him as toward a benefactor and friend".[20] To Berlioz, Beethoven represented the metaphysical qualities of divinity inspired by contemplation of the countryside. The religious attitude towards Beethoven affected François Habeneck, the new director of the Paris Conservatory: by 1830, he referred to the concert hall as a temple for worship and performers were faithful "followers".[21]

Outside the realm of the avant-garde Romantics, Beethoven's late piano sonatas still met with controversial critical reception. In a concert devoted entirely to Beethoven's music, for the purpose of raising a monument to the composer in Bonn, an

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[20] Schrade: 90.

[21] Berlioz, GMJK/17:27 April 1843, 133.

arrogant and rude audience became fed up with Beethoven's music and shouted at Liszt to "Play *Robert le Diable*... play it now!". Liszt thus played it as an interruption to the Beethoven sonata. Liszt's flexibility in playing to his audience was noted by Berlioz. Berlioz was initially put off by Liszt's impetuous gypsy spirit and virtuosic display of tremolos and trills added to Beethoven's C sharp sonata during one salon performance.

However, Berlioz was in awe when Liszt revealed his true connection with Beethoven during a private gathering of friends in a darkened, twilight room:

> ...after a moment's pause, rose in its sublime simplicity the noble elegy he had once so strangely disfigured; not a note, not an accent was added to the notes and accents of the author. It was the shade of Beethoven, conjured up by the virtuoso to whose voice we were listening. We all trembled in silence, and when the last chord had sounded No one spoke – we were in tears. [22]

Liszt's friends considered the pious, poetic and highly dramatic performance of Beethoven's sonata as a true "divination".[23]

As Beethoven mania increased, images akin to Christ the Gardener were translated into modern metaphors: encomiums similar to those of Berlioz were stated by Seyfried in his *Beethoven-Studien* that presented Beethoven as a god-like figure whose "spirit would

[22] Berlioz quoted in Comini: 213.

[23] Victor Hugo in Comini: 228-9.

soar aloft, triumphing over transitory terrestrial sufferings...(to) find rest and comfort on the innocent bosom of holy nature".[24] This description appealed to painters who focused increasingly on landscapes full of extremes of beauty and the grotesque, or images evoking glimpses of the infinite and the sublime: painters such as Caspar David Friedrich and Phillipp Otto Runge depicted scenes of solitary figures turned towards an unlimited vast landscape searching out the infinite. Poetic and heroic moods were also portrayed in the English landscapes painted by John Crome and William Turner. Landscapes were vital to the English "Lake School" poets, such as William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge; these poets were paralleled to images of Beethoven composing in Nature: like Beethoven, these poets had been inspired by the strange feelings evoked by Nature that had greatly influenced them from childhood, and that offered relief and comfort for the despairing mortal or the artist reaching for the unattainable.[25]

Images of Beethoven in Nature were especially popular in England during the transformation of the landscape into its modern appearance: open rural areas were subdivided into a checkerboard of fields enclosed by hedges and stone walls, and the factories of the industrial cities cast a pall of smoke over vast areas of tiny houses and slum tenements housing the new landless society. William Blake vividly described the extreme contrasts of the old and the new worlds in his *Songs of Innocence and Experience*. These poems portray the innocent experience of a child in a state of pastoral

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[24] Comini: 106.

[25] See Wordsworth's poem "Ode: Intimations on Immortality".

or a protected world, compared to the awareness of terror in the *Songs of Experience* which view the reality of materialism, poverty, oppression, disease and the ghastly horrors of modern (1789) London. [26]

In romantic spirit, Wilfred Mellers paralleled the duality present in Blake's poems to the first movement of Opus 109. In his article "The Hidden Song"(1983) he perceived the characterization of the two contrasting themes of the first movement based on the historical accounts surrounding the dedication of the sonata, and then compared what he perceived as Beethoven's vision to that of Blake: "and Beethoven no less than Blake proves through his art that man achieves wholeness and holiness only when the two states are reconciled".[27] Considering the exploitation, cruelty, conflict and hypocritical humility expressed in the "Songs of Experience" – the "mind-forg'd manacles" that darken the natural world and one's view of the "divine image", it is hard to accept the views held by Mellers.[28]

The duality present in Opus 109 seems closer to the poetic ideals of the Lake School, which aimed to present a spontaneous overflow of feelings within assimilated classical precedents. Coleridge believed that the truth lies in a union of opposites, and that the act of composing (poetry or music) involved the psychological contraries "of

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[26] William Blake, "Songs of Innocence and of Experience: Shewing the two contrary states of the Human Soul" (1789) in *English Literature* (Canada, 1931), 1306.

[27] Meredith: 252.

[28] Blake's poem "London" portrays the images of oppression and unhappiness, which exist as a result of political and legal prohibition, as well as public condemnation. Certainly Beethoven's Opus 109 does not express these descriptions. This quote in "The Divine Image": "And Love, the human form divine, /And Peace, the human dress". Ibid.

passion and of will, of spontaneous impulse and of voluntary purpose".[29] Wordsworth believed poetry was the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge; he felt he carried love with him everywhere, capturing his visions of immortality within a creation in which "he looks before and after". [30] Some object or event in the present would trigger a sudden renewal of feelings he had experienced in youth, or a Socratic memory of a previous life, and the result was a poem exhibiting the sharp discrepancy between what Wordsworth called "two consciousnesses": as he is now and as he once was.[31]

Wordsworth's expression of remembered emotion "recollected in tranquillity" parallels Beethoven's vision of Opus 109 capturing a mood of abiding and immortal love remembered and still felt. The modifying powers of imagination and levels of love Beethoven expresses in the sonata are similarly captured in Wordsworth's poem *She Was a Phantom of Delight.* Just as the germ for Opus 109 may have begun as a bagatelle, possibly influenced by his previous Opus of Scottish folk songs, *Phantom* began as a idea composed *To A Highland Girl*, which characterized his wife through progressive stages of his acquaintance with her: "A being breathing thoughtful breath, A traveler between life and death...". Like Opus 109, *Phantom* expressed deeply felt love for the subject that unfolds, just as Opus 109 builds to the third movement, towards the end of the poem reaching its point of completion and transcendence – Wordsworth's image opens out

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[29] Samuel Coleridge, "Defence of Poetry" in *English Literature*, Ibid, 1289.

[30] William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* IV. iv. 37.

[31] A prime example of this is stated in "The Prelude XII", describing "spots of time" from childhood: "The days gone by/Return upon me almost from the dawn/ Of life: the hiding places of man's power/Open; I would approach them, but they close. /I see by glimpses now; when age comes on. /May scarcely see at all". Recollections of a previous heavenly life occur in "Ode: Intimations on Immortality", *English Literature, Ibid,* 1366.

from the child's view to the fullness of life, and lastly to approaches of eternity. Just as Beethoven contained his ideas within a highly organized sonata form, Wordsworth's powerful emotions and dreamlike ideas are contained within a classical couplet form with regular metrical beats.

The Lake School was part of a flourishing European literary society which felt that poetry expressed the poet's own mind, imagination and "the heart" as essential elements in art. Similarly Beethoven's music was equated with the quality of his personality: either a madman or a god. Artists expressed their own thoughts and feelings rather than focusing on the actions of other men, and they were treated as independent individuals, each with their own range and diversity of achievements. Coexisting in England with the ideals of the Lake School were the poetic ideals of the Satanic School, epitomized in the poetry of Lord Byron and P.B. Shelley.

Poets of the Satanic School drew inspiration from the occult, opium, mystic and faraway lands, and the gothic dark side of ecstasy: to these poets, Beethoven epitomized their definition of a hero – a solitary protagonist as a lone figure against an indistinguishable background.[32] The duality in Beethoven's music similarly expressed the passionate extremes of consciousness sought out by most artists of the age: "an electric life burns".[33] The literary depiction of Beethoven as a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde character is evident through numerous English periodicals such as *The Musical World*

[32] See Shelley's *Prometheus.*

[33] Shelley, *Defence of Poetry.*

(1836-91), which classified Beethoven's late piano sonatas as incomprehensible and the products of a madman. Sir John Russell published early descriptions of Beethoven as possessed: in his travel book of 1824, he described Beethoven at the piano wild haired, eyes rolling and "overpowered by the demons that he had summoned".[34]

E.T.A. Hoffmann and his contemporaries also mirrored the Gothic era in English literature. In Hoffmann's *Kreisler im Wahnsinn*, an emotionally unstable musician who borders on madness and demonic possession drew immediate comparisons to Beethoven. Similarly, fascination with artists being possessed or receiving inspiration from a supernatural divine source resulted in creating a mystical aura around certain performers, such as impressions of Liszt recorded by Hans Christian Andersen in *A Poet's Bazaar*, 1840, during his visit to Hamburg:

> ...he seemed to me a demon nailed fast to the instrument whence the tones streamed forth – they came from his blood, from his thoughts; he was a demon, who would liberate his soul from thraldom; he was on the rack, his blood flowed and his nerves trembled; but as he continued to play so the demon vanished... the divine soul shone from his eyes...

This recollection represented the Romantic view of art as the new religion, with Beethoven elevated to god-like status. Victor Hugo and Eugene Delacroix stated that Beethoven had connections with the universal human soul, and that both he and

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[34] Comini: 79.

Shakespeare were considered "wild contemplators of human nature" whose "passionate and stirring language" had links with the infinite.[35]

Nineteenth-century writers Musset, George Sand, Alfred de Vigny, Balzac, Wordsworth and Keats explored the infinite through the ideas of memory. They took a subjective interest in time and believed that memories were important to rouse poetic fantasy, and that music was the greatest stimulus for remembering things past: especially memories of loved ones who were now shrouded in mystery and melancholy. These ideas are not far removed from the writings of Theodor Adorno and Ruth Rosengard Subotnick, who describe romantic music as spatial: cognition stretches backwards and forwards in time. [36] By linking Beethoven's music to the infinite, artists felt some Socratic connection to a previous or immortal life. To the Romantic movement, art became the centre of life, and the artist was viewed akin to a priest transmitting God's divine message.

The Romantic movement called for social reforms that placed the artist at the head of society. Romantics valued the artist as a virtuous leader with a goal towards world improvement. This ideology threatened the established order, and following publication of Barrault's manifesto, Saint-Simonists were targets of police and government persecution. The movement was forced underground, but the main goals

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[35] Comini: 228-9; Alfred de Musset, *Emmiline*, quoted in Schrade: 37.

[36] Ruth Rosengard Subotnick, *Deconstructive Variations*. (Minneapolis, 1996), 114. The classical account of memory and Romantic landscape is also discussed by Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Harvard, 1995).

remained active in the hearts of many artists in Paris. While Liszt had no substantiated links to Saint-Simonism, he openly advocated the ideals of Abbé Félicité de Lamennais who supported the cause.

Abbé Lamennais gained national attention through his controversial positions on the Catholic Church.[37] After the July Revolution of 1830, Lamennais saw his chance to voice further criticism against the establishment through his newly founded newspaper *L'Avenir,* which featured articles by Saint-Beuve, Hugo and Balzac. Lamennais helped to awaken and clarify artistic attitudes of Parisian intelligentsia. He appealed to musicians to create "a holy bond, to stimulate the infinite spread of Music" through the advancement of musical training, and the availability of cheap editions of music of all ranges, from simple folk songs to Beethoven's Choral Symphony.[38]

The beliefs of Lamennais were deeply expressed in Liszt's program for a relationship between artist and society, appearing in six articles "On the Position of Artists" in 1835. His articles were modelled on the social movement outlined by Saint-Simon, and reflect the ideals of the literary Romantic Movement: Liszt ranked the artist above all society, entrusted as a moral leader of mankind. He appealed to musicians "to form a holy band of fellowship, of brotherhood, to found a general world-association...".[39] To his artist friends, colleagues and students he directed his creed "We

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[37] Notable in his *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion* (1817), and his book *Des progrès de la révolution et de la guerre contre l'Eglise* (1829).

[38] Walker, I: 97.

[39] Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (N.Y., 1947), 31.

believe, as steadfastly in art as we do in God and Man, both of who find therein a means and type of elevated expression...".[40] With his apostolic faith of *génie oblige*, Liszt became the greatest virtuoso and teacher of the age.[41]

Liszt transcended all laws of virtuosity. The famous violinist Paganini, the "Prince of Darkness", who enveloped his audience in rapturous awe through unmatched superhuman displays of virtuosity, and continued to spread the music of Beethoven, greatly inspired Liszt. It was common for most pianists to perform Beethoven's piano sonatas as cameos, interwoven with other performers presenting orchestral or operatic music to relieve the "monotony". Yet, Liszt presented full solo piano concerts devoted to Beethoven's music in newly built concert halls and in 1839, while in Rome, played the first full solo piano recital. Berlioz supported Liszt's early career through criticism in the *Gazette Musicale*, saluting Liszt as the pianist of the future; he reported that Liszt had answered the "riddle of the sphinx" through his performance of the *Hammerklavier* sonata, and that "not a note was left out, not one added...no inflection was effaced, no change of tempo permitted. Liszt is thus making comprehensible a work not yet comprehended". [42] Lisztomania spread through Europe: while piano concerts were not generally crowd pleasers, Liszt attracted record breaking crowds wherever he went. Usual seating at concert halls, such as Pleyel, Erard and Herz only provided three to four hundred seats, yet in 1842, Berlin, Liszt attracted 800 people, and in St. Petersburg attracted an audience of three thousand.

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[40] Walker, I: 93.

[41] *Genié oblige* may be defined as an obligation to the spirit, to develop and use one's talent to the fullest.

[42] Hector Berlioz, *Gazette Musicale*, June 12, 1836.

Liszt's fame as a virtuoso attracted hundreds of students who were encouraged by him to further Beethoven scholarship through conducting, piano concerts, teaching, arranging and transcribing, and editing the thirty-two piano sonatas. Some of Liszt's piano students gained fame through their scholarly musicological contributions to Beethoven research, such as Wilhelm von Lenz. Lenz maintained a friendly relationship with Liszt for years, and in 1852 sent Liszt a copy of his analysis of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas: *Beethoven ses trois styles* (St. Petersburg, 1852). His work won critical acclaim among academics and virtuosos, and represented a general shift in the reception of Beethoven's late style that had occurred by mid-century.

Beethoven had become accepted as the greatest composer in history. His music was frequently programmed, and was the major focus of the growing interest in both conducting and of musicological research. To contribute to Beethoven scholarship, and to fulfill a need for the demand for editions of his piano music, The Weimar School produced several instructive editions: the first sonatas were prepared by Liszt in 1854 with the Complete Edition appearing in 1886. Several of Liszt's students followed, with editions by Frederic Lamond, Conrad Ansorge, Karl Klindworth (1884), and Eugene d'Albert (1902). Hans von Bülow, Liszt's son-in-law, was the first to publish a Complete Edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas in 1872.

Hans von Bülow's Edition: (Stuttgart, 1872; New York, 1897)

Bülow was the first of the Weimar School to publish a pedagogical edition of the *Samtliche Sonaten* first published by J.G. Cotta in Stuttgart, 1872-1876, and jointly edited with Sigmund Lebert who prepared the first sonatas up to Opus 53. Lebert was a piano professor at the Stuttgart Conservatory who was an advisor to the Cotta firm. Lebert also provided fingerings for the early sonatas, using suggestions of Dr. Immanuel Faisst, Ignaz Lachner and Franz Liszt. Cotta reprinted this Complete Edition of Beethoven's 32 piano sonatas in 1880.

In 1897, Schirmer of New York reprinted the 1880 edition with translations and an added Preface by Theodore Baker. This edition is still in print today. Bülow was condemned by academics for the adjustments made to the sonatas: he changed notes, pedal and dynamic notations, and suggested tempos with added agogic inflections and programmatic interpretations to inspire the performer.[43] The additions are methodically presented in such a way that we gain a strong sense of Bülow's insightful interpretations into performance practice of Beethoven's piano music.

While many pedagogical directions given by Bülow seem obvious to a seasoned performer, the intent of his edition was instructive, prepared with great reverence to "the Master". Bülow dedicated his edition to Liszt as "advocate and interpreter of Beethoven".

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[43] Criticism came from a variety of pianists including Claudio Arrau, quoted in *Celebrated Pianists of the Past and Present* (Philadelphia, 1894), 34,65,73,112; Donald Tovey, *Preface to Complete Edition of Beethoven Sonatas* (London, 1931); Carl Schachter, Preface to Schenker's edition of the *Complete Piano Sonatas of Beethoven* (New York, 1975).

Schirmer has continued to reprint Bülow's edition based on his own advocacy and fame as a Beethoven interpreter: Bülow was first to introduce the last five (and most difficult) of Beethoven's sonatas in one concert in Vienna 1881, and treated New York to a series of recitals featuring twenty-two of Beethoven's sonatas. The Americans, unaffected by the conservative resistance in Europe against Liszt, fully embraced Bülow's masterful insights, which also reflected "the fruits of his (Liszt's) teaching".[44] Through the editorial commentary, we are directed how to observe additions and corrections to the score, and we gain an intimate pedagogical knowledge of nineteenth-century virtuosic performance practice of Beethoven's piano music.

In the Preface, Bülow and Lebert discuss several pedagogical recommendations for performing Beethoven's music, warning students not to follow the "exaggerations so popular in modern playing". Bülow's dedication to teaching is seen in his exacting and detailed discussions of style and explicit instructions solving Beethoven's many ambiguities. This thorough approach was also adopted in his teaching style during Master Classes at the Raff Conservatory in Frankfurt (summers of 1884 - 1886). Theodor Pfeiffer noted that Bülow expected his students to adhere to the highest musical standards, and often used sarcasm and insults. He stated that every note in Beethoven 'is gold,...therefore, study with painstaking accuracy; every note plays its important role".[45] Bülow explains that the main reason for his instructive edition is for "saving time and trouble" of the teacher, and a reference for discernment for future distinctions in Beethoven compositions with similar unspecified directions.

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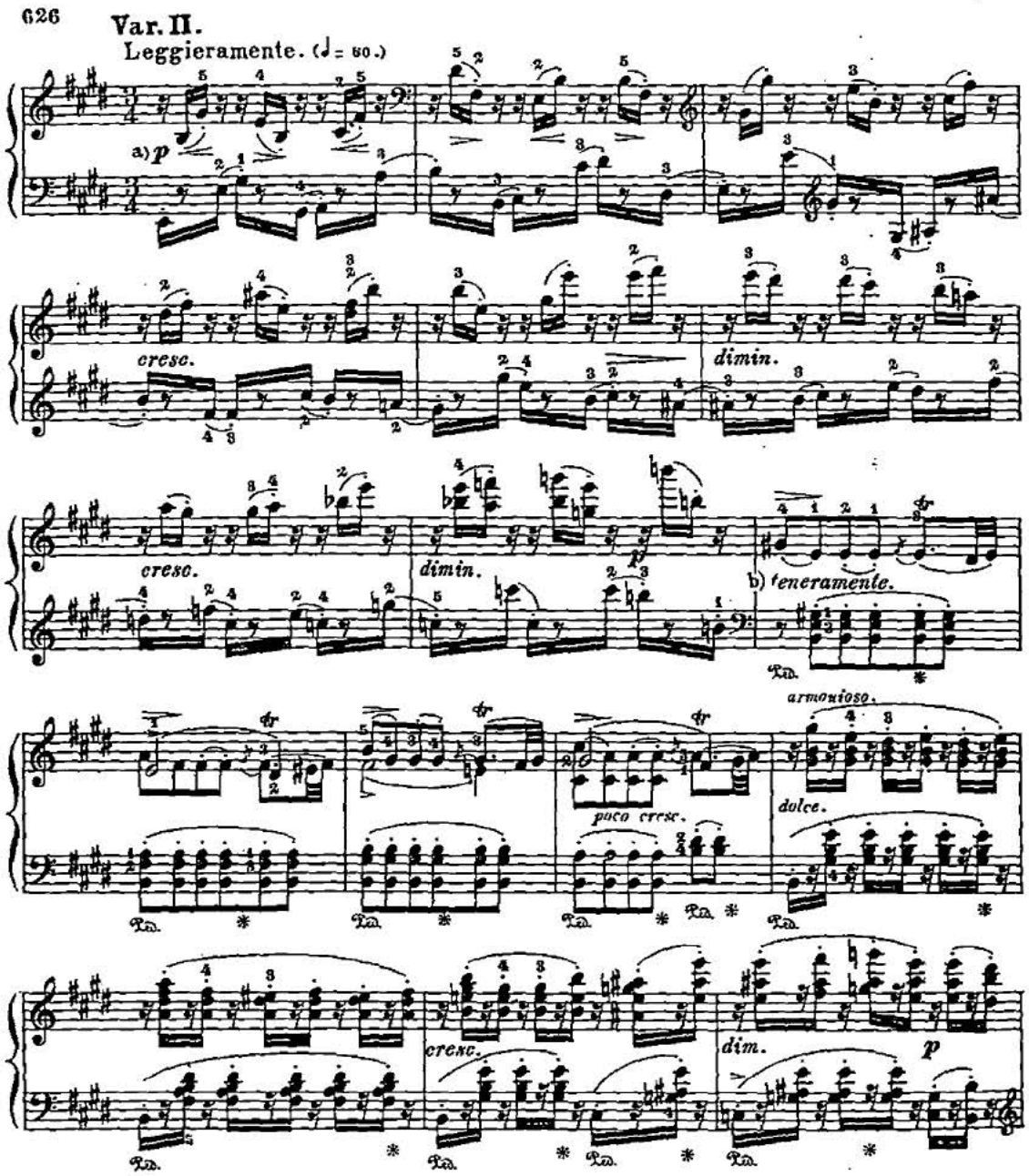
[44] Tovey: Ibid.

[45] Pfeiffer: 39.

Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas appear in the standard numbering order of publication, but in the Preface, Bülow includes a helpful pedagogical guide for teachers that grades the sonatas in order of difficulty; the last four in order of easy to difficult are Op. 111, Op, 110, Op. 109, and the most difficult IS Op. 106. Bülow believed it was not necessary to play them all, but stressed the importance of gaining great insight into a composer through a small amount done well. Bülow's great experience and knowledge as a virtuoso led him to address several problems facing every editor of Beethoven's piano music and he and Lebert fully discussed how each was resolved.

One editorial problem Bülow faced was interpreting the position and length of slurs, which in the original are not always correct or reliable: some examples of these changes occur in the *Adagio* of the first movement (m. 3), in the last line of the second movement, and in several places in the third movement, including Variation I and II: (see Variation II as example 10 on the following page). In all of these examples, the added slurs focus attention on the important melodic motive to be brought out, which from directions in Beethoven's autograph or the first edition is not obvious. The slurs act as training wheels: where a student focusing on the double theme construction in variation II would pay attention to the lightly played "game of ball", passing the theme between the hands, a professional pianist would emphasizing the double theme through skilful tonal variants without use of the slurs at all.

Example 10 Opus 109: Third movement, Var. II (Bülow, 1876).

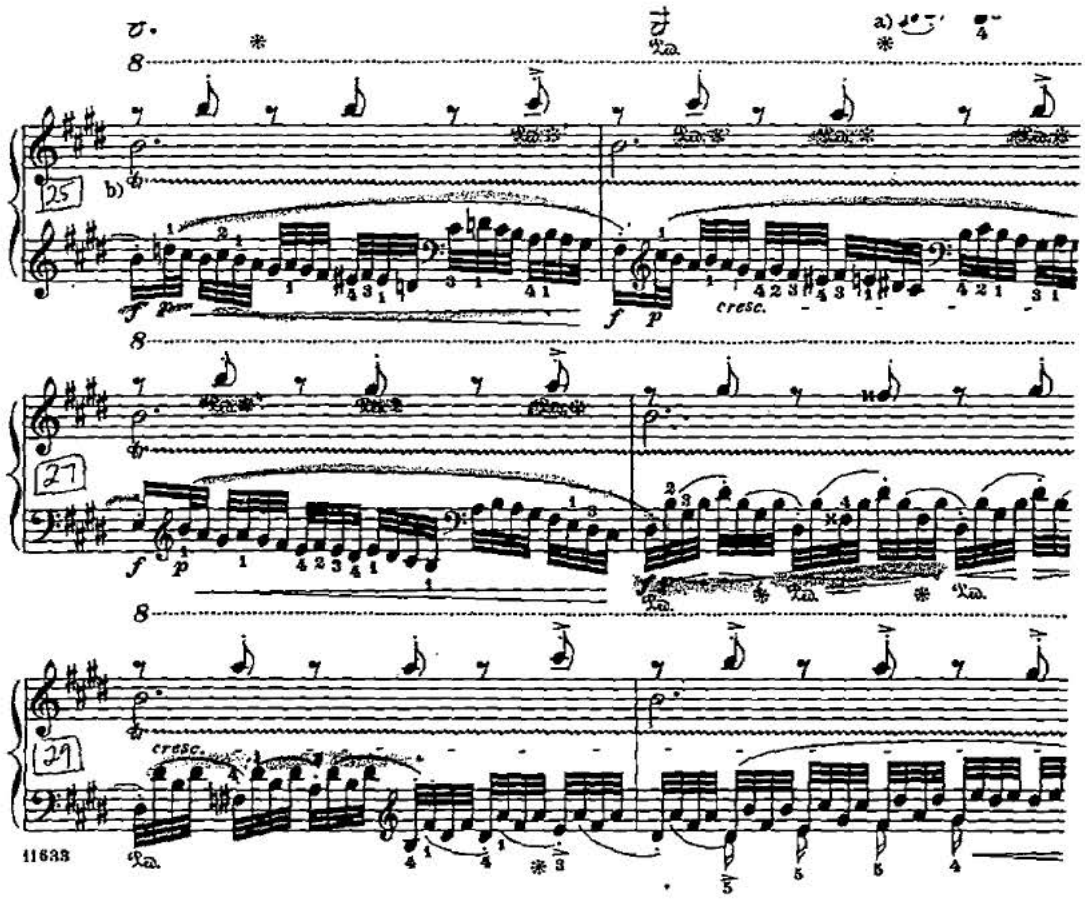


a) The lineaments of the theme, so faithfully reproduced in the first part of this "double Variation" (as Herr von Lenz rightly calls it), must be made distinctly audible, despite all playful lightness of touch. If these 8 measures in 3-4 time be practised like 12 measures in 2-4 time as a side-study, it will exert a beneficial influence on an emotional interpretation.

b) The details of shading — infinitesimal, yet of infinite importance in an interpretation throbbing with warm life — which the following 4 measures demand, will become self-evident to an intelligent player who takes the trouble to sing to himself all the various melismas. We will only remark that sustained tones of a part lying below moving ones must, for acoustical reasons, be rather more strongly em

Another example of instructive detail occurs in Example 11 (Third movement, Variation VI, mm. 25-30). Bülow has clearly marked articulation and phrasing to outline sequences, further stressed through added dynamics. Bülow stated that these types of revisions were made where similar passages in the original were marked inconsistently: "although the Master had no intention of making them different". This is illustrated in the bass line of the final variation:

Example 11 Third movement, Var. VI (m.25-30)



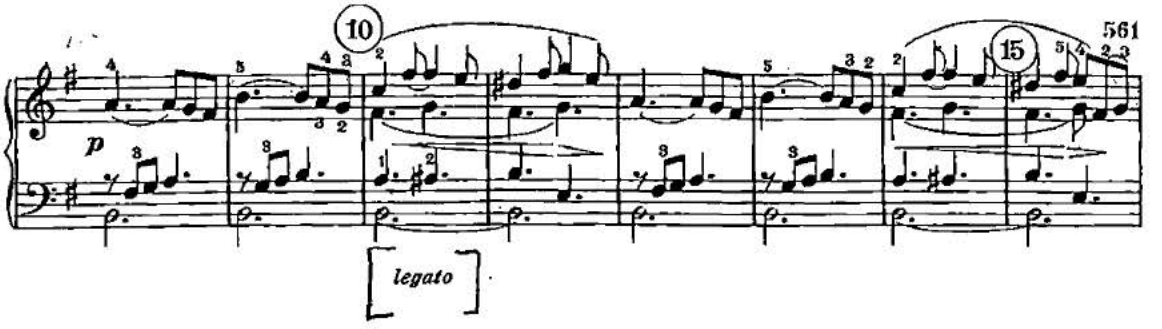
a) The after-beat given here strikes the Editor as inadequate. It is better to prolong it:

b) Execution of the trill in the right hand:

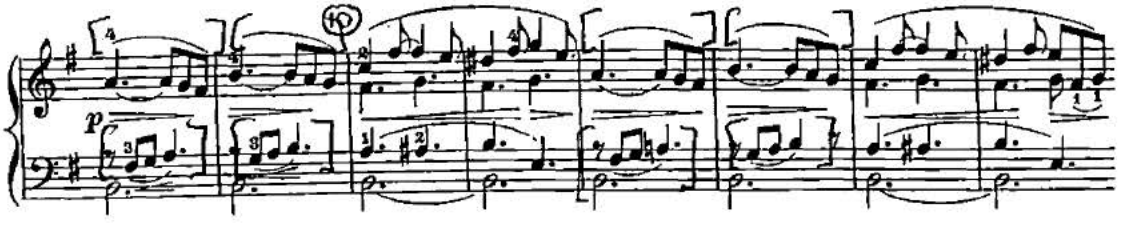
etc.

Bülow broadly adhered to Czerny's general statement that *legato* "must be employed in all cases where the Author has not indicated any particular expression". [46] In the *Prestissimo,* Bülow changed the articulation, adding phrasing to indicate legato. However, in these measures, Beethoven was playing with changes of touch between legato and staccato: m. 19 and 23 show the addition of the word legato where previously only a slur appeared (m. 11, assumed similar at m.15). Beethoven's indication of touch clearly allows each voice part to be heard, and the measures on either side of the slurred passages are to be played *non legato*: (example 12a and 12 b)

Example 12a *Prestissimo,* m. 9-16 (Schenker, 1913)



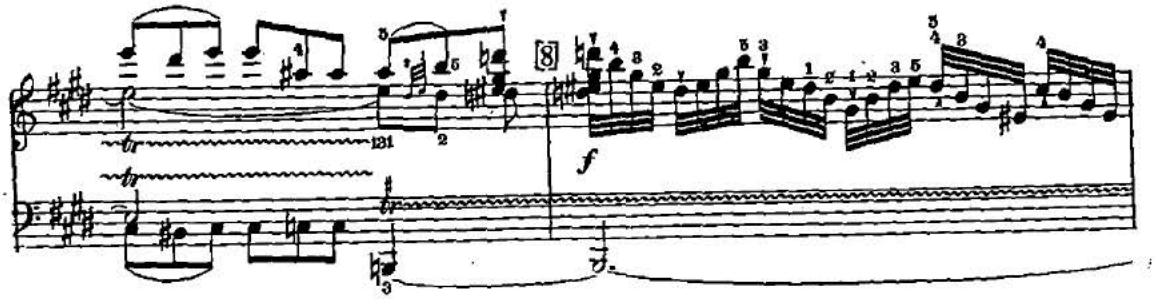
Example 12b *Prestissimo,* m. 9-16 (Bülow)



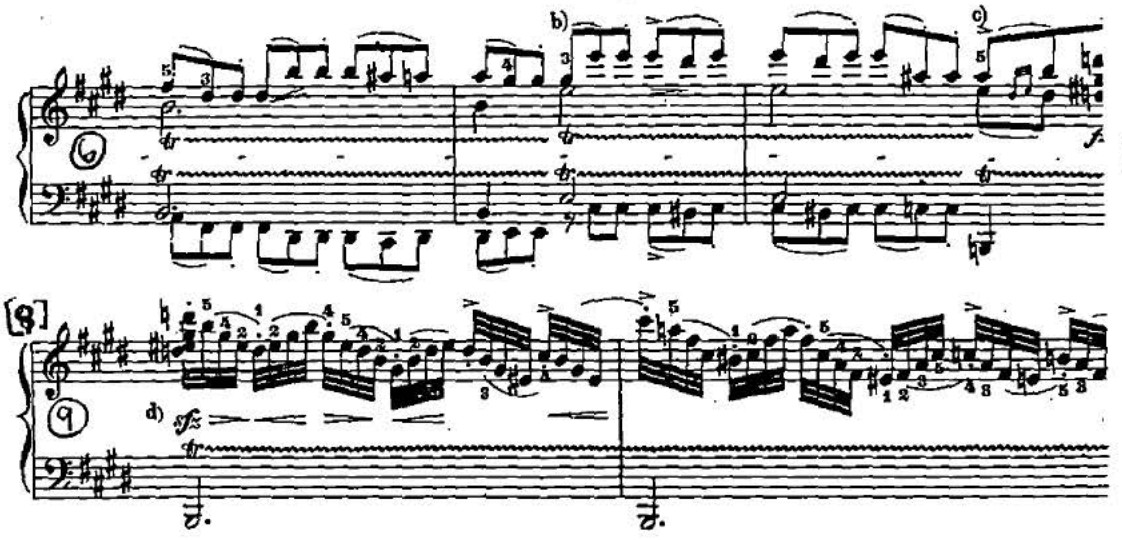
[46] Kenneth Drake, *The Sonatas of Beethoven* (Cincinnati, 1972), 133.

Bülow also indicates slurs for *legato* touch in Variation VI of the third movement, yet what Beethoven marked on his autograph were *stroke* accents to clarify the melodic outline: (example 13a and 13b)

Example 13a Third movement, Var. VI, m. 8-9 (Schenker)

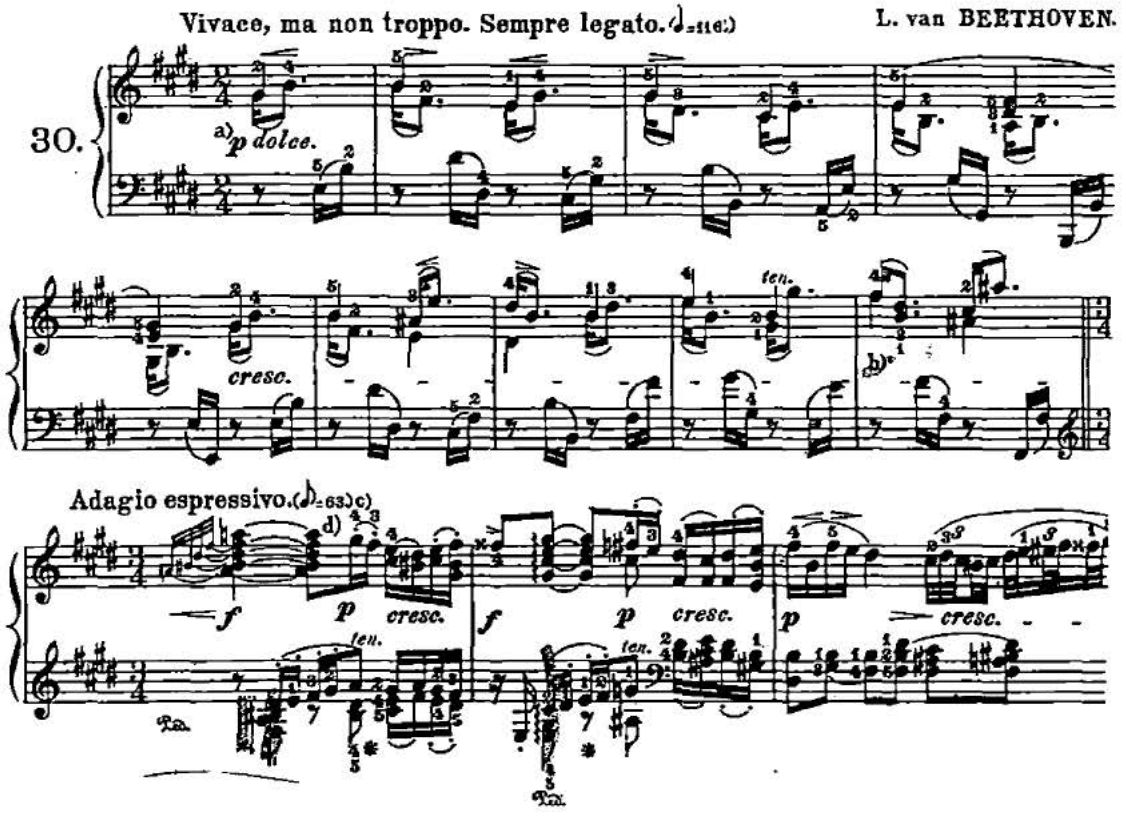


Example 13b Var. VI, m. 6-10 (Bülow)



Another example of revision made to similar passages is seen in m. 10-11 of the *Adagio,* where a "roll" sign is added in the left hand, continuing the pattern of the previous arpeggio-figures: (example 14)

Example 14 Opus 109: *Vivace* (Bülow)

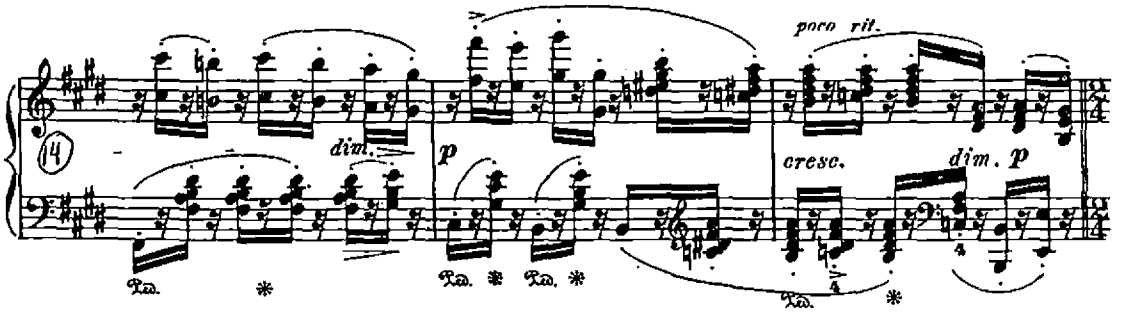


This change occurs without editorial comment and also involves the addition of a *tenuto* sign. This is clearly an interpretative call on Bülow's part, and most recordings prove artists prefer the solid left-hand chord. [47] While Bülow's suggestion shows stylistic interpretation, the effect lessens the dramatic *f* switch announcing the *Adagio* section. A more gentle transition results in the *fantasia* style of C.P.E. Bach.

[47] John O'Connor, *Beethoven: The Late Sonatas* (CD, Ohio, 1991); Jane Coop: *Piano Concerts and Lessons* (U.B.C., 1984-1986).

Bülow authoritatively directs this arpeggio motion without editorial comment, but this is not his common editorial practice. Most dramatic changes, by contrast, such as articulation, are accompanied by commentary: "it might rather appear that we have overstepped our privilege of interpretation in some other cases" as slurs or staccatos become combined. This case is illustrated in a comparison of articulation changes similar to Liszt, involving tenutos and staccatos at the end of the second movement, and as in the last line of variation II, involving the use of slurs and accents: (example 15).

Example 15 Var. II, m. 14-16



Similar changes occur in Variation VI, tempo 1, involving stresses and staccatos. These changes emphasize particularly important notes and lines, yet since Bülow does not comment that these directions are ways to grasp the concept of gestures and phrasings, it is important a teacher translate the directions that might otherwise result in a Bartokian performance with heavy-handed rhythmic definition.

Bülow justified the changes "in view of the fact that the difference between our modern instruments and those of Beethoven's time" produced too short a legato or too sharp a staccato.[48] Other changes to articulation include several additions of tenuto signs, as in the *Vivace*, m. 8, and the omission of wedges as in variation III and V. Instead, Bülow continues to use the direction of a staccato with an accent above. This seems to produce the same result, yet with modern piano directions rather than eighteenth-century string markings.

The tempos suggested by Bülow are generally much faster than those of Czerny,[49] a surprise considering the edition is tailored to students who would find the virtuosic rates quite challenging. Bülow's changes of tempos for the third movement variations indicate his insight of Beethoven's musical character: even Czerny, with full knowledge that Beethoven did not indicate tempo changes for the second variation, referred to it as *etwas belebt.*[50] The first movement tempo is indicated as *Vivace, ma non troppo*, as Meredith concluded from his sketch studies in 1985. Schlesinger added this tempo improvement.[51] Bülow then places *sempre legato* immediately after the tempo marking, indicating the importance of this direction.

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[48] Hans von Bülow, ed. *Preface, Complete Edition of Beethoven's Piano Sonatas* (New York, 1897).

[49] Refer to chart p. 39.

[50] Drake: 50.

[51] Meredith notes that Beethoven approved of this editorial change, yet Schenker preferred Beethoven's original *Vivace*.

Other verbal changes Bülow adds alter agogics, as seen in the last line of the first movement, which directs *poco accelerando* followed two bars later by *ritardando.* Similar changes occur in variation IV at the end of the first section, which includes a *rit.* followed by an *a tempo.* These agogic additions poetically clarify phrases and sections, yet Bülow indicates these are his own interpretations by placing them in lighter print. Several performers seem to follow Bülow's directions with almost imperceptible agogic changes, while others such as Eva Badura-Skoda avoid any romantic pitfalls of distorted rubato through metronomic execution.[52] As seen in his edition of Opus 109, Bülow's performance practice involved nuances of tempo he felt were undeniably required in Beethoven, and which were "indispensable for a characteristic interpretation of the Master's intentions". The effect is poetic and musical if not overdone.

Since any deviations from a steady rhythmic pulse are clearly indicated by Bülow, it seems that the overall impression one gets from his directions presents a performance that is for the most part metronomically precise, rather than freely expressive. This observation is confirmed upon reading Bülow's statement that the marked agogic flexibilities are to be taken within clear rhythmic relations and a unified tempo, rather than as "the exaggerated expression so much in vogue in modern playing".

Exaggerated expression could easily result should a student adhere to Bülow's dynamic markings too literally. While the dynamic directions of many passages emphasize phrasing and melodic importance, some adjustments, such as in the opening of

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[52] Eva Badura-Skoda, *Beethoven: Les Sonates Pour Le Piano-forte, Sonate en Mi Majeur, Opus 109* (CD, France, 1989).

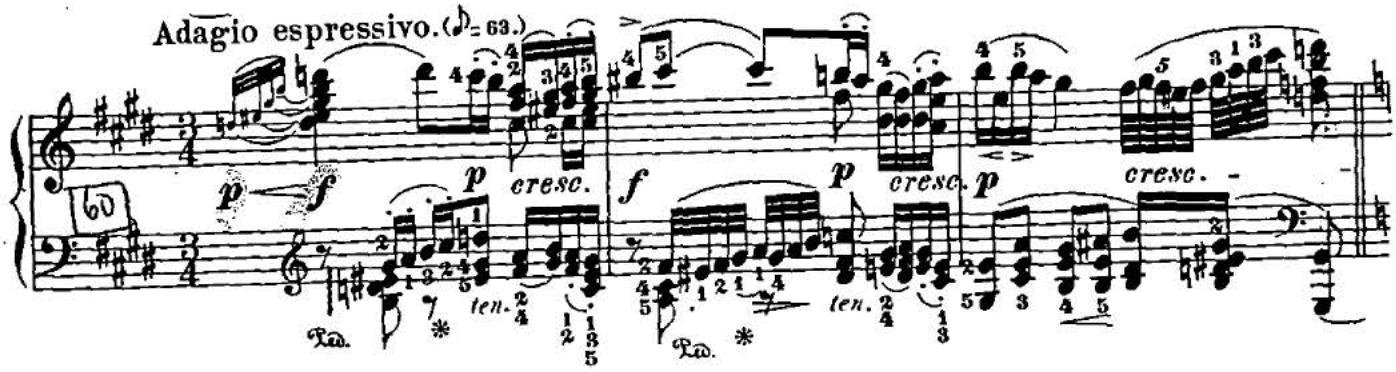
variation II, reflect Beethoven's hairpin dynamics of the late string quartets, such as Opus 131. For most piano students, a literal performance of these dynamics may create a roller-coaster effect. Herein lies the difficulty in describing the aesthetics of phrasing and the limitations of language to direct musical expression. If Bülow's suggestions are not taken too dramatically, the phrase lines and characters of the motives are well defined. Bülow and Lebert explain that these dynamic changes are a pedagogical direction to the student to clarify the importance of Beethoven's voice-leading, melodic material and as an aid to grasping "the mutual relation of contrasted parts" (melody against accompaniment); the changes are indicated through footnotes, or through a consistent direction applied either to the upper staff or lower staff as necessary.

Further instructions include several instances of "delicate shadings not given by the Master", such as *armonioso* (variation II, m. 13), *legatissimo* (variation IV), *sempre sost. Ed* espressivo (variation IV), and *molto tranquillo* (*quasi religioso*) as indications for the final return of the theme. The effects indicate Bülow considered Opus 109 to be an extremely lyrical and spiritual sonata.

Bülow states that dynamic changes are corrections of former editions, which were not found in the original. It is not indicated if unauthorized editions or pirated copies are referred to here, but we gain confidence that Bülow has referred to the first edition, and when compared to Schenker's edition and Beethoven's autograph, we see that Bülow has remained faithful to his original source. This can be seen in the first movement at the return of the *Adagio* (see example 16). Here, Schenker was unsure of Beethoven's

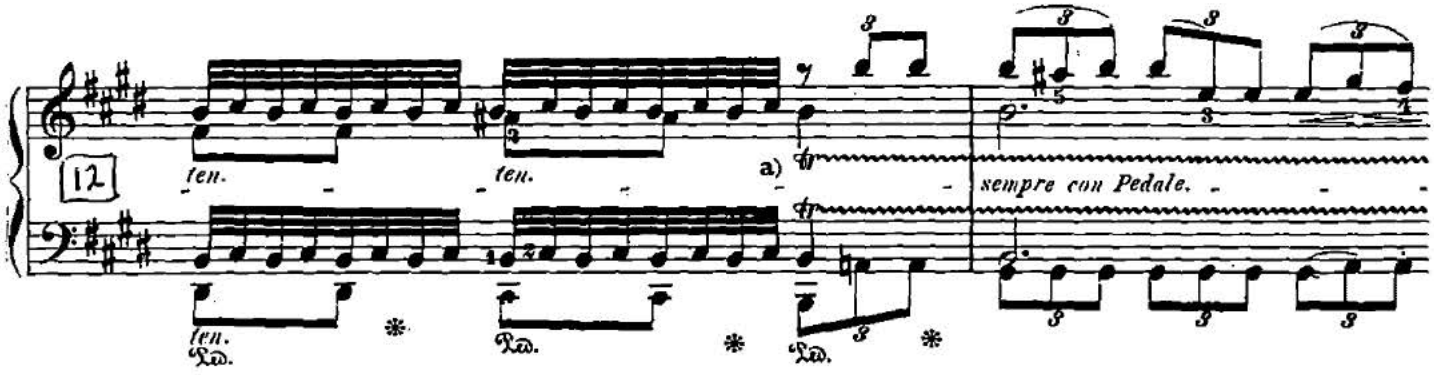
handwriting, and includes question marks in brackets after the printed dynamic marks (see example 16, mm. 60-62). Modern sketch research done by Marston led him to believe these were indeed intended. Bülow offers them as correct:

Example16 *Adagio*, m. 60-62 (Bülow)



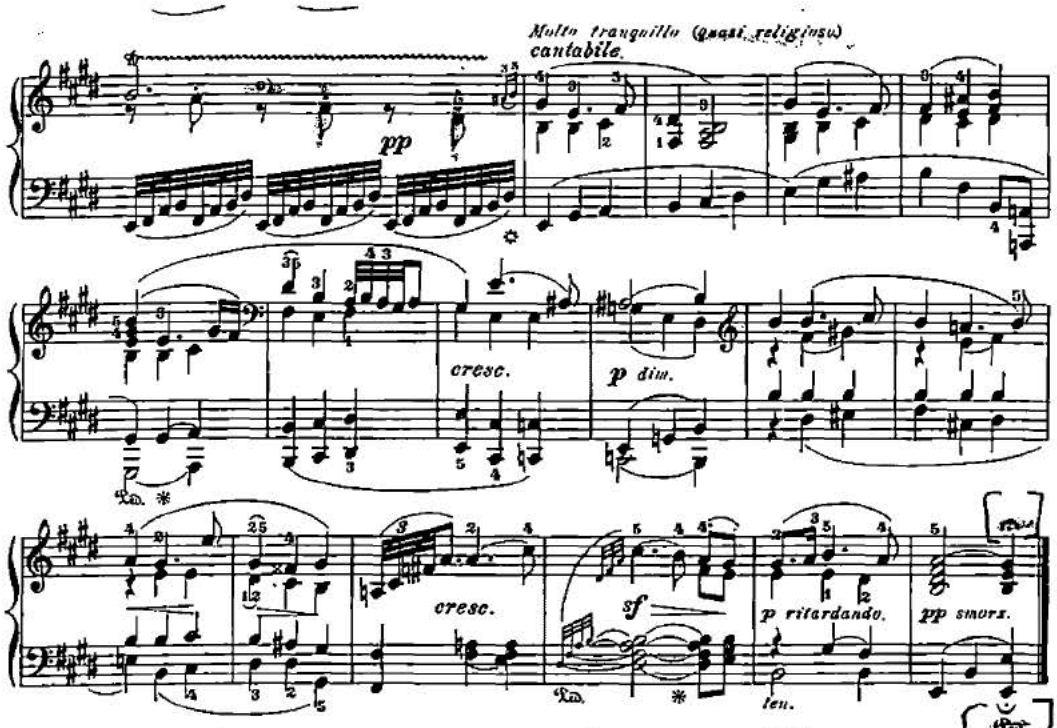
Bülow also gives detailed pedal directions (both damper and soft) to counteract what he commonly perceived as the abuse of the pedals. He advocates a clear texture through rhythmic stress and observing rests through frequent pedal changes, as seen in the above example, and in variation VI, m. 12-13: (example 17)

Example 17 Var. VI, m. 12-13 (Bülow)



Bülow's score includes a modern approach by including one of the most controversial pedal indication: the lack of a release sign at the end of the sonata. This is exactly what Beethoven intended, as corroborated by William Kinderman: [53]

Example 18 Finale: *Da capo* return of Theme (Bülow)



a) The bass figure is not to be understood thus: but so:

b) Execute the descending glide of the trill as follows: as *legato* as possible.

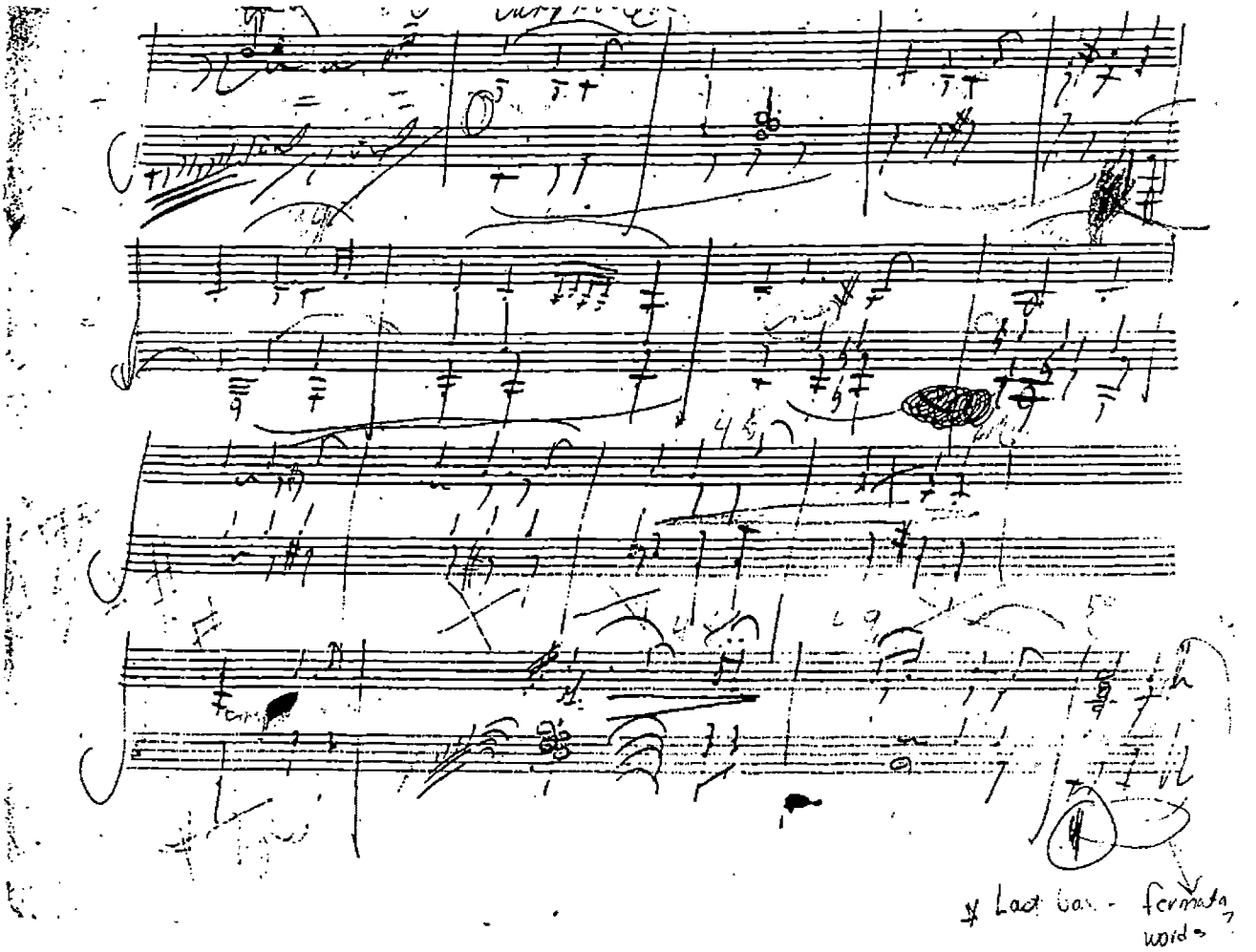
*) The Editor has followed Franz Liszt's version, which bridges the hiatus found in some editions (the breaking-off of the melody on A♮) by inserting the eighth-notes F♮♯ and D♮♯ in the right-hand part, in analogy with the three preceding measures. The last notes before the reëntrance of the theme, especially the after-beat of the trill, must be somewhat delayed, in order to take from this wonderfully tranquilizing return even the appearance of predetermined intention. The theme itself must be played with still greater simplicity of expression than at the beginning of the whole movement, as if it were a refrain,– a recapitulating epilogue,– a reminiscence. The last measures should be "breathed out" almost inaudibly.

[53] William Kinderman, *Concert and Lecture* (University of Victoria: March, 2000).

Alterations to the text itself are well notated, and revised in relation to the constraints of the old instrument. In Opus 109, several notes are footnoted as corrected: in the first movement m. 9 is cited as a correction, although the incorrect notes are not identified; before the last return of the dotted-theme, the climactic chord is written the same as in Schenker's edition, while a footnote shows an unplayable arrangement of this chord that Bülow states occurs in the new Leipzig edition. One interesting editorial suggestion is Bülow's preference for A instead of A# in the melody and bass line of Variation III: while the result sounds more diatonic, Beethoven's sharp-accented chromatic note creates agitated tension in this flighty variation.

On the whole, textual corrections correspond to Schenker's score and again, we see Bülow used a reliable original source. Even the most controversial alteration to the text is well marked: this occurs in the last movement, in last bar of the long trill before the final return of the theme. Here Bülow states he has followed Franz Liszt's version by bridging the "hiatus" with the added eighth notes F# and D # in the right-hand part. The added notes occur in other nineteenth-century editions, such as those prepared by Agnes Zimmerman, who may have also relied on Liszt's interpretation; however, Beethoven's autograph shows a definite break-off of the melody on A1 (see example 19).

Example 19 Beethoven's autograph, coda to Opus 109.



One editorial decision not discussed by Bülow involves bar lines, which are authoritatively changed in bold ink at the end of all movements, finalizing and closing each in classical fashion. However, Bülow adds directions to continue:

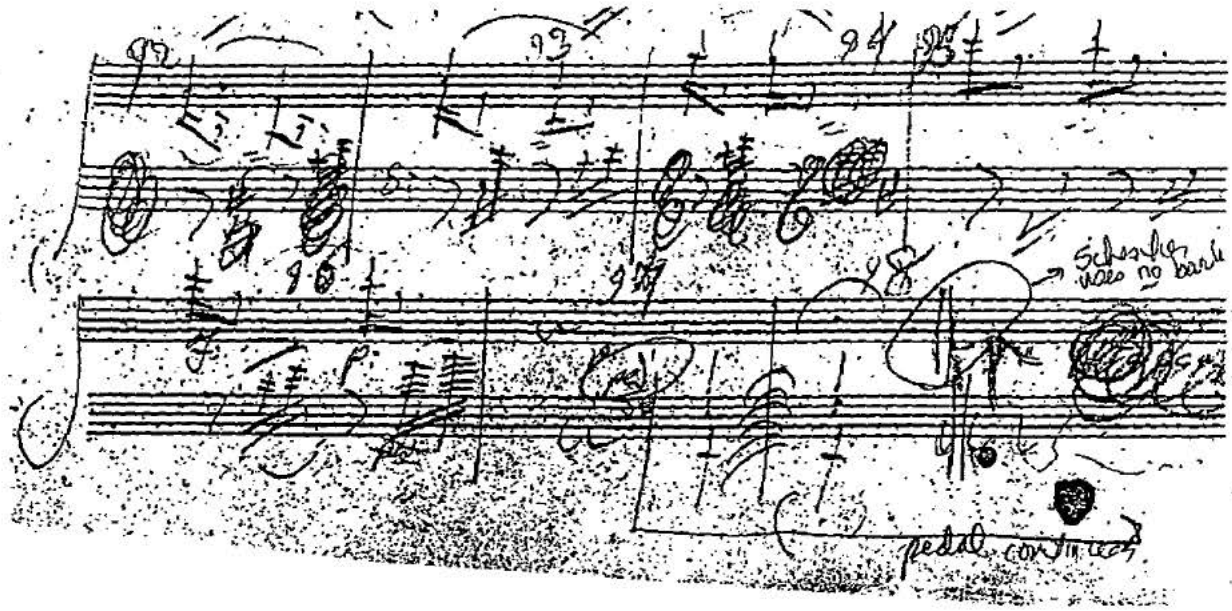
> Instantly attack the next movement, without long delay.
> This sonata requires, like Op. 101 and 110, an uninterrupted succession of its several movements.

Modern musicologists also advocate these directions based on observations of Beethoven's autograph.[54] Comparisons between Beethoven's autograph and the first edition of Opus 109 show that Bülow's directions more closely capture Beethoven's intentions (see example 20).

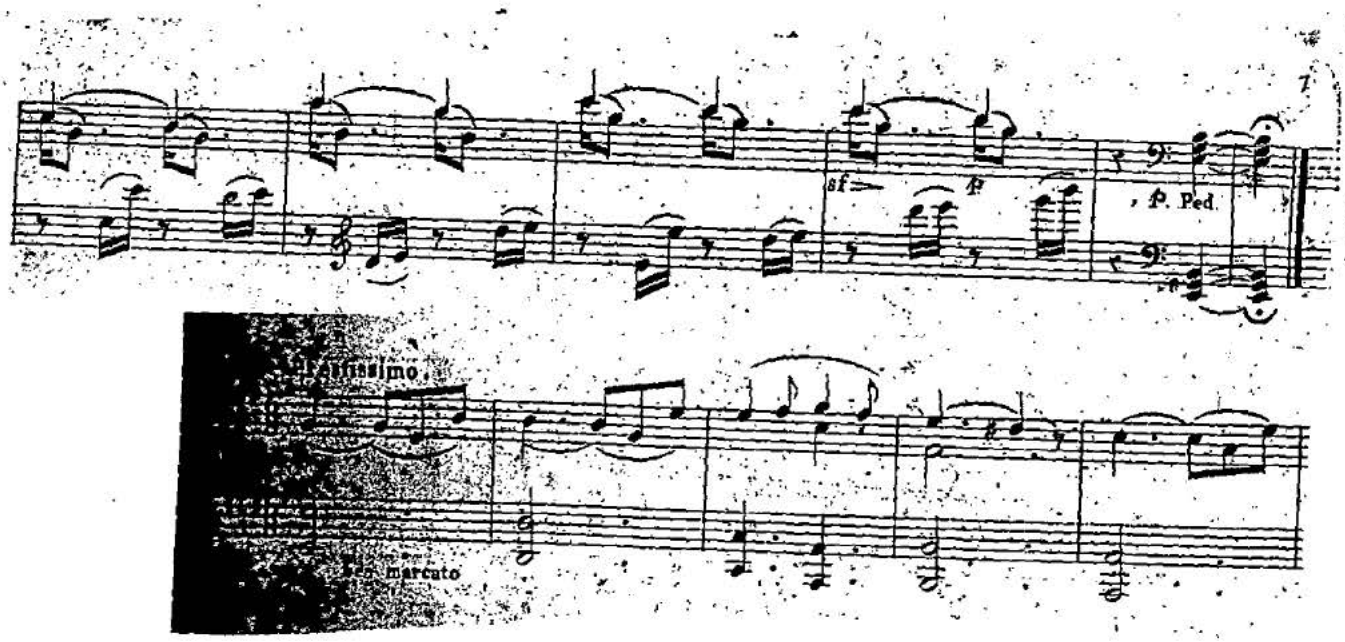
In most cases, changes made by Bülow are given in lighter ink, such as fingering suggestions that seem practical and easily followed by most students. Yet, while Bülow claimed to include Beethoven's original fingerings in bolder type, this is not always clearly differentiated, as in the Theme of the third movement. In some cases, Beethoven's suggestions are not added, such as where Beethoven indicated switching fingers on the same notes (m. 3 and m. 9 of the *Vivace*): here, Bülow simply indicates the second finger number, which for a student is more practical to grasp the legato quickly.

[54] Compare this suggestion with Marston: 10.

Example 20a: Beethoven's autograph, end of first movement:



Example 20b:End of the *Vivace/* opening of *Prestissimo* (Schlesinger, 1821)



Some helpful interpretive directions appearing in Bülow's footnotes match modern musicological suggestions: just as Marston states that the second movement is unified to the whole sonata through the bass motive, Bülow states:

> This bass motive – the same that enters at the very outset of the movement – bears, as we perceive, the whole burden of the following so-called development-section, and must therefore be treated with equal distinction.

For interpretive insights into variation IV, Bülow states:

> The Editor thinks it can hardly be construed as an aberration into the realm of "Program-music" that he should recommend, as the best guide to a fine interpretation of this masterpiece of polyphonic (imitatory) melody, that Goethe's lines in the first monologue of Faust ought to be kept in mind: "How heav'nly powers, ascending and descending, From hand to hand the golden pails are tending!"

And to aid the student approaching the last phrase of Opus 109, he recommends the last measures should be " *breathed out* almost inaudibly".[55]

Despite Bülow's romantic approach to Opus 109, it is surprising that there is no dedication. Yet, omitting Beethoven's dedication to Maximiliana Brentano was a

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[55] Bülow: 636.

common occurrence in nineteenth-century editions; perhaps this was due to the placement of the dedication on a separate page before the score in the first edition, leading editors to view printing only on the score itself as more feasible.

Bülow's prose seems rather self-effacing in his own assessment, yet his comments and directions illustrate an intimate understanding of Beethoven's style and his comfort and ease with technically difficult passages, the result of his years of experience and expertise. His Complete Edition was a gift passed on to his own students and a great influence on other Weimar pianists such as Karl Klindworth.

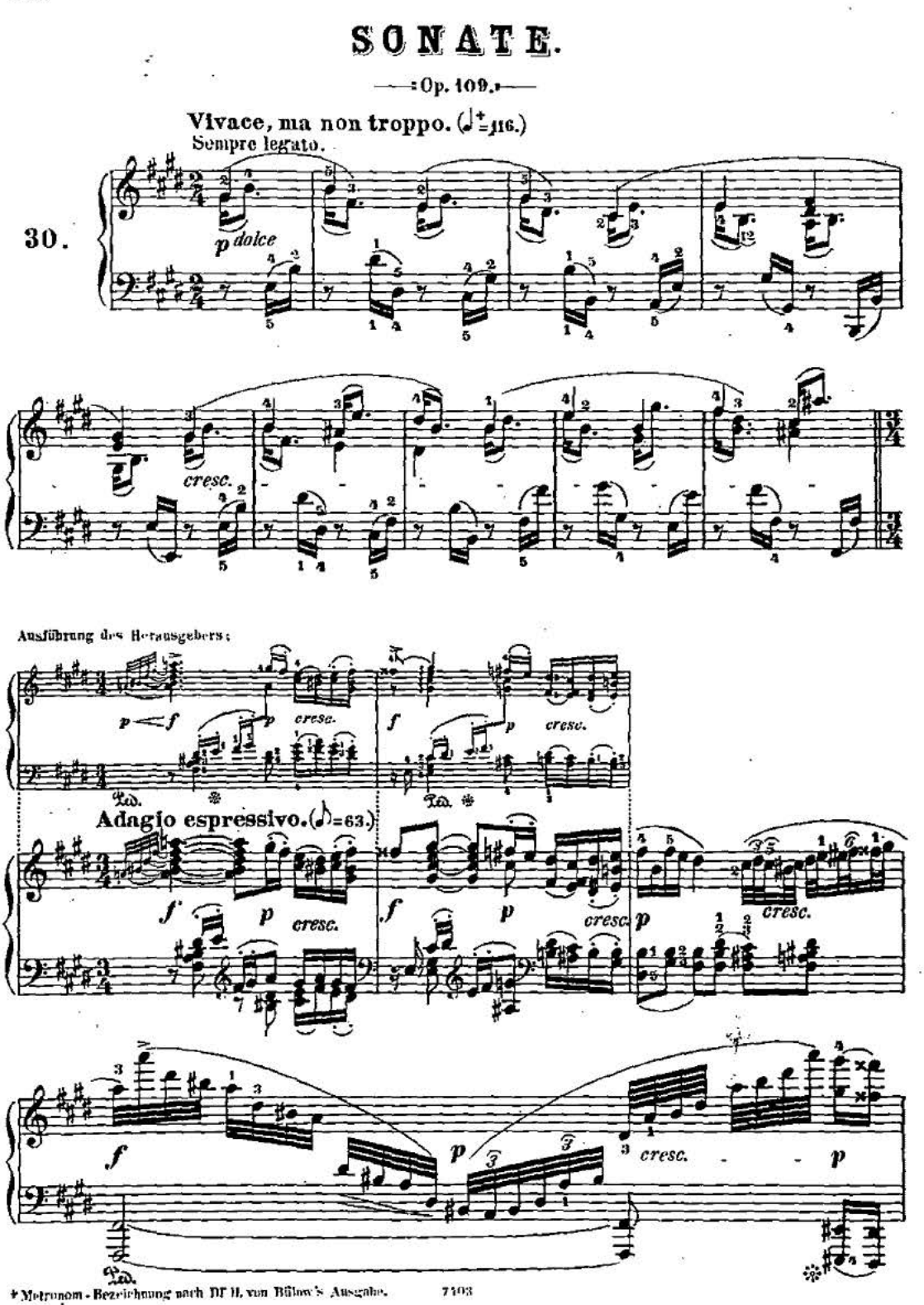
Karl Klindworth, Complete Edition (1884)

Karl Klindworth (1830-1916) was impressed with the Complete Edition of Bülow, but drew more of his inspiration from studies with Liszt that began in 1852. In 1884, Bote & G. Bock printed Klindworth's edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas in Berlin, with additional prints made by Edwin Ashdown Ltd. In London, and G. Schirmer in New York. Klindworth's edition is presented in three volumes, and the scores are generally presented in a scholarly procedure with instructive suggestions appearing in small print. Klindworth's edition of Opus 109 closely matches the first edition with several suggestions "*nach Dr. H. von Bülow's Ausgabe*". [56] The metronome marks used by Klindworth, as well as the added slurs, are attributed to Bülow (example 21, following page). What is original to Klindworth, is his separation of the opening measures of the

[56] Klindworth makes this known as a footnote on the first page of his edition of Opus 109.

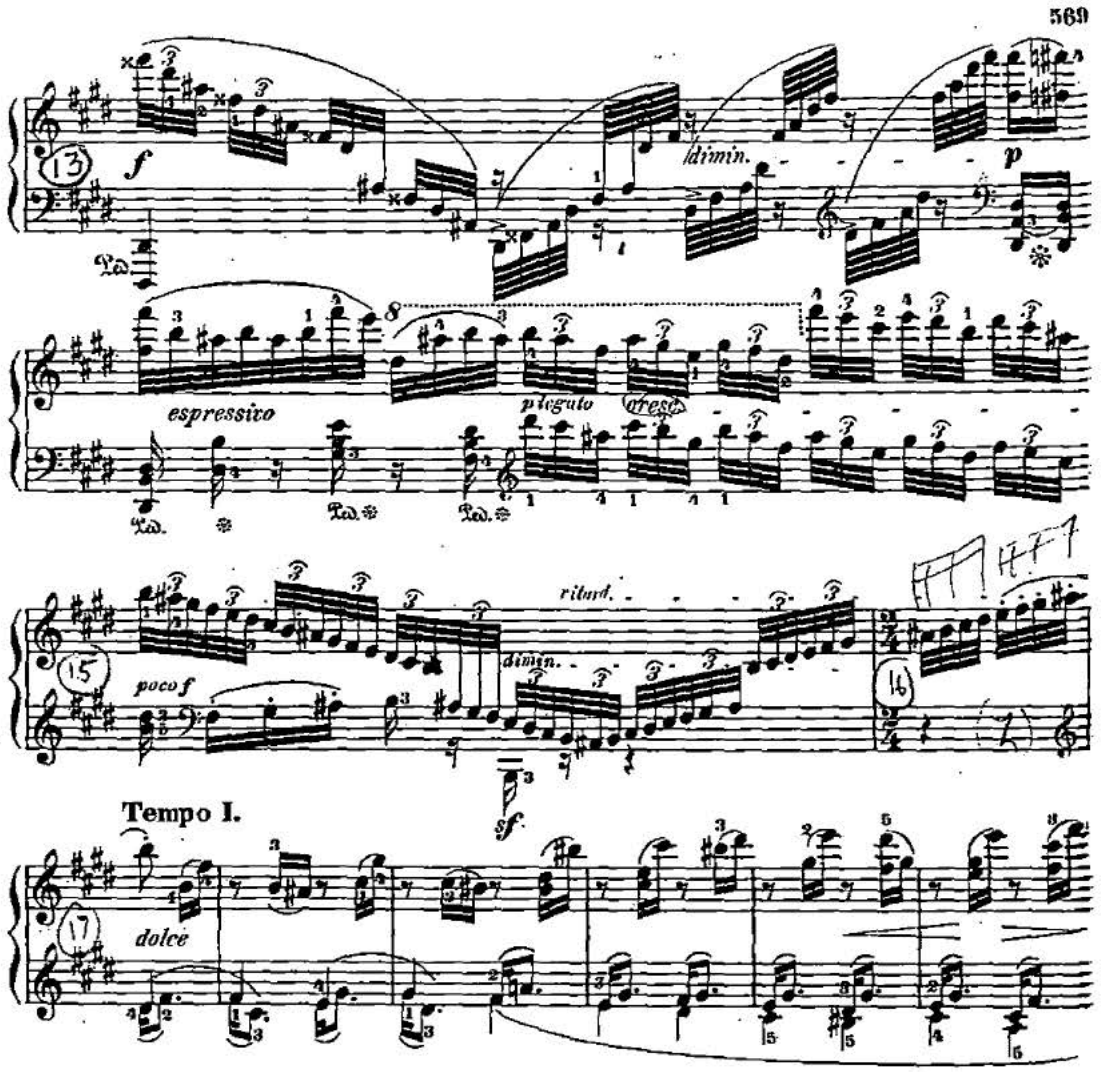
Adagio, where instructions suggest pedaling, dynamics, accents, added phrase lines and a redistribution of the notes between the hands, rewritten in the bass cleff.

Example 21 *Vivace* (Klindworth, 1884)



Further study of Klindworth's score reveals added accents, dynamics and slurs similar to those suggested by Bülow.[57] Unlike Bülow, Klindworth does not alter the notes or their values, only in a few cases changing the directions of stems or note groups, as in m.16, example 22 (m. 13-21).

Example 22 *Vivace* (Klindworth, 1884)

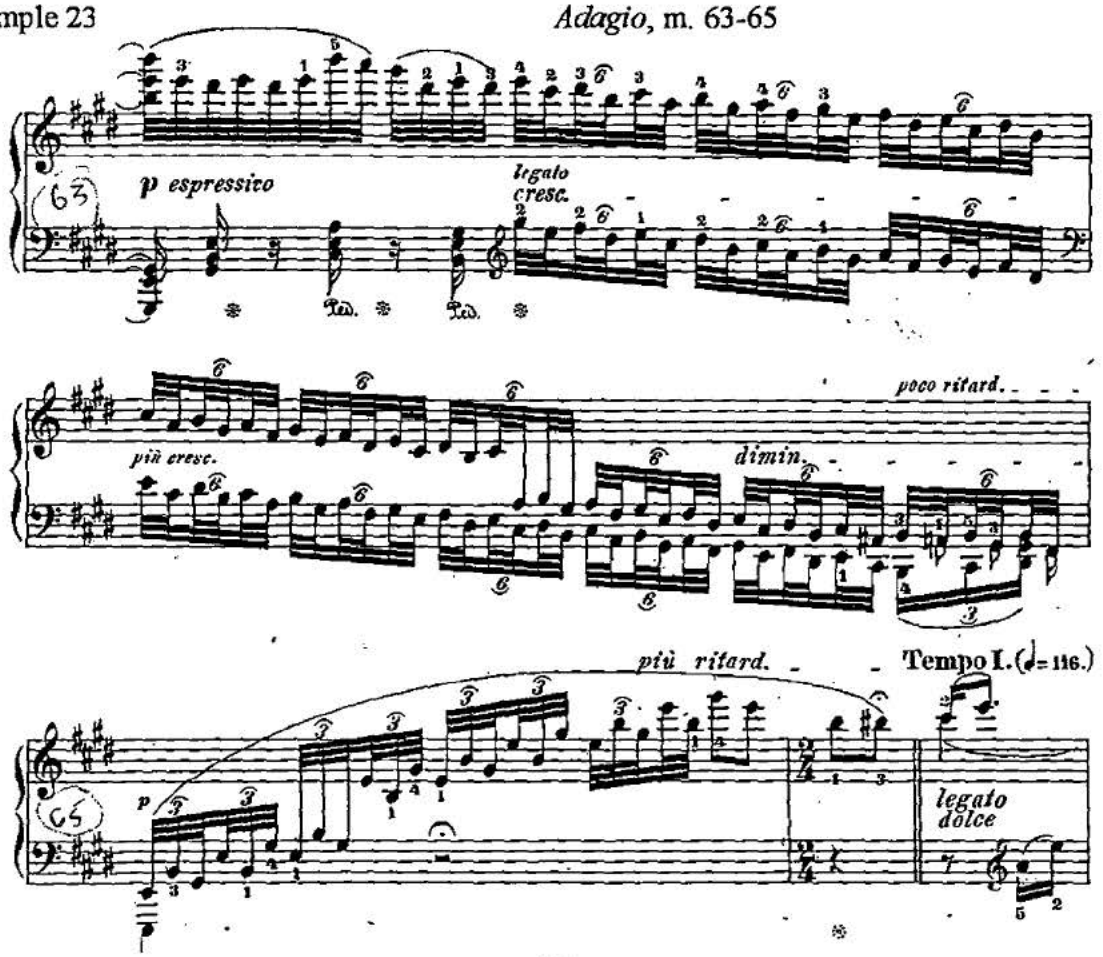


[57] Owing to the thick volume and delicate state of the pages and the binding of this edition, reproductions may be somewhat incomplete.

The previous example also shows that Klindworth, like most nineteenth-century editors, replaces strokes for staccatos, or in m. 15 staccatos with slurs. Klindworth does not explain the rationale for his change, and one assumes such revisions make the groupings more obvious for students. Klindworth is not as generous as Bülow with slurs, with most of the articulation resembling the first edition; in the *Prestissimo*, Klindworth retains Beethoven's original indications that switch from *legato* to *non legato*.

Instructive guidelines are presented in Klindworth's edition to answer difficult passages, such as the rhythms of the second *Adagio* section in the first movement, m.63-65, including an added bar line to distinguish the time signature returning to duple time:

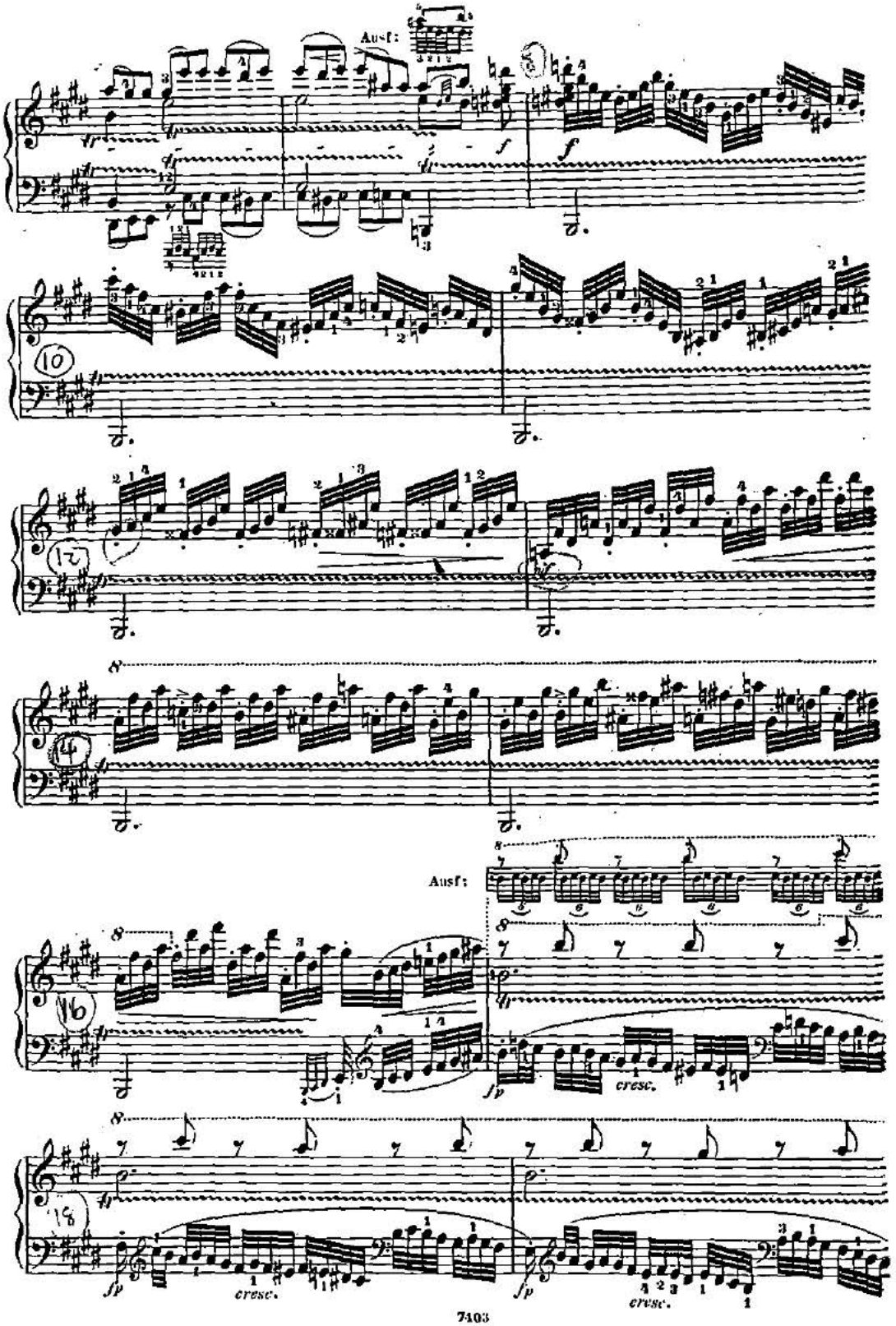
Example 23 *Adagio*, m. 63-65



Klindworth also spells out the rhythmic division of difficult ornaments and trills,

as in Variation VI: Example 24

Var. VI, m.8-18



Klindworth's fingerings reflect his virtuosic approach and infallible technique. The weaker fingers are often directed for use on long trills and legato lines employ crossed fingers. Liszt warned his students to consider their individual hands, and suggested that they "leave Klindworth's fingering to Klindworth".[58]

Klindworth was renowned for his virtuosity. He had moved to London in 1854 and was credited with a "beautiful touch, the fine expression and accurate reading".[59] He continued his career as a pianist and conductor for fourteen years, yet he reasoned that his career had not been more of a success owing to the conservative musical life in London. In 1855, Klindworth encountered Wagner, who presented him with the odious task of making a piano arrangement of the Ring. Wagner noted Klindworth's virtuosic talent: the technically atrocious score seemed to Wagner beyond the ability of most pianists, yet when he heard the arrangements played by Bülow in 1857, he realized Klindworth's talent for capturing the opera's richness and beauty. After teaching at the Moscow Conservatory for several years (1868-1882), Klindworth returned to Germany, and by 1884 had founded a piano conservatory in Berlin, to which he offered his newly published edition of the Beethoven sonatas.

Klindworth's Complete Edition won high praise from Bülow:

> Study these late sonatas (of Beethoven) in the edition of Professor

[58] Walker, III: 232.

[59] *Musical Times*, London, January 1855 quoted in "Klindworth" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London, 2001), vol. 13, 674.

> Klindworth in Berlin, which I influenced. My edition indeed had the merit of being the first to take it seriously, but now others do it better; therefore, I recommend Klindworth to you, whose edition is similar to mine, but does not include as much babble as mine; I indeed had to add the babble to my edition, not out of inner urgency, but because of the absurdity of my respected colleagues.[60]

Bülow's wit and intellectual impatience found satisfaction in Klindworth's edition, which unfortunately has not been reprinted. Klindworth also won acclaim for his editions of Bach's *Well Tempered Clavier* (1894) and the complete works of Chopin (1878). Liszt considered Klindworth's edition to be very scholarly, and felt inspired to complete his own edition.

Franz Liszt, Complete Edition (1886)

Liszt was an active editor throughout his career. [61] He began with his own works in the 1820s, and continued editing works of Beethoven and other composers in the 1840s, such as keyboard works of J.S. Bach, Handel and Scarlatti. Liszt's first editorial work on the Beethoven piano sonatas was included in a collection of various keyboard works entitled Ludwig van Beethoven's *Saemtliche Kompositionen: erste Vollstandige Gesammtausgabe unter Revision von Franz Liszt und C. Geissler* (Wolfenbüttel: Holle),

[60] Pfeiffer: 40.

[61] "Liszt" in *The New Grove*: vol.14, 755.

published 1857-61. Liszt continued to edit with interpretive suggestions, publishing the Complete Edition of Beethoven's piano sonatas in 1886.[62]

Although Liszt never published a method book on performance practice or interpreting Beethoven, his teaching style and insights are evident through his comments and directions on the score. Liszt was highly influenced by his teacher Czerny, who reportedly played and taught Beethoven's music well into the 1820s. Liszt stated

> ...when a great portion of Beethoven's creations was a kind of sphinx, Czerny was playing Beethoven exclusively, with an understanding as excellent as his technique was efficient and effective.[63]

Czerny had often referred to Beethoven as an unrestrained player, foreshadowing the labels later attached to Liszt's playing as being spontaneous, possessed, and heaven-storming.[64]

Liszt's performance tradition was built on the same aesthetics as Beethoven.[65] Beethoven was known for his elemental force and rich agogic expression, not caring for dry, unemotional performances: he praised Marie Pachler Koschalk in 1817 for her interesting interpretations of his music:

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[62] Ibid.

[63] Comini: 214.

[64] Comini: 216.

[65] Anton Schindler, *Beethoven As I Knew Him*, 1840 (New York, 1972), 451.

> I have not found anybody who performs my compositions as well as you do, and I am not excluding the great pianists, who often have merely mechanical ability or affection.[66]

Liszt's poetic and heroic approach to Beethoven's piano music suffered barbs from conservatives such as Clara Schumann who quipped "Before Liszt, people used to play; after Liszt, they pounded or whispered. He has the decline of piano playing on his conscience". [67] While some audiences criticized Liszt for his great efforts to extend the restricted tone range of early pianos, others praised him for allowing the audience to feel "their connection with (Beethoven's music) and the importance to the beautiful whole".[68] One Viennese newspaper claimed he evoked the true spirit of Beethoven's music, and hailed Liszt as "Protector of Beethoven". Liszt's connection with the true spirit of Beethoven is evident through his approach to editing Opus 109.

In Opus 109, the score is presented with great reverence to the original, including all mistakes and ambiguities. The interpretative additions and remarks are consistently kept separate by light italicized letters on the score, and the performer is directed to read the added appendix or preface for editorial comments. In this way, Liszt does not detract from the visual flow of the original score, and the performer may choose to ignore the humbly placed suggestions. Because of the added suggestions, however sophisticated, reverential and scholarly, Liszt's edition was considered pedagogical or interpretive.

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[66] Maynard Soloman, *Beethoven* (New York, 1977), 161.

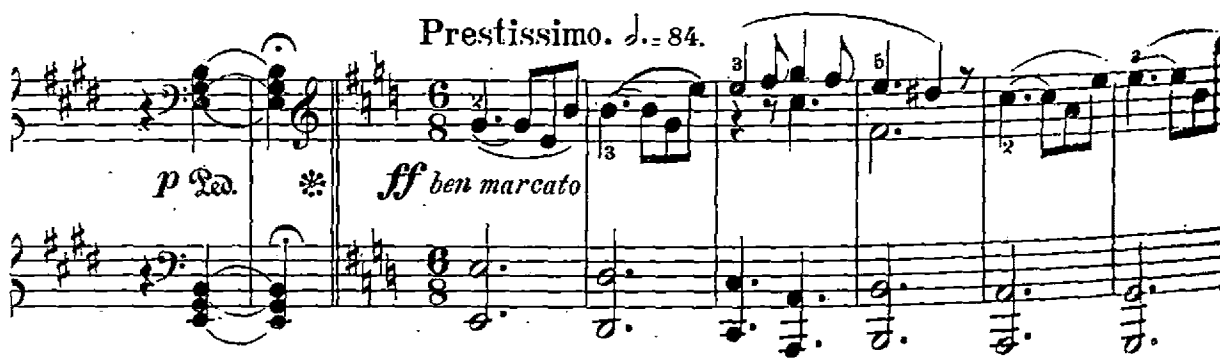
[67] Harold Schonberg, *The Great Pianists* (New York, 1987), 235.

[68] *Musical World*, London, June 9, 1840.

Many pedagogical editions contain both the editor's ideas of interpreting Opus 109, but also suggestions to the teacher or student regarding the technical difficulties. One example of a helpful instructive consideration is the placement of Opus 109 within the Complete Edition. Liszt's edition is the only one to actually organize the thirty-two sonatas in order of difficulty: differing from Bülow's suggestion, the most difficult of the sonatas in Liszt's edition are Opus 109 followed by Opus 106.

Another perceived improvement added by Liszt is the use of the 'double-single' bar line between movements: (example 25)

Example 25 last bar of *Vivace*/opening of *Prestissimo*



This "divination" occurs in no other editions; the movements were usually closed with the classical final double bar. The indications made by Liszt correspond with Beethoven's original squiggle on the autograph, where Schenker's study led him to omit

any bar lines at the end of the first movement.[69] Liszt clearly understood the "one-movement" architecture of the sonata.

To successfully capture the architectural momentum of the sonata, Liszt includes tempo directions that correspond to the 1850 edition of his teacher Czerny, and which highly influenced Bülow, and Bülow's twentieth-century fan Schnabel.

TABLE II: Metronome Markings

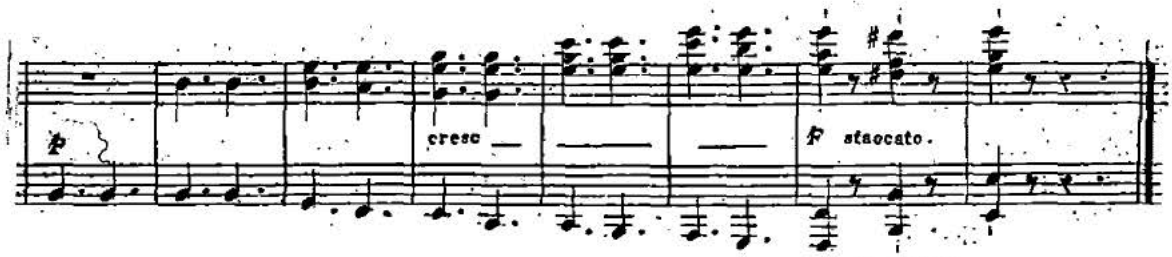
Opus 109	Liszt (1886)	Bülow(1894)	Schnabel (1935)
I *Vivace ma non troppo* Quarter =	116	116	116
Adagio espressivo Eighth =	63	63	60
II *Prestissimo* Dotted-half =	84	84-88	88-92
III *Andante molto cantabile (Theme)* Quarter =	60	60	58
Variation 1 Quarter =	58	58	54
Variation 2 Quarter =	60	60	63
Variation 3 Quarter =	120	138	152
Variation 4 Dotted-quarter =	50	50	48
Variation 5 Half note =	92	92	92

[69] Marston: 9-10. The "double-single" bar line is two light bar lines placed close together, which today indicates a change of key or time signature, or both, as well as the completion of a distinct section within a movement.

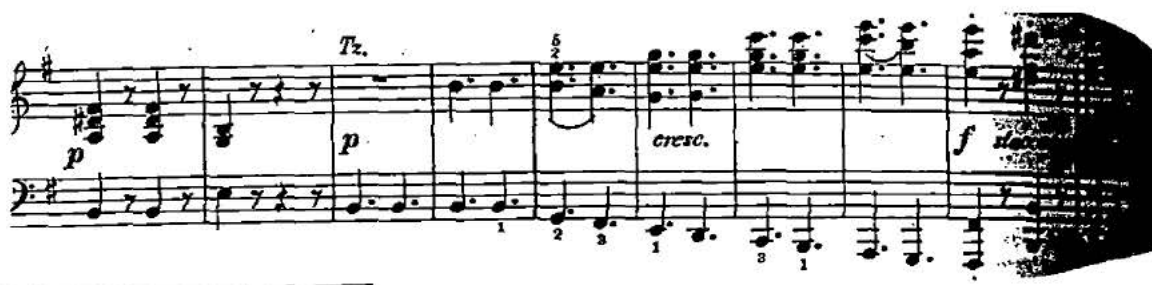
The tempo directions overall vary little from Czerny except for the finale.[70] Liszt's tempos are generally slower until the fugal variation V; the quick pace conducts the otherwise heavy-sounding march as a capricious interplay of fugal voices that build momentum towards the return of the theme in variation VI.

While altering Czerny's tempos slightly, Liszt's editorial approach seems reverential to his teacher Czerny by presenting Opus 109 similar to many nineteenth-century critical editions. Unlike Bülow's edition, Liszt's interpretive suggestions do not drastically change the score: while Bülow includes an *Adagio* "roll", Liszt's score remains unaltered from the original. Comparison to the first edition shows that slurs are lengthened in Liszt's edition, outlining a *grande ligne* rather than rhythmic segments (example 26). Liszt does not alter articulation to display virtuosic contrasts, yet, as in most nineteenth-century editions, strokes are replaced with staccatos, as seen in the last passage of the second movement (example 26a and b).

Example 26a end of *Prestissimo* (Schlesinger, 1821)

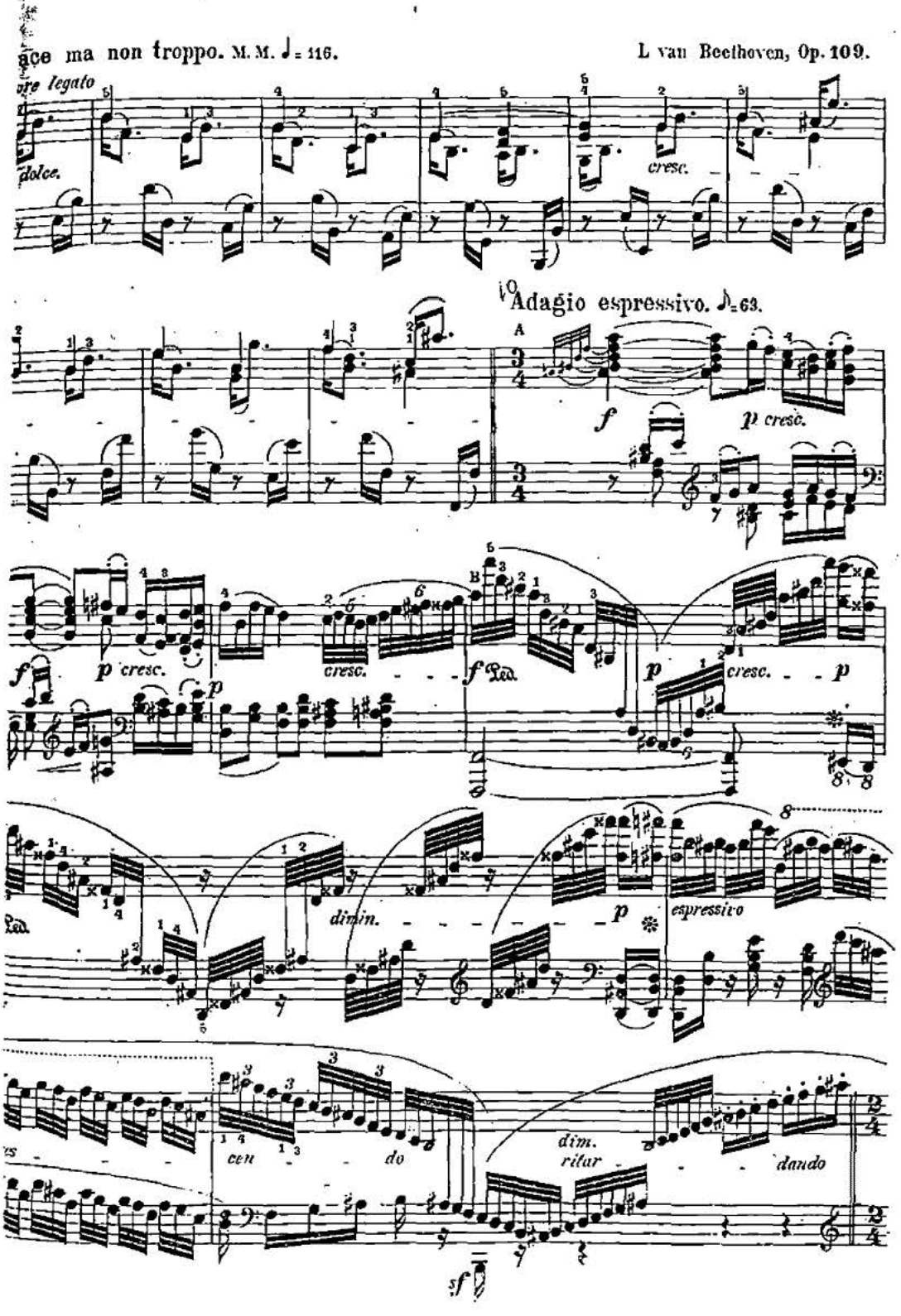


Example 26b (Liszt, 1886)



[70] See chart, Chapter II, pg. 66.

Example 27 Opus 109, *Vivace* (Liszt, 1886)



Since the primary source is unknown, Liszt either reinterpreted the strokes as a *f* staccato for modern piano, made adjustments within the context of the sonata's poetical character or faithfully replicated what was commonly found in previously existing scores. [71] Liszt remained fairly true to his original text: where Bülow altered passages (m. 16), Liszt retained the original rhythm; none of the common textual errors appearing in "the older editions" mentioned by Bülow or the "new Leipzig edition" appear in Liszt's score, again illustrating that Liszt used a reliable primary source. Liszt's editions and interpretations may also have been based on the sounds he created in his Weimar studio, playing the Opus 109 on the original Broadwood owned by Beethoven (1818) and on which the sonata was probably composed.

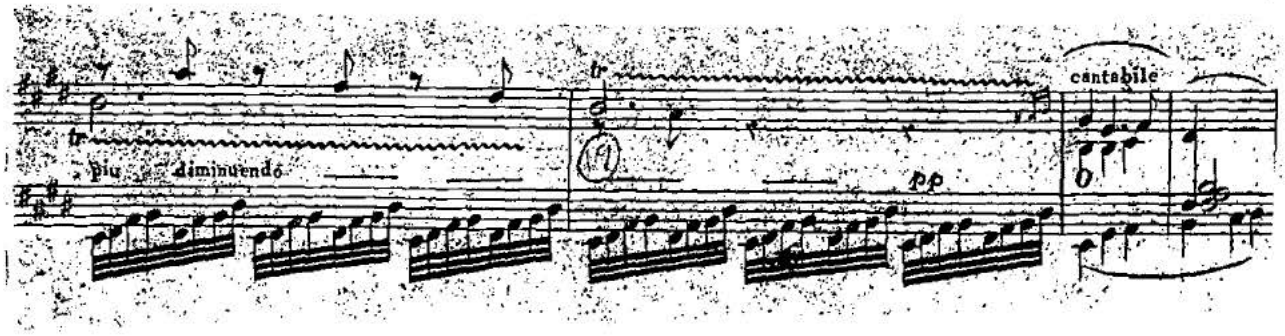
The lack of instructional commentary suggests that Liszt's pedagogical edition is geared towards a performer familiar with Beethoven's style, or that he considered the importance of the teacher's role in discussing Beethoven's style. He does not include obvious changes to agogics or nuances of tempos and the pedalling remains consistent with the previous first edition, including the errors in the *Adagio* (example 27). It is puzzling that Liszt did not include an editorial commentary to "correct" this error; perhaps he interpreted Beethoven's direction to indicate finger-legato in m. 13, with the pedal change in m. 14 necessary for keeping the larger chord change legato. Liszt did faithfully include Beethoven's controversial pedal direction: there is no release sign in the last bar.

[71] It is possible that his friend H. Litolff played an influence, since they often shared news of academic research and were both editing the sonatas at the same time. Litolff (Braunschweig, 1860).

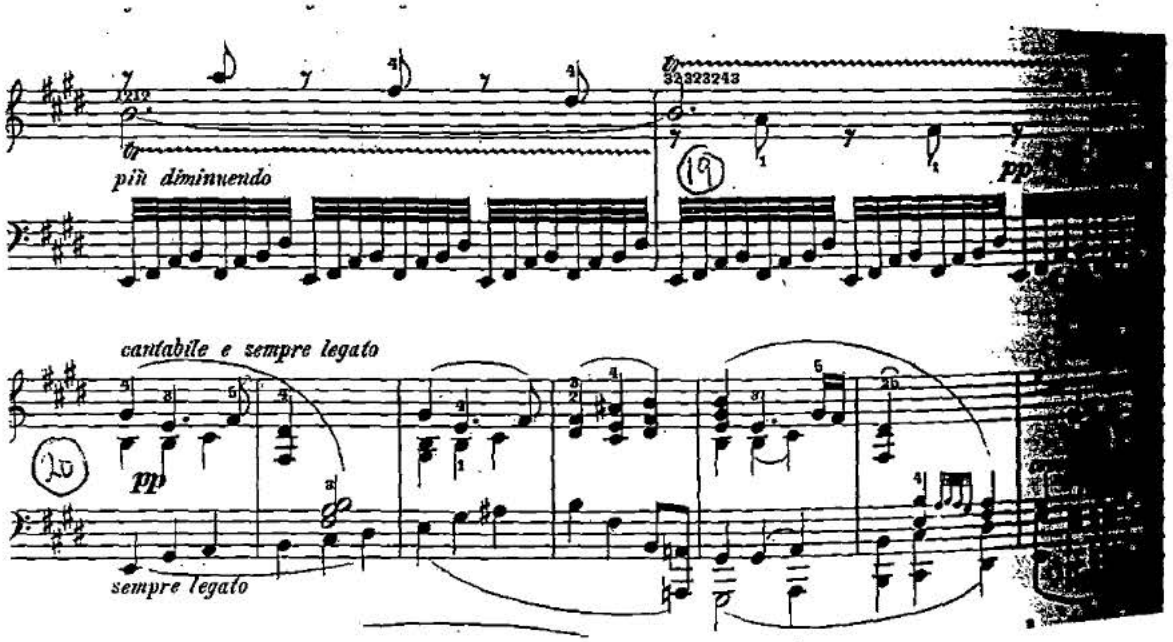
Example 28: Variation VI/ return of Theme

(20a) Beethoven, Autograph (m. 19-23)

(20b) Schlesinger, 1821, m.18-21



(20c) Liszt, 1886, m. 18-25



While keeping close to the original, Liszt did add some editorial alterations in the last movement that do not appear on the autograph: variation III: m. 8-12 include dynamics that reflect the sequencing; variation IV includes logical pedalling that extends the momentum to build *mf* to *sf*, reflective of Czerny's teachings on "harmonioso" pedalling.[72] Throughout the last movement, especially in the final variation, Liszt suggests practical fingerings based on chordal patterns, and suggests trilling with the strongest fingers. The fingering for the long trills in the final variation continued to fascinate Liszt throughout his life, and even in old age he was still perfecting alternate solutions. [73] In his edition, Liszt recommends using the second and third fingers on trills, while in later years he preferred the third and fourth fingers. It is within this final variation (example 28, previous page) that Liszt commits the only editorial *faux pas:* here, like Bülow, Liszt has continued the descending pattern by adding the "controversial" F# and D# in the last bar of the trill. While this seems logical, Beethoven left these notes out on the autograph, and they do not appear in the first edition.

Most verbal directions are similar to the first edition, although in the third movement, Liszt places the Italian above the German, possibly as a measure of consistency throughout the sonata. Except for the absence of the dedication to Maxe Brentano, Liszt's edition seems the most insightful "divination" into Beethoven's performance practice, indicating the sweep and the momentum, yet presenting a score that by nineteenth-century standards appears very scholarly. What go beyond mere

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[72] Drake: 153.

[73] Kurd von Schlozer reported visiting Liszt in the Santa Francesca Romana where he encountered Abbé Liszt amusing himself at a small keyboard, playing the trills from the Opus 109 sonata. Walker, III: 232.

critical editing are the many suggestions that amazingly correspond to modern sketch study research. It is unfortunate that negative critical reception of Liszt and his career in the nineteenth century prohibited acceptance of Liszt's remarkable contributions to Beethoven scholarship.

Eugene d'Albert, Kritisch-instructive Ausgabe Edition (1902)

Liszt's students endorsed his contributions. Eugene d'Albert (Glasgow 1864-Riga, 1932) was one Liszt student whose musical career successfully bridged both the world of the classicists and the romantics: his classical training began at the National Training School for Music in London, and his playing won praise from Clara Schumann, and he performed the piano concertos of Brahms with the composer conducting.[74] In addition, d'Albert's compositions bridge a combination of stylistic elements from Schumann, Brahms and Liszt. In 1881, d'Albert first met Liszt in Vienna, and was persuaded to join him for studies in Weimar, and in 1882, under Liszt's direction, d'Albert produced transcriptions and editions of Bach, which were ranked as equal in importance to those of Busoni. His Complete Edition of the thirty-two Beethoven piano sonatas was first published in three volumes by Alfred Lengnick & Co. (London) in 1902: volume I (sonatas 1-11), volume II (sonatas 12-22), and volume III (sonatas 23-32). In 1903, d'Albert's "critically revised edition" was reprinted, and in 1915, d'Albert's edition was

[74] *The New Grove*: vol. 1, 299.

reprinted in New York by C. Fisher, and included a Preface written by Frederick Martens (1874-1932). [75] This edition is still in print.

D'Albert's edition does not follow the editorial procedures of Liszt, nor does he seem to use the same primary source.[76] Instead, and not surprisingly, d'Albert's Complete Edition of the Beethoven Sonatas represents a combination of both classical and romantic approaches to performance practice of Beethoven's late piano style: we see influences of refinements between contrasting themes, and some helpful directions borrowed from Bülow's edition, combined with some overly dramatic articulation markings. This edition seems to capture d'Albert's style of interpreting Beethoven, since Liszt often chided that he played in a "wild and impetuous" fashion, and suggested he join a temperance society "but only as an honorary member!" [77]

In the Preface, Martens claims that d'Albert's edition is definitive since he has eliminated the "superfluous, too narrowly individual or erroneous". [78]Martens at once states that the Bülow/Lebert/Faisst edition is excellent, and then proceeds to dismiss the edition based on Bülow's reputation as "too dry and pedantic" a performer. Martens contributed to the myth that surrounded Bülow: in fact, Bülow's edition directs a reserved

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[75] Martens was an American musicologists and librettist, as well as translator of librettos. He focused on writing after 1907: *The Art of the Prima Donna and Concert Singer* (1923) and *A Thousand and One Nights at the Opera* (NY, 1926). With his operatic background, it is interesting he wrote such definitive statements regarding performance practice and piano editions of Beethoven's sonatas.

[76] D'Albert does not state his primary source, but it seems quite different to that of Liszt and more in keeping with the edition presented by Bülow.

[77] Walker, III: 249.

[78] Martens, *Preface*, II.

yet musical conception coming from great inner stamina and expressive spirit with the resulting performance being highly modern, similar to that of John O'Connor. This may be a comment on Martens' bias for the late-Victorian style of performance in vogue, as that of d'Albert: "that incomparable Beethoven player, one of the most distinguished piano poets of our time". Martens therefore equated d'Albert's rich experience as a successful performer as a basis for promoting the edition. Yet, Martens continues unsubstantiated criticism against Bülow that his *dicta* were unquestioningly presented, an accusation continued into the twentieth century, yet he fails to address the authoritative and contradictory directions occurring in d'Albert's "enriching" edition.[79]

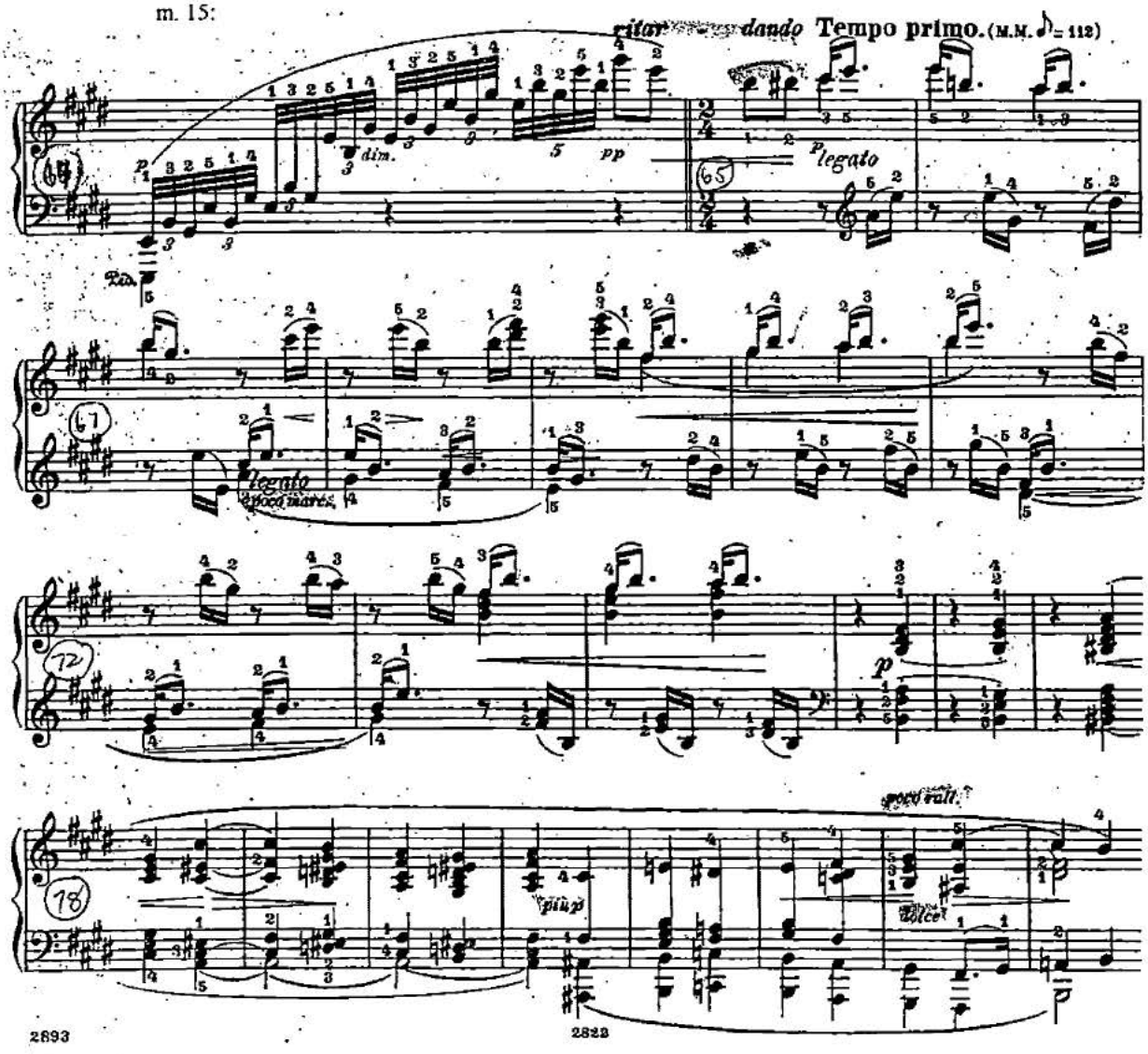
The first movement of Opus 109 contains directions that are both restrictive and bold. Making several references to the edition of von Bülow, d'Albert suggests similar tempo indications: *Vivace*, quarter note = 112; *Adagio,* sixteenth-note = 69. These dramatically contrasting tempo indications are contradicted by the editorial comment on the bottom of the page: "the whole must blend into one uniform tempo" indicating that there were to be no sharp contrasts to inhibit the unfolding of the two themes within one continuous tempo; this classical interpretation restricts any freedom in the *fantasia Adagio*.[80] At the return of tempo I (m. 64-65), after the second *Adagio* passage, d'Albert clarifies the tempo change with an added bar line at m. 65 (example 29). In the following bars, when the left hand takes the melody at m. 67, d'Albert has instructed *poco marcato*; taken literally, this direction could result in a dramatic contrast to the light, skipping

[79] Claudio Arrau discusses Bülow's 'corruptions' in *Celebrated Pianists of the Past and Present*, ed. Dean Elder (Illinois, 1982), 78.

[80] D'Albert, vol. III, 264.

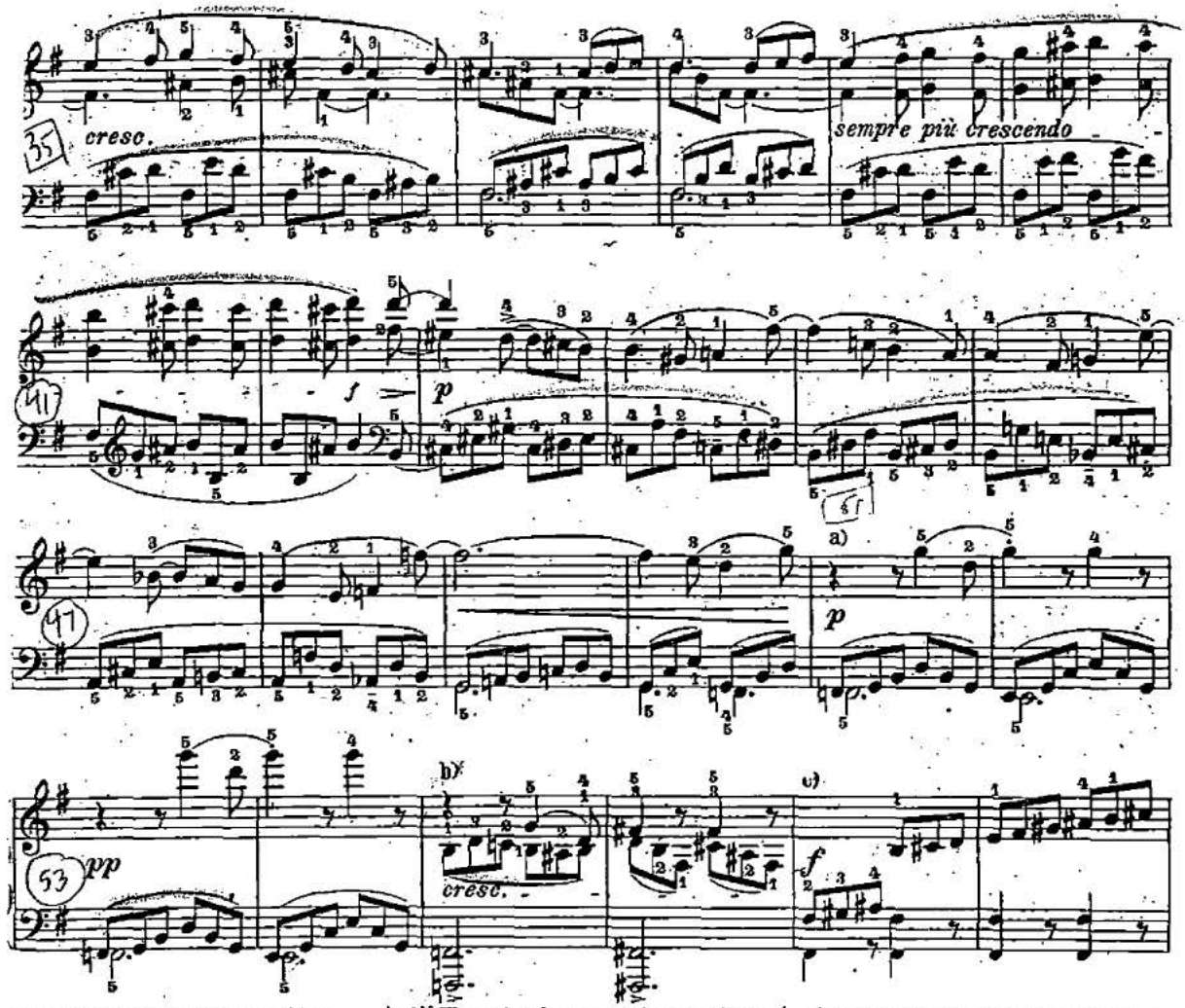
Vivace mood. The following example also shows d'Albert has added long slurs to the left hand to emphasize Beethoven's long melodic line.

Example 29 *Vivace*, m.15-36 (D'Albert, 1902)



The *Prestissimo* contains several changes to articulation that echo markings of Bülow: use of staccatos instead of strokes, and the many added phrase marks in the *Prestissimo,* which outline the long phrase gestures (example 30):

Example 30 Second movement, m. 35-58 (D'Albert)



a) Diese vier Takte etwas ruhiger.
b) Hier ist das sehr bewegte Zeitmass wieder aufzunehmen.
c) non legato.

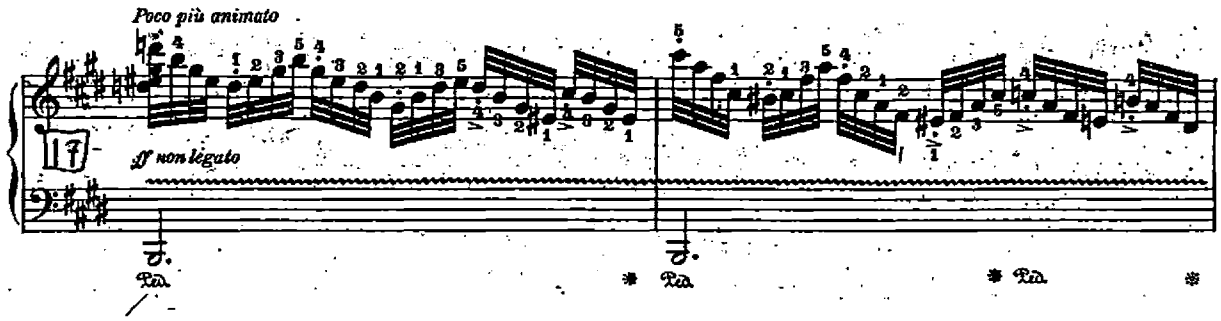
a) *These four bars somewhat more "tranquillo".*
b) *Here resume the "tempo molto mosso".*
c) *non legato.*

a) Ces quatre mesures un peu plus tranquillement.
b) Ici reprendre le mouvement très animé.
c) non legato.

D'Albert decided to highlight the final ascending scale passage in the *Prestissimo* by indicating *non legato,* through absence of his normally abundant phrase lines; the staccato accents (*f*) emphasize the drive towards the final movement's lyrical theme, offset even more than usual by the contrasted touch.

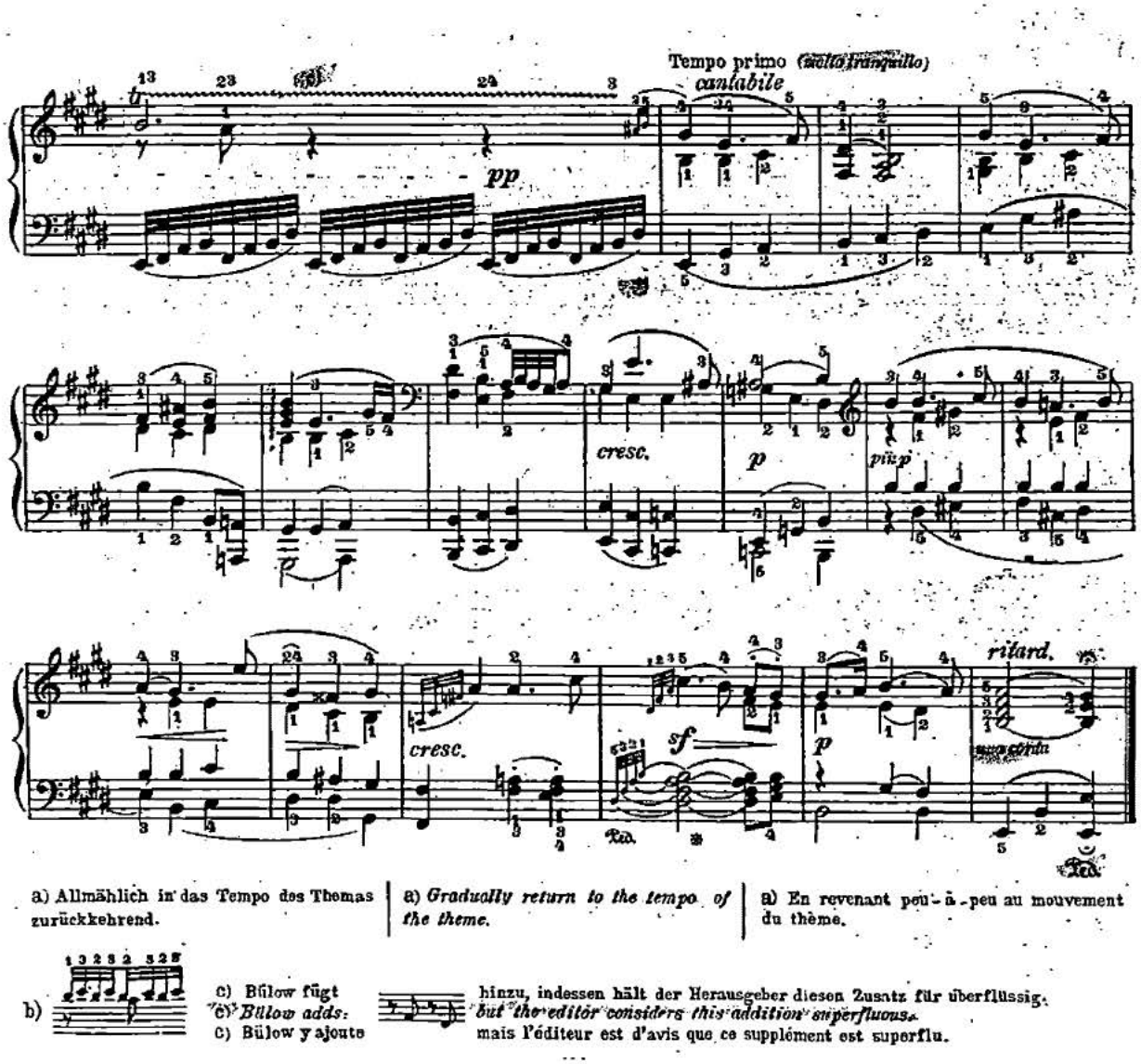
The third movement includes several directions akin to Bülow's edition. One is the added *mezza voce*, which "refers to the upper part which is to be played a little louder than the lower part". A similar direction occurs in variation IV, with *poco marcato* indicating stressed melody notes. Overt and dramatic demarcations continue throughout the third movement. In variation II, d'Albert uses Bülow's dot-with-slur notation, rather than simple *staccato* or slur (m. 1-8). Overdramatic articulation continues in variation V, through added right hand accents combined with added *staccatos* and *sf* markings in the left hand. In contradiction, the romantic declamatory style is to be performed with refined dynamics: *p* and *f* are preceded by *poco* and *più*! Grandiose gestures continue with the last chord highlighted through a stroke. In the final variation, d'Albert dispenses with the added phrase lines and indicates the *poco piu animato* passage (example 31) to be played *non legato*, in the style recommended by Czerny, emphasized with added accents:

Example 31 Var. VI, m. 17-18 (D'Albert)



D'Albert offers the performer/student some poetical inspiration through adding Beethoven's dedication to Maxe Brentano. He also explains the aesthetics of the Beethoven's sonatas as music spoken " in words, not in pictures", full of "consolation and peace". And yet, it is the "mechanical" Bülow who offers poetry and artistic inspiration to the student of Opus 109. The score itself seems free of misread notes, and regarding Liszt and Bülow's use of the finale's added D# and F#, d'Albert states (example 32) they are "superfluous". If a performer does not interpret the directions added by d'Albert as extreme and literal, the result is a clear and expressive performance.

Example 32 Finale, Var. VI/da capo Theme (D'Albert)



Several colleagues and students of both Bülow and Liszt prepared Complete Editions of Beethoven's thirty-two piano sonatas, but as these are out of print, they are difficult to locate. For purposes of future research, and as a record of their contributions, they have been included.

Carl Lamond, Complete Edition, (1923)

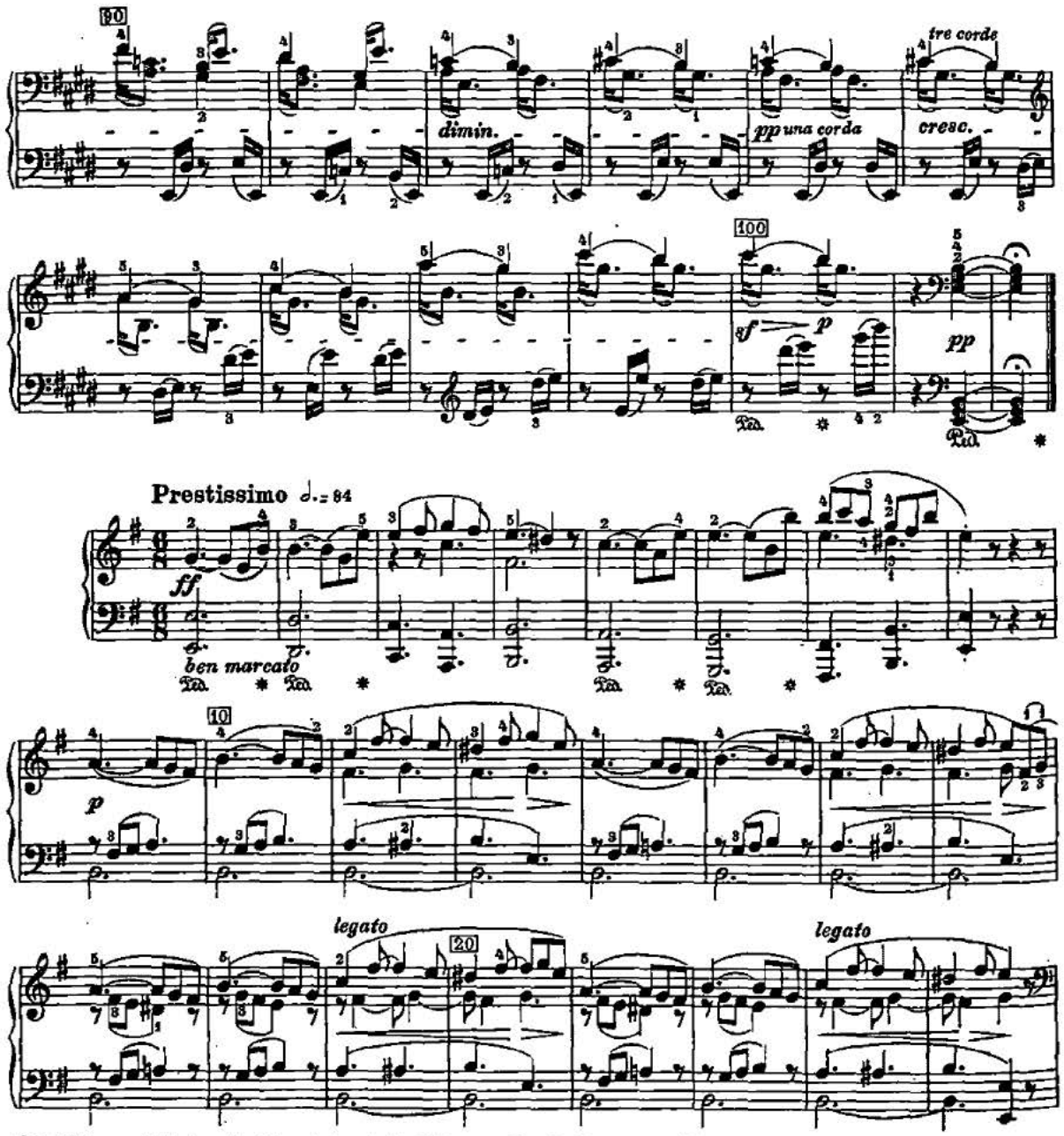
Lamond (1862-1948), a student of Liszt and Bülow, was a Scottish pianist and composer known for his impetuous and poetically eloquent performance style. He began studies with Bülow in 1884 at the Raff Conservatory in Berlin, and continued to develop his free and dramatic performance style of Beethoven during his studies with Liszt in Weimar and Rome (1885-1886). Conservatives sometimes criticized him for his lack of rhythmic precision, indicating a performance style akin to d'Albert: "impetuous and rhetorical, mixing rough grittiness with poetic eloquence". [81] Unlike Bülow's modern style, Lamond and d'Albert would today be considered liberal in their agogic performances of Opus 109, as illustrated through their editions.

Breitkopf & Härtel published Lamond's *Sämtliche Sonaten* in 1923, in two volumes, and this collection remains in print. Owing to Lamond's success as a performer and scholarly editor, single numbers of Beethoven's piano sonatas also remain in print. His edition shows influences of both Bülow and Klindworth (and indirectly, of Liszt): he presents Opus 109 in the same scholarly style as Klindworth, with several added editorial directions given in smaller and lighter print. Slurs resemble the suggestions of Bülow,

[81] "Lamond" in *The New Grove*: vol. 14, 193.

whom he credits with several pedagogical directions, such as tempi, appearing as critical commentary at the bottom of the page (example 33). Like Liszt, Lamond does not include a Preface; Bülow's didactic defence was either unnecessary or Lamond's style was well accepted.

Example 33 end of *Vivace*, opening of *Prestissimo* (Lamond, 1923)



Lamond settles several textual problems encountered by Bülow in regards to notes, phrasing and slurs; this may have been due to Lamond's access to the publication of Beethoven's manuscript of Opus 109 by Erwin Ratz of Vienna (Universal Editions) in 1908, as well as the publication of Heinrich Schenker's edition in 1914.

Lamond combined a scholarly presentation of the sonata with his own style of performance of Opus 109. This includes a slightly slower metronome marking for the first movement *Adagio* (quarter = 100), while the rest of the tempos remain as suggested by Bülow. The added slurs in the second movement build long phrase lines that are emphasized through the added pedal markings, which increase the indicated dynamic range; the pointed and strident piano character becomes orchestral in approach. In a few instances, Lamond differs with choices made by Bülow and Klindworth regarding ties (as in m. 84, first movement), and regarding notes (as in m. 49, first movement), especially the controversially added F# and D# to the last movement finale. In this respect, Lamond remains faithful to the original score.

There are few changes to agogics or expressive directions, yet the added lengthy phrasings attest to his emotional and dramatic performance practice, similar to the lyrical lines of Bülow and d'Albert. The effect of these directions portrays Opus 109 as more of a Strauss symphonic poem, with a big, orchestral piano sound with sweeping romantic phrase lines. Lamond enjoyed a successful concert career; he toured widely throughout Europe, Russia, The United States of America (1902,1922) and South America (1935). He was renowned as a great 20th century Beethoven interpreter, along with Schnabel and

Backhaus, and he continued to promote Beethoven's piano sonatas, publishing *Beethoven: Notes on the Sonatas* (Glasgow: 1944).[82]

Conclusion

The teaching styles of Liszt and Bülow allowed for individual interpretations to thrive. These unique performance styles are illustrated in each edition of Beethoven's Opus 109 sonata, and further recorded by Carl Lachmund (1853-1928), a fellow student during the Master Classes in Weimar, in his book *Living with Liszt: from the Diary of Carl Lachmund,* and *American Pupil of Liszt, 1882-1884,* which were completed in the 1920s but only published recently. [83] The range of interpretive critical commentary varies from Bülow's highly instructive edition, to d'Albert's stylized Victorian theatrics, to Liszt's highly scholarly edition containing divinations of style only substantiated through modern sketch research.

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[82] The notes include his outlines of thematic materials and character portrayals of seven of Beethoven's sonatas, the *Fantasies,* Op. 77, *Bagatelles,* Op. 33 and *Variation,* Op. 34 and Op. 76.

[83] Carl Lachmund, *Living with Liszt: from the Diary of Carl Lachmund* (New York, 1995); *American Pupil of Liszt,* 1882-1884 (New York, 1998).

CONCLUSION

Charles Bannelier has stated that an authentic edition of Beethoven is *une chimère d'artiste, un rêve doré de critique*.[1] Beethoven's music is difficult to edit owing to the unpredictability of his art. Illegible corrections and discrepancies coexist with his thoughtful and detailed indications. Intentional or not, these directions should be presented honestly, without editors substituting their own ideals. Tovey asserted that in Beethoven's music, editorial directions should remain " in the nature of his style, and are not to be removed by hasty conjecture ".[2] Yet, this was not the approach taken by many nineteenth-century critical and pedagogical editors of Opus 109.

My thesis observes that in the procedures and methodology used to edit Opus 109, there can be no absolutes. Both theorists and pedagogues fulfilled the editorial ideal in two different ways, each influenced by their own cultural biases. These editions, then, become repositories of two crosscurrents of performance practice occurring in the nineteenth century. Study of notational directions suggests there were two competing receptions of Beethoven in society: as a classical composer esteemed within the canon, and as an innovator with a view to the future of the piano.

The editorial goal of theorists was to present a score free of subjective interpretation, based on scholarly study of the original source. To fulfill the goal of

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[1] Charles Bannelier quoted in *Beethoven Piano Sonatas, Preface*, ed. Donald Francis Tovey (London, 1931), 5.

[2] Ibid.

fidelity to the work, most claimed to represent Beethoven's intentions by replicating the original source. Yet few critical editions examined in this thesis fulfill these goals, and rarely offer a consistent and scholarly system of editing. Generally, the score of Opus 109 was altered without an honest system of scholarly commentary. Theorists corrected perceived errors and fashioned Beethoven's innovative directions into an accessible, conservative format for a society that valued tradition. By presenting Opus 109 in an accessible classical style, theorists supported the growing academic field of music theory that was building on the foundation of a newly established classical canon. Users of many critical editions of Opus 109 were led to perceive the sonata as a refined, classical work, which dramatically effected performance practice of Beethoven's piano music.

The next step would be to examine impact of the theorist's approach to editing Opus 109 on performance practice could be further studied through a closer look at the audiences for these critical editions, and the effects upon generations of students schooled by academic institutions promoting a conservative performance practice of Beethoven's music. Analysis of syllabi, learning objectives and piano performance criteria modelled on traditions upheld by many nineteenth-century conservatories could provide the source material for such a study. Comparisons of the artistic battles during the War of the Romantics to modern debates over historically correct performance practice would further illustrate the historically varied interpretations of *Werktreue*. Comparisons of expectations of editions required by performers in the nineteenth-century to expectations viewed necessary today. Many nineteenth-century critical editions of Opus 109 are still in use, although general stylistic approaches taken towards these editions have changed.

Modern approaches to Beethoven's piano music seem most closely allied with the performance practice advocated in many nineteenth-century pedagogical editions. The goal of such editions was a fidelity to Beethoven's innovative spirit and symphonic approach to the piano. Through great virtuosic skill and a deep understanding of Beethoven's style, several interpretive suggestions given by nineteenth-century pedagogical editors, such as Liszt, correspond to revisions suggested by modern sketch research.

Pedagogical editions have long been ignored by academics; yet study of these editions reveals that they share similar goals to more recent approaches to musicological research. Many editorial comments and directions provided by pedagogues, such as Liszt and Bülow, easily compare to the ideals of Lawrence Kramer and Susan McClary: to metaphorically express the ephemerality and aesthetics of Beethoven's style using commentary aimed at a specific audience. [3] Similarly, comparisons can be made with the approach to music criticism exemplified by scholars such as Joseph Kerman, who states that the study of music requires a critical interest in the music as an "object of delight" – and its place in its own time.[4] And this brings us back to the original goals of the field of musicology: a form of culturally sensitive critical analysis aimed at making music accessible to both listener and performer.

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[3] Lawrence Kramer, *Classical music and postmodern knowledge* (Berkeley, 1995); Susan McClary, *Conventional Wisdom: the content of musical form* (Berkeley, 2000).

[4] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music* (Harvard, 1985), 35.

While most nineteenth-century pedagogical editions are not in print, some have been re-issued in the United States, where Liszt's students enjoyed successful concert tours and teaching positions. Further study would reveal the influence Liszt's students had on performance practice and the establishment of musical schools in North America, and in other countries such as Russia (Liszt's student Anton Rubinstein influenced Sergei Rachmaninoff) and Portugal (José Vianna da Motta). It seems their legendary insights into the spirit of Beethoven's performance style have not been surpassed. It would be interesting to further compare the interpretive insights of nineteenth-century piano virtuosos to those of modern Beethoven scholars.

Research continues into the analysis, genesis and creative process of Beethoven's Opus 109 in order to better understand how to interpret Beethoven's notational directions and to understand the composition as a whole. As both Meredith and Marston have suggested through their sketch research, a new edition of Opus 109 is needed. This would require close study and replication of the inaugural edition with Schlesinger's corrections, which survive at the *Beethovenhaus* in Bonn. To this, an added Preface would discuss historical and biographical information pertaining to Beethoven's late style, which might also include discussion of the genesis and compositional techniques of Opus 109, with reference to modern sketch research. The Preface would establish a consistent editorial procedure, indicating interpretive suggestions, through footnotes and added commentary, from Beethoven's students, performers and modern scholars. This new approach to editing Opus 109 would combine modern critical editorial procedures

with those of nineteenth-century pedagogical editions, such as those prepared by Liszt and Bülow; in this regard, modern research and scholarship would substantiate the instructive editorial suggestions. This new edition would aid performers in formulating a rich understanding of Beethoven's ingenious and magnificent composition.

Opus 109 truly is a reflexive work of art, "one that draws attention to its own form".[5] The character of Beethoven's piano music seems much like Goethe once described Beethoven himself: "More concentrated, more energetic, more warmly and tenderly emotional I've never seen an artist".[6] To reach an interpretive vision in the spirit and character of Beethoven, a performer must integrate knowledge of various genres of Beethoven's music and style. Certainly every performer brings something new to the music, and often a vision can change over time, transfigured like the *da capo* theme of the Opus 109 Finale. Still, whatever our state, performers should always work towards a vision of the composition, much as Beethoven had a vision of his own. Ideally, the finished product or performance can supersede an artist's original vision. As Shelley explained in "A Defence of Poetry", by grasping the vision and working it out through the creative process, an artist has a deeper understanding and love of the original vision through the resulting creation. Schiller believed that the resulting creation could become something greater than the original personal vision through a shared social experience.[7] And this was the greatest challenge to a new class of musician in the nineteenth-century:

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[5] R. Dicere, quoted in Sylvia Imeson, "*Ridentum dicere verum*: Reflexive Aspects of Haydn's Instrumental Style, c. 1768-72" in *Canadian University Music Review*, No. 11/1 (Toronto, 1991),51.

[6] Goethe quoted by Alfred Brendel in article by Elaine Strauss, "Brendel and Kinderman Interpret Beethoven" in *Clavier*, vol. 33, No. 7 (Illinois, 1994), 32.

[7] Schiller discussed in Maynard Solomon, "On Beethoven's Creative process: A Two-Part invention" in *Music and Letters* 61, 1980, 279.

the piano virtuoso, who offered the highest form of individual expression and the widest range of visions of Beethoven's piano music. Beethoven's Opus 109 continues to be a fascinating and abiding masterpiece.

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